

THE DIVINE NAME

THE DIVINE NAME IN EARLY JUDAISM:
USE AND NON-USE IN ARAMAIC, HEBREW, AND GREEK

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Abstract

During the Second Temple period (516 BCE–70 CE) a series of developments contributed to a growing reticence to use the divine name, YHWH. The name was eventually restricted among priestly and pious circles, and then disappeared. The variables are poorly understood and the evidence is scattered. Scholars have supposed that the second century BCE was a major turning point from the use to non-use of the divine name, and depict this phenomenon as a linear development. Many have arrived at this position, however, through only partial consideration of currently available evidence. The current study offers for the first time a complete collection of extant evidence from the Second Temple period in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek in order answer the question of how, when, and in what sources the divine name is used and avoided. The outcome is a modified chronology for the Tetragrammaton's history. Rather than a linear development from use to avoidance, the extant evidence points to overlapping use and non-use throughout most of the Second Temple period.

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1 CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION–THE DIVINE NAME IN EARLY JUDAISM

The use and non-use of the divine name YHWH in antiquity has been the subject of intense and protracted scholarly debate.¹ YHWH emerged as the national deity of the tribes of Israel in the early Iron Age Levant, and the name YHWH appears in a wide range of epigraphic, literary, and even non-Israelite sources.² During the Second Temple period (516 BCE–70 CE) a series of developments contributed to a growing reticence to use the divine name. Following the Jewish Wars with Rome (66–73/4 CE and 132–135 CE), the divine name, referred to in Greek by this time as the *tetragrammaton*, was prohibited in speech and writing. Rabbinic literature consistently refers to God with an array of divine titles and epithets.³

1.1 Background and Question of the Current Study

Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the mid-twentieth century, in addition to the evidence from Ben Sira, Philo,⁴ Josephus,⁵ and rabbinic sources, a general assumption has taken root that in the second century BCE Jews began avoiding the use of the Tetragrammaton.⁶

¹ For discussion of etymology and main issues of twentieth century scholarship, see Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann, “יהוה” *TLOT* 1:522–26; David N. Freedman and Murphy O’Connor, “יהוה, YHWH,” *TDOT* 5:500–21; Martin Rose, “Name of God in the OT,” *ABD* 4:1001–12.

² The earliest epigraphic sources for “YHWH” include the Moabite Stone and the Kuntillet Ajrud inscriptions, which date to around the mid-ninth century BCE. The Lachish letters are often considered proof that the YHWH was pronounced during the late Iron Age because of its spelling in oath formulas as one word, יהוה, in contrast to its rendering in the Bible as יהוה. See H. Misgav, “Epigraphical Notes,” *EI* 26 (1996): 109–111; N. H. Tur-Sinai, *The Lachish Ostraca—Letters of the Time of Jeremiah* (Jerusalem, 1988), no. 3 [Hebrew].

³ The avoidance of the name YHWH is explicit in R. Johanan ben Nuri’s famous claim that there is no share in the world to come for those who utter the divine name by its letters (m. Sanh. 10:1; or Abba Saul according to y. Sanh 11). B. Qidd. 71a states, “Not as I am written am I pronounced. I am written *yod he vav he*, and I am pronounced *alef dalet*.” B. Pes. 50a interprets “אחד” as follows, “Not like this world is the future world. In this world God’s name is written with *yod-heh* and read as *alef-dalet* but in the future world it shall be one: it shall be written with *yod-heh* and read as *yod-heh*.” Note also Exodus Rabba 3:7: “‘This is my memorial to all generations,’ namely that one is to pronounce it only by its substitute.” The position of both *Yerushalmi* and *Bavli* by the end of sixth century CE is unequivocal on the avoidance of the divine name.

⁴ *Mut.* 1.9–14; *Mos.* 1.75–76; 2.114–15; *Leg.* 353.

⁵ *Ant.* 2.276.

⁶ Rainer Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period: Volume 1 From the*

In a well-known study, Hartmut Stegemann wrote,

Im palästinischen Judentum hingegen, dokumentiert durch die Qumrantexte, – die zwar einer Sondergruppe entstammen, die aber hinsichtlich der Gottesnamenwiedergabe wahrscheinlich repräsentativ sind für das damalige lokale Judentum, – las man (etwa vom 2.Jh.v.Chr. an) anstelle der Tetragramme לאל, im Targum entsprechend אלהא.⁷

Regarding the recently published Aramaic and Hebrew Mt. Gerizim inscriptions, Magen, Misgav, and Tsfania consider priests to be the sole group using the Tetragrammaton by the early second century BCE: “The priests used the Hebrew language and script, and were the only ones to use the Tetragrammaton, a practice that had fallen into disuse among the other strata of society.”⁸ Kristin De Troyer writes that “the pronunciation of the *Tetragrammaton* was not an issue up till the second century B.C.E... Consequently, it can be said that up till the second century B.C.E., the Name of God was pronounced.”⁹ Reasons for the shift in divine name practices are disputed,¹⁰ but it has become axiomatic that the divine name was systematically

Beginnings to the End of the Monarchy (Westminster: John Knox Press, 1994), 49; M. Reisel, *The Mysterious Name of Y.H.W.H.: The Tetragrammaton in Connection with the Names of EHYEH Ašer EHYEH-Hühā-and Šem Hammephôrās* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1957), 64, 71; Samuel S. Cohon, “The Name of God, A Study in Rabbinic Theology,” *HUCA* 23 (1951): 591–592. More recently, see Jacob Neusner and William Green, *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period* (Peabody, Mass.; Hendrickson Publishers, 1999), 259: “By the third century BCE, God’s name had become so hallowed that it could not be pronounced...”; Nathanael Andrade, “The Jewish Tetragrammaton: Secrecy, Community, and Prestige among Greek-Writing Jews of the Early Roman Empire,” *JSJ* 46 (2015): 8: “Texts from Qumran and early manuscripts from the Septuagint demonstrate that Jews of varied orientations or sectarian affiliations treated the divine name as particularly sacred and employed an assortment of scribal measures to mark it as such after the second century B.C.E.”

⁷ Stegemann, “Religionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu den Gottesbezeichnungen in den Qumrantexten,” in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor, BETL 46; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1978), 195, also 216: “Der freie Gebrauch des Tetragramms ist in der palästina-jüdischen Literatur meines Erachtens im 3.Jh.v.Chr. erloschen; allenfalls Relikte dieses älteren Brauches lassen sich auch danach noch feststellen, bei der Neuformulierung von Texten aber nicht mehr nach Mitte des 2.Jh.v.Chr.” See also his other major work on this subject, *KYPIOC ΘEOC und KYPIOC IHCOYC: Aufkommen und Ausbreitung des religiösen Gebrauchs von KYPIOC und seine Verwendung im Neuen Testament* (Habilitationsschrift; Bonn, 1969).

⁸ Y. Magen, H. Misgav, L. Tsfania, *Mount Gerizim Excavations Volume 1: The Aramaic, Hebrew, and Samaritan Inscriptions* (Judea and Samaria Publications 2; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authorities, 2004) no. 383. For dating, see Jan Dušek, *Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Mt. Gerizim and Samaria between Antiochus III the Great and Antiochus IV Epiphanes* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 59; for further discussion, see Chapter 2.

⁹ De Troyer, “The Pronunciation of the Names of God: With Some Notes Regarding *nomina sacra*,” in *Gott Nennen—Religion in Philosophy and Theology* (ed. Ingolf U. Dalferth and Phillip Stoellger; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 144, 148.

¹⁰ For major points of discussion, see Stegemann, *KYPIOC ΘEOC*; *ibid.*, “Gottesbezeichnungen,” 195–217; Patrick Skehan, “The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll, and in the Septuagint,” *BIOSCS* 13 (1980):

avoided by the second century BCE.¹¹ Furthermore, the literary and epigraphic discoveries of the twentieth century have brought forward much evidence for the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton. Such evidence is most explicit in the Qumran literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls. For example, in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 6:27–7:1), dated to the early first century BCE, a member's rations are reduced for lying about possessions or usurping authority, but he is expelled from the *yahad* if he pronounces the name (וא[שר יזכיר דבר בשם הנכבד...]). If this happens for any reason, whether reading or praying, he is never to return to the council of the *yahad*.¹² The *Damascus Document* explicitly prohibits using the divine name in oaths (CD 15:1). Both documents avoid the divine name even in writing. Additionally, the scribal corrections in 1QIsa^a, the Cave 1 scroll of Isaiah, involving several interchanges between יהוה and אדוני, have been interpreted as evidence for spoken avoidance, as the scribes transmitted this scroll by dictation. 1QIsa^a dates to the late second or early first century BCE.¹³

Alongside these sources, however, additional evidence from the twentieth century has been unearthed that, when compared with previously known material, suggests that the claim of full-scale avoidance in the second century BCE should be reexamined. Through a careful assessment of this evidence, the resulting picture is one of overlap in the use and non-use of the

14–44. Ephraim Urbach, *The Sages: Their Concepts and Beliefs* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1979), 134. For more recent overviews and bibliography, see Sean McDonough, *YHWH at Patmos. Rev. 1:4 in its Hellenistic and Early Jewish Setting* (WUNT 2.107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999); Robert Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God, From the Beginnings to the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015).

¹¹ The general view that the divine name was avoided during the second century BCE is often mentioned in conjunction with other discussions, or as an addendum to argumentation, where the Tetragrammaton itself is not the object of study. For example, Annette Steudel prefers an earlier dating of Ps 110:4 because of “the use of the Tetragrammaton, which died out in the second century BCE, speaks against a late date.” See Steudel, “Melchizedek,” in *EDSS* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 535.

¹² 1QS 7.1–2: הוואה קורה בספר או מברך והבדילוהו ולוא ישוב עוד על עצת היחד

¹³ Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 35, n. 14: “That Adonay is read for Yhwh in Scriptures by the copyist of 1QIsa^a is a solid inference from his scribal habits.” Also, Arie van der Kooij, “The Old Greek of Isaiah in Relation to the Qumran Texts of Isaiah: Some General Comments,” in *Septuagint, Scrolls, and Cognate Writings* (ed. George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars; SCS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 195.

divine name. These overlapping practices are characteristic not just of the second century BCE but of most of the Second Temple period (515 BCE–70 CE). To demonstrate this claim, the present study examines all currently known extant literary and epigraphic evidence in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek from the Second Temple period to answer the following question: When, how, and in what sources was the divine name used and avoided? A further question concerns the extent to which divine name avoidance was either written or spoken. The evidence shows that the use of the divine name was more widespread than previous scholars have allowed, but also that some types of divine name avoidance are more complex and multifaceted than previously recognized.¹⁴ The full picture of the evidence also shows that there has been too much dependency on the more well-known cases of avoidance, as in the sectarian literature from Qumran, and the views espoused by the Jewish literary elite of antiquity—Philo and Josephus.¹⁵

¹⁴ A few recent studies reflect a growing awareness that divine name avoidance is not only a phenomenon of the second century BCE. See the review of Ben-Dov and Shaw below. Similarly, Wilkinson writes: “The reluctance to use the Tetragrammaton—and even יהוה—does not begin in the 2nd century B.C. with the Judean scrolls, but it is characteristic of some, but not all, later books of the Hebrew Bible itself.” Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton*, 81; and further, C. L. Seow, “God, Names of,” *NIDB* (vol. 2; ed. Katherine D. Sakenfeld; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2007), 588–95: “Beginning in at least the post-exilic period, the name was deemed too sacred to pronounce.” Dennis Green, “Divine Titles: Rabbinic and Qumran Scribal Techniques,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James VanderKam; Jerusalem: IES and the Israel Museum, 2000), 499: “The literary evidence suggests that a deliberate avoidance of using the Tetragrammaton in free composition developed some time prior to the second century BCE.”

¹⁵ The evidence from Philo and Josephus has often been invoked as support for the view that avoidance in the second century BCE continued to be decisive for Jews of the first century CE. In recounting the episode of the burning bush, the late first century CE historian Josephus (*Ant.* 2:275–76) says that he is not allowed to say the divine name revealed to Moses (περὶ ἧς οὐ μοι θεμιτὸν εἰπεῖν). The Alexandrian philosopher Philo also writes on the burning bush episode (*Mos.* 1:74–76). In response to Moses’ question of what name he is to give the people, Philo writes, “God replied: ‘First tell them that I am He Who is (ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ ὢν) that they may learn the difference between what is and what is not, and also the further lesson that no name at all can properly be used of Me, to Whom alone existence belongs.’” For restrictions on the divine name and its holiness, see *Mos.* 2:114, 132; *Migr.* 103. I discuss Philo further in the conclusion with reference to a recent essay by Andrade, “The Jewish Tetragrammaton,” 1–26. Andrade suggests that the references to the divine name in Philo and Josephus are best understood in the context of their particular social milieu. The implication is that their views on divine name avoidance are not as straightforward as often assumed, and are not representative of most Jews. Furthermore, there is much debate over the evidence in Philo himself, particularly his view of the names of God, knowledge of the Tetragrammaton, and what designations he may have encountered in his Greek translation. For the contours of the debated issues, see N. A. Dahl and A. F. Segal, “Philo and the Rabbis on the Names of God,” *JSJ* 9 (1978): 1–28; James R. Royse, “Philo, *Kyrios*, and the Tetragrammaton,” in *Heirs of the Septuagint: Philo, Hellenistic Judaism, and Early Christianity. Festschrift for Earle Hilgert* (ed. D.T. Runia, et al.; Studia Philonica Annual 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 167–183. More

The fact that some scholars have pointed to the continued use of the divine name after the second century BCE, even through tannaitic times, underscores the importance of this area for further investigation.¹⁶

Two tendencies in past scholarship have inhibited scholars from gaining more clarity on the phenomenon of divine name avoidance. On the one hand, there has been a preoccupation with the minutiae of philological details, as in the quest for the etymological origins of the Tetragrammaton or its historical pronunciation.¹⁷ On the other hand, scholars have overgeneralized the historical contours of the divine name's history, which has often been construed as a story of linear development, from use to non-use. These tendencies have led to views that do not correspond with a balanced assessment of the sources. Furthermore, a survey of all available evidence raises many basic questions for which answers have been previously

recently, Francesca Calabi, "Conoscibilità e inconoscibilità di Dio in Filone di Alessandria," in *Arrhetos Theos: l'ineffabilità del primo principio nel medio platonismo* (ed. F. Calabi; Pisa: ETS, 2002), 35–54, who discusses whether for Philo God is unnamable, or humans are simply unable to know God's name. See also McDonough, *YHWH*, 79–87; Shaw, *Earliest*, 169–70; 185–86. Lastly, for a recent discussion of Philo's knowledge of Hebrew, see Tessa Rajak, "Philo's Knowledge of Hebrew: The Meaning of the Etymologies," in *The Jewish–Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire* (ed. James K. Aitken and James C. Paget; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 173–87.

¹⁶ Regarding the continued use of the Tetragrammaton in oaths, see Lawrence Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (BJS 33; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983), 140: "[T]here can be no question that early tannaitic practice required the judicial oaths be taken by the Tetragrammaton." For earlier times, in the context of discussing late-books of the Hebrew Bible, Patrick Skehan says that "Qohelet avoids Yhwh altogether but uses Elohim quite freely... Proverbs would, by contrast, be unthinkable without Yhwh, so that there were at least two streams of influence continuously in wisdom circles." See Skehan, "The Divine Name," 21.

¹⁷ Most inquiries into the etymology of the Tetragrammaton have endeavored to ascertain something of the theological meaning of the name, based on its alleged derivation. While philological study of a word's origin is obviously important, it is erroneous to think that early Jewish views of God are dependent on etymology. R. Albertz observes that these quests for the meaning of the Tetragrammaton are methodologically misguided: "The fundamental objection to all these attempts at explanation is that only in the rarest instances is etymology appropriate for making statements about the actual significance of a god. Divine names are often very much older than the religions which use them, and ideas about a god change under the covering of the same name." Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion*, 50. In a similar vein, Quell urges caution when searching for meaning based on an etymological interpretation. He writes, "The data reveal that it is impossible to state indisputably what יהוה means. All attempts at etymological interpretation, which are also attempts to convey the religious content of the word and which are affected by particular theories about this, suffer from ambiguity." See Gottfried Quell, "ἀρπύριος; C. The Old Testament Name for God," *TWNT* 2.1044.

inferred from a limited range of sources. The phenomenon of divine name avoidance has been viewed, for example, mostly through the lens of the Hebrew evidence of the Second Temple period, supplemented by rabbinic sources. Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls the rabbis were the primary source for our understanding of divine name practices of the late Second Temple period. There now are more insights to be gained by comparing and contrasting all extant written evidence in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek sources of early Judaism. Also, the debate over divine name avoidance has been typically framed as *spoken* avoidance, an emphasis traced through the Hebrew Bible up through rabbinic literature.¹⁸ Many seem to assume that spoken avoidance also implies avoidance in writing, or at least scholars have not always clearly distinguished between the two. The evidence from the Second Temple period shows that, even if the divine name was avoided in speech, many authors continued to use it in literary works, both biblical and previously unknown writings from Qumran.¹⁹

The primary task of the current study is to collect and present all extant evidence for the use and non-use of the divine name. This is profitable in its own way because it has never been

¹⁸ The avoidance of the name YHWH in speech has drawn considerable attention, both because of the modern curiosity of how the name sounded in antiquity, but also because of the grave consequences attached to pronouncing the name in the most well-known sources. At least two important passages from the Hebrew Bible encourage careful *spoken* treatment of the divine name: The Decalogue (Exod 20:7, Deut 5:11) states that one should not “lift” (נשא) the divine name to “emptiness, or falseness/triviality” (שווא), and the case of blasphemy (Lev 24:10–14, 23) states that “anyone who curses God (יקלל אלהיו) shall bear the sin. One who blasphemes the name YHWH (שם יהוה) shall be put to death...” (Lev 24:15–16). Related to these are cases where cursing God is at issue, such as in Exod 22:28, 23:13; Josh 23:7; 1 Kgs 21:13; Job 2:9, and the peculiar narrative segment of Amos 6:10. Later Second Temple texts, such as Sir 23:9–10, Jub 23:21, Pss. Sol. 17:5, all express concern that the holy name should be used with great care, so as not to profane the deity. For a recent study on the idea of blasphemy, particularly as it relates the severity of death punishment, see Theodore J. Lewis, “Piercing God’s Name: A Mythological Subtext of Deicide Underlying Blasphemy in Leviticus 24,” in *Le-ma’an Ziony: Essays in Honor of Ziony Zevit* (ed. Frederick E. Greenspahn and Gary Rendsburg; Eugene, Or: Wipf and Stock, 2017), 213–38. In comparison with the Hebrew passage, the problem appears to be not only blasphemy, but according to the LXX, merely “pronouncing the name” (...ὀνομάζων δὲ τὸ ὄνομα; Lev 24:16). This interpretation, however, is not necessarily required. For recent discussion, see Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 23–27* (Anchor Bible 3B; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 2114–2119; Sean McDonough, *YHWH at Patmos*, 62–63; and Simeon Chavel, *Oracular Law and Priestly Historiography in the Torah* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 23.

¹⁹ For examples and discussion, see Chapter 3.

done before. A survey of the evidence allows for a more accurate description of the history of the Tetragrammaton, but it also provides a framework for further study, particularly for scholars interested in the role of divine titles and epithets in the portrayal of the Jewish deity during the formative period of early Judaism and early Christianity. Scholars have pointed to the need for a broad survey of divine titles and epithets in the Second Temple period. James Aitken, for example, has observed:

There has been little attempt at systematic synthesis of the portrayal of God in the period...[and] there is a need to re-evaluate our understanding of the God of the Jews in the formative era of the later Persian and early Hellenistic periods and to begin to gather systematically the data relating to his portrayal in literary and non-literary sources.²⁰

In a study on the epithet “Most High” in early Jewish literature, Richard Bauckham writes:

The nature of Jewish Monotheism in the late Second Temple period has been much discussed and debated in recent decades. Such discussion can now make significant progress mainly, in my view, through careful study of the ways Jewish writers of the period talk about God. There is a huge amount of evidence, but little study of it. It would be extremely useful, for example, to have a complete listing of the use of various divine names and titles in early Jewish literature, because only then can we observe which were popular, which were not, in which types or categories of literature.²¹

Bauckham offers a survey of the epithet “Most High,” and Aitken examines the portrayals of the “God of the Pre-Maccabees.” The current study contributes to this area of scholarship by collecting and describing the extant evidence for arguably the most important name in early Judaism—the Tetragrammaton. In the minds of early Jewish authors, there was a deep reservoir of divine names, titles, and epithets from which they selectively drew. The Tetragrammaton was

²⁰ James Aitken, “The God of the Pre-Maccabees: Designations of the Divine in the Early Hellenistic Period,” in *The God of Israel* (ed. Robert P. Gordon; UCOP 64; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 246–7.

²¹ Richard Bauckham, “The Nature of the ‘Most High’ God and the Nature of Early Jewish Monotheism,” in *Israel’s God and Rebecca’s Children: Christology and Community in Early Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Honor of Larry W. Hurtado and Alan F. Segal* (ed. David B. Capes, April D. DeConick, Helen K. Bond and Troy A. Miller; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007), 107.

among these. It was the desired portrayls of the Jewish deity, however, that led to the use of some designations and the avoidance of others.

1.2 The Scope of Sources Included for Analysis

A further note is important about the scope of the evidence in this study. I will focus primarily on extant epigraphic and literary evidence that dates on paleographic grounds to the Second Temple period. The majority of this evidence comprises the fragmentary literary texts discovered in various caves in the Judean desert, collectively known as the Dead Sea Scrolls. Most of the remaining extant literary sources come from Egypt: Elephantine, Oxyrhynchus, and Fayyum.

Much Jewish literature from the Second Temple period was written originally in Aramaic or Hebrew, and later translated into Greek. Many of these works are preserved most fully in their later Greek versions. There is a wealth of information on divine titles and epithets in these sources. However, because most of them do not have extant copies that date to the Second Temple period, I have chosen to exclude them from this collection of evidence. As will become evident in Chapter 4, divine titles and epithets in Greek texts, especially in Christian transmission, undergo a significant transformation after the first century CE. Thus, the post-Second Temple period Greek manuscripts do provide a direct window into Second Temple period divine name uses. Of particular importance, nonetheless, is the relevance of *κύριος*, often understood as the translation equivalent of *יהוה* and the Tetragrammaton in the Septuagint (LXX), the Greek translation of the Jewish scriptures that began in the mid-third century BCE with the Pentateuch. The use of *κύριος* in early Judaism is a special topic, extensively debated among scholars. I discuss the use of *κύριος* in Jewish literary works original in Greek in the context of Chapter 4, but overall, the Greek sources that do not have extant copies from the

Second Temple period can only provide indirect data about the Tetragrammaton, with which this study is mainly concerned. Lastly, in my collection of evidence for divine titles and epithets in the Aramaic and Hebrew works discovered at Qumran, such as *Jubilees*, *Enoch*, and *Tobit*, I will rarely discuss the later Greek versions of these works. The Greek and Ethiopic versions of *Jubilees* and *Enoch* are invaluable for studying the way these authors conceptualized the deity, but in the end, the later versions do not provide decisive evidence for the questions of the current study focused on the Second Temple period.²²

1.3 Defining Terms: “Use” and “Non-Use” of Divine Name(s), Titles, and Epithets

I discuss divine designations according to their grammatical use. In this sense, “names,” “titles,” and “epithets” correspond to proper nouns, common nouns, and adjectival or substantival formulations respectively. This study makes a primary distinction between the divine name YHWH, and other divine titles and epithets, such as “God,” “Lord,” or “Most High.” While a common noun technically denotes a title, ancient authors at times used titles as proper names for the Jewish deity. This is often discussed in relation to the use of *κύριος* without the definite article *ὁ*, grammatically a title, but used as a proper name in the Septuagint.²³

According to Jonathon Ben-Dov, this also happens with *אלהים* in the Psalter, and probably with

²² In addition, theophoric elements of personal names are taken by some scholars as evidence for the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton, but these do not provide direct evidence for the independent use of the divine name, and so are also excluded from the present study. Theophoric names are formed by the combination of the divine name with other letters or words. For example, the names “Isaiah” (ישעיהו), “Jeremiah” (ירמיהו), and “Jehoiakim” (יהויקים) contain the shorter spellings, *יהו* or *יהה*, of the Tetragrammaton, *יהוה*. Other names contain the prefix/suffix *יה*, or various other theophoric elements such as *אל* in “Eleazar” (אלעזר). Some names are entirely composed of theophoric elements, such as “Elijah” (אליהו). Such elements may be helpful for discerning the religious affiliation or ethnic identity of their bearers, as explored in the recently published Babylonian Al-Yahudu tablets, or the Aramaic *Wadi Daliyeh Samaritan Papyri*, but they do not provide definitive evidence for what independent divine names and titles were used by those communities.

²³ For a discussion of terminology related to Greek titles and epithets, see Christiane Zimmermann, *Die Namen des Vaters: Studien zu ausgewählten neutestamentlichen Gottesbezeichnungen vor ihrem frühjüdischen und paganen Sprachhorizont* (AJEC 69; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 20–3.

אל in Qumran texts.²⁴ Hartmut Stegemann and Martin Rösel see this occurring with the title עליון אל (“God Most High”) in the Aramaic *Genesis Apocryphon*.²⁵ This suggests that terms for God were used differently by different authors.²⁶ The overlapping semantics of “name,” “title,” and “epithet,” nevertheless, rarely affect the analysis in the current study, and so the following definitions will suffice:

- **divine name** denotes the proper name of the Jewish deity, the Tetragrammaton, along with its variant forms and spellings. The divine name occurs independently in five different forms in three languages: יהוה and יה (Hebrew), יהו, יהה, יה (Aramaic),²⁷ and ιαω (Greek). I use “Tetragrammaton” only when referring specifically to the four-letter Hebrew divine name.
- **use** is the practice of writing or speaking the divine name.
- **non-use** refers to either the *absence* of the divine name where it might be expected or divine name *avoidance*, which is a more restrictive category that refers to intentional non-use and is clearly discernible from comparative material, consistent patterns, quotations, or allusions.
- **title** refers to terms such as “God” or “Lord,” including אלהים, אדני, אל, and κύριος. While these are typically understood as common nouns with reference to the God of Israel, as noted above, they are also used as proper nouns/names by some ancient authors.
- **epithets** often include attributive and substantive adjectives that describe attributes or characteristics of the deity.²⁸ These include the combination of titles and attributive

²⁴ Ben-Dov is careful to distinguish between Elohim as a divine name in the Pentateuch and its subsequent use as a substitute for the Tetragrammaton in literature that copied earlier sources, such as Chronicles, the Elohistic Psalter, and scrolls from Qumran. He distinguishes “...the employment of Elohim in authorship from its use in redaction.” See Ben-Dov, *ילקוט המזמורים האלוהיסטי וכתובת שמות האל בקומראן*, *Meghillot* 8-9 (2010): 53–80 [Hebrew]; repr. “The Elohistic Psalter and the Writing of Divine Names at Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6-8, 2008)* (ed. A. D. Roitman, L. Schiffman, S. Tzoref; STDJ 93; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 81.

²⁵ Stegemann writes, “Dieser Befund zeigt, daß der Autor von *IQ Genesis-Apokryphon* darin nicht ein bloßes Gottesprädikat gesehen hat, das etwa dessem besondere Erhabenheit kennzeichnete, sondern eien Art “Eigennamen” seines Gottes.” See Stegemann, “Gottesbezeichnungen,” 214; Rösel, “Names of God,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 602. See also David S. Cunningham, “On Translating the Divine Name,” *Theological Studies* 56 (1995): 418.

²⁶ Rösel observed that “...it is difficult to distinguish between ‘name,’ ‘epithet,’ and ‘attribute’ with certainty,” *EDSS*, 602.

²⁷ Mathias Delcor believed that יהו must have occurred in the Hebrew scriptures before they were standardized. He supports this through a comparison of 1 Esdras 1:3 and 1 Chr 36:23. He writes, “Il y a donc tout lieu de croire qu’il était également représenté dans un état antérieur du texte hébreu, avant l’uniformisation des Massorètes.” Delcor, “Des diverses manières d’écrire le tétragramme sacré dans les anciens documents hébraïques,” *RHR* 147 (1955): 168.

²⁸ I find William M. Sale’s definition of “epithet” helpful: “an adjective, a noun in apposition, a noun-phrase in apposition, a noun in the genitive, a governing noun, or a noun in a combination that preserves a singular

phrases, such as אל עליון, אל מלכא רבא, אלה שמיא, אל אמת, אל קנה, or אל דעת.

1.4 *Contributions to the Study of the Divine Name: Collected Evidence and Modified Chronology*

Nineteenth and twentieth century scholarship has helpfully described the use and non-use of the divine name in light of diverging doctrines held by the Pharisees, Zadokites/Sadducees, Samaritans, and Qumranites. Some groups who held more stringent interpretations of halakha avoided the divine name because they believed it carried a special sanctity and should therefore be used only in a ritually pure environment, like the Temple.²⁹ This view is derivative of the broader phenomenon that characterized the late Second Temple period—the sharp increase in concerns for ritual purity and impurity.³⁰ Other early Jewish groups sought to uphold the honor and respect of the deity, which was threatened by perceived disrespectful or irreverent uses of the name. One example pertains to oaths taken flippantly, with little regard for the reputation of the deity invoked should one not fulfill their obligation. Both of these views, as discussed in twentieth century scholarship below, one premised on the sacredness of the name, and the other arising out of a posture of respect for the deity, eventually led to avoidance.

The current study will show that these views of divine name avoidance are specific to the historical context of the second century BCE and the centuries following. They pertain to the late

sense.” See Sale, “Trojans, Statistics, and Milman Parry,” *GRBS* 30 (1989): 350.

²⁹ The divine name is explicitly referred to as holy/sacred in CD 20:34, 1QpHab 2:4; 1QM 11:3, and elsewhere. For discussion of the concept of “holy/sacred” at Qumran, see Hanne von Weissenberg and Christian Seppänen, “Constructing the Boundary Between Two Worlds: The Concept of Sacred in the Qumran Texts,” in *Crossing Imaginary Boundaries: The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Context of Second Temple Judaism* (ed. Mika S. Pajunen and Hanna Tervanotko; Helsinki: The Finish Exegetical Society, 2015), 71–97.

³⁰ For a concise summary of the epigraphic, archaeological, and literary evidence for this phenomenon, for example as it relates to the increased use of stone utensils and ritual baths, see Eric M. Meyers and Mark A. Chancey, *Alexander to Constantine: Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, Vol. 3* (ed. John J. Collins; AYBRL; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 47–49; also Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Second Temple period halakhic disputes. Rarely is the evidence from the Persian and Hellenistic period considered, periods that pre-date the halakhic disputes. In the following chapters, I integrate previously known material, such as the Elephantine papyri, with the divine name practices in new material not widely known or easily accessible, such as the use of יהו or יהה in the Idumean Ostrakon, P. Amherst 63, and the BM Drachm. In addition, little attention has been given to the evidence for the non-use of the divine name in the Aramaic literature of Ezra and Daniel and the Qumran Aramaic scrolls. One inference to draw from this collection of material, which I will elaborate further in Chapter 2, is that we encounter multiple literary contexts in which the divine name is used and avoided, particularly in the Persian period Aramaic literature. In some of these contexts, the sacredness or holiness of the divine name does not seem to be a motivating factor for its avoidance, nor is a posture of respect towards the deity clearly connected to an author's choice of terms for God. There seem to be forces external to Judaism of the time that are motivating the use of some designations, but not others. That Jewish authors of the Second Temple period avoided the divine name for multiple and complex reasons may be assumed, but the collection of evidence offered in this study provides scholars with a clear outline of the contexts in which alternative views of avoidance may be further investigated.

A second major contribution of this study is a refinement to our understanding of the Tetragrammaton's history. The full collection of evidence shows that a decisive linear development from the use to non-use of the divine name during the second century BCE needs to be reevaluated. The use of the divine name, especially in writing, is not often factored into scholarly descriptions of the divine name's history. To state the facts: writing the Tetragrammaton never died out; it not only continued in the Hebrew biblical scrolls found in the Judean desert that parallel later books of the Jewish canon, but it was also used in many literary

works that were previously unknown, and not included in the Tanakh. The Tetragrammaton also continued in writing in Jewish-Greek biblical texts, even as *κύριος* became the dominant rendering for the Tetragrammaton beginning in the second century CE. The notion of decisive linear development must also be questioned in the other direction. In the Persian period, for example, there is evidence for both its use and avoidance. While certain “developments” no doubt occurred, these are not linear or universal.

1.5 *Modern Scholarship on the Disuse of the Tetragrammaton*

1.5.1 **Abraham Geiger (1857)**

The great mid-nineteenth century German-Jewish scholar, Abraham Geiger, was one of the first to use the historical-critical method to better understand halakhic debates in ancient Judaism.³¹ He considered the Tetragrammaton to have functioned like a litmus test for a spectrum of halakhic positions, ranging from stringent to lenient. The Pharisees were generally more lenient with their use of the Tetragrammaton, while the Zadokites and Samaritans exercised greater restrictions.³²

Geiger was convinced that the death of the high priest “Simon the Just” resulted in significant changes to the Temple liturgy, in particular the disuse of divine name in worship by subsequent priests. Geiger did not clarify whether he understood “the Just” to be Simon I or Simon II; if the latter was meant, this would alter the date for the change in liturgy by no less than a century, 300 BCE or 200 BCE.³³ Sirach 50:20 describes the use of the divine name in the

³¹ Abraham Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der inneren Entwicklung des Judentums* (Breslau: Heinauer, 1857).

³² Geiger, *Urschrift*, 263–264.

³³ Scholars debate whether “Simon the Just” is Simon I (c. 300 BCE) or Simon II (c. 200 BCE). Most consider him to be Simon II, although James VanderKam has argued for Simon I in “Simon the Just: Simon I or Simon II?” in *Pomegranates & Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and*

Temple during the tenure of Simon: “Then Simon came down and raised his hands over the whole congregation of Israelites, to pronounce the blessing of the Lord with his lips, and to glory in his name.” Geiger’s support for this view was based on t. Sotah 13.8 (quoted in b. Menah 109b, and b. Yoma 39b), which claims that after the death of “Simon the Just priests refrained from blessing the people in the Name.” Before the death of Simon, there was presumably no restriction on the use of the Tetragrammaton. For Geiger, the prohibition of the divine name was absolute. He states that “in ancient times the pronunciation of the divine name had been omitted, even in the most sacred service,” referring to the Day of Atonement.³⁴ However, Geiger did not consider this cessation to be permanent. While it was absolute, the cessation was temporary.

The Zadokites put forward the belief that the divine name should be replaced by אלהים or שמא,³⁵ presumably related to the events following the death of Simon the Just. The Pharisees reacted to this priestly prohibition on the divine name. Geiger understood m. Ber. 9:5 as evidence for this reaction: “And they ordained (התקינו) that a man should greet his fellow with the Name (בשם)...” as was done by Boaz (Ruth 2:4).³⁶ It was the Zadokites who initiated the avoidance, but other groups disagreed and advocated for the continued use of the Tetragrammaton. Geiger framed the idea that the disuse of the Tetragrammaton was the result of sectarian polemics of groups that emerged with distinct identities during the second century BCE.

Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom (ed. David P. Wright, et al.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 303–18. For a defense of the traditional view, see Otto Mulder, *Simon the High Priest in Sirach 50: An Exegetical Study of the Significance of Simon the High Priest as the Climax to the Praise of the Fathers in Ben Sira’s Concept of the History of Israel* (JSJSup 78; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 345–52.

³⁴ Geiger, *Urschrift*, 263.

³⁵ Geiger, *Urschrift*, 262; cf. y. Sanh. 11:1.

³⁶ This passage is discussed further below, see especially Urbach.

1.5.2 Arthur Marmorstein (1927)

Arthur Marmorstein followed Geiger's view that the death of Simon the Just factored into divine name disuse.³⁷ He believed, however, that Simon was "Simon I" (ca. 300 BCE), and therefore the entire third century BCE must have been characterized by divine name avoidance.³⁸ He suggested that other lines of evidence supported divine name avoidance during the third century BCE. The book of Esther, for example, does not use the Tetragrammaton because "...the author lived in an age and in a country where and when the pronunciation of the Name was strictly forbidden...exactly the time after the death of Simon the Just."³⁹ Marmorstein considered the mid-third century BCE Greek translation of the Pentateuch as further evidence for the prohibition, but he does not mention any specific details.⁴⁰ He assumed that the evidence of the Greek translation, Esther, and Simon the Just are self-evident. Scholars have largely disregarded Marmorstein's notion of a wide-spread prohibition of the Tetragrammaton during the third century BCE on the basis of his imprecise historical method.⁴¹

Marmorstein also followed Geiger on the idea of a temporary cessation of the name, but did so by comparing and contrasting rabbinic sources. He showed that even as the divine name was avoided for a time, it must have resurfaced later. A few passages of the Mishnah can only be

³⁷ Arthur Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God, Vol. 1: Names and Attributes of God* (Oxford University Press: London, 1927).

³⁸ Several other scholars followed Geiger and Marmorstein regarding the implications of the death of Simon, although they debated whether Simon I or II is in view. Max Reisel, for example, also claims after the death of high priest Simon the Just (II) "the other priests no longer considered themselves worthy to pronounce the Tetragrammaton distinctly and completely in the daily priestly blessing...The High Priest continued to use the original pronunciation on the Day of Atonement, but reduced its sonority. Eventually, after the destruction of the Second Temple, this pronunciation lost its audibility altogether." See Reisel, *The Mysterious Name*, 64, 71. For the same view, see Samuel S. Cohon, "The Name of God," 591–592.

³⁹ Marmorstein, *Old Rabbinic Doctrine*, 30.

⁴⁰ Perhaps he had in mind the Greek translation of Lev 24:16 that seems to make "naming the name" punishable by death, rather than its misuse in the Hebrew text. See further discussion on p. 6 n. 18.

⁴¹ Urbach strongly critiqued Marmorstein's method of historical reconstruction, a view also shared by M. Segal. See Urbach, *Sages*, 2:737 n. 30.

explained on the assumption that a unanimous prohibition during the late Second Temple period was temporary. For example, m. Tamid 7:2 (= m. Sotah 7:6) claims that “[i]n the Temple they pronounced the Name as it was written, but in the provinces by a substituted word.” Although the divine name was replaced in the provinces, according to this tradition, it was still used in the Temple, which suggests that the cessation was not complete. In another example, M. Yoma portrays the high priest pronouncing the divine name in the ceremony of the scapegoat ritual on the Day of Atonement, to which the people respond with the blessing:

...when the priests and the people who stood in the Temple Court heard the Expressed name (שם המפורש) come forth from the mouth of the High Priest, they used to kneel and bow themselves and fall down on their faces and say, “Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom for ever and ever.”⁴²

Not only does this passage ignore the alleged disuse in the Temple after Simon the Just, but it depicts a situation in which the שם המפורש is spoken according to its letters, and would have been known to all who heard—the priests and the people.⁴³ Marmorstein suggests, furthermore, that if the death penalty can be issued for those who pronounce the name (b. Sanh. 55b), then this must refer to a time when the proper pronunciation was known.⁴⁴ Given the contradictory

⁴² See m. Yoma 3:8, 4:2, and 6:2. For a discussion of the role of השם in this tractate, see Gedalyahu Alon, *Jews, Judaism, and the Classical World* (trans. Israel Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977), 237–43. See also Sifre (Num 6:27), which records the discussion of R. Josiah and R. Jonathan: “‘Thus shall you bless the children of Israel’ with the name (שם המפורש).”

⁴³ For discussion of the historicity of Yoma with regard to the pronunciation of the divine name, see Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)* (rev. and ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Black; vol. 2; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979), 307. For discussion on the literary nature of m. Yoma, and particularly the exegetical agenda of its authors, see Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, *Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 20. He argues that Yoma is “the fruit of rabbinic exegetical activity.” Gunter Stemberger also emphasizes exegetical skills at work in m. Yoma; see “Yom Kippur and Mishnah Yoma,” in *The Day of Atonement: Its Interpretation in Early Jewish and Christian Traditions* (ed. Thomas Hieke and Tobias Nicklas; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 130–31.

⁴⁴ Marmorstein, *Old Rabbinic Doctrine*, 32. Even the *Bavli* maintains a tradition that the rabbis taught the divine name to their disciples. B. Qidd. 71a, “Rabba bar bar Ḥana says Rabbi Yoḥanan says: The Sages transmit the four-letter name to their students once every seven years, and some say twice every seven years.” Although this is held in tension with the following reference to Exod 3:15 “This is my name forever (לעולם),” which Rav Naḥman bar Yitzḥak discerned a word play, לעולם should be read לעלם (“to hide”).

evidence of the Mishnah, namely how Yoma and Tamid can be unaware of the cessation of the divine name, Marmorstein concluded that “[t]he view must have been foreign to the teachers of the Mishna that the Name of God must not be pronounced.”⁴⁵ He also believed that diaspora Jewish communities were ignorant of a prohibition on the divine name.⁴⁶

The question then arises for Marmorstein of how to coordinate his view of the cessation during the third century BCE with the mishnaic evidence for its continued use. He resolves this tension by supposing that the divine name must have resurfaced in the Hasmonean era, beginning in the second century BCE,⁴⁷ which is the exact opposite of what scholars have argued from the mid-twentieth century onward. Similar to Geiger, Marmorstein saw evidence for this in the passage from m. Ber. 9:5, about greeting a fellow in the “Name.” But whereas Geiger thought m. Ber 9:5 was a Pharisaic attempt to undermine a corrupt Zadokite/Sadducean position, Marmorstein argued that m. Ber 9:5 was intended as a polemic against the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton among Hellenized-Jewish priests,

... who after the death of Simon, under Greek influence and Hellenistic teaching, held that God has no name... After a long struggle, the teachers re-established the old usage of pronouncing the Divine Name in the Temple...⁴⁸

For Marmorstein, it was not pietistic Zadokites who stopped using the name after Simon’s death, but rather Hellenistic priests who were influenced by the Greek philosophical tradition.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Marmorstein, *Old Rabbinic Doctrine*, 19; he also mentioned the traditions of y. Yoma 3:7; Eccl. R. 3.11, showing that many stories of the early Tannaitic period continue to relate knowledge of the Tetragrammaton even into the third century CE. A Persian woman curses her son with one letter of the divine name, a doctor in Sepphoris attempted to teach R. Phineas b. Hama divine name techniques, and the Academy leader pronounced the Tetragrammaton when declaring the New-Moon, as the High Priest did on Yom Kippur. See also Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 141.

⁴⁶ Marmorstein, *Old Rabbinic Doctrine*, 19: “Neither in Egypt, nor in Babylonia, did the Jews know or keep a law prohibiting the use of God’s name, the Tetragrammaton, in ordinary conversation or greetings.”

⁴⁷ Marmorstein, *Old Rabbinic Doctrine*, 29.

⁴⁸ Marmorstein, *Old Rabbinic Doctrine*, 24–25.

⁴⁹ In this context, Marmorstein curiously mentions the “misuse of the Name for magical practices” as an alternative reason for the prohibition, but this appears unrelated to his proposal regarding the Hellenized priests. The idea that the Greeks influenced the disuse of the name is also discussed by Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*:

Regardless of what group initiated the disuse of the divine name, for both scholars *m. Ber. 9:5* was understood as a Pharisaic correction.

But Marmorstein argued that the Pharisees reacted in another way—by encouraging the use of the Tetragrammaton in public documents. For this latter proposal, he draws on an obscure passage from *Megillat Ta'anit* (MegTaan), a scroll presumably written in the first-century CE that itemizes about thirty-five dates of rescue or divine guidance. As Vered Noam summarizes, the goal of this scroll was to keep Jews from fasting (*ta'anit*) on “days on which miracles had been performed for Israel.”⁵⁰ The relevant passage states that “On the third of Tishrei, the ‘mention’ (אדכרתא) was removed from the documents,” which in the context of MegTaan means that no fasts were permitted on the third of Tishrei.⁵¹ Scholars have debated whether the “mention” (אדכרתא) is an allusion to the name of God, or the name of a foreign ruler, or some other festive day. The removal of the name of a foreign ruler from Jewish documents, especially during Hasmonean times, would make intuitive sense as an occasion for celebrating liberation. The removal of God’s name, however, would seem to require some further explanation. This is given by both the *scholion* (commentary associated with MegTaan) and *b. Roš Haš 18b*, in which these sources take the “mention” as a reference to God:

Rav Aḥa bar Huna raised an objection: On the third of Tishrei the ordinance requiring the mention in documents was abolished, and on that day fasting is forbidden. For the

Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine During the Early Hellenistic Period (London: SCM Press, 1974) 1:266–7, that Jews developed the idea of the “essential namelessness of God” after the cultic prohibition on pronouncing the name, in his words, “making a virtue of necessity.” Samuel Cohon adopts a similar position: “Following the death of Simon the Just—which was marked by the spread of Hellenism and its heretical trends—the Tetragrammaton ceased to be spoken even in the Temple by the ordinary priests.” See Cohon, “The Name of God,” 591–592.

⁵⁰ *y. Taan 2:13, 66a [= y. Meg 1:6, 70c]*. For discussion, see Vered Noam, “Megillat Taanit—The Scroll of Fasting,” in *The Literature of the Sages, Part II* (ed. Shmuel Safrai, Zeev Safrai, Joshua Schwartz, Peter J. Tomson; Netherlands: Royal Van Gorcum, 2006), 339.

⁵¹ See Noam, מגילת תענית. הנוסחים, פשרם, תולדותיהם (*Megillat Ta'anit. Versions, Interpretation, History*) (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2003), 235–238; *ibid.*, “Megillat Taanit—The Scroll of Fasting,” 343. Ms Parma = “was removed” (אתגטלת); Ms Oxf and Bavli = “was nullified” (איתבטילת). Noam states that even though the reference to the “mention” is obscure, it belongs to the Hasmonean period; Noam, “Megillat Taanit,” 345.

kingdom of Greece had issued a decree [against the Jews] forbidding them to mention the name of Heaven on their lips. When the Hasmonean kingdom became strong and defeated [the Greeks], they instituted that people should mention the name of Heaven even in their [legal] documents. And therefore they would write: In year such and such of Yohanan the High Priest of the God Most High...

...But when the Sages heard about this they said: Tomorrow this one [the borrower] will repay his debt, [the lender will no longer need to save the loan document], the document will be cast on a dunghill. And [so] they annulled [the ordinance to mention God's name in documents], and they made that day into a Festival.⁵²

According to b. Roš Haš 18b the Greeks forbade mentioning the name of “Heaven,” but this was reinstated by the Hasmoneans. Later, when the undesirable situation arose in which expired documents would be “cast on a dunghill,” bringing dishonor or contamination to God's name,⁵³ the sages removed the name from the documents.⁵⁴ Furthermore, Marmorstein argued that אֲדַכְרֵתָּא must be a reference to God because it is found in rabbinic literature as a divine designation.⁵⁵ Other scholars have proposed that the “mention” refers to a foreign king. This is based on m. Yad. 4:8, the dating formula of Simon in 1 Macc 13:41, and the coins of John Hyrcanus.⁵⁶

⁵² b. Roš Haš. 18b. Text and translation are from https://www.sefaria.org/Rosh_Hashanah.18b. The same principle is found in t. Shab 13:4, where rabbis discourage the publication of blessings containing the divine name or citations of Torah, because if they were discarded the name would be disgraced. “On this basis, they have stated that those who write blessings are as if they burn the Torah.” Furthermore, other sources point to the Greek demand for Jews to reject the God of Israel: “The Jews were ordered by the Greeks to write on the horn of the ox, ‘We have no share in the God of Israel,’” (Mekhilta 71b; Gen. Rab. 11, 4).

⁵³ See Samuel Cohon, “The Name of God,” 588.

⁵⁴ Notably, the rabbinic sources themselves do not speak with one voice regarding the third of Tishrei. After the above sources, b. Roš Haš. 19a complicates the picture by stating: “Derive (the prohibition against fasting on the third of Tishrei from the fact that) it is the day that Gedaliah, son of Ahikam, was killed.” The *Scholion* and the *Bavli* might have been taken at face value, that אֲדַכְרֵתָּא is a reference to the Tetragrammaton, but the Gemara shows that the “mention” may be completely unrelated to the use and non-use of the divine name.

⁵⁵ Marmorstein, *Old Rabbinic Doctrine*, 35. Although this evidence is much later and its relevance for Second Temple practice was disputed by Lichtenstein.

⁵⁶ See Zeitlin and Lichtenstein who cite m. Yad. 4:8. Solomon Zeitlin, *Megillat Taanit* (Philadelphia, 1922), 97. Others propose that the “mention” refers to a foreign king based reading between the lines of 1 Macc 13:41, “In the one hundred seventieth year [142 BCE] the yoke of the Gentiles was removed from Israel, and the people began to write in their documents and contracts, ‘In the first year of Simon the great high priest and commander and leader of the Jews.’” The removal of a king's name from documents is not explicitly mentioned, but the emphasis of the phrase “In the first year of Simon...” presupposes that the name of a Greek king was used before Simon. Otherwise there is no reason to mention the formula. The coins of John Hyrcanus also do not mention God,

In short, Marmorstein simply linked the sources together in a superficial sequence of events, despite their qualitative differences, such that the cessation of the name (Simon the Just, Esther, and the Septuagint) is followed by its reemergence (Yoma, Tamid, Berakot) and then eventual disuse (MegTaan). But Marmorstein provides no discussion of why these sources should be arranged according to this chronology.

To this sequence of events, Marmorstein added two more developments prior to the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE. The first pertains to the different practices between the Temple and the synagogues. Marmorstein considered the synagogues to follow the custom of the provinces, according to m. Tamid 7:2 (= m. Sotah 7:6) using a כִּינוּי (“substitute”), while in the Temple the name was pronounced as it was written.⁵⁷ Secondly, Marmorstein believed that by the first century BCE the Tetragrammaton was “muffled” in the Temple. He adduces the evidence of y. Yoma 3:7 (40d–41a) and b. Qidd. 71a for the concealment of the Tetragrammaton, which was literally “swallowed” during “the sweet melody (שהבליע שם) (בנעימת)” of the liturgy.⁵⁸ The reason given for this practice is the increase of הפריצים (“the unruly men”),⁵⁹ who apparently misused the name. As an addendum to the so-called הבלעה custom, he

but generally follow the text of 1 Macc. Fitzmyer and Harrington, appear to have also considered a foreign king to be in view; they translate, “On the third in Tishri the mention (of a foreign ruler?) was removed from the (public) documents.” See Joseph A. Fitzmyer and Daniel J. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts (Second Century B.C.—Second Century A.D.)* (2nd repr.; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1994), 186–187. Despite the secondary discussion on MegTaan, even if the “mention” refers to God, it is not clear that the Tetragrammaton itself was in view. The sources associated with MegTaan mention “Heaven” or “Most High.” This observation is central for Daniel Schwartz’s interpretation of the “mention.” He suggests that the use of “God Most High” in the documents evoked the context of Gen 14:18–24 involving Melchizedek, who is both priest and king, which offered an important precedent for the Hasmonean innovation to subsume the roles of priest and king under Simon in 142 BCE. See Schwartz, *Perushim*, 445; Vered Noam, *MegTaan*, 236.

⁵⁷ Marmorstein, *Old Rabbinic Doctrine*, 25. He gives this idea very little treatment, and conveys his view in the form of a question: “If [the pronunciation] was not permitted in the divine service in the synagogues, where substitutes were used, how can we assume that the use of the Tetragrammaton was unscrupulously permitted in ordinary greetings?”

⁵⁸ See also Qohelet Rabba 3.11.3; R. Tarphon is an eyewitness to this tradition.

⁵⁹ The *Yerushalmi* and *Bavli* both contain this tradition, but have redacted it to reflect different interests—the concealing of the divine name in Palestine out of respect for the deity, purportedly during late Second Temple

aligns the tradition of m. Sukkah 4:5 where the people circle the altar and quote Ps 118:25 saying **אני והוא** rather than **יהוה אנו**.⁶⁰ He concluded that the “custom of **הבלעת השם** was the usual one in the last decades of the Temple.”⁶¹ In the end, Marmorstein strings the evidence together in the following synthesis:

(1) After the death of Simon the use of the Name was discontinued; (2) in the time of the early Hasidim the old custom was re-established in the Temple and extended to ordinary greetings in order to counteract Hellenistic influences; (3) with the establishment of the synagogues a line was drawn between the service in the Temple and outside; and (4) the greetings and the pronunciation in the Temple by the Name were done **בהבלעה**, and not distinctly.

In Marmorstein’s reconstruction, the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton is the result of different customs and goals of various groups of the Second Temple period, the same approach of Geiger, but significantly more fleshed out. Only rarely, however, does Marmorstein offer reasons for why the sources should be viewed as a sequence of linear developments; his reconstruction is largely based on an assumed chronology of the evidence. Nevertheless, despite the shortcomings of Marmorstein’s study, he did not consider the history of the divine name to align with a linear development, from use to non-use.

times, versus the concealing of the name in light of Babylonian magical practices. They agree nonetheless on the major points: **הפריצים** (“unruly men”) used the name improperly or inappropriately, and the priestly response by concealing it (**מבלעים**). For a discussion of the respective emphasis of the Talmuds, see Hans-Jürgen Becker, “The Magic of the Name and Palestinian Rabbinic Literature,” in *The Talmud Yerushalmi in Greco-Roman Culture III* (ed. Peter Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 403–407.

⁶⁰ The people circle the altar and recite Ps 118:25, but R. Judah b. Ilai states that they do not say the precise wording **אני והוא והושיעה נא** **אני והוא והושיעה נא**, but rather **אנו יהוה והושיעה נא** **אנו יהוה והושיעה נא**. The subtle difference between **אנו יהוה** and **אני והוא** is understood as a type of muffling. Joseph Baumgarten also suggested that the curious phrase from 4QD^a (4Q266) **אנו הו** has an analogous function to **אני והו** in m. Sukkah 4:5. See Baumgarten, “**אנו הו הכול**—**אנו הו הכול**, A Reply to Kister,” *JQR* 84 (1994): 485–87; *ibid*, “A New Qumran Substitute for the Divine Name and Mishna Sukkah 4.5,” *JQR* 83 (1992): 1–5; Menahem Kister, “On A New Fragment of the Damascus Covenant,” *JQR* 84 (1993/1994): 249–251.

⁶¹ Marmorstein, *Old Rabbinic Doctrine*, 31.

1.5.3 Saul Lieberman (1951)

Saul Lieberman was one of the first scholars to compare the newly discovered evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls with rabbinic literature.⁶² He found further support for Geiger’s view that the Pharisees were less concerned with stringent rules for using the Tetragrammaton in the first century BCE/CE as compared to “fringe” groups such as the Sadducees and Qumranites.⁶³ He discusses, for example, the blessing formulae found in t. Berakot 7:20, noting how the sages considered some blessings to be דרך אחרת or “heterodoxy,”

He who begins [a blessing]...with *Aleph Lamed* and concludes it with *Aleph Lamed* is [following] a heterodoxy.

The *Aleph Lamed* is a reference to אלהים. It means that anyone who uses אלהים in a blessing (or אל as supposed by Lieberman), instead of אדני, is following a heterodoxy.⁶⁴ The greater stringency here is evident in that one is “avoiding the pronunciation of even the substitute for the Tetragrammaton.”⁶⁵ Lieberman connects this passage to the strikingly similar text in *Damascus Document* 15.1–4, which prohibits using the divine name in oaths,

יש[בע וגם באלף ולמד וגם באלף ודלת כי אם שבועת הבנים
באלות הברית] [] ואת תורת משה אל יזכור כי בה כל פרוש השם.
] [] ואם ישבע ועבר וחלל את השם] [] ואם באלות הברית ישב[ע לפני
השפטים] [] אם עבר אשם הוא והתודה והשיב ולא ישא חטאה

[A man must not sw]ear either by *Aleph* and *Lamedh* or by *Aleph* and *Daleth*, but rather by the oath of those who enter [2] into the covenant vows. He must not make mention of

⁶² Saul Lieberman, “Light on the Cave Scrolls from Rabbinic Sources,” in *Texts and Studies* (repr. 1951; New York: Ktav, 1974), 190–99. Other important studies include Jonathan Siegel, “The employment of Palaeo-Hebrew characters for the divine names at Qumran in the light of Tannaitic Sources,” *HUCA* 42 (1971): 159–172; *ibid.*, “The Alexandrians in Jerusalem and their Torah Scroll with Gold Tetragrammata,” *IEQ* 22 (1972): 39–43. In these articles, Siegel provides evidence of the belief that once written down the Tetragrammaton could not be erased, and that paleo-Hebrew was one way to ensure this non-erasure. See also, Dennis Green, “Divine Titles,” 497–511.

⁶³ Lieberman, “Light,” 190–99.

⁶⁴ Lieberman considered *aleph-lamed* to refer to El, but left the question open. See Lieberman, “Light,” 396.

⁶⁵ Lieberman, “Light,” 191.

the Law of Moses, because the Name of God is written out fully in it, [3] and if he swears by it, and then commits a sin, he will have defiled the Name. But if he has sw[orn] by the covenant vows in front of [4] the judges, if he has violated them, he is guilty; he should then confess his sin and make restitution and then he will not bear the burden of sin...⁶⁶

The idea is simple. Instead of swearing by the divine name, one is required to swear by the covenant curses. This removes God from the equation and thus the chance of profaning the divine name if the vow was broken.⁶⁷ It may be assumed that *aleph-lamed* refers to אלהים, and not לא, on the analogy of citing the first two letters of *Adonai*. The similarity between these texts was an indication for Lieberman that the Tosefta tradition was aimed at the Jewish sectarians, and thus different practices could be traced to halakhic disputes among various groups.

Lieberman points to another dispute involving the Tetragrammaton—ritual bathing—as described in t. Yad. 2:20:

The *Morning Bathers* said: We charge against you, O Pharisees, that you mention the Name without previous ritual immersion [for this purpose]. Said the Pharisees: We charge against you, O *Morning Bathers*, that you mention the Name when your body holds ritual uncleanness [i.e., semen].⁶⁸

The *bathers*, identified as the Sadducees, believed that the Tetragrammaton should be spoken only in a state of ritual purity, but the Pharisees argued that a person could be impure at any moment, for example, from internal bodily fluids. For the *bathers*, a greater concern for ritual purity requires greater restrictions on the use of the sacred name. Lieberman thus provided important confirmation for the idea that Pharisees were less stringent, and that a major reason for divine name avoidance was the strong emphasis on stringent purity halakha. This continues to be the most widely used explanation for divine name avoidance in the late Second Temple period.

⁶⁶ Translation from Wise, Abegg, Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005).

⁶⁷ See Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 136.

⁶⁸ *Tosefta Rishonim* IV, 160 (Lieberman).

1.5.4 Ephraim Urbach (1979)

Urbach agreed with several points made by Geiger, Marmorstein, and Lieberman, but he also drew more attention to the literary and historical contexts of the rabbinic evidence.⁶⁹ For example, he carefully balanced the contradictions in the Mishnaic sources with the statements found in the Tosefta and Talmud(s) to conclude that the death of Simon the Just may have been significant for the cessation of the Tetragrammaton, but “...we must not regard this tradition as fundamental and infer from it, in contradiction of all other source, that a law was promulgated forbidding the use of the Name in the priestly benediction in the Temple.”⁷⁰ In another way, Urbach scales back Marmorstein’s largely hypothetical assertion that m. Ber. 9:5 was a reaction to the Hellenized priestly agenda of prohibiting the Tetragrammaton, and instead simply interprets m. Ber. 9:5 in light of its immediate literary context. The Sadducees are advancing the doctrine that there is no afterlife, and this teaching is encroaching on the blessings in the Temple. M. Ber. 9:5 states,

At the close of every benediction in the Temple they used to say, ‘From everlasting’ (מן העולם) [literally, “from the world”]; but after the heretics had taught corruptly and said that there is but one world, they [sages] ordained (היתקינו) that one should say ‘from everlasting to everlasting’ (מן העולם ועד העולם) [literally, ‘from world to world’]. And they ordained (התקינו) that a man should greet his fellow with [the use of] the Name [of God]; for it is written, “And behold Boaz came from Bethlehem and said unto the reapers, ‘The Lord be with you.’ And they answered, ‘The Lord bless thee.’ ...

Urbach notes that the sages expanded the benediction in the Temple to include the world to come because the “heretics” taught that there is only one world. But evidently the reason for the second ruling, about greeting “with the Name,” has been omitted. Urbach infers from the context

⁶⁹ Urbach, *Sages*, 124–34.

⁷⁰ Urbach, *Sages*, 128. Importantly, the reference to the cessation of the divine name in t. Sotah 13.8 is not an isolated statement, but mentioned in the context of the cessation of several other miracles that themselves are symbolic of the cessation of greatness from Israel.

that the reason must also have been in response to Sadducean doctrine.⁷¹ He suggests that the second ruling, then, is concerned, not necessarily with the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton *per se*, but some contested point of Sadducean teaching. The reference to Boaz and the reapers provides the clue, which Urbach considers to be an affirmation of “Divine Providence.” The Sadducees, therefore, must have been advocating an uninvolved, disinterested God. In Urbach’s words, “[t]he reform, which renews an ancient benedictory formula of the Bible—‘The Lord be with you,’ ‘The Lord bless thee’—was intended to instill the belief in Divine Providence, and is not at all concerned with the pronunciation of the Name.”⁷²

Regarding the custom of הבלעת השם, Urbach does not dismiss Marmorstein’s view that the divine name was in some way muffled in priestly liturgy by the mid-first century CE. But rather than focus on the obscure nature of the implementation of this practice, Urbach discusses the reasons behind it. He writes,

If the exact date when caution began to be exercised in respect to the pronunciation of the Name in the Temple and it commenced to be muffled is unknown to us, the reason at least for the change is stated: ‘when unruly men increased,’ and these unruly men are none other than people who used the Name irresponsibly; compare the expression “be profuse in vows or levity’ (m. Demai 2:3).⁷³

The important connection is made by Urbach between the unruly men and the irresponsible use of the divine name. Urbach makes another important connection in his discussion of m. Sanh.

⁷¹ The literary structure of the text seems to support this view; for example, the verb התקינו (“they ordained...”) is repeated for both rulings.

⁷² Urbach, *Sages*, 129. Urbach, however, may go too far in suggesting that this passage has nothing to do with the pronunciation of the divine name. One should also factor into an interpretation the proof texts, following the reference to Boaz and the reapers (Ruth 2:4), intended to support greeting “with the Name.” Judg 6:12, Prov 23:22, and Ps 119:126 give a series of reasons why the divine name should be used. In particular, Prov 23:22 (“and do not despise your mother when she is old”) seems completely unrelated to the Tetragrammaton. But here, a broader analogy is at play, probably as Herbert Danby suggested long ago that a time honored tradition should not “lightly be set aside.” See Danby, *The Mishnah: Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and Brief Explanatory Notes* (3rd edition; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers 2015), 10 n. 11. The proof text only makes sense if pertaining to the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton in greetings *because* this custom has antiquity on its side. This appears to have nothing to do with “Divine Providence,” thus posing a challenge to Urbach’s view.

⁷³ Urbach, *Sages*, 129.

10:1. Most scholars before Urbach quoted Abba Saul's famous dictum, that he who pronounces the name has no share in the world to come, in isolation from its context. But the reason for his dictum is actually connected to R. Akiva's preceding statement:

And these are the ones who have no portion in the world to come: (1) He who says, the resurrection of the dead is a teaching which does not derive from the Torah, (2) and the Torah does not come from Heaven; and (3) an Epicurean. R. Aqiba says, 'Also: He who reads in heretical books, 'and he who whispers over a wound and says, I will put none of the diseases upon you which I have put on the Egyptians, for I am the LORD who heals you (Exod 15:26).' Abba Saul says, 'Also: he who pronounces (ההגה) the Name according to its letters (השם באותותיו).'

According to Urbach the pronunciation of the name should not be abstracted from the idea of whispering the words of Exod 15:26 over a wound, the latter reducing the invocation of the divine name to a talisman, which amounts to an irresponsible and improper use for the rabbis. Thus the pronunciation of the name according to its letters is connected to its improper use in charms.⁷⁴

In summary, Urbach discusses many of the same sources as Geiger, Marmorstein, and Lieberman, but he shows that the significance of these passages is found, not so much in the reliability of their historical information, but in the picture they give for the different reasons for divine name avoidance among various groups in the late Second Temple period. The avoidance of the Tetragrammaton for the sages is derived from a posture of respect. This reason differs from the concern of those practicing strict purity halakha who aimed to safeguard the holiness of divine name. The concern of the sages, instead, was to safeguard the honor and character of the deity. Thus Urbach firmly established the second major reason often given for divine name

⁷⁴ Many scholars have pointed to the misuse of the name in magic as an example leading to its official cessation. Parke-Taylor, for example writes, "Undoubtedly, one of the factors operative in forbidding the use of the divine name was the avoidance of magical practices." Parke-Taylor, יהוה *Yahweh: The Divine Name in the Bible* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1975), 87.

avoidance among modern scholars. According to those who followed less stringent halakha the impetus for avoidance was primarily out respect for the deity. The misuse in magic, oaths, blasphemy, or curses, are all variations on the same theme—impiety.

1.5.5 Hartmut Stegemann (1978)

Hartmut Stegemann compared the divine name practices at Qumran with other groups of diaspora Judaism, broadly construed.⁷⁵ Regarding Simon the Just, for example, Stegemann thought that while it was possible that the pronunciation of the divine name was Simon's privilege, this cannot somehow be projected onto the use of the divine name in diaspora.⁷⁶ Stegemann questioned the extent to which rabbinic customs would have been recognized in synagogue worship, beyond the influence of the Temple, or in private readings of scripture, where the context was much less holy. For Marmorstein, m. Tamid 7:2 clearly pointed to diverging practices between the Temple and synagogue, but Stegemann considered the issue to be less certain. Nevertheless, Stegemann believed that the divine name was widely replaced. This could be explained better in terms of social and geographic factors, rather than halakhic disputes. Stegemann examined the use of *κύριος*, *θεός*, אל, אדני, אלהים, עליון, and אל עליון, and showed how these titles began to replace the Tetragrammaton in relatively distinct settings of Babylon, Palestine, and Greek-speaking diaspora.

The divine name was first avoided in Babylonian Judaism, which reflects the “Kraft und Heiligkeit, also ein Sanktum” of the Tetragrammaton.⁷⁷ אלהים became the technical replacement

⁷⁵ Stegemann, “Gottesbezeichnungen,” 195–217.

⁷⁶ Stegemann, “Gottesbezeichnungen,” 199: “Meiner Einschätzung nach spricht nichts dagegen, diese Nachricht als historisch zutreffend zu werten. . . . Dort könnten gleichzeitig ganz andere Bräuche bestanden haben. . . . Dieser feste Punkt gilt freilich zunächst nur für Palästina und nur für den Segen der Priester im Tempel.”

⁷⁷ Stegemann, “Gottesbezeichnungen,” 216: “Denn wahrscheinlich ist die Vermeidung der Aussprache des Gottesnamens, zunächst im babylonischen, dann auch im palästinischen und schließlich im gesamten griechischsprachigen Judentum, weniger aus Scheu vor den Fremden geschehen, also ein, ‘Arkanum’ gewesen,

of the Tetragrammaton in scripture reading in Mesopotamia, perhaps beginning as early as the sixth century BCE, and certainly by the fourth century BCE. This proposal is based largely on the dating of the so-called Priestly Source and the special role of אלהים in Ezekiel. For Stegemann, the use of אלהים as a replacement in Hebrew influenced the common use of אלהא in Jewish Aramaic.⁷⁸ In contrast, the term אל would not have been used in Babylonian Judaism, “Denn diese bezeichnung ist allzu nahe verwandt mit dem akkadischen ilu(m),” assuming that the Babylonian Jews would be careful not to associate the God of Israel too closely with the Babylonian pantheon.⁷⁹

Stegemann also proposed that in diaspora communal readings of scripture there must have been some who did not know Hebrew. In these situations, the Tetragrammaton would have been rendered in the regional language (“Landessprache”), which is the historical root of the divine name’s rendering in the Septuagint and Targumim.⁸⁰ The practices of the Greek-speaking diaspora exerted considerable influences on the customs of Palestine in the second century BCE.⁸¹ He summarizes this position accordingly:

Im griechisch-sprachigen Judentum schließlich las man (ab I. Hälfte des 2.Jh.v.Chr.) bei der Schriftlesung im hebräischen Text אדוני, im Targum – faktisch also bei Verlesung der Septuaginta – Formen von (ὁ) κύριος, denen im Text der griechischen Bibelhandschriften selbst hebräische Tetragramme (teils althebräisch, teils in Qaudratschrift) zugrundelagen.⁸²

sondern – als genuin innerjüdische Entwicklung – Verzicht auf die Aussprache dieses Namens wegen seiner besonderen Kraft und Heiligkeit, also ein ‘Sanktum’.”

⁷⁸ Stegemann, “Gottesbezeichnungen,” 209: “Wenn man diesen ins Aramäische übertrug, sprach man wahrscheinlich an diesen Stellen אלהא.”

⁷⁹ Ibid., 209.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 198.

⁸¹ In this regard, Stegemann’s position is similar to Baudissin’s proposal that κύριος was read for the Tetragrammaton in Egypt, which then influenced the use of אדני in scripture readings of Palestine; see Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte* (3 vols; Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1929), 2:1–17.

⁸² Stegemann, “Gottesbezeichnungen,” 198.

Even though the Hebrew Tetragrammaton occurred in Greek biblical manuscripts, it was still pronounced, according to Stegemann, as *κύριος*.⁸³

Stegemann then brought this larger context to bear on the evidence for Palestine, as reflected by the Qumran literature. He claimed that *אל* in scripture reading functioned as the “technische Ersetzung” for the Tetragrammaton. The designation *אדני*, on the other hand, reflects use in blessings and praise, but is not a technical replacement in Qumran texts or in biblical citations.⁸⁴ As far as Stegemann knew at the time, *אדני* never occurred as a replacement in biblical citations.⁸⁵ He summarized,

Im palästinischen Judentum hingegen, dokumentiert durch die Qumrantexte, – die zwar einer Sondergruppe entstammen, die aber hinsichtlich der Gottesnamenwiedergabe wahrscheinlich repräsentativ sind für das damalige lokale Judentum, – las man (etwa vom 2.Jh.v.Chr. an) anstelle der Tetragramme *אל*, im Targum entsprechend *אלהא*.

According to Stegemann, the Qumran texts came from a special group but are probably representative of local customs.⁸⁶ Overall, Stegemann demonstrates the importance of looking beyond the local practices of Palestine in order to understand the larger network of divine titles and epithets, and especially their role in the replacement of the Tetragrammaton. Stegemann traced this activity through various geographic settings and historically contiguous periods to argue that the use of *אל* at Qumran was indebted to the spoken use of *אלהא* in Aramaic, which in turn reflected the customs of the post-exilic Babylonian-Jewish use of *אלהים* in scripture reading. While there has been little debate over the details of Stegemann’s discussion, some scholars have

⁸³ This view goes back at least to Origen (mid-third century CE); see Chapter 4.

⁸⁴ Stegemann, “Gottesbezeichnungen,” 202.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 203. The current evidence, however, shows *אדני* as a substitute for *יהוה* in biblical citations in 5 documents (11x total). See Appendix 6.1.3.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 196.

come to exactly the opposite conclusions about certain aspects of his broader outline, most importantly, the direction of influence between κύριος and אֲדֹנָי.

1.5.6 Patrick Skehan (1980)

Patrick Skehan pulled together various threads of evidence for divine name practices in Ben Sira, Qumran manuscripts, and the LXX.⁸⁷ His relatively short and accessible essay became quickly influential for its clear articulation of a linear development in divine name practices. It has been cited in almost every study on the topic since its publication, and recently it was affirmed as a “masterful article.”⁸⁸ Skehan gives much coherence to the scattered material, which was greatly appreciated at the time.

Skehan begins by highlighting the evidence of the Masada copy of Ben Sira, dated paleographically to 100–50 BCE, which shows frequent use of אֱלֹהִים, אֵל, and אֲדֹנָי, but not יהוה or אֱלֹהִים. Comparing this evidence with the literary depiction of Simon the Just, as found in Sirach 50:20 (whom Skehan takes to be Simon II, ca. 200 BCE), Skehan demarcates the second century BCE as one of major transition. He writes:

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.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Patrick Skehan, “The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll, and in the Septuagint,” *BIOSCS* 13 (1980): 14–44. Mattathias Delcor offered a similar study in the 1950s, “Des diverses manières,” 145–173, though less material was available to him at the time.

⁸⁸ Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 154.

⁸⁹ Skehan agrees with F. O’ Fearghail, “Sir 50:5-21: Yom Kippur or the Daily Whole Offering?” *Bib* 59 (1978): 301–316, that a better parallel for Sir 50 are the events of the daily morning sacrifice, rather than the annual blessing on the Day of Atonement. This would mean that in the Temple, the Tetragrammaton would have been pronounced every day, not once a year.

This special privilege of Simon leads Skehan to suppose that “[h]esitancy to write the name Yhwh, or even Elohim, would seem to account for the use of אֲדֹנָי 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.”⁹⁰ Whereas past scholarship held that κύριος influenced the use of אֲדֹנָי, Skehan argued that κύριος is the later development, a Greek rendering of the spoken אֲדֹנָי.

Skehan discusses the mistakes and corrections related to יהוה and אֲדֹנָי in 1QIsa^a that provide further evidence for the spoken substitution of the Tetragrammaton with אֲדֹנָי around 125 BCE. According to Skehan, two scribes produced this scroll, one dictated the contents of the *Vorlage* while the other scribe copied. When the dictating scribe encountered the Tetragrammaton, he pronounced אֲדֹנָי. The copying scribe usually wrote the Tetragrammaton, but in other places erroneously assumed אֲדֹנָי was the correct designation. This means that in copying biblical manuscripts the pronunciation of the divine name was avoided. Skehan also discussed many other replacements of the Tetragrammaton with divine titles and epithets at Qumran, most notably the use of אֱל in sectarian manuscripts and the Tetrapuncta. The latter is found to replace the Tetragrammaton in a cluster of manuscripts that generally date between 125–50 BCE. For Skehan, this evidence marks a decisive shift away from the use of the Tetragrammaton beginning in the second century BCE.

Skehan then turned to divine name practices in the “Septuagint” manuscripts, where he identifies a linear development of four stages for rendering the divine name. He suggests that the phonetic transliteration of the divine name, *ιωω*, found in the Cave 4 Greek scroll

⁹⁰ Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 20.

4QpapLXXLev^b (4Q120), was the original practice. At some point, scribes switched to writing the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew in the square-Aramaic script (e.g., P. Fouad 266b), and third, the use of the paleo-Hebrew script for the Tetragrammaton (e.g., 8HevXIIgr). Lastly, the divine name was rendered with the title *κύριος* in Christian copies of the Septuagint, replacing the earlier *אֱלֹהִים/יהוה*. Skehan discusses these developments in a chronological sequence because the paleographic date of each manuscript generally arranges them in this order, but he does not explain why these practices evolved in this sequence.⁹¹

The overarching model of linear development, as Skehan discerns from the evidence of Ben Sira, Qumran, and the LXX, provided scholars with a helpful starting point for exploring the larger milieu of divine name practices in early Judaism. But a comprehensive survey of the evidence suggests that, while Skehan’s notion of linear development is evident in some cases, there are many exceptions that complicate this paradigm.⁹²

1.5.7 Sean McDonough (1999)

In *YHWH at Patmos*, Sean McDonough examines the Hellenistic formula in Rev 1:4, *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος* (“the one who is and who was and who is to come”).⁹³ This passage has in its background the Greek translation of Exod 3:14, which in turn involves the use and meaning of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton. To elucidate the significance of the Tetragrammaton

⁹¹ I address the Greek biblical texts fully in Chapter 4.

⁹² In addition to the Tetragrammaton itself, another focus of Skehan’s essay is the development from the square-script to the “spread” of paleo-Hebrew. This notion also needs revision. While many documents use the paleo-Hebrew script in the first century BCE/CE, they also contain the square script during this same period. We do not see development because these practices exist side by side. In fact, according to paleographic date, the highest concentration of the use of square script for the Tetragrammaton is in the early to mid-Herodian period (30 BCE–30 CE). As shown in Chapter 3, this is the same time that paleo-Hebrew is used most frequently. The use of the square script and paleo-Hebrew script reflect contemporaneous streams of tradition. Furthermore, Stegemann discussed the paleo-Hebrew and square-Aramaic script for the Tetragrammaton and noted their overlap; see Stegemann, “Gottesbezeichnung,” 206.

⁹³ Sean McDonough, *YHWH at Patmos. Rev. 1:4 in its Hellenistic and Early Jewish Setting* (WUNT 2.107; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999).

during the Second Temple period, McDonough provides a broad survey of the evidence for the use and non-use of the divine name. He systematically distinguishes between evidence for writing and saying the divine name during the Second Temple period. Before his monograph, spoken and written aspects of the Tetragrammaton were largely discussed in tandem.⁹⁴ While McDonough does not offer new observations on the extant evidence, his categorization allows for further insight into the historical setting of divine name practices. He shows that many sources clearly demonstrate restrictions on the divine name, but when considering written and spoken elements together, it is apparent that the divine name does not completely disappear. He suggests that

[t]here were two streams of tradition with regards to the pronunciation of the divine name in Judaism. The “official version,” presumably passed along by the temple hierarchy and the rabbis, may well have been “Yahweh”... At the same time, a more popular version of the name, Iao, flourished among some Jews, perhaps especially in the diaspora.⁹⁵

The overall picture, according to McDonough, is one of reluctance to use the divine name, but nevertheless “[t]he tetragrammaton continued to have a rich underground life even after its public profile lessened.”⁹⁶ McDonough’s monograph is detailed and well-researched, but his goal of interpreting Rev 1:4 has necessarily required him to omit some evidence in his survey. For example, he prefaces his study by saying that we have no direct evidence for when and why the avoidance of the name YHWH was introduced, and then supposes that the earliest evidence

⁹⁴ Hints towards the need to treat issues of pronunciation and writing separately are found earlier in Fitzmyer, “The Semitic Background of the New Testament Kyrios Title,” 122–23; and Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 14. See more recently, Nathanael Andrade, “The Jewish Tetragrammaton,” 205: “The manner in which Hellenistic and Roman imperial Jews of the period wrote or transcribed the Tetragrammaton is connected to the issues of its pronunciation, but one also has to distinguish between the two.”

⁹⁵ McDonough, *YHWH at Patmos*, 122. McDonough sees in m. Tamid 7:2 an allusion to the consolidation of power by the Jerusalem authorities in effort to preserve “national identity in a new cultural and political environment,” of the late Second Temple period. He draws an analogy to the cult centralization of the deuteronomistic writers, namely the “house for the name of YHWH” tradition (cf. Deut 12:5, 11; 1 Kgs 8:16–19; 9:3); McDonough, *YHWH at Patmos*, 115–116.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 111.

for the substitution of Tetragrammaton might be the use of *κύριος* in the “original” LXX, sometime in the mid-third century BCE, a line of reasoning similar to that put forward by Marmorstein. According to McDonough, before the Greek translation “the evidence for early second temple Judaism dries up.”⁹⁷ The current study broadens the scope of evidence to include the Aramaic material of the Persian and Hellenistic periods, some of which was not available to McDonough in 1999.⁹⁸ This material allows us to appreciate the complexity of divine name avoidance more fully than if our starting point began in the third century BCE.

1.5.8 Jonathan Ben-Dov (2008, 2016)

In two recent essays, Jonathan Ben-Dov has offered several insights into the history of the Tetragrammaton and its relationship to *אלהים* and *אל*.⁹⁹ In 2008, he furthered the views of Geiger and Lieberman that some authors avoided the Tetragrammaton as a result of stringent purity halakha, historically a Sadducean position. He begins his study by analyzing the mechanisms for divine name avoidance in the Elohist Psalter (EP) and proposes that even though the EP “preceded the Second Temple Sadducean practice by several centuries,” it shows concern for ritual purity through the avoidance of the divine name in priestly Levitical-type literature, such as the psalms of Asaph and Korah. This offers strong indication that the avoidance is related to priestly circles.¹⁰⁰ For Ben-Dov, this means that avoidance practices are found “not only in the Hasmonean era, as is commonly thought, but in a significantly earlier time during the Persian period.”¹⁰¹ His view on the substitution practices of the EP is consistent with

⁹⁷ Ibid., 112.

⁹⁸ McDonough discusses the Elephantine papyri, but these are not included in a broader synthesis.

⁹⁹ Ben-Dov, “The Elohist Psalter,” 79–104; *ibid.*, “The Resurrection of the Divine Assembly and the Divine Title El in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Submerged Literature in Ancient Greek Culture. Beyond Greece: Volume 3 The Comparative Perspective* (ed. A. Ercolani and M. Giordano; de Gruyter, 2016), 9–31.

¹⁰⁰ Ben-Dov, “The Elohist Psalter,” 103.

¹⁰¹ Ben-Dov, “The Elohist Psalter,” 82, 88.

Stegemann's position on the use אלהים in the Priestly Source and Ezekiel resulting from the "Kraft und Heiligkeit, also ein 'Sanktum'" of the Tetragrammaton, although Ben-Dov does not discuss Stegemann on this point.

The evidence for avoiding the divine name in Qumran literature specifically tied to concerns for ritual purity is even more explicit than in the EP, but important for Ben-Dov is the theoretical connection between the EP and tendencies at Qumran. He explains both phenomena through the theory advanced by Eyal Regev—that the ideology underlying priestly halakha forbidding the Tetragrammaton at Qumran relates to the notion of the "special vulnerability of the Holy."¹⁰² Accordingly the "evil forces of impurity" contaminate "the Holy"; thus, using Tetragrammaton also endangers it, bringing it—and by extension the holy deity—close to defilement. The logical outcome would be the careful regulation of divine name.¹⁰³ Ben-Dov concludes that,

A priestly ideal of protecting the Name found a limited expression during the Persian period in the redaction of EP. This ideology was continued—or possibly revived—in the late Hellenistic period by the *yahad* scribes.¹⁰⁴

Ben-Dov follows the essential position of Geiger and Lieberman, but adds the theoretical backing from Regev, thus offering a more complete description of this phenomenon. For Ben-Dov avoidance practices stretch from the Persian period up through the evidence of the Qumran

¹⁰² See Eyal Regev, "Reconstructing Rabbinic and Qumranic Worldviews: Dynamic Holiness vs. Static Holiness," in *Rabbinic Perspectives: Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium of the Orion Center* (ed. Steven D. Fraade et al.; STDJ 62; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 112: "The Qumranic strictness in avoiding or eliminating pollution and desecration arises from a perception that holiness is dynamic..., that is, holiness is sensitive to desecration, vulnerable, and in some manner changeable. The Pharisees, and later rabbis... were less worried by the danger of defilement and desecration, and did not require such extensive efforts to protect the holy... holiness is not sensitive to human activity and thus 'desecration' does not really change it."

¹⁰³ This had clear implications for speech, but also writing: "The protection requires both a prohibition against improper pronunciation of the Name and a need to replace it with various substitutes when committed to writing." Ben-Dov, "Elohistic Psalter," 103.

¹⁰⁴ Ben-Dov, "Elohistic Psalter," 104.

literature. But even for Ben-Dov, the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton for reasons of ritual purity is one factor in the larger history of the Tetragrammaton. He observes that “[t]he scribes who practiced strict protection of the Tetragram—both the tradent of EP and the *yahad* scribes—were exceptional in their times, since, as we saw, only a small minority of the Qumran scrolls took the pains to avoid the Tetragram.” The “small minority” refers to the independent/originally composed sectarian compositions that primarily use יהו . Other sectarian compositions use the Tetragrammaton in biblical quotations, and of course the biblical scrolls that were copied by the Qumran scribes also use the Tetragrammaton. But importantly, Ben-Dov alludes to another understudied phenomenon at Qumran, namely the continued use of the Tetragrammaton in the collection of scrolls that are arguably non-biblical but also clearly non-sectarian. This includes some of the so-called rewritten scripture texts, but also many others, that are not easily categorized under current labels. In the context of his essay, Ben-Dov does not address the use of the Tetragrammaton in this group of the Hebrew scrolls, which apparently show no regard for stringent purity halakha in writing the Tetragrammaton.

In 2016, Ben-Dov examined the use of יהו at Qumran in light of the ancient Near Eastern mythological tradition of the “divine assembly” in which a chief deity is joined by other lesser deities or angels to deliberate over important matters. In this study, Ben-Dov reviews the evidence for the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton in sectarian literature, but in addition seeks to explain why יהו becomes the term of choice for *yahad* authors.¹⁰⁵ He suggests that the divine assembly tradition was “suppressed” in canonical Jewish literature, but revived among the Qumran *yahad* for the important conceptual and theological connections that the *yahad* wished

¹⁰⁵ In this way, Ben-Dov shows that focus solely on disuse or avoidance misses the larger implication of why scribes chose other titles and epithets to replace the Tetragrammaton.

to establish. After demonstrating how “...the scene of the divine assembly was active, sacred, revered in that community [i.e., *yahad*],”¹⁰⁶ Ben-Dov shows how the use of **אל**, the title of the chief deity of divine assembly, provides a desirable portrayal of the Jewish God at Qumran:

It may not be too far-fetched to claim that the mythical scene of the divine assembly, which was so powerful for the self-construction of the community, is what prompted the choice of **אל** as the main divine title within the *Yahad*... The title **אל** is most suitable to convey this particular sense [i.e., supreme God], because it had been used for at least a millennium throughout the Levant as an indication for the head of the divine assembly.¹⁰⁷

What does this have to do with the use and avoidance of the Tetragrammaton? In Qumran sectarian texts, there seem to be two principles working at the same time. The avoidance of the Tetragrammaton, mostly for reasons of ritual purity as argued by Geiger, Lieberman, and presently by Ben-Dov, and suggested by Stegemann, but also the purposeful use of other divine titles, most notably **אל** and its compounds. The latter offers its own conceptual and theological outlook. On the one hand, the divine name is avoided among priestly circles responsible for the EP and Qumran sectarian literature,¹⁰⁸ while on the other hand, the title **אל** functions as a conduit for providing a special depiction of the Jewish deity that was important for the *yahad* writers. Even though the divine assembly might not offer an explanation for all uses of **אל** at Qumran, it

¹⁰⁶ Ben-Dov, “Divine Assembly,” 19–20.

¹⁰⁷ With reference to **אל אלים** in 1QM18:6, he writes that “the phrase is meant to convey the greatness of the One, but this cannot be expressed without recourse to the way He stands out among the Many. The more common biblical name **אלוהים** does not lend itself to such a construct, since it is grammatically plural even in designating the one and only God. A scribal culture like that of the *Yahad* which wished to make constant references to various powers in heaven cannot use the standard Hebrew titles for God; the old West Semitic title **אל** would be a perfect choice for that purpose.” Ben-Dov, “Divine Assembly,” 24–25.

¹⁰⁸ Ben-Dov writes that “Since a great part of the EP constitutes what may be called Levitical literature—the psalms of Asaph and Korah—we may be justified to see in it a forerunner of the priestly tendency of the latter Second Temple period” (103). This view is based on the assumption that priestly literature in the Hebrew Bible reflected the concerns for ritual purity and safeguarding the name later also found among the Sadducees. In this regard, Ben-Dov also rightly notes: “Admittedly, the priestly literature—in the Pentateuch... does not explicitly promote an ideology of protecting the Divine name” (104 n. 73). Still, however, texts like Lev 24:14–16 have a distinctly ritual component in which the action of cursing the name contaminated all who heard, which needed to be transferred back to the source/blasphemer to be contained/stoned (“and let all who were within hearing lay their hands on his head”). The dynamics of purity/impurity are different in the Hebrew Bible, but the implications for the beliefs about the Tetragrammaton seem to be transferable to priestly groups of the Second Temple period.

shows us that some terms for God were intentionally chosen by the authors for what such terms depicted. In other words, Ben-Dov's study offers a more nuanced answer to the question: why not the Tetragrammaton? For the *yahad* there were at least two answers: it is holy, but also, it did not give the Qumran authors what they wanted. This question is relevant to keep in mind when assessing reasons for Tetragrammaton avoidance in other segments of Jewish literature where purity concerns seem to be lacking.

Ben-Dov's study makes significant contributions to our understanding of divine names and epithets in the Second Temple period and Qumran literature. At the same time, however, it also implies the traditional paradigm of linear development. Ben-Dov writes:

The biography of God in the Hebrew Bible unfolds as a story of gradual distancing... already in biblical times a tendency emerged—most notably in late biblical books—to avoid the Tetragram and replace it with epithets: אֱלֹהִים, אֵל, אֲדֹנָי, etc...the process of distancing oneself from the Godhead intensified in the post-biblical period, with the coining in rabbinic literature of such Divine epithets as המקום (the Place), השכינה (the Presence), הקדוש ברוך הוא (the Holy, Blessed be He), or of surnames used in apocalyptic literature like מרא עלמא (Master of the world).¹⁰⁹

On the grand scale, from the Iron Age to the tannaitic period, there is clearly a development from use to non-use. For the Second Temple period more specifically, however, a careful consideration of all available evidence will show that the model of linear development, advanced earlier by Skehan and others, can be refined.

1.5.9 Frank Shaw (2014)

Frank Shaw's recent monograph, *The Earliest Non-Mystical Jewish Use of Iαω*, is a comprehensive assessment of the early history of the Greek form of the divine name *ιαω*.¹¹⁰ This

¹⁰⁹ Ben-Dov, "Elohistic Psalter," 79–80.

¹¹⁰ See Frank Shaw, *The Earliest Non-Mystical Jewish Use of Iαω* (Leuven: Peeters, 2014). For my review, see http://www.jhsonline.org/reviews/reviews_new/review763.htm.

study is designed to correct nineteenth and twentieth scholarship that viewed the name $\iota\omega$ as either a post-Second Temple phenomenon, manifest exclusively in the realms of mysticism and magic, or a marginal practice, as some scholars have characterized its occurrence after the discovery of 4QpapLXXLev^b (4Q120) at Qumran.¹¹¹ Shaw demonstrates, however, that the name $\iota\omega$ had a vibrant non-mystical use in the second and first centuries BCE,¹¹² and knowledge of the name was more wide spread than traditionally thought, not only in Egypt but elsewhere in the Mediterranean world.¹¹³ After these important correctives, and with a comprehensive view of the evidence in mind, Shaw examines the long standing debate over the “original” rendering of the Tetragrammaton in the LXX. He argues that “[t]he matter of any (especially single) ‘original’ form of the divine name in the LXX is too complex, the evidence is too scattered and indefinite, and the various approaches offered for the issue are too simplistic...” to account for the scribal practices as they happened.¹¹⁴ Shaw makes a compelling case that an either/or framework for interpreting the earliest rendering(s) of the LXX is historically implausible. In summary, Shaw’s efforts were directed towards understanding the Greek form of the divine name. The current study is informed by Shaw’s approach to collect all relevant evidence, as it now pertains to the

¹¹¹ Martin Rösel, for example, refers to $\iota\omega$ as a “strange reading” in the Septuagint’s textual history. See Rösel, “The Reading and Translation of the Divine Name in the Masoretic Tradition and the Greek Pentateuch,” *JSOT* 31 (2007): 419.

¹¹² This includes the use of $\iota\omega$ in 4Q120, discussion in Jewish and ecclesiastical writers and Greco-Roman sources, as well as the use of $\iota\omega$ in the explanatory columns of LXX onomastica, such as P. Oxy. 2745, Pap. Heid. I.5, and Vat. Pius II Gr. 15. In these onomastica, the Greek transliterations of Hebrew names are listed in one column (e.g., $\text{I}\omega\nu\alpha\theta\alpha\nu$) and explicated in another (e.g., $\text{I}\omega\omega\delta\acute{\omicron}\mu\alpha$; or $\text{I}\omega\sigma\eta\phi$ rendered as $\text{I}\omega\omega\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\sigma\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha$). The basic fact that a scribe writes $\text{I}\omega\omega$ in the explanatory column suggests that “there must have been a somewhat substantial number of Jews employing, and copies of the LXX itself that contained, the divine name $\text{I}\omega\omega$.” See Shaw, *Earliest*, 33.

¹¹³ See Shaw’s discussion of the name $\text{I}\omega\omega$ among non-Jewish Greco-Roman authors of the first century BCE/CE, including Diodorus Siculus (*Biblioteca* 1.94.2), Varro, Philo of Byblus, Valerius Maximus, and Emperor Gaius.

¹¹⁴ Shaw, *Earliest*, 158.

Aramaic and Hebrew sources, in addition to the Greek, in order to arrive at a more sophisticated view of divine name practices.

1.5.10 Summary of Modern Scholarship

The use and non-use of the divine name in the late Second Temple period mirrored the divergent beliefs held by various groups. Geiger, Leiberman, and Ben-Dov (and Regev) have firmly established one major reason for divine name avoidance among the Zadokites/Sadducees, Samaritans, and Qumranites: the belief that the Tetragrammaton's holiness required its safeguarding from the contagion of impurity. This was a reason for its avoidance. This belief operated among priestly circles, and can be detected as early as the EP. It was expressed also in the avoidance of the divine name in both speech and writing in the Qumran *yahad* literature. Urbach, building on and modifying Marmorstein's work, made a compelling case that the sages, while advocating more lenient halakhic positions, came to adopt the avoidance of the divine name in order to safeguard the honor and reputation of the deity. They prohibited the use of the name for reasons of impiety. Such sentiments can be traced to Sir 23:9–10, Pss. Sol. 17:5, and Jub 23:21, and from there all the way back to Exod 20:7 (Deut 5:11). These two reasons for the avoidance of the divine name were in circulation, respectively, among the priests and pious.

Marmorstein was one of the first scholars to offer a larger synthesis for divine name practices in antiquity. Drawing on the contradictory evidence of rabbinic literature he argued that divine name practices could not be construed as a clear-cut transition from use to non-use. This observation was insightful in principle, but his historical perspective was superficial in that he simply arranged the sources as if one was the clear precursor or successor of the other.

Following the Qumran discoveries, Hartmut Stegemann and Patrick Skehan took major steps towards the formulation of more coherent explanations for the diverse manuscript evidence

from the Judean desert. Stegemann made important insights regarding the divine name in the context of diaspora, while Skehan put forward his influential notion of development. The different starting points of their studies led to different conclusions. Stegemann, for example, held that the use of *κύριος* in diaspora influenced the use of *יהוה* for the Tetragrammaton, while Skehan argued that *יהוה* influenced the later use of *κύριος*, especially in the LXX. For Skehan, various developments were evident in the Qumran material. The first concerned the Tetragrammaton itself. He found the second century BCE to mark a decisive transition away from the use of the Tetragrammaton. On the early end, this was demarcated by the account of Simon the Just, and on the later end, by the Masada copy of Ben Sira and 1QIsa^a. Skehan also depicted development in the use of the paleo-Hebrew script for writing divine names, first for the Tetragrammaton around 50 BCE, then spreading to other divine names by the mid-first century CE, for example, as in 4QIsa^c. Lastly, he depicted a four stage development of divine name practices in Greek biblical texts: scribes first rendered the divine name as *ιαω*, then the Tetragrammaton, first in the square script, then in the paleo-Hebrew script, and finally, in Christian copies of the LXX, the earlier forms were replaced with *κύριος*.

Skehan saw linear development in all major aspects of divine name practices. His approach captured well the broad strokes of late Second Temple practices, but left little room for the types of overlap and complexity that emerge when considering all the sources together. A major challenge to the utility of Skehan's notion of development is the inherent ambiguity in paleographical dating. In describing the late Second Temple history of the divine name, we must keep in mind the range of paleographic dates for certain scribal hands. On its own, this may imply more overlap than development.

1.6 *Plan of Study*

The present study sets out to accomplish the task of collecting and describing all available evidence from the Second Temple period in three core chapters, each comprising one of the primary languages of early Judaism: Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek. The evidence in each of these chapters is presented slightly differently, given the diverse contents of each group. The organizing principle for each chapter was determined according to what would serve the reader as the most accessible guide to the evidence.

Chapter 2 presents the Aramaic evidence. This chapter is generally structured chronologically, beginning with the Elephantine papyri and ostraca, P. Amherst 63, the Idumean Ostrakon, and the British Museum Drachm. These sources use various forms of the divine name, יה, יהה, or יהו. Next, I discuss both the use and non-use of the divine name among the Mt. Gerizim Inscriptions, Ezra-(Nehemiah), and Daniel. In the final section, I present the evidence for divine name avoidance in the Qumran Aramaic scrolls. This section also lists every extant Aramaic divine title and epithet from over twenty literary texts, including the *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Aramaic Levi Document*, *Book of Giants*, *Birth of Noah*, *Testament of Qahat*, *Aramaic Job*, and others.

Chapter 3 presents the collection of Hebrew evidence, which primarily comes from the caves of the Judean desert, known collectively as the Dead Sea Scrolls. In scrolls that represent copies of books later found in the Jewish canon of scripture, often referred to as “biblical” manuscripts, I examine divine name variant patterns. In the scrolls that were composed by the self-described *yahad* community, otherwise known as “sectarian” scrolls, the Tetragrammaton is consistently avoided, but on occasion the Tetragrammaton is used in biblical quotations. Lastly, I investigate the prevalent use of the Tetragrammaton in many texts that were previously

unknown, some of these comprise the so-called “rewritten scriptural” texts (e.g., 4QReworked Pentateuch A–E, *Temple Scroll*, *Jubilees*), but others are pseudo-prophetic works (e.g., 4QPseudo Ezek^{a-d}), or apocryphon or liturgical type texts (e.g., 4QApocryphon of Moses^{c?} and 11QApocryphal Psalms). In all genres of Dead Sea Scrolls, we encounter uses of the paleo-Hebrew script for the Tetragrammaton and other divine titles, as well as the use of Tetrapuncta.

Chapter 4 presents a collection of evidence from copies of Greek texts that date on paleographic grounds to the Second Temple period. These texts come from Judea or Egypt and include P. Fouad 266b, 4QpapLXXLev^b (4Q120), 4Qpap paraExod gr (4Q127), *Greek Twelve Minor Prophets* (8HevXIIgr), P. Oxy 3522, and P. Oxy 5101. In summary of these sources, I discuss the significance of the Greek transliteration $\iota\omega$ and the Hebrew Tetragrammaton within the Greek biblical texts. This is followed by a discussion of epigraphic and literary evidence for the use and non-use of $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ in early Jewish-Greek literature as it pertains to the debate over the divine name in the textual history of the LXX. In the context of this discussion, I also provide an itemized list of the earliest Christian copies of the LXX before the appearance of the major codices: Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, and Sinaiticus. This offers a backdrop for observing the standardization of divine titles in Christian copies of LXX manuscripts in contrast to the diversity of practices in copies from the Second Temple period.

Chapter 5 draws on the collected evidence to offer a modified chronology for the use and non-use of the divine name in early Judaism. This summary chapter compares and contrasts the Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek evidence in the context of a historical description of divine name practices beginning in the fifth century BCE Persian period, leading up through the Hellenistic and early Roman times, and ending in the late first century CE. In short, I integrate the full collection of extant evidence with the survey of past scholarship—on reasons for divine name

avoidance and on notions of development—to suggest that while much evidence becomes available for divine name avoidance during the second century BCE, this evidence should not overshadow the continued uses of the divine name in Judea and the diaspora. A decisive linear transition towards the avoidance of the divine name, in speech and writing, does not happen during the Second Temple period, but may be more accurate in describing the second century CE, following the Jewish wars with Rome and the beginning of the rabbinic movement. The evidence for divine name avoidance in the second century BCE, moreover, should also not obscure the fact that writers avoid the divine name at earlier times as well, in both Hebrew and Aramaic works. Lastly, the reasons for divine name avoidance among Persian period authors seems to be distinct from the types of sectarian avoidance in the writings from Qumran.

2 CHAPTER 2: THE DIVINE NAME IN ARAMAIC TEXTS

The evidence for the use and non-use of the divine name in Aramaic enters the extant record in the early fifth century BCE with the Elephantine ostraca and papyri. Also originating in some form during the Persian period are the Aramaic passages of Ezra and the Aramaic tales of Daniel, although their final shaping is probably Hellenistic.¹¹⁵ The fourth century BCE is the agreed date for the British Museum drachm and the Idumean Ostrakon. Towards the late fourth or early third century BCE we encounter P. Amherst 63. From the third to early second century BCE, we find the dedicatory inscriptions from Mt. Gerizim. The Hellenistic to early Roman period is the backdrop for many of the Qumran Aramaic Scrolls.

2.1 *The Use of the Divine Name in Aramaic Sources*

The Elephantine papyri and ostraca, P. Amh 63, the Idumean Ostrakon, and the BM Drachm all use the short form(s) of the divine name.

2.1.1 **The Elephantine Papyri and Ostraca**

The Elephantine material spans roughly a century, dating from the early fifth century BCE to the early fourth century BCE.¹¹⁶ These documents come from an Aramaic speaking community in the Upper Nile region on the island of Elephantine or “Yeb” (יב). The community had a temple at Elephantine, variously designated בית and אגורא, which was built sometime

¹¹⁵ Both of these books have a very complex redaction history. The final collection of Aramaic tales in Daniel (2–7), for example, are probably Hellenistic based on the interpretation that the fourth kingdom in Daniel 2 must be the Greek, but the Aramaic tales likely circulated independently, or as a loose collection, in the Persian period. See discussion below.

¹¹⁶ The references of the Elephantine texts are from Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt: Volumes 1–4* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1986–1999); TAD A (= Vol. 1, 1986); TAD B (= Vol. 2, 1989); TAD C (= Vol. 3, 1993); TAD D (= Vol. 4, 1999). The following example illustrates the reference system: “TAD B3.4, 25” refers to volume “B” archive or collection “3” document “4” line number “25.”

before the reign of Cambyses (ca. 529 BCE).¹¹⁷ The shorter form of the divine name is found in letters, documentary records, and ostraca: יהו occurs 35 times in the papyri; יהה occurs 7 times (5x in ostraca, 2x in the papyri); and יה occurs once. Most occurrences of the divine name are found in four collections of texts: Ostraca, Mibtahiah Archive, Anani Archive, and Jedaniah Archive.

2.1.2 Ostraca

There are about fifty-seven ostraca from Elephantine. These provide a window into the everyday life of the community, including economic and legal activities. The ostraca date to around 475–425 BCE, and are generally earlier than the papyri, which date between 420–395 BCE.¹¹⁸ In the following table, I list the terms for God in the ostraca, then discuss a few illustrative examples.

2.1.2 Ostraca Divine Designations

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
בית יהה	D7.18, 2–3	1x
חיליהה	D7.16, 3, 7	2x
ברכתך ליהה ולחנ'ם	D7.21, 3	1x
שלמך יהה [ישא...]	D7.35, 1	1x
¹¹⁹ אנה בשם אלהא	D8.8, 1	1x

¹¹⁷ The reign of Cambyses is referred to in A4.6, 17; A4.7, 14; A4.9, 5. In particular, A4.9, 5 seems to suggest that the Elephantine temple was built before Cambyses. It may have been coterminous with the First Temple in Jerusalem. On this assumption, Porten states that “once the Jerusalem Temple was destroyed [586 BCE], the one at Elephantine was likely to have gained in stature. The Elephantine Jews were proud of the fact that their Temple was not harmed by Cambyses, although the Egyptian temples were ‘overthrown.’ The effect on the Elephantine Temple of the reconstruction of the Jerusalem Temple is unknown, but it continued to exist, until it was destroyed at Egyptian instigation in the summer of 410 B.C.E.” See Porten and Yardeni, *TAD Vol. 1*, 121–22.

¹¹⁸ Several Aramaic ostraca discovered at Elephantine come from other locations and date to the Ptolemaic period. There are at least six from Edfu (possibly seven), one from Kom el-Aḥmar, one from Oxyrhynchus, and one from an unknown site (D8.13). See Porten and Yardeni, *TAD Vol. 4*, Introduction, VI.

¹¹⁹ The document D.8 comes from an unknown site, so the identity of אלהא may be questioned. The occurrence of the name “Judith,” however, suggests that the Jewish deity is in view.

D7.16, 3–4 (“Instructions for Legumes and Barley”) contains the divine name in an oath to ensure that the legumes do not get lost in the process of transporting them: “Lest, if they get lost, by the life of YHH (חיליהה), if not yo[ur] life I shall take.” The phrase חיליהה is used again in line 7. The scribe conjoins the oath formula with the divine name, which suggests that the divine name was pronounced. This evidence is similar to the formulae in the sixth century BCE Lachish letters.

D7.18, 2–3 (“Instructions for a Tunic left Behind”) uses the divine name in the construct phrase בית יהה (“house of YHH”). Here a request is made to retrieve a tunic left near the temple.

D7.21, 3 records a request of a garment for mending, but prefaces the request with the salutation: “I blessed you by YHH and Khnum (ברכתך ליהה ולחנום), now send me the garment....” Notably, the deity Khnum is invoked alongside the God of Israel.¹²⁰ This blessing formula is also used with reference to other deities.¹²¹

2.1.3 Mibtahiah Archive

The Mibtahiah papyri consist of 11 documents that record the family business of Mahseiah and his daughters Mibtahiah and Miptahiah. Here we find betrothal contracts and property claims. The divine name occurs 5 times in this archive.

2.1.3 Mibtahiah Archive Divine Designations

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
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¹²⁰ For the implications of invoking multiple deities by the Elephantine Jews, see André Dupont-Sommer, “Le syncretisme religieux des juifs d’Éléphantine d’après un ostracon araméen inédit,” *Revue d’Histoire des Religions* 130 (1945): 17–28; Bezalel Porten, “The Religion of the Jews of Elephantine in light of the Hermopolis Papyri,” *JNES* 28 (1969): 121; *ibid.*, “Elephantine Papyri,” in *The Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary* (ed. David Noel Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1990), 2:445–55; E. Stern, “Religion in Palestine in the Assyrian and Persian Periods,” in *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: Transformation of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Post-Exilic Times* (ed. Bob Becking and Marjo C. A. Korpel; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 245–55; *ibid.*, “The Religious Revolution in Persian-Period Judah,” in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* (ed. Oded Lipschits and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 199–205.

¹²¹ For example, the papyrus document A2.5, 1–2 reads, “We have blessed you by Ptaḥ that he may show me your face in peace.” For this formula earlier in the Ostraca, see D1.1, 1–2 (“I blessed you by Ptaḥ...”).

<u>ביהו אלהא</u>	B2.2, 4	1x
<u>ביהו</u>	B2.2, 6, 11	2x
<u>אגורא זי יהה אלה</u>	B2.7, 14	1x
<u>אגורא זי יהו אלהא</u>	B2.10, 6	1x

B2.2, 4–6 (“Withdrawal from land” January 2, 464 BCE) contains the litigation of Dargamana, who speaks in the first person about his temporary use or (disputed) ownership of land that apparently belongs to Mahseiah. All we know is that Dargamana files his complaint and then recounts the land boundaries, of which his own house is on the eastern side. In the course of the document, Dargamana refers three times to an oath sworn by Mahseiah,

You swore to me by YHW the God (ביהו אלהא) in Yeb the fortress...and they imposed upon you for me the oath to swear by YHW (למומא ביהו) on account of that land...

Dargamana lastly provides a statement of satisfaction and a waiver of any future suit against Mahseiah: “You swore to me by YHW (ביהו) and satisfied my heart about that land...” In the above oath, the title אלהא is appended to יהו. The compound יהו אלהא occurs 27 times in the Elephantine material, which accounts for about half of the total 43 occurrences of the divine name.¹²²

B2.7, 14 preserves Mahseiah’s grant of a house to his daughter Miptahiah. The Jewish temple is mentioned in the description of the land boundary. The divine name here occurs with the spelling “YHH” (תחתיא לה אגורא זי יהה אלה), a spelling characteristic of the ostraca. YHH occurs twice in the papyri, but YHW never occurs – in the ostraca. The spelling YHH in the papyri, for the scribe who copied it, does not appear to mark a significant difference from YHW because both forms are used by the same family of scribes. In B2.7, 14 the scribe Nathan son of

¹²² The compound יהה אלהא occurs once in the papyri, but not in the ostraca. אלהא is found in compound with the proper names of other deities in both the ostraca and papyri. With reference to Khnub, Herembethel, Ptah, Isis, Hamilat, Shamash, Atumnebon, Anilat, Osiris, see respectively A4.5, 3; B7.2, 7–8; C3.12, 27; D15.2, 1; D20.3, 2; D22.47, 4; D23.1, 11; D23.17, 1; D24.1, 4–5.

Ananiah uses the spelling YHH, while Mauziah son of Nathan uses the spelling YHW in B2.10, 6 (אגורא זי יהו אלהא) in the same expression pertaining to boundary descriptions. Because YHH is attested in the ostraca, and no forms of YHW are found there, it is probable that YHH is the earlier historical form.¹²³

2.1.4 Anani Archive

The divine name occurs 17 times in the Anani Archive. We also find here the frequent mention of Anani's title: לחן (“servitor”).

2.1.4 Anani Archive Divine Designations

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
לחן ליהו	B3.2, 2	1x
לחן זי יהה אלהא	B3.3, 2	1x
לחן ליהו אלהא	B3.4, 3; B3.10, 2; B3.12, 10–11	3x
לחן ליה	B3.4, 25	1x
לחן זי יהו	B3.12, 1	1x
לחן זי יהו אלהא	B3.5, 2; B3.7, 2; B3.10, 23; B3.11, 1–2; B3.11, 17; B3.12, 2; B3.12, 33	7x
אגור יהו אלהא	B3.4, 9–10	1x
אגורא זי יהו אלהא	B3.5, 10	1x
אגורא זי יהו	B3.12, 18–19	1x

¹²³ There has been much debate over the historical-linguistic development and pronunciation of these forms in relation to the Tetragrammaton. Nineteenth century positions are summarized by G. R. Driver, “The Original Form of the Name Yahweh: Evidence and Conclusions,” *ZAW* 46 (1928): 7; and Otto Eissfeldt, “Neue Zeugnisse für die Aussprache des Tetragramms als Jahwe,” *ZAW* 53 (1935): 59. William F. Albright regarded YHW as the jussive form of the verbal *Yahweh*; see Albright, “The Names ‘Israel’ and ‘Judah’ with an Excurses on the Etymology of Todah and Torah,” *JBL* 46 (1927): 175. Cf. Baaddisin, *Kyrios als Gottesname*, 2:193–202; Emil Kraeling argued that YHH was probably pronounced “Yahô...the difference [between YHW and YHH] is simply due to accent: Yehô, but Yâhû. We transcribe the name as Yahu in accordance with our tendency to accent it on the first syllable,” see Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the 5th century BCE from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 85. He also writes, on the same page, that “Dupont-Sommer thinks Yhh is a popular way of writing the name Yahweh and that it is perhaps more ancient than the writing Yhw, but that the latter recommended itself by the resemblance to Yhwh (the officially accepted form).” Along similar lines, David N. Freedman suggested that *yhw* may be a “slight archaism” and that *yhh* was more accurate indication of the pronunciation of the final *ō*; see “YHWH,” *TDOT* 5:504–5. More recently, Bezalel Porten suggested that “The spelling YHH is probably an orthographic variation of YHW; cf. *yrhh* for Jericho (1 Kings 16:34).” See Porten, *The Elephantine Papyri in English. Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 105 n. 5.

B3.2, 2–3 (“Withdrawal from *hyr*”) is a documentary papyrus in which Mica accepts a payment of 5 shekels from Anani. The document begins with the statement: “Mica son of A[hio] said to Anani son of Azar[iah], a servitor to YHW in Yeb (עזר[יה] לחן ליהו ביב), saying...” The divine name occurs in a phrase that tells us about Anani’s role in the community as a servitor to YHW. This term should probably be distinguished from “priest” as we find כהניא in the Jedaniah archive. The phrase לחן ליהו occurs about 14 times in this archive with considerable variation.¹²⁴

Note the two examples:

B3.3, 2 (“Document of Wifehood”) spells the name YHH (לחן זי יהה אלהא).

B3.4, 3 (“Sale of Abandoned Property”) uses the preposition ל instead of זי and spells the divine name YHW (לחן ליהו אלהא). But in line 25 of this document we also find the spelling יה (לחן ליה ביב). These two documents, with three different spellings, were written by the same scribe. This likely means that different spellings for the divine name were interchangeable. Both the Anani and Mibtahiah archives contain orthographic variations for the divine name as well as formulaic expressions.¹²⁵

2.1.5 Jedaniah Archive

The Jedaniah documents date from 419 BCE to sometime after 407 BCE. The most well-known document is the request for aid in rebuilding the בית יהו (“House of YHW”) at Elephantine (A4.7).¹²⁶ These designations are all tied to particular events or episodes in the history of the community, not simply mundane records of daily life. Certain epithets, particularly

¹²⁴ The noun לחן sometimes occurs in the determined state (e.g., לחנא in B3.11, 17).

¹²⁵ There are also variations of the phrase referring to the Temple. In particular, note אגור יהו אלהא (B3.4, 9–10), אגורא זי יהו אלהא (B3.5, 10), and אגורא זי יהו (B3.12, 18–19).

¹²⁶ The Jedaniah archive also contains important documents related to the “Passover” or Feast of Unleavened Bread (A4.1), Egyptian Jewish relations (A4.2–3), and the imprisonment of Jewish leaders (A4.4). See Porten and Yardeni, *TAD Vol. 1*, 53.

יהו מרא שמיא and יהו אלה שמיא, are noticeably absent from the documentary ostraca and papyri examined above. The following terms appear in this archive:

2.1.5 Jedaniah Archive Divine Designations

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
כהניא זי יהו אלהא	A4.3, 1	1x
אלה שמיא	A4.3, 3, 5; A4.7, 2; A4.8, 2; A4.9, 3–4	5x
יהו אלה שמיא	A4.7, 27–28; A4.8, 27	2x
יהו מרא שמיא	A4.7, 15	1x
למעבד תמה ליהו א[להא]	A4.5, 15	1x
אגורא זי יהו אלהא	A4.7, 6; A4.7, 24; A4.8, 7; A4.8, 24; A4.10, 8	5x
מדבחא זי יהו אלהא	A4.7, 26; A4.8, 25	2x

A4.3, 1–5 (“Recommendation to Aid Benefactors”) contains the compound יהו אלהא, but notice also the use of אלה שמיא (“God of Heaven”):

[1] To my lords Jedaniah, Uriah and the priests of YHW the God (וכהניא זי יהו אלהא) ... may you be in favor before [3] the God of Heaven (אלה שמיא). And now, when Vidranga the garrison commander arrived at Abydos he imprisoned me because of 1 dyer’s stone which [4] they found stolen in the hand of the merchants. Finally, Şeḥa and Ḥor, servants of Anani, intervened with Vidranga [5] and Ḥornufī, with the help of the God of Heaven (אלה שמיא), until they rescued me.

This text refers to a conflict and imprisonment and אלה שמיא comes to the aid of the writer. This epithet occurs an additional 5 times in the Jedaniah archive, but only once elsewhere.¹²⁷

A4.7, 2 uses the epithet in the address to the Judean governor: “May the God of Heaven (אלה שמיא) seek after the welfare of our lord [i.e., Bagohi] abundantly at all times.”¹²⁸

A4.7, 4–6 recounts the events leading up to the destruction of the temple of YHW:

¹²⁷ A3.6, 1, “May the God of Heaven (אל[ה] שמיא) seek your welfare at all times...” The context of this letter is fragmentary, but it appears to be from one brother to another expressing sympathy.

¹²⁸ This is the letter from Jedaniah to Bagohi (governor of Judah), dating to November 25, 407 BCE. A copy of this letter was also sent to Delaiah and Shelemiah (sons of Sanballat governor of Samaria), who were presumably the temple authorities of Mt. Gerizim. The epithet אלה שמיא is partially preserved in the second draft of A4.7 (i.e., A4.8 lines 2 and 27). A4.9, 3–4 provides a seventh occurrence in the (“Memorandum of [what] Bagohi and Delaiah said....”).

In the month of Tammuz, year 14 of King Darius, when Arsames [5] had departed and gone to the king, the priests of Khnum the god who are in Yeb the fortress, in agreement with Vidranga who was Chief here, (said), [6] saying, “Let them remove from there the Temple of YHW the God (יהו אלהא) which is in Yeb the fortress.

Jedaniah argues in lines 14–15 that the Elephantine Temple once held prominence by referring to an earlier event in which Cambyses destroyed all other temples except the one at Elephantine:

And they overthrew the temples of the gods of Egypt (אלהי מצרין), all (of them), but one did not damage anything in that Temple. And when this had been done, we with our wives and our children were wearing sackcloth and fasting and praying to YHW the Lord of Heaven (ליהו מרא שמיא).

Jedaniah seeks to demonstrate the legitimacy of the Elephantine Temple by highlighting its previous protection under יהו מרא שמיא (“YHW Lord of Heaven”). This is the only use of this epithet in the Elephantine material.¹²⁹ In lines 25–28, Jedaniah makes a final pitch for aid, obligating the Elephantine community to all who help rebuild the Elephantine Temple:

And they [i.e., Elephantine priests] will offer the meal-offering and the incense, and the holocaust [26] on the altar of YHW the God (יהו אלהא) in your name and we shall pray for you at all times—we and our wives and our children and the Jews, [27] all who are here. If they do thus until that Temple be (re)built, you will have a merit before YHW the God of [28] Heaven (ועדקה יהוה לך קדם יהו אלה שמיא) more than a person who offers him holocaust and sacrifices...

In the context of this reciprocal arrangement, Jedaniah uses the epithet יהו אלה שמיא. He seems to associate this epithet with the bold claim that there will be צדקה (“merit, righteousness”) before the deity for the person who helps to rebuild the Temple, more than the צדקה achieved

¹²⁹ מרא שמיא occurs in Daniel (5:23) and the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1Q20 7.7; 12.17; 22.16, 21). The title מרא is used 84 times in the Elephantine texts, but usually not with reference to the Jewish deity. For example, the combined title מרא מלכן (“lord of kings”) is used of Pharaoh (A1.6). Generally, the referent is a human “lord” or “master.” Most uses are found in forms of address with a pronominal suffix as in מראי (“my lord”) or מראנ (“our lord”).

through sacrifices.¹³⁰ Jedaniah notarizes the striking offer of צדקה by stating that it will be acquired before “YHW the God of Heaven.”

A4.9 (“Memorandum”) records the response to Jedaniah’s request for aid by Bagohi and Delaiah, the governors of Judea and Samaria:

זכרן זי בגוהי ודליה אמרו
לי זכרן לם יהוי לך במצרין לממר {{קד}}
קדם ארשם על בית מדבחא זי אלה {{שמ}}
שמיא זי ביב בירתא בנה

Memorandum of what Bagohi and Delaiah said to me, saying: Memorandum: You may say in Egypt (ERASURE: “bef”) before Arsames about the Altar-house of the God of (ERASURE: “Heav”)¹³¹ Heaven which in Elephantine the fortress built...

In this זכרן, the governors Bagohi and Delaiah refer to the deity as אלה שמיא “God of Heaven,” which parallels the use of שמיא in Jedaniah’s letter. But one thing is missing—the divine name. In their return letter, they omit (avoid?) the divine name יהו, in contrast to its frequent use of Jedaniah’s request for aid (A4.7). It is difficult to know if anything can be made of this detail, or even if this memorandum represents the precise wording of Bagohi and Delaiah. On the one hand, it is intriguing that the divine name is prevalent in the letter from Elephantine to Yehud and Shomron, but not found in the return letter to Elephantine. There seems to be no indication that the scribes of Elephantine would have omitted the divine name. But even if the wording in the memorandum from Bagohi and Delaiah is verbatim, there is no way to discern whether the omission of the divine name was intentional or not.

¹³⁰ The relationship between the content of the Jedaniah letter and the frequent use of שמיא deserves more attention. Jedaniah may have sought common ground with the Judean community through the use of שמיא, or perhaps this epithet was the conventional way of referring to the God in the context of international diplomacy.

¹³¹ These erasures pertain to the physical formatting of the memorandum and are not specific to the textual content.

2.1.6 Summary of the Divine Name(s) at Elephantine

The ostraca and papyri collections account for nearly all uses of the Jewish deity's name at Elephantine. Four additional documents from Elephantine, outside the collections above, use the divine name—a private letter, an oath text, a collection account, and an unclassified papyrus fragment—but these reflect similar settings and themes encountered in the primary collections.¹³² Many texts in the ostraca, Mibtahiah, and Anani archives use the divine name with reference to property boundaries, daily tasks, or in formulaic blessings, greetings, farewells, and curses. The Jedaniah archive, however, contains distinctive divine epithets that are correlated with important events in the community's history. מרא שמיא and אלה שמיא, for example, occur in the request for aid to rebuild the Elephantine Temple. Moreover, the divine name occurs with various spellings: יה, יהה, and יהו. Because these forms derive, in some cases, from the same scribe, their differences do not appear to be significant in the scribal milieu at Elephantine. In summary, the Elephantine texts show active written and spoken use of the divine name throughout the fifth century BCE, in Upper Egypt, and in their diplomatic efforts abroad.

2.1.7 Papyrus Amherst 63

P. Amh 63 dates to the late fourth or early third century BCE and contains twenty-one columns (422 lines total) of Aramaic/Egyptian prayers and psalms that have extensive Near Eastern parallels. The papyrus is twelve feet long and written on both sides in Demotic script. Steiner describes the papyrus as a poetic “liturgy of the New Year's festival of an Aramaic-speaking community in Upper Egypt, perhaps in Syene.”¹³³ He speculates that this community

¹³² See A3.3, 1; B7.1, 4; C3.15, 1, 126; D4.9, 1–2.

¹³³ He continues that “[i]t seems to have been dictated by a priest of the community, possibly at the beginning of the third century BCE, to an Egyptian scribe trained in the fourth century BCE.” See Richard C. Steiner, “The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script (1.99),” in *The Context of Scripture I: Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World* (ed. William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 310. See also Steiner and

was deported from Babylonia to Bethel by the Assyrians, where they picked up the worship of YHWH before migrating to Egypt. This would account for how a passage strikingly similar to Ps 20 ended up in P. Amh 63.¹³⁴ In column XI, the short form of the divine name is syncretized as “Horus-YHW.” The parallels with Ps 20:2–7 are in the right column:

<i>P. Amh 63 col. XI, 11–19</i>	<i>Ps 20:2–7 (MT)</i>
<p>May Horus answer us in our troubles May Adonai answer us in our troubles O crescent (lit. bow) / bowman in heaven, Sahar / shine forth; send your emissary from the temple of Arash, and from Zephon may Horus help us. May <i>Horus</i> fulfill — may Adonai not fall short in satisfying — every request of our hearts. Some with the bow, some with the spear; But (lit., behold) as for us— Mar is our god; Horus-Yaho, our bull, is with us. May the lord of Bethel answer us on the morrow. May Baal of Heaven, Mar grant a blessing / bless you; to your pious ones your blessings.</p>	<p>May YHWH answer you in time of trouble. May the name of the God of Jacob keep you out of harm’s reach. May he send you(r) help from the sanctuary and from Zion may he sustain you. May he accept the reminders of your meal offerings and accept the fatness of your burnt offerings. May he grant you your heart’s desire and may he fulfill your every plan May we shout for joy at your victory and in the name of our God raise our banners. May YHWH fulfill all your requests. Now I know that YHWH will give victory to his anointed...</p>

Scholars continue to debate the overlaps between P. Amh 63 column XI and Ps 20,¹³⁵ including the direction of influence, the singular versus plural pronouns, and the “name theology”¹³⁶ of Ps

Nims, “A Paganized Version of Ps 20:2–6 from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script,” *JAOS* 103 (1983): 261–274. With regard to all known papyri, they mention that the *Genesis Apocryphon* is a “close second,” in terms of length.
¹³⁴ Column XII also contains words and themes reminiscent of Northern Israelite worship, especially the cult of Jeroboam at Bethel.

¹³⁵ See especially Karel van der Toorn, “Psalm 20 and Amherst Papyrus 63, XII, 11-19: A Case Study of a Text in Transit,” in *Le-ma’an Ziony*, 244–61; Sven P. Vleeming and Jan-Wim Wesselius, *Studies in Papyrus Amherst 63: Essays on the Aramaic texts in Aramaic/Demotic Papyrus Amherst 63* (Vol. I, II; Juda Plache Instituut: Amsterdam 1985, 1990); Jan Wim Wesselius, “Aramäische Gebete 1. Gebete aus dem demotisch-aramäischen Papyrus Amherst 63,” in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* (ed. Otto Kaiser, et al.; TUAT; Bd. 2: Religiöse Texte; Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, Gütersloh 1991), 930–935; Steiner, “The Aramaic Text,” 309–27.

¹³⁶ See David M. Carr, *Formation of The Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 396: “Pap Amherst may represent a de-royalized (and Aramaized) form of what was originally a Hebrew royal psalm. Yet not all aspects of Pap Amherst may be later than their counterparts in Psalm 20. Pap Amherst may preserve a form of the psalm before the name theology in Ps 20:2, 6, 8, and perhaps the

20 compared to the plethora of divine designations in P. Amh 63, Horus, Mar, El, El Bethel, Baal of Heaven, Adonai,¹³⁷ and Horus-YHW.¹³⁸ Important for the current study, is the use of the Aramaic form of the divine name, which appears in apposition to Horus, a chief Egyptian deity. Horus clearly parallels YHWH in the corresponding verses of Ps 20 (e.g., Ps 20:2, 5, 6), which may have been facilitated by the notion of Horus as the sky-king god.

The use of the divine name in P. Amh 63 is analogous to the Elephantine material in that other deities are mentioned in tandem with YHW, particularly in formulaic expressions,¹³⁹ and in one example combined with another deity: “Anat-YHW.”¹⁴⁰ At the same time, however, the Aramaic-speaking community that used P. Amh 63 does not explicitly identify themselves as *yehudin*. In summary, this document represents a continuation of the divine name in speech and writing, into the fourth or early third century BCE, in Upper Egypt.

2.1.8 Idumean ‘House of YHW’ Ostrakon

Among some two thousand Aramaic ostraca from Idumea, the divine name יהו occurs once.¹⁴¹ The so-called “House of YHW” ostrakon contains references to three ancient cult sites, a

petition about sacrifice (Ps 20:4) were added.”

¹³⁷ For further discussion of *Adonai* see Steiner and Nims, “A Paganized Version,” 265; Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean* (SBL Monograph Series 16, 1979), 135.

¹³⁸ There is debate over whether the final *w* represents the divine determinative, an ancient scribal notation that occurs with a divine title or name, as with “Horus” in the present text, or if it simply represents the *waw* of the divine name itself.

¹³⁹ E.g., TAD D7.21, 3: “I blessed you by YHH and Khnum (ברכתך ליהה ולחנום).”

¹⁴⁰ TAD B7.3. See Karel van der Toorn, “Anat–Yahu, Some Other Deities, and the Jews of Elephantine,” *Numen* 39 (1992): 80–101. For further discussion of the polytheistic nature of P. Amh 63, see Nims and Steiner, “A Paganized Version of Psa 20,” 272: “Were the Jews of Edfu as polytheistic or syncretistic in their beliefs as those of Patros had been in the Babylonian period (cf. Jer 44:15–29) and as those of Elephantine had been in the Persian period (cf. Dupont-Sommer, 1945; Kraeling, 1953:84–8; Porten, 1968:173–9)? Did they themselves replace the psalm’s references to the God of Israel with references to the Egyptian god Horus, possibly as the result of a syncretistic fusion of the two? Or was the substitution made after the prayer left their hands, by Aramean pagans who wished to adapt the prayer for use in the cult of Horus (cf. Tigay 1976:376-7)? These are questions for which we have no answer at the moment.”

¹⁴¹ The Idumean Ostraca comprise a diverse collection of about 2,004 known ostraca from 30 different collections around the world. About 913 of the ostraca are published, and only about 350 are provenanced. The latter were unearthed during excavations at 33 sites, mostly from Arad and Beersheba. For further description, see Porten

field, a marshland, and two tombs. There is general agreement that the ostracon is from Makkedah/Khirbet El-Qom, northern Idumea, just south of the post-exilic borders of Yehud.¹⁴²

André Lemaire has translated the ostracon as follows,¹⁴³

<p>The hill/ruin that is below [the house of] 'Uzza and the strip/rope of the house of YHW. the marshland of Zabi, the terrace of the terebinth tree, the wasted (field) of Sa'ad/ru, the tomb of Gilgoul, (the) pool of the house of Nabu, the tomb of Yinqom.</p>	<p>תלא ז' תחת מן עזא וחיבלא זי בית יהו זבדנבו רפידא זי בטנא בלא משכו כפר גלגול רקק זי לוח כפר כפר ינקם</p>
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Very little is known about these sites and their contexts, but Lemaire suggests that they may constitute a list of fields that were not cultivated, or form part of a cadastre for taxing or registry purposes.¹⁴⁴ The חיבלא (“strip/rope”) of the “house of YHW” may refer to the ruins of the temple, and this is the sole piece of evidence for the existence of the cult of the Jewish deity in Idumea during the Achaemenid period.¹⁴⁵ Regarding the use of בית and the parallel reference to the deities, Lemaire suggests that “both are referring to temples: the Temple of the Arabic deity ‘Uzza, well known in Lihyanite, Thamudic, and Nabatean inscriptions, and the Temple of Yaho,

and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014), XV; idem., “Social, Economic, and Onomastic Issues in the Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century B.C.E.,” in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* (ed. Oded Lipschitz and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 457–58.

¹⁴² Regarding provenance, André Lemaire notes that “Makkedah appears at least 25 times in these ostraca, and the identification of Khirbet el-Kom with Makkedah is generally accepted today (Dorsey 1980; de Vos 2003: 402–3, 406, 411–14).” See Lemaire, “New Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea and Their Historical Interpretation,” in *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian period*, 414; *ibid.*, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d’Idumée, Tome II* (Transeuphratène Supplement 9. Paris, 2002), pl. XLVIII n. 283.

¹⁴³ Lemaire, *Nouvelles*, 149–50; *ibid.*, “New Aramaic Ostraca,” 413–56. An image of the ostracon (without commentary) is found in Bezael Porten and Ada Yardeni, *TAOI*, H1.1; ISAP 1283 [JA107].

¹⁴⁴ Lemaire, “Nouveau Temple de Yaho (IV^E S. AV. J.–C.),” 270. He also writes that “[t]he great number of Aramaic ostraca and their dating scheme make clearer and clearer that they are somehow connected with Achaemenid administration. Most of the ostraca probably record taxes in kind (barley, wheat, oil, and so on), and it is no surprise that quantities of barley, wheat, and oil were, at the time of the harvesting of each crop, entering the storerooms of Makkedah.” See Lemaire, “New Aramaic Ostraca,” 414.

¹⁴⁵ Lemaire, *Nouvelles*, 40.

also known during this period at Elephantine, Jerusalem, and Mount Gerizim.”¹⁴⁶ Lemaire also notes that,

[u]nfortunately we have no information about the kind of cult that was practiced in the Idumean temple. What we can underline is the fact that it is no longer possible to speak about the Yahwistic cult during the Persian Period by taking into account only the Temple of Jerusalem.

The closest analogy for the use of the divine name in Idumea is its use at Elephantine, where multiple temples coexisted with the YHW temple on the island.¹⁴⁷ In the case of the Idumean YHW worshippers, we might suspect syncretistic worship given the long history of diverse ethnic groups in this region. The occurrence of the divine name on the Ostrakon provides evidence for the YHW temple in Idumea, more specifically Khirbet El-Qom, but also evidence that the name was known and used at the administrative levels during the fourth century BCE. One might posit continuity with the earlier Iron Age inscriptions with the name YHWH from the same locale.¹⁴⁸

2.1.9 British Museum Drachm

The British Museum Drachm (BM Drachm) is addressed here because recent arguments are in favor of reading “YHW” as the coin’s inscription rather than “YHD” as traditionally

¹⁴⁶ Lemaire notes that “[t]he coexistence of these temples...is also evidence of the mixed ethnicities and religions characteristic of the Idumean province during the fourth century BCE.”

¹⁴⁷ B2.7, 13–15: “...below it is the Temple of YHH (the) God...west of it is the house of Harwodj son of Palṭu, priest of Ḥ°[°] the god.”

¹⁴⁸ William G. Dever, “Iron Age Epigraphic Material from the Area of Khirbet el-Qom,” *HUCA* 40/41 (1969–70): 158–69, 200–01, Pls. VI:13; S. Mittman, “Die Grabinschrift der Sängers Urijahw,” *ZDPV* 97 (1981): 139–52; Lemaire, “Les inscriptions de Khirbet el-Qom et l’Asherah de YHWH,” *RB* 84 (1977): 595–608; P. Kyle McCarter, “Pieces of Puzzle,” *BAR* 22/2 (1996): 42; Meindert Djikstra, “I Have Blessed you by YHWH of Samaria and his Asherah: Texts with Religious Elements from the Soil Archive of Ancient Israel,” in *Only One God? Monotheism in Ancient Israel and the Veneration of the Goddess Asherah* (ed. Bob Becking; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 32–4.

interpreted.¹⁴⁹ Michael Shenkar has most recently advocated for the reading “YHW.”¹⁵⁰ Scholars also debate the image of the bearded deity seated on a winged wheel.¹⁵¹ On the “reverse” there are two letters above the hawk; the third letter is left of the deity’s head. Mildenberg and Meshorer date the coin between 380–360 BCE.¹⁵²



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¹⁴⁹ For an overview of the consensus reading as YHD, see Ya‘akov Meshorer, אוצר מטבעות היהודים: מימי שלטון פרס ועד מרד בר־כוכבא / *Treasury of Jewish Coins: From the Persian Period to the Bar Kochba Revolt* (trans. Robert Amoils; Jerusalem: Yad ben-Zvi, 2001), 2–6. As a result of the complexities of this coin, he notes that “the interest in this exceptional coin has exceeded the bounds of numismatic research, and scholars from various fields, such as historians and theologians, have discussed it more extensively and rigorously than any other Jewish coin before it.”

¹⁵⁰ Michael Shenkar, “The Coin of the ‘God on the Winged Wheel’,” *BOREAS–Münstersche Beiträge zur Archäologie* 30/31 (2007/2008): 13–23. For original publication, see T. Combe, *Veterum populorum et regum numiqui in Museo Britannico adservantur* (1814), 242, no. 5. pl. xiii 12.

¹⁵¹ For a list of proposals for the figure depicted on the coin, see Shenkar, “The Coin,” 15–17; T. Ornan, “A Complex System of Religious Symbols: The Case of the Winged-disc in First-Millennium Near Eastern Imagery,” in *Crafts and Images in Contact: Studies on Eastern Mediterranean Art of the First Millennium BCE* (ed. C. E. Suter; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 212; Diana V. Edelman, “Tracking Observance of the Aniconic Tradition through Numismatics,” in *The Triumph of Elohim: From Yahwisms to Judaisms* (ed. Diana V. Edelman; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995), 190–94; and E. Blum, “Der ‘Schiquz schomem’ und die Jehud Drachme BMC Palestine S. 181, Nr 29,” *Biblische Notizen* 90 (1997): 13–27. L. Mildenberg suggested that the figure is not the Jewish God but “a composite creature, a highly syncretistic image formed from most heterogenous elements...not a specific god, but a general conception of deity comprehensible to many people in the western part of the Persian Empire.” See Mildenberg, “Yehud: A Preliminary Study of the Provincial Coinage of Judea,” in *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson* (ed. O. Mørkholm and N. M. Waggoner; Wetteren: NR, 1979), 183–96. In addition to the bearded deity, there is a smaller, even more puzzling depiction of a masked face on the coin. “The grotesque bearded face/mask in the lower right corner is probably the most enigmatic detail of the composition. Scholars have argued that it could be an image of the Egyptian god Bes, of Penuel, ‘The Face of God’, or of Silenus. However, there is as yet no satisfactory and acceptable identification.” See Shenkar, “The Coin,” 21.

¹⁵² Mildenberg, “Yehud,” 184–85; Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins*, 5.

¹⁵³ <http://www.bmimages.com/results.asp?image=00275252001>. See British Museum website for the description of the coin. Note that under “Inscription Content” they give the transcription יהו (“YHW”) but transliterate “YHD.” This discrepancy may be an accidental graphical error.

G. F. Hill generated a consensus reading “YHW” in 1914. Sukenik later suggested that the coin reads “YHD,” and is instead the first Yehud coin.¹⁵⁴ Everyone agrees that the first two letters read *yod* and *heh*, but the third is contested, either *waw* or *dalet*. To gain perspective on the debate over the final letter, I present below two Yehud coins from approximately the same period below:



The paleo-Hebrew *dalet* of these coins typically has a top that resembles the “less-than” inequality symbol (<), which extends left from the vertical stem of the *dalet*, giving the impression of a horizontal bar and a faint line connecting back to the stem. When comparing this to the BM Drachm, in contrast, the third letter looks nothing like the paleo-Hebrew *dalet* of the Yehud coins:



¹⁵⁴ See Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine in the British Museum* (1914) xxxvi–lxxxvii, 189 n. 29; E. L. Sukenik, “Paralipomena Palaestina I: The Oldest Coins of Judea,” *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 14 (1934): 178–182, pl. I–II. Sukenik was followed by P. Vincent, “Les épigraphes judéo-araméennes postexiliques,” *RB* 56 (1949): 280; and M. Delcor, “Des diverses Manières,” 167.

From other sources we know that the paleo-Hebrew *waw* resembles a vertical stem with a subtle “u” shaped top, not the horizontal bar typical of the YHD coins above. The third letter in the BM Drachm resembles the subtle paleo-Hebrew “u” shape much more closely than the features of the *dalet* from the YHD coins. Even with this notable break from standard YHD coins of the period, scholars have explained the divergence in various ways. Frank M. Cross, for example, describes the third letter as following the “archaic Aramaic lapidary script,” suggesting it shares features with scripts from documents of the fifth century BCE.¹⁵⁵

Recently, Haim Gitler and Oren Tal prefer “YHW” but leave the question open.¹⁵⁶ The analysis of Gitler and Tal marks a partial return to Hill’s original position. Shenkar reassesses the evidence again and suggests that the drachm “...by weight, chemical composition and iconography, is much closer to Samaritan coinage than to any other...”¹⁵⁷ and further suggests that deity seated on the winged wheel may be “Samaritan Yahweh.” Shenkar concludes with this reflection:

The riddles of this unique coin could be ultimately solved only by the inscription. If the reading ‘YHD’ is accepted, the BM drachm would be a unique image of the God of Israel, and, despite its obvious divergence from the known ‘YHD’ coinage, was minted in Jerusalem or in Philistia (Gaza) for Judea. But if the inscription reads ‘YHW’, an attribution to the Samaritan mint is plausible. In that case, it is an equally unique attempt to depict a Samaritan Yahweh.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ Cross, “Seals from Judah,” *Eretz Israel* 9 (1969): 23.

¹⁵⁶ They argue for relocating the minting of the coin to Philistia, contra Sukenik and Mildenberg who argued for Judea. See H. Gitler and O. Tal, *The Coinage of Philistia of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC. A Study of the Earliest Coins of Palestine* (New York: Amphora Books, 2006), 230.

¹⁵⁷ Shenkar, “The Coin,” 22.

¹⁵⁸ Shenkar, “The Coin,” 22. One statement in Shenkar’s article needs correction. In fn. 83, he mentions that an “ostrakon with the inscription ‘YHW’ in New Jewish script” was discovered during the excavation of Mount Gerizim. He refers specifically to no. 383. Shenkar mentions this inscription as decisive evidence for his proposal that the BM coin derives from Samaria by claiming that the spelling on the drachm is identical to the spelling of the divine name at Mt. Gerizim. His statement, however, is misleading. Inscription no. 383 does not read “YHW,” but actually contains the Tetragrammaton (YHWH) in paleo-Hebrew. For further discussion, see no. 383 below.

The interpretation of the inscription certainly holds implications for understanding the bearded figure, but if “YHW” is accepted this would not necessarily make an attribution to a “Samaritan Yahweh” more plausible. In other words, “YHD” would limit the interpretation of the bearded figure, but “YHW” could equally depict a Samaritan or Judean “Yahweh.” At any rate, Hill, Gitler, Tal, and Shenkar consider this coin more likely to contain the divine name YHW than the reading YHD. Based on the comparison of the paleographic features of the BM Drachm with contemporary YHD coins, I am inclined to agree with the trend towards reading “YHW.” If this is correct, it would offer numismatic evidence for the use of the divine name, either in Judea or Samaria, from the Persian period.¹⁵⁹ While we do not know on what scale this coin was produced, the administrative and industrial infrastructure required for coin production would seem to presuppose widespread acceptance of writing and speaking the divine name.

In summary, each Aramaic source explicitly refers to the God of Israel, but the diversity of socio-religious background behind these sources is important. The community of the Elephantine material, for example, refer to themselves as both Jews and Arameans, and they invoke other deities in addition to the God of Israel.¹⁶⁰ The situation of P. Amh 63 is more complex; the current form of the papyrus points to liturgical use among non-Jews, who invoked a range of deities including Horus-YHW. The Idumean ostrakon is a documentary text that

¹⁵⁹ We have no idea how many coins of this type may have been minted, but the iconography on the coin may help to situate it historically. A depiction of the deity would have been atypical for the aniconic beliefs that develop in Judea from the second century BCE onwards. The lack of anthropomorphic imagery on Hasmonean coins is a good example. Note the use of an anchor and a lily on a coin of Alexander Jannaeus, but no deities, humans, or animals. See Meshorer, *Treasury of Jewish Coins*, 37.

¹⁶⁰ See TAD B2 1:2; van der Toorn, “Anat-Yahu,” 80–101; Bob Becking, “Die Gottheiten der Juden in Elephantine,” in *Der eine Gott und die Götter: Polytheismus und Monotheismus im antiken Israel* (ed. M. Oeming and K. Schmid; AThANT 82; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2003), 203–26; Dupont-Sommer, “Le syncrétisme religieux des juifs d’Éléphantine,” 23.

mentions the “Temple of YHW” but also refers to the adjacent temples of other deities. The BM Drachm may contain a “highly syncretistic” representation of the deity YHW, the provenance of which could be either Philistia, Samaria, or Judea.¹⁶¹

2.2 *The Use and Non-use of the Divine Name in the Mount Gerizim Inscriptions, Ezra, and Daniel*

The Aramaic evidence we consider next stands apart from the evidence above in three ways. First, the divine name in the Aramaic evidence from Mt. Gerizim, Ezra, and Daniel is consistently avoided. Second, these sources contain immediate comparative Hebrew evidence in which the Tetragrammaton is used. For Ezra and Daniel, the context is literary; for the Mt. Gerizim inscriptions it is epigraphic. Third, this Aramaic material appears to share the belief that only the God of Israel should be acknowledged. Although the Mt. Gerizim inscriptions are slightly more ambiguous, they do not mention any other deities.

2.2.1 **Mount Gerizim Inscriptions**

Excavations over the last couple decades on Mt. Gerizim, modern Nablus, have unearthed about 390 dedicatory and votive inscriptions that commemorate offerings to the Samaritan Temple that once stood there. The Temple was destroyed by the Hasmonean king John Hyrcanus around 112–111 BCE. The inscriptions date roughly between 200–168 BCE.¹⁶² Most

¹⁶¹ For discussion of the depiction of the deity as Zeus, see Edelman, “Tracking Observance of the Aniconic Tradition through Numismatics,” 190–4.

¹⁶² Jan Dušek dates the majority between the 5th and 6th Syrian war (i.e., ca. 200–168 BCE); See, Dušek, *Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Mt. Gerizim and Samaria between Antiochus III the Great and Antiochus IV Epiphanes* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 59. He suggests that the Aramaic inscriptions were probably carved under the rule of Antiochus III, in the context of the rebuilding of the sacred precinct. Similarly, in the *editio princeps*, Magen and others date most of the inscriptions to the Hellenistic period (late 3rd early 2nd century BCE); Y. Magen, H. Misgav, L. Tsania, *Mount Gerizim Excavations Volume 1: The Aramaic, Hebrew, and Samaritan Inscriptions* (Judea and Samaria Publications 2; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authorities, 2004), 41. They also note that “some may belong to the earliest period of the sacred precinct (fifth–fourth centuries BCE),” 14. Moreover, the inscriptions were found inside the city’s Hellenistic period sacred precinct. Only one inscription was discovered *in situ* due to the multiple

are in Aramaic, but nine are in Hebrew.¹⁶³ Two of the nine Hebrew inscriptions are written in the square script, while seven are inscribed in paleo-Hebrew. The two square script Hebrew inscriptions overlap in content with the general dedicatory Aramaic inscriptions, while the paleo-Hebrew inscriptions contain distinctive priestly terminology.

The Aramaic inscriptions refer to God as אלהא, as found in the repeated expression “before the God in this place” (קדם אלהא באתרא דנה). The Hebrew inscriptions, on the other hand, contain אדני, אלהים,¹⁶⁴ and the Tetragrammaton. The Tetragrammaton occurs twice: once in a paleo-Hebrew inscription, and once on a silver ring in the square-Aramaic script that was found at the site.¹⁶⁵ I present the evidence for both Aramaic and Hebrew inscriptions in the table below for comparative purposes. I then discuss a few key examples.

2.2.1 Mt. Gerizim Divine Designations

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
קדם אלהא באתרא דנה	147, 149, 152, 154, 155, 162, 190, 191	Aramaic	Cursive	8x
דאלהא]א	213	Aramaic	Cursive	1x
]אלהא]	200	Aramaic	Monumental	1x
]קדם אל[הא ז]	172	Aramaic	Monumental	1x

destructions of the city and sanctuary, first by John Hyrcanus and again by Zenon in 484 CE.

¹⁶³ Magen, Misgav, Tsfania, *Mount Gerizim*. Greek and Samaritan inscriptions have also been found, but these generally date to later periods. See Magen, et al., “The Samaritan Script,” in *Mount Gerizim Inscriptions* [catalogue nos. 395–396]; Esther and Hanan Eshel, “Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch’s Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls,” in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 222–227; Ingrid Hjelm, “Mt. Gerizim and Samaritans in Recent Research,” in *Samaritans: Past and Present* (ed. Menachem Mor and Friedrich V. Reiterer; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 25–44.

¹⁶⁴ Magen reconstructs no. 387 as follows: ה[ל]זכ[רון טוב לפני ה]אלה[ים]מבקים הזה. The use of אלהים is probably accurate because this is a paleo-Hebrew inscription.

¹⁶⁵ Scholars differ in how they refer to the scripts used at Mt. Gerizim. The current study follows the terms used by Jan Dušek. In the *edition princeps*, Magen uses “Neo-Hebrew” instead of the more common term “paleo-Hebrew.” He also distinguishes between two Aramaic scripts: ‘lapidary’ and ‘proto-Jewish’ (Magen, 36–40). Dušek finds these inappropriate as (1) all of these inscriptions are “lapidary” by definition (i.e., carved in stone) and (2) “proto-Jewish” is unsuitable for inscriptions that come from Samaria (i.e., not associated with Judea). Regarding the latter, he writes, “From a paleographic point of view, this style of Aramaic script is a direct descendant of the official Aramaic cursive used in the Persian period, and we will call it simply ‘cursive script’ which was in use in the southern Levant in the Hellenistic period” (5). Thus, for the two types of Aramaic scripts (“lapidary” and “proto-Jewish”), he proposes the alternatives “monumental” and “cursive script” respectively.

לפני א[דני במקדש	150	Hebrew	Cursive	1x
[קדם אד[ני	151	Hebrew(?)	Cursive	1x
[יהוה ל]	383	Hebrew	paleo-Hebrew	1x
יהוה אחד	391	Hebrew	Cursive	1x
[אלה]	387	Hebrew	paleo-Hebrew	1x

No. 147 is the best preserved example of an Aramaic inscription:



די הקרב דליה בר שמעון עלוהי ועל בנוהי אבנא [דה ל]דכרנ טב קדם אלהא באתרא דנה

Dalayah son of Shim'on offered [this] stone for himself and his sons for good remembrance before God in this place.

The prepositional phrase קדם אלהא here appears to have a locative meaning, referring to the actual location of the offering in relation to the deity at the Mt. Gerizim Temple, rather than a figurative meaning intended to show respect to kings and deities.¹⁶⁶ In this phrase, Magen sees a parallel with the biblical לפני יהוה (“before YHWH”). He observes that לפני יהוה is used in the Bible for the place where the Ark of the Covenant was located and where sacrifices could be brought, such as the Temple or the Tabernacle (e.g., Lev 4:4).¹⁶⁷ Magen even refers to קדם אלהא as a “translation” of the Hebrew לפני יהוה. Perhaps “translation” is not the best way to describe

¹⁶⁶ For an insightful study on the possible figurative meaning of the preposition לפני/קדם used in a deferential sense, see Jan Joosten, “L’araméen de Qumran entre l’araméen d’empire et les Targumim: L’emploi de la préposition ‘devant’ pour exprimer le respect dû au roi et à Dieu,” in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence, 30 June–2 July 2008* (ed. by K. Berthelot, D. Stökl Ben Ezra; STDJ 94; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 84–85: “La préposition קדם reflète un style particulier qui vise à créer une distance entre les actions humaines et le roi... Ce trait stylistique n’est probablement pas l’invention des auteurs bibliques. Comme l’a reconnu Sebastian Brock, des tournures analogues se rencontrent dans l’araméen d’empire.” Thus the biblical phrase לפני יהוה, by the late Second Temple period, may have been read in light of the deferential “langage de la cour” related to the use of the Aramaic preposition קדם, as found in the Official Aramaic of Ezra and Daniel.

¹⁶⁷ Magen, et al., *Gerizim II*, 19.

this relationship, but the similarity in theme and formulaic expression of these phrases invites comparison. This suggests that אלהא may have been viewed as a replacement for יהוה. A glance at the entire collection of inscriptions, more broadly, shows a clear distinction between Aramaic and Hebrew divine name practices. This underscores the intentionality of avoiding the divine name in the Aramaic inscriptions.

No. 150 is a Hebrew inscription. The third line reads, [לפני א]דני במקדש. Magen observes that the expression here is identical to the Aramaic קדם אלהא באתרא דנה except that “the Hebrew writer preferred replacing the general concepts with explicit names: אדני ‘the Lord’ instead of אלהא ‘God,’ and במקדש ‘in the temple’ instead of באתרא דנה ‘in this place.’¹⁶⁸ We do not know if the Hebrew texts were inscribed with the Aramaic in mind, or vice versa, but Magen’s point remains valid—the Hebrew terms are specific while the Aramaic terms are general and could theoretically have been inscribed at any Aramaic-speaking cult site. This example shows at least two types of replacements of the Tetragrammaton. The Hebrew use of אדני, and the Aramaic use of אלהא.

No. 151 contains the phrase [--] קדם אד[ני] [--]. If the reconstruction of אדני is accurate, this would appear to be a Hebrew inscription. אדני does not occur in the Aramaic inscriptions, but importantly, the preposition קדם is featured in the Aramaic formulae. There are no inscriptions that actually preserve the use of לפני, so comparison in this regard is not possible. Magen considered no. 151 to be a Hebrew inscription with a mixed formula because “[i]n none of the Mt. Gerizim inscriptions, and, in fact, in none of any of the known Jewish inscriptions from any site, does the epithet אדני appear in an Aramaic text.” This is true for Mt. Gerizim, but

¹⁶⁸ See Magen, et al., *Gerizim II*, 30.

may be an overstatement because we find the use of *Adonai* in columns XI and XII of P. Amh 63, the Aramaic text in demotic script.¹⁶⁹ This may be one reason to question Magen’s view that this is a Hebrew inscription with a “mixed” formula. The use of אדני, nonetheless, in the absence of any further extant comparative material at Mt. Gerizim, seems to suggest that this inscription is Hebrew. If correct, then inscription no. 151 would provide evidence for the replacement of the Tetragrammaton with אדני.

No. 383 is a Hebrew inscription with the Tetragrammaton in the paleo-Hebrew script.¹⁷⁰



Image from Magen, Mount Gerizim Inscriptions, no. 383.

[...]h○○[...]
[...]ŸHWH I[...]¹⁷¹

[...]○○ה[...]
[...]יהוה ל[...]

This is the single occurrence of the Tetragrammaton among the Mt. Gerizim inscriptions. Magen, Gudme, and Dušek all consider the Tetragrammaton to be used in a priestly context because of the concentration of other priestly terms, such as כהנים and פינחס, in the paleo-Hebrew inscriptions.¹⁷² Magen summarizes the larger picture as follows:

In inscriptions using Aramaic scripts, God is referred to as אלהא ‘the God,’ but in inscriptions whose language is Hebrew, the terminology אדני ‘the Lord’, is employed (nos. 150–151). The discussion of the latter inscriptions indicates a seeming hierarchical

¹⁶⁹ One could argue that P. Amh 63 is not Jewish, but the cluster of uses of *Adonai* seem to reflect at least an earlier Israelite/Jewish source behind the present form of columns XI and XII.

¹⁷⁰ For comparative purposes, the *waw* of the Tetragrammaton here shows much closer resemblance to the third letter in the BM Drachm, with the small “u” shaped top of the *waw*, in contrast to the horizontal cross bar of the *dalet* in other YHD coins from the fourth century BCE.

¹⁷¹ Magen, et al., 2004, 254; Naveh and Magen 1997; Magen, Tsfania, Misgav, 2000, 125–132; Dušek, *Mt. Gerizim*, 55.

¹⁷² See Anne Gudme, *Before the God in this Place for Good Remembrance: A Comparative Analysis of the Aramaic Votive Inscriptions from Mount Gerizim* (BZAW 441; Boston: de Gruyter, 2013).

usage of different names of God. The priests used the Hebrew language and script, and were the only ones to use the Tetragrammaton, a practice that had fallen into disuse among the other strata of society.¹⁷³

This summary offers an intriguing proposal for the divine name practices at Mt. Gerizim, but it must be admitted that the evidence is fragmentary. As it relates to the Tetragrammaton, for example, the idea that only priests used it is based largely on this single occurrence.

Another possible use of the divine name deserves to be mentioned. It was classified as a “Special Find” by Magen. No. 391 is a silver ring discovered at Mt. Gerizim that appears to contain the phrase יהוה אחד (“YHWH [is] one”) in the third line:



Image from Magen 2008, Plate XVII.

The two additional lines of text, above and below the pillar-like image, have not been deciphered. Magen considers the script of the Tetragrammaton to postdate the other inscriptions from the site.¹⁷⁴

Overall, the divine name practices at Mt. Gerizim appear to be consistent with the language employed, Aramaic or Hebrew. An additional complexity involves the use of the paleo-Hebrew script in the priestly inscriptions. Magen offers the following synthesis:

If the Hebrew characters were indeed in use only by priests, then it may be concluded that during that period priests wrote God’s explicit name, while the average Israelite using the Jewish script, even when he wrote in the Hebrew language, would refer to God

¹⁷³ Magen, et al., 2004: no. 383.

¹⁷⁴ See Magen, et al., 2004: no. 391. He entertains the possibility that “[t]he other marks on the ring are perhaps not real letters at all, but only the letter-like signs that appear on Samaritan amulets.” There is also no consensus regarding the depiction on the ring, or its proper direction. Magen suggests that it “might depict a facade with a pediment on top of some stairs or a monolithic base(?),” Magen, *Gerizim*, 260–261.

only by the appellation ‘Lord.’ If so, then this inscription is the earliest extant testimony to the use of the appellation “Lord” instead of the explicit YHWH name.¹⁷⁵

This is probably best understood as a maximal interpretation of the evidence. As we will see, however, more caution is warranted in drawing far-reaching conclusions about the early second century BCE from a slim amount of evidence. Over a thousand inscriptions likely once existed at Mt. Gerizim and we have only a collection of 391 fragments, and even among these we find evidence of mixed scripts and formulae that qualify the conclusions about the priestly setting of paleo-Hebrew inscriptions and the role of language in these inscriptions. The current state of the evidence, nevertheless, strongly supports the intentional avoidance of the divine name in Aramaic in contrast to its use in Hebrew.

2.2.2 Book of Ezra¹⁷⁶

Ezra contains five Aramaic letters that purport to be authentic correspondences over the contested administration of Judea/Samaria during the Achaemenid rule of the Persian period, mid-fifth century BCE.¹⁷⁷ In the final shaping of Ezra, the correspondences along with some Aramaic narration, have been placed within a larger Hebrew literary framework that tells the

¹⁷⁵ Magen, *Gerizim*, 150.

¹⁷⁶ The final form of Ezra shares a close literary relation to Nehemiah. At a very early time, these books were considered one, and read as “Ezra-Nehemiah.” On the original form of Ezra-Nehemiah, see recently Lisbeth S. Fried, *Ezra. A Commentary* (Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2015), 3: “Although the final product must be read as one book (*pace* VanderKam 1992; Kraemer 1993; Becking 1998), it includes the work of several independent authors and editors, whose writings have now been completely intertwined.” In this study, I discuss Ezra apart from Nehemiah simply from a historical-critical perspective, and because Nehemiah does not use Aramaic. It is difficult, furthermore, to discern when Ezra and Nehemiah were read as one book. Some ancient sources refer to one, but not the other. For example, Sir 49:12–13 and 2 Macc 1:18, 20–36 mention Nehemiah, but not Ezra.

¹⁷⁷ For a discussion of the sources, composition, and dating of Ezra, see Hugh G. M. Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (Word Biblical Commentary Series; Waco: Word Books, 1985), 16:xxiii–xxxvii. For studies on the authenticity of the Aramaic letters see Philip S. Alexander, “Remarks on Aramaic Epistolography in the Persian Period,” *JSS* 23 (1978): 155–70; J. D. Whitehead, “Some Distinctive Features of the Language of the Aramaic Arsames Correspondence,” *JNES* 37 (1978): 119–40; P. E. Dion, “Les Types épistolaires hébréo-araméens jusqu’au temps de Bar-Kokhbah,” *RB* 96 (1979): 544–79; Fitzmyer, “Aramaic Epistolography,” in *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (SBLMS 25; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), 183–204; Steiner, “Bishlam’s Archival Search Report in Nehemiah’s Archive: Multiple Introductions and Reverse Chronological Order as Clues to the Origin of the Aramaic Letters in Ezra 4–6,” *JBL* 125 (2006): 641–85; and Tamara Cohn Eskenazi, *In An Age of Prose: A Literary Approach to Ezra-Nehemiah* (SBL Monograph Series 36; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 55.

story of the return of the Babylonian exiles to Jerusalem. The God of Israel is invoked throughout the book and plays a key role in the return of the exiles, especially in stirring the spirit of King Cyrus to initiate and fully sponsor the return to Jerusalem and rebuild the Temple. Curiously, however, even though the deity is present in all parts of the book, we find a striking contrast between the terms for God in Aramaic and Hebrew. The name YHWH is consistently avoided in the Aramaic, but used freely in the Hebrew. At the very least, the Elephantine papyri, P. Amh 63, and the Idumean Ostraca show that the divine name in Aramaic was known and used during the Persian period, which makes its non-use in the Aramaic of Ezra all the more striking.

The Aramaic terms for God are collected below. This is followed by a collection of the Hebrew terms for God. With these data sets in place, I will discuss three passages that illustrate the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton in the literary contexts of Ezra.

2.2.2 Ezra: Aramaic Divine Designations

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Reference=Chapter (frequency)</i>	<i>Total Frequency</i>
בית אלהא	4, 5 (7x), 6 (9x), 7	18x
אלה שמיא וארעא	5	1x
אלה ישראל	5, 6, 7	3x
אלה שמיא	5, 6 (2x), 7 (4x)	7x
אלהא	5, 6 (2x)	3x
אלהא רבא	5	1x
אלההם	5, 7	2x
אלהך	7	6x
אלהכם	7	2x

In the Aramaic letters (Ezra 4:8–6:18 and 7:12–26), the terms for God are generally semantic equivalents of the Hebrew terms, except for the avoidance of the divine name. One notable feature of the Aramaic terms for God is the use of the title אלה in every designation, even when paired with other epithets. The second most frequent designation is אלה שמיא “God of Heaven” (7x). This epithet was also prominent in the epistolary context of Jedaniah’s request to

rebuilt the “house of YHW” at Elephantine. These uses, in Ezra and in Jedaniah’s letter, are near contemporary. Another epithet found in both Ezra and the Elephantine material is אלהא רבא “the Great God” (Ezra 5:8). At Elephantine, this compound epithet was applied to the God of Israel as well as foreign deities Ptaḥ, Shamash, and Osiris.¹⁷⁸ This epithet also appears in the book of Daniel and other Qumran Aramaic Scrolls.

Further insights can be drawn from a comparison with the Hebrew material. The Tetragrammaton occurs 37 times in the Hebrew parts of Ezra, and אלהים occurs 55 times.¹⁷⁹

2.2.3 Ezra: Hebrew Divine Designations

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Reference=Chapter (frequency)</i>	<i>Total Frequency</i>
יהוה אלהי השמים	1	1x
יהוה אלהי ישראל	1, 4 (2x), 6, 7, 9	6x
בית יהוה	1 (3x), 2, 3 (2x), 7, 8	8x
היכל יהוה	3 (2x)	2x
בית האלהים	1, 2, 3 (2x), 6, 8, 10 (3x)	9x
מזבח אלהי ישראל	3	1x
משה איש האלהים	3	1x
לאלהיכם	4	1x
לאלהינו	4	1x
אלהיו	7	1x
יהוה אלהי אבותינו	7	1x
יהוה אלהיו	7	1x
יהוה אלהי	7, 9	2x
יהוה אלהי אבותיכם	8	1x
יהוה אלהינו	9	1x
יהוה אלהי אבותיכם	10	1x
אלהינו	8 (9x), 9 (5x), 10 (4x)	18x

In the Hebrew passages, יהוה and אלהים are the standard terms for God. There are no adjectival or descriptive epithets like אלהא רבא. The more national focused יהוה אלהי ישראל “YHWH God

¹⁷⁸ TAD C3.12, 26 contains the line לנקה קדם אפתח אלהא רבא (“for libations before Ptaḥ the great god”); cf. TAD D22.47, 4; D24.1, 4–5.

¹⁷⁹ Of these total occurrences, the construct phrase “...יהוה אלהי...” occurs 14 times.

of Israel” occurs 6 times, while יהוה אלהי שמים “YHWH God of Heaven” occurs only once, suggesting that in the Hebrew designations “Israel” is preferred over “Heaven.” Furthermore, יהוה and אלהים appear to be interchangeable, as seen in the uses of בית יהוה (8x) and בית אלהים (9x).¹⁸⁰ The Aramaic equivalent is more consistent. While the Hebrew passages move freely between בית יהוה and בית אלהים, the Aramaic reads בית אלהא every time the Jerusalem Temple is mentioned (18x). This survey shows that the Aramaic passages clearly avoid the Tetragrammaton and instead prefer “Heaven” and/or אלהא. Three examples are illustrative.

(1) A clear preference for אלהא over יהוה is evident in the Aramaic speech of king Darius (Ezra 6:9–12). The Aramaic words placed in Darius’ mouth are curiously deuteronomic, and when we compare Darius’ speech with the Hebrew deuteronomic “name-theology,” for example of Deut 16:2, the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton is obvious. The Persian king discovers an earlier memorandum (דכרוונה) in the archives of Ecbatana that authorized the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple. He commands the Judean adversary Tattenai, and his associates to “keep away...let the governor of the Jews and the elders of the Jews rebuild this house of God (בית אלהא) on its site.” Darius then subsidizes the rebuilding of the temple with money from the royal revenue:

[9] Whatever is needed—young bulls, rams, or sheep for burnt offerings to the God of heaven [לאלהא שמיא], wheat, salt, wine, or oil, as the priests in Jerusalem require—let that be given to them day by day without fail, [10] so that they may offer pleasing sacrifices to the God of heaven [לאלהא שמיא], and pray for the life of the king and his children...[12] May the God who has established his name there [ואלהא די שכן שמה תמה] overthrow any king or people that shall put forth a hand to alter this, or to destroy this house of God in

¹⁸⁰ Ezra 8–10 stands out for the relatively high frequency of אלהים + a pronominal suffix; most notable are the 18 occurrences of אלהינו (“our God”). Several distinct features occur in the so-called “Ezra Memoir.” The common designation for the Jewish deity in Ezra 8 is “our God,” and the phrase “hand of our God” occurs several times, apparently as protective surety for the journey back to Jerusalem, parallel to the idea that “[God] delivered us from the hand of the enemy and from ambushes along the way” (Ezra 8:31). This theme also occurs in Nehemiah 2:8, 18.

Jerusalem. I, Darius, make a decree; let it be done with all diligence. (Ezra 6:9–12)

The deuteronomic language in the “decree” of Darius is unmistakable. It contrasts sharply with the more general language of international Persian diplomacy as the decree contains terms that are specific to the Israelite/Judean community.¹⁸¹ Note the comparison between Ezra 6:12 and Deut 16:2:¹⁸²

יהוה לשכן שמו שם Deut 16:2
ואלהא די שכן שמה תמה Ezra 6:12

These verses are nearly identical, except for their references to God. This divergence underscores the purposeful avoidance of the Tetragrammaton in Aramaic.

(2) Ezra 6:16–18 (Aramaic) gives an account of the temple dedication, while three verses later Ezra 6:21–22 (Hebrew) narrates the celebration of Passover. In the Aramaic passage, we find the consistent use of אלהא:

[16] The people of Israel, the priests and the Levites, and the rest of the returned exiles, celebrated the dedication of this house of God (בית אלהא) with joy...[18] Then they set the priests in their divisions and the Levites in their courses for the service of God at Jerusalem (על עבידת אלהא די בירוּשלים), as it is written in the book of Moses.

The Aramaic narrator depicts a national event. He is not constrained by diplomatic rhetoric or the customary features of official Persian documents, both of which may have restricted the use of

¹⁸¹ Even scholars who hold that the Aramaic correspondences are largely “authentic” agree that this passage received Jewish coloring, but the context in which this happened is not immediately clear. Williamson believed that Jewish scribes were behind the drafts of the authentic correspondences as they were written up for the Persian administration. After discussing examples in which the Persian authorities acquainted themselves with the specifics of other local cults, Williamson commented on the list of items declared by Darius for the service of the Jerusalem temple: “The “Jewishness” of the list is no objection [to authenticity] either, since we have observed repeatedly that Jews were doubtless involved in one way or another with the drafting of legislation that concerned their religion and its cult.” And so the presence of distinctly Jewish terms does not detract from the authenticity of the correspondences: “Jewish influence on the drafting of the decree is again to be discerned in the typically Deuteronomic phrase ‘the God who has caused his name to dwell there’.” See Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 16:82–83.

¹⁸² See also Deut 12:5, 11; 14:23; 16: 6, 11; and 26:2.

the Tetragrammaton in Aramaic, but he still uses אלהא. For the narration of the Passover, however, the language shifts to Hebrew:

[21] And they ate [the Passover], the people of Israel who had returned from exile, and all who had joined them and separated themselves from the pollutions of the nations of the land to worship YHWH, the God of Israel (יהוה אלהי ישראל) [22] With joy they celebrated the festival of unleavened bread seven days; for YHWH (יהוה) had made them joyful... (Ezra 6:21–22)

The Aramaic narrator refers to the Levites and Moses, and so had the freedom and occasion to use the Tetragrammaton, or perhaps the Aramaic form of the divine name. But the Aramaic writer chose to use אלהא instead, which contrasts with the use of the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew Passover pericope.

(3) Ezra 7:6–11 (Hebrew) introduces and describes the role of Ezra himself, while the Aramaic passage Ezra 7:12 contains Artaxerxes description of Ezra. The juxtaposition of these passages, again, highlights the avoidance of the divine name in Aramaic.

[11] This is a copy of the letter that King Artaxerxes gave to the priest Ezra, the scribe, a scholar of the text of the commandments of YHWH and his statutes for Israel: [12] “Artaxerxes, king of kings, to the priest Ezra, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven: Peace.”

The relevant passages are compared below:

עזרא הכהן הספר ספר דברי מצות יהוה Ezra 7:11 (Hebrew)
עזרא כהנא ספר דתא די אלה שמיא Ezra 7:12 (Aramaic)

These verses are identical except for their rendering of the divine name. In Hebrew, Ezra is the scribe of the commandments of YHWH, but in Aramaic he is the scribe of אלה שמיא.

In summary, at the seam of the narrative transitions between Aramaic and Hebrew, parallel themes and phrases are juxtaposed that reveal distinct divine name practices that emphasize the avoidance of the divine name in Aramaic, but its use in Hebrew. The three examples above—the decree of Darius (Ezra 6:12) with deuteronimistic parallels, the Passover

pericope (Ezra 6:16–18, 21–22), and the bilingual portrayals of Ezra (Ezra 7:11–12)—suggest that the avoidance in the Aramaic of Ezra is intentional.¹⁸³

2.2.3 Book of Nehemiah

A brief discussion of the divine designations in Nehemiah is important because Nehemiah shares a close literary relationship with Ezra, but also provides some parallels for divine designations in Daniel. In Nehemiah, the Tetragrammaton occurs 17 times while אלהים occurs 70 times.

2.2.3 Nehemiah: Hebrew Divine Designations

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Reference=Chapter (frequency)</i>	<i>Total Frequency</i>
אלהי השמים	1, 2 (2x)	3x
אדני	1	1x
יהוה אלהי השמים האל הגדול והנורא	1	1x
יהוה האלהים הגדול	8	1x
אלהינו האל הגדול הגבור והנורא	9	1x
אל חנון ורחום	9	2x
אדני הגדול והנורא	4	1x
אדנינו	8, 13	2x
אלהי	2 (2x), 5, 6, 7, 13 (5x)	10x
אלהים	6, 12, 13 (2x)	4x
האלהים	4, 5, 7, 12	4x
יראת אלהינו	5	2x
אלהינו	3, 4 (2x), 6, 13 (2x)	6x

¹⁸³ The authenticity of the Aramaic passages, purportedly originating with foreign dignitaries (e.g., Cyrus Decree, Darius Decree, or the official Aramaic correspondences) has been often questioned in scholarship (see n. 171, 175). For the purpose of the current study, namely to collect the evidence for the use and non-use of the divine name, the provenance of the sources is relevant, but not in the sense that a Jewish author would use the divine name while an authentic Aramaic Persian source would refer only to אלהא שמיא. On the surface, language seems to be the determining factor. For example, in Cyrus' decree (Ezra 1:2–4), he claims that יהוה אלהי השמים has appointed him to be the ruler of the world. Would Cyrus have used the personal name of the Israelite/Judahite national deity? It is possible, given that the Cyrus Cylinder makes similar claims *vis-à-vis* the Babylonian national deity, Marduk. But the Tetragrammaton was probably used in Ezra 1:2–4, in its current literary context, because it was written in Hebrew, regardless of its provenance. Compare this with the Aramaic narrator in the example of Ezra 6:16–18; he is not relaying words of foreign kings, or stitching an Aramaic correspondence. He describes the Jewish temple dedication ceremony, mentioning even Moses, but avoids using the Tetragrammaton. This is because the passage was written in Aramaic. The reason why the book of Ezra avoids the divine name in Aramaic, while other Aramaic texts, such as the Elephantine material, etc., use the short form, is another question, one that comes into view as the result this collection of all available evidence. I discuss this question more fully in the conclusion.

בספר בתורת האלהים	8	2x
בספר תורת יהוה אלהיהם	9	1x
יהוה	5, 8 (4x), 9	6x
יהוה אלהיכם	8, 9	2x
יהוה אלהיהם	9	2x
יהוה האלהים	9	1x
אלהיך	9	1x
יהוה אדנינו	10	1x
יהוה אלהינו	10	1x
בית יהוה	10	1x
תורת האלהים	10	2x
משה עבד האלהים	10	1x
בית האלהים	6, 8, 11 (3x), 12, 13 (3x)	9x
בית אלהינו	10 (8x), 13	9x
דויד איש האלהים	12	2x
משמרת אלהיהם	12	1x
קהל האלהים	13	1x
אלהיו	13	1x

There are some overlaps between the designations in Ezra and Nehemiah. Neh 1:5, for example, contains the epithet יהוה אלהי השמים, identical to the epithet found in Cyrus' decree in Ezra 1:2.¹⁸⁴ In Nehemiah, however, the divine names are more varied. We find longer epithet chains, such as יהוה האלהים (Neh 9:32), אלהינו האל הגדול הגבור והנורא (Neh 4:8), and יהוה האלהים הגדול (Neh 8:6), and we also encounter אדני, which on occasion parallels יהוה and אל. Note the following:

אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא Neh 1:5
 אֲנִי אֲדֹנָי תְּהִי נָא אֲזִנֶּךָ קִשְׁבַּת...אֵל תְּפַלֵּת עַבְדֶּיךָ הַחֹפְצִים לִירְאָה אֶת שְׁמֶךָ Neh 1:11
 אֵל תִּירְאוּ מִפְּנֵיהֶם אֶת אֲדֹנָי הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא זְכְרוּ Neh 4:8

Although some of the divine names in Nehemiah share features with Ezra, others are closely linked with the Hebrew designation in Daniel, in particular the use of אדני and יהוה. We find this

¹⁸⁴ These epithets occur in a significant location, at the beginning of both books, framing the portrayal of the deity within the narratives. Furthermore, both Ezra and Nehemiah share the phrase “the hand of my God was upon me.”

relationship most explicit in the penitential prayer of Dan 9, the only passage in Daniel that uses the Tetragrammaton; similar themes can be found in Neh 1:5–11 and 9:5–37.

2.2.4 Book of Daniel

The book of Daniel offers further evidence for the use and non-use of the divine name according to language divisions.¹⁸⁵ The divine name is avoided in Aramaic, but used in Hebrew, although found only in the penitential prayer of Dan 9 (8x). The distribution of Aramaic divine titles and epithets also seem to have a specific distribution, as some cluster in certain chapters but not others:

2.2.4 Daniel: Aramaic Divine Designations

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Reference/Chapter (frequency)</i>	<i>Total Frequency</i>
אלה	2	1x
אלה רב	2	1x
אלהכון הוא אלה אלהין ומרא מלכין	2	1x
אלה שמיא	2	4x
אלהא	2, 5 (3x)	4x
¹⁸⁶ מרא	2, 5	2x
אלהה	6	5x
אלהך	6	1x
אלהי	6	1x
¹⁸⁷ שמיא	4	1x
מלך שמיא	4	1x

¹⁸⁵ The Aramaic tales (Dan 1–6) are often distinguished from the apocalyptic visions (Dan 7–12), but intriguingly the language of these sources does not neatly follow the genre boundaries. The opening and second half of Daniel are in Hebrew (Dan 1:1–2:4a and 8–12), while most of the first half is in Aramaic (Dan 2:4b–7:28). For discussion of this phenomenon and the debate over the coherence of an independent “Aramaic book” based on concentric patterns of Dan 2–7, see John Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 33–39; Rainer Albertz, *Der Gott des Daniel: Untersuchungen zu Daniel 4–6 in der Septuagintafassung sowie zu Komposition und Theologie des aramäischen Danielbuches* (SBS 131; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988), 170–83; *ibid.*, “The Social Setting of the Aramaic and Hebrew Book of Daniel,” in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 171–204; Maurice Casey, *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (London: SPCK, 1979), 7–9; and Carol Newsom, *Daniel* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2014), 1–28.

¹⁸⁶ The name מרא refers to Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 4:16 and 21.

¹⁸⁷ A phrase in Dan 4:23 reads, תנדע די שלטן שמיא. The relative particle די introduces a nominal (verbless) clause, in which שלטן is a predicate adjective: “you shall know that Heaven (is) sovereign.” This is compared below with a similar phrase in the Aramaic *Book of Giants*, see § 2.3.2.

מרא שמיא	5	1x
אלהא חיא	6	2x
אלהנא	3	1x
אלההון	3	3x
דמה לבר אלהין ¹⁸⁸	3	1x
עליונין קדישי	7	4x
אלהא עליא	3, 5 (2x)	3x
חי עלמא	4	1x
עליא	4, 5, 7	10x
עתיק יומין	7	2x

אלהא is the most frequent divine title in Aramaic. It occurs independently and in compound with other epithets. While אלהא has the broadest distribution, it does not occur in the apocalyptic vision of Dan 7, most of which concerns the vision and interpretation of the four beasts. Dan 7:9–14 depicts the God of Israel as the עתיק יומיא (“Ancient of days”) and עליא (“Most High”).

There are several titles and epithets in Daniel that we have not encountered in other Aramaic texts up to this point, such as עליא (“Most High”), קדישי עליונין (“holy ones of the Most High”), חי עלמא (“One Living Forever”), אלהא חיא (“Living God”), אלה רב (“Great God”), and עתיק יומיא (“Ancient of Days”). The designations שמיא and עליא are relatively frequent, often in longer epithet chains, but אלה שמיא is found only in Dan 2, and the independent use of עליא occurs only in Dan 4, 5, and 7.

Scholars have debated the meaning of עליונין. In Daniel, it always occurs in the construct phrase קדישי עליונין, and can be translated either as an epexegetical adjective (“most high holy ones” or “holy ones on high”) or as a divine epithet (“holy ones of the Most High”).¹⁸⁹ It also

¹⁸⁸ The plural אלהין in the phrase “likeness of a son of the gods” refers the fourth figure in the “furnace of blazing fire” (Dan 3:25), which Nebuchadnezzar apparently describes as an angel (מלאך) in verse 28. This is not a designation of the God of Israel, but likened to a figure associated with the divine council (cf. Gen 6:2; Job 1:6, 38:7; Ps 29:1).

¹⁸⁹ The idea that קדישי עליונין describes celestial beings (not faithful Israelites or Jews) can be traced back to O. Procksch and M. Noth. For bibliography and history of discussion, see John Goldingay, “‘Holy Ones On High’ in

occurs in 4QBirth of Noah^c (or “Elect of God” 4Q536) in the phrase *יגלא רזין בעליונין*. Contextual and linguistic variables seem equally balanced for the interpretation of *עליונין* either as an adjective describing the *קדישי* or as a divine epithet. But both interpretations, in general, communicate the same meaning. Whether the *קדישי* are humans or celestial beings they are “holy.” The debated issue is whether they themselves are “most high” or somehow associated with the “Most High.” If the former, by implication, they would still be in the approximate sphere of (God) Most High, which means that either way the “holy ones” are in some sense elevated.

The distribution of the Tetragrammaton and other divine titles and epithets in Hebrew is also distinctive. The God of Israel is addressed 30 times, but 23 of these are in Dan 9 alone.¹⁹⁰

2.2.4 Daniel: Hebrew Divine Designations

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Reference=Chapter (frequency)</i>	<i>Total Frequency</i>
<i>אדני</i> ¹⁹¹	1, 9 (6x)	7x

Daniel 7:18,” *JBL* 107 (1988): 495–497; and John Collins, “Excurses: Holy Ones,” in *Daniel: A Commentary On the Book of Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 312–19. Goldingay argues that “[t]here is no difficulty involved in taking *עליונין* as a genuine plural referring to beings who are ‘[on] high’...Grammatically, the most obvious understanding would then be to take the construct phrase as partitive, so that it translates as “holy ones among ones on high.” Regarding the use of *קדישי עליון* in CD 20.8, Goldingay observes: “A writer who wishes to refer to ‘the holy ones of the Most High’ in Hebrew does so by using the singular *עליון*, which suggests that *עליונין* would not naturally be taken to have a singular reference.” (495) Collins thinks that this comparison does not take account of the role of *עליון* in Aramaic; cf. Collins, 312–13: “The Aramaic for “highest,” however, is *עליא* (plural). *עליון* is an epithet for the Deity. The plural, then, should be taken as a plural of manifestations and the traditional translation maintained.”

¹⁹⁰ The scholarly literature on the composition and redaction of the prayer in Dan 9 is extensive. For similar prayers, see Ezra 9:6–15; Neh 1:5–11; 9:5–37; Psalm 79; Bar 1:15–3:8; 28 and the Prayer of Azariah, 1QS 1.22–2.1. For an important early study, see Maurice Baillet, “Un Recueil liturgique de Qumrân, grotte 4: ‘Les Paroles des luminaires’,” *RB* 68 (1961): 195–250, and more recently Barbara Schlenke, “Verantwortung angesichts des Endes. Das Gebet des Daniel in Dan 9,4–20,” in *Juda und Jerusalem in der Seleukidenzeit: Herrschaft—Widerstand—Identität. Festschrift für Heinz-Josef Fabry* (ed. Ulrich Dahmen, Johannes Schnocks; Bonner Biblische Beiträge 159; Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2010), 105–23. At present, it may suffice to mention the observations of John Collins: “The prayer in Daniel 9 is a traditional piece that could have been composed at any time after the Exile. Such prayers are common in post-exilic Judaism, from the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah to the *Words of the Heavenly Luminaries* at Qumran and the book of Baruch. This prayer cannot tell us what was distinctive in the theology of Daniel, and its own provenance remains obscure.” Collins, *Daniel*, 359.

¹⁹¹ The title *אדני* “my lord” occurs with reference to Nebuchadnezzar (1:10) and 5x with reference to the revelatory agent (Dan 10:16–19; 12:8). These occurrences are not counted here.

האלהים	1	2x
בית האלהים	1	1x
משה עבד האלהים	9	1x
אדני האלהים	9	1x
אדני אלהינו	9	2x
אדני האל הגדול והנורא	9	1x
יהוה	9	3x
יהוה אלהי	9	2x
יהוה אלהינו	9	3x
אלהינו	9	1x
אלהי	9	3x
אלהיך	10	1x
אלהיו	11	1x
אל אלים	11	1x

The frequency of Hebrew terms for God in Dan 9 are related to the content of the prayer—admission of sin and responsibility for breaking the covenant and requests to God for forgiveness and restoration. This is also the only chapter where the Tetragrammaton occurs. Dan 9 begins with the first person narrative voice of Daniel,

I, Daniel, perceived in the books the number of years that, according to the word of YHWH (יהוה) to the prophet Jeremiah, must be fulfilled for the devastation of Jerusalem, namely, seventy years.^[3] Then I turned to the Lord God (אדני האלהים), to seek an answer by prayer and supplication with fasting and sackcloth and ashes.^[4] I prayed to YHWH my God (יהוה אלהי) and made confession, saying, “Ah, Lord, great and awesome God (אנא אדני האל הגדול והנורא)...

The Tetragrammaton is used twice in the narrative introduction to the prayer, then an additional 6 times in the prayer itself, where it appears to be interchangeable with אדני. There is another notable occurrence of אדני, found at the very beginning of the book, Dan 1:1–2:

In the third year of the reign of King Jehoiakim of Judah, King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon came to Jerusalem and besieged it. And the Lord (אדני) let King Jehoiakim of Judah fall into his power, as well as some of the vessels of the house of God (בית האלהים). These he brought to the land of Shinar, and placed the vessels in the treasury of his gods.

A parallel account is given in 2 Chr 36:7: “Nebuchadnezzar also carried some of the vessels of the house of YHWH (בית יהוה) to Babylon and put them in his palace in Babylon.” In this report, 2 Chronicles uses the Tetragrammaton, while Daniel (MT) uses אֲדֹנָי. Other Hebrew witnesses to Daniel, however, use the Tetragrammaton¹⁹² and Carol Newsom suggests that the Tetragrammaton “may well be original.”¹⁹³ This variant may be understood as a scribal replacement of the Tetragrammaton, as preserved in the MT of Daniel, but it may also provide further evidence for the original avoidance of the divine name in Aramaic. As mentioned above, the book of Daniel attests to a very complex composition and redaction history. While the issue is debated, some scholars have argued that Dan 1 was originally in Aramaic, primarily because it seems integral to the interpretation of the Aramaic tales that follow (Dan 2–7).¹⁹⁴ If this was the case, then מֶרַא may have been the original designation in Dan 1:2; this term is used for the Jewish deity in Dan 2 and 5. מֶרַא would have been rendered אֲדֹנָי when Dan 1–2:4a was translated into Hebrew. This scenario might also explain why the phrase בית האלהים appears in Dan 1:2 instead of בית יהוה as reflected in the parallel 2 Chr 36:7, as the original underlying Aramaic would have read אֱלֵהָא. Overall, אֱלֵהָא in the Aramaic passages and אֱלֹהִים in the

¹⁹² BHS notes, “nonn Mss יהוה, sed inusitatum in hoc libro except cp 9,” and most commentators simply repeat this statement. The number can be found in Kennicott, where he lists fifteen mss with יהוה, and one that reads אֲדֹנָי; see Benjamin Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum Variis Lectionibus* (vol. 2; Clarendoniano, 1776), 571.

¹⁹³ Newsom, *Daniel*, 36.

¹⁹⁴ See Collins, *Daniel*, 35: “The collection of the tales presupposes the introduction that is provided by chap. 1. This introduction was most probably supplied, in Aramaic, by the editor or collector of the tales. Besides establishing the identity of Daniel, it prepares for chap. 5 by mentioning the temple vessels, for chap. 3 by introducing Daniel’s three companions, and for chaps. 2 and 4 by noting Daniel’s insight into visions and dreams. It concludes with an indication of the length of Daniel’s career... Daniel 1–6 is remarkably free of insertions referring to the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes... This, together with the lack of Maccabean references in the tales, makes it probable that chaps. 1–6 were already in circulation as an Aramaic book before the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.”

Hebrew passages have the widest distribution in the book of Daniel, while other epithets pertain to specific chapters.¹⁹⁵

This collection of evidence, again, demonstrates the avoidance of the divine name in Aramaic and its continued use in Hebrew, but a further chronological observation can be made. Most scholars hold that the Aramaic tales were collected in the Hellenistic period, and thus predate the Hebrew passages, which were combined with the Aramaic tales sometime in the 160s BCE.¹⁹⁶ This likely suggests that the tradition of divine name avoidance in Daniel predates the use of the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew, thus not aligning with a model of development from use to non-use.

2.3 *The Non-Use of the Divine Name in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls*

The evidence of the Qumran Aramaic Scrolls further demonstrates the consistent avoidance of the divine name. There are several points of comparison between Aramaic translations, paraphrases, quotations, and rewritings of Hebrew biblical source texts, and these show that the Aramaic authors saw the Tetragrammaton in their sources, but in every case either omitted it or replaced it with another title or epithet. The clearest evidence for such avoidance comes from 1QapGen, 11QNew Jerusalem, 4QpsDan^b, 11QAramaic Job, and 4QpapTob^a. In a recent study, Daniel Machiela has observed:

One of the distinctive features of Jewish Aramaic literature from the Second Temple period is the general absence of the divine name most closely associated with the God of Israel in the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, the Tetragrammaton (Yhwh). This absence is all the more striking since many of the Aramaic compositions rewrite portions of biblical books—mainly Genesis—in which the Tetragrammaton is found regularly (e.g., *1 Enoch*, *Aramaic Levi Document*, and *Genesis Apocryphon*), suggesting a studied, conscious

¹⁹⁵ The designations of foreign deities are not listed here, but similar observations regarding their distribution could be made. The title אֱלֹהִים, for example, occurs 4 times (only in Dan 11) exclusively with reference to foreign gods.

¹⁹⁶ For overview and bibliography, see Carol Newsom, *Daniel*, 1–2, 23–28.

avoidance of the name. This trait separates the Aramaic writings from most of the canonical Hebrew compositions, on the one hand, and aligns them with the sectarian works from Qumran, on the other.¹⁹⁷

In his essay, Machiela examines the exceptional use of dots, also known as Tetrapuncta, to replace the divine name in 4QpapTob^a. This is a drastic type of avoidance in the Qumran scrolls because no title or epithet is used to replace the divine name. This practice is also found in the Qumran Hebrew scrolls, to be discussed in the following chapter, but it raises an important methodological observation when dealing with texts from Qumran, both Aramaic and Hebrew. For copies of Qumran manuscripts, it is helpful to keep in mind an important distinction between, on the one hand, the divine name practices at the compositional stage of literary works, and, on the other hand, practices that have entered the copies at later stages in transmission. The avoidance of the divine name at the compositional stage of Aramaic works, more broadly, is a separate phenomenon from the scribal practices of avoidance, for example, through the use of Tetrapuncta. This distinction shows that at least two different types of avoidance can be discerned. It does not seem likely that both types of avoidance can be best explained according to the same principle.

For the Persian period Aramaic texts that avoid the divine name, primarily Ezra and Daniel, there is no indication of how the traditional reasons given for divine name avoidance—practicing strict purity halakha, or safeguarding the honor of the deity—would apply. The survey of Qumran Aramaic texts below provides the raw material that is needed to investigate this situation further. In the following discussion, I provide basic information about the manuscripts of each work, followed by a table summarizing the divine name titles and epithets. As mentioned

¹⁹⁷ Daniel A. Machiela, “Lord or God? Tobit and the Tetragrammaton,” *CBQ* 75 (2013): 463.

in the beginning of this study, I restrict myself primarily to the Second Temple copies of the Qumran Aramaic works, and therefore omit references to later translations and versions.

2.3.1 Enoch

Twelve Aramaic manuscripts from Qumran attest to various passages from 1 Enoch.¹⁹⁸ In these manuscripts, we find 11 references to the Jewish deity that utilize one of the following adjectives: “holy,” “great,” “eternal,” or “living.”

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Frequency</i>
קדיש[ה ר]בה	Great Holy One	4Q201	1 i 5	1x
ר[ב]ה	Great One		1 i 6	4x ¹⁹⁹
קדשא	Holy One	4Q212	1 v 16	1x
מרנא רבא...	our Great Lord,	4Q202	1 iii 14	1x
מרנא עלמא...	Eternal Lord		1 iii 14	1x
מ[ר]יא	Lord		1 iv 5	1x
חי[א] די לכול עלם [דעלמין]	Living One	4Q204	1 i 30	1x ²⁰⁰
מרנא ענא	Lord of the Flock		4 4	1x
אל[וה]	God		4 11	1x

These terms for God focus on attributes of the deity. Three epithets are particularly noteworthy: קדישה (“Holy One”), רבא (“Great One”), and מרא (“Lord”). The author uses these independently or combines them with other epithets. 4QEn^a uses קדיש[ה ר]בה (“the Great Holy One”),²⁰¹ and 4QEn^b uses מרנא רבא [הו]א מרא עלמא (“our Great Lord, he is the Eternal Lord”).²⁰² The title אלוה appears only once.

¹⁹⁸ These include: 4QEn^{a-g} (4Q201–207, 4Q212), 4QEnastr^{a-d} (4Q208–211), and XQpapEnoch. There may be one Greek manuscript of Enoch from Cave 7 (7QpapEn [7Q4 + 7Q8 + 7Q11–14]). Apart from DJD and preliminary editions of Enochic texts, a helpful introduction is found in Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Early Traditions Related to 1 Enoch from the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Overview and Assessment,” in *The Early Enoch Literature* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and John J. Collins; JSJSup 121; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 41–63; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 9–21.

¹⁹⁹ See also 4Q204 1 vi 11; 4Q206 2 3; and 4Q209 23 3.

²⁰⁰ Note also 4Q212 1 ii 11, חיא הווא לעלם דעלמין, חיא (“He who is for Eternity of Eternities”).

²⁰¹ 4Q201 1 i 5.

²⁰² 4Q202 1 iii 14.

2.3.2 The Book of Giants

The *Book of Giants* was largely unknown before the discovery of the DSS.²⁰³ It is closely related in theme to 1 Enoch, though not represented in the Ethiopic version. This work is attested in ten manuscripts from four different caves.²⁰⁴

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Frequency</i>
קדישא	Holy One	4Q203	8 5	1x
רבא]	Great One	4Q206 2	2 3	1x
שלטן שמיא	Ruler of Heaven	4Q530	2 ii + 6 + 12(?) 16	1x
קדישא רבא	Great Holy One		2 ii + 6 + 12(?) 17	1x
א[ל[ה]א	God	4Q533	4 3	1x

Some epithets in *Giants* are also found in 1 Enoch, such as קדישא רבא (“Great Holy One”), but there is also a close relationship between *Giants* and Daniel, as in the use of שלטן שמיא. Note the occurrence of both epithets in Ohya’s dream in 4QEnGiants^b:

Then, his brother Ohya [sp]oke up and said before the giants, ^[16] I too, I saw in my dream during this night, O giants, [] behold, the Ruler of Heaven (שלטן שמיא) descended to the earth ^[17] and thrones were established and the Great Holy One (קדישא רבא) sa[t ...] serving him a thousand thousands...²⁰⁵

4QEnGiants^b shares important similarities and differences with the book of Daniel. The most obvious parallel is the scene of the descending deity to establish dominion on earth, with

²⁰³ A few references are found in Manichean and rabbinic literature. See W. B. Henning, “The Book of Giants,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1943): 52–74. He pieced together several sources (Middle Persian, Sogdian, Coptic, and Parthian) that contained “giant” traditions.

²⁰⁴ 1QEnGiants^{a-c} (1Q23–26), 2QBook of Giants (2Q26), 4QEnGiants^{a-c} (4Q203, 4Q530–533), 4QEnGiants^f? (4Q206 2–3), and 6QpapEnGiants (6Q8). The total number of manuscripts for the *Book of Giants* is debated. See J. T. Milik and Mathew Black, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments from Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 309; Milik, “Turfan et Qumran: Livre des géants juif et manichéen,” in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt, Festgabe für Karl George Kuhn zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Gert Jeremias, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, and Hartmut Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 117–27; García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 110–13; Puech, DJD XXXI, 11–12; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary* (TSAJ 63; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 41; idem, “The Sequencing of Fragments Belonging to the Qumran Book of Giants: An Inquiry into the Structure and Purpose of an Early Jewish Composition,” *JSP* 16 (1997): 3–24.

²⁰⁵ 4Q530 2 ii + 6 + 7 i + 8 + 9 + 10 + 11 + 12(?) 16–17. The root שלטן is reconstructed in 4QEn^g (4Q212) 1 iv 24 with reference to the stars: “[lights] of heaven.”

thousands in service, which resonates strongly with Dan 7. Milik argued that Ohya's dream was inspired by Dan 7:9–10, but others have been more cautious; Beyer and Reeves have simply noted the similarities without proposing a direction of influence.²⁰⁶ Stuckenbruck argues that the correspondences do not determine the direction of influence, and even considers it likely that Dan 7 may have drawn from *Giants* or a common tradition.²⁰⁷ One notable difference between *Giants* and Daniel is their distinct terms for God. Instead of Daniel's unique עתיק יומיא ("Ancient of Days"), 4QEnGiants^b gives the formulations שלטן שמיא and קדישא רבא.²⁰⁸ Recall the clause from Dan 4:23, תנדע די שלטן שמיא ("you will know that Heaven is sovereign"). In this clause, we also find the phrase שלטן שמיא, but here שלטן is the complement of the verbless clause ("is sovereign"). In 4QEnGiants^b, however, שלטן is actually part of the compound divine epithet ("Sovereign/Ruler of Heaven") as the subject of the clause.²⁰⁹ The precise nature of the relationship between *Giants* and Daniel is difficult to determine, but importantly for the current study, they share another thing in common: the avoidance of the divine name. Instead of using the divine name, they both seem to be experimenting with unique portrayals of the Jewish deity, שלטן שמיא עתיק יומיא is not used anywhere else, and *Giants* offers a new formulation of שלטן שמיא.

²⁰⁶ See Milik, "Turfan et Qumran," 122; *ibid.*, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 305; cf. also Beyer, *ATTM* 264 n. 1; Reeves, *Jewish Lore*, 92; and García Martínez, *Qumran Apocalyptic*, 104. García Martínez based his dating of the *Book of Giants* on the dependence of Ohyah's dream on Dan 7.

²⁰⁷ Stuckenbruck, *Giants*, 122–23: "The likelihood of the derivation of BG from Daniel is, however, significantly diminished on the basis of difference listed above," namely, "the scene described in BG Numbers the worshippers in 'hundreds' and 'thousands' while in Daniel they are numbered as 'thousands' and 'myriads'." He suggests that the numbers would get bigger in the transmission of the theophanic vision, rather than diminish. Therefore, Daniel either adapts and extends the text of BG, or BG preserves a form of the tradition that antedates Daniel, in which case both would be relying on an underlying tradition.

²⁰⁸ See Stuckenbruck's synopsis in *Giants*, 121.

²⁰⁹ The singular construct שלטן *shaltan* is not distinguished in form from the plural absolute *shalitin*, but syntax is a clear guide for its use in this instance.

2.3.3 Birth of Noah (or: Elect of God)

The so-called *Birth of Noah* is represented by three manuscripts: 4QBirth of Noah^{a-c} (4Q534–536). The literary setting is antediluvian, and scholars detect clear overlaps with Noah traditions, but the figure depicted in this work is ambiguous.²¹⁰ The *Birth of Noah* preserves the title אלהא and the term עליונין. The first occurs in 4QBirth of Noah^a,

[9] [A]l their designs against him will fail, and the array (?) of all living things will be great [10] [...] his purposes, because he is the chosen one of God (בחר אלהא הוא). His birth and the spirit of his breath [11] [...] his purposes will last forever [...]²¹¹

The author uses the standard title אלהא in the construct chain בחר אלהא (“chosen of God”), a unique locution among the Qumran scrolls.²¹²

The term עליונין occurs in 4QBirth of Noah^c in the clause: יגלא רזין בעליונין [...].²¹³ As with עליונין in the book of Daniel, the meaning here is also debated. Wise, Abegg, and Cook have translated it “[...] he will reveal secrets like the Most High.”²¹⁴ Puech takes עליונין as a reference to angels or “most high ones” and so translates, “[...]il révélera des mystères comme des anges...”²¹⁵ Martínez and Tigchelaar similarly translate, “[...] he will reveal mysteries like the Most High Ones.”²¹⁶ While in Dan 7:18, 22, 25, and 27 it always occurs in קדישי עליונין, with a focus on the identity of the “holy ones,” in 4QBirth of Noah^c, the interpretation revolves around

²¹⁰ See the “Book of Noah” found in 1 Enoch 106–107. For discussion, see Dorothy Peters, *Noah Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conversations and Controversies in Antiquity* (SBL EJL 26; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 101–107; Puech, DJD XXXI, 139–140; Florentino García Martínez, “4QMess ar and the Book of Noah,” in *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (ed. R. Aguirre and F. García Martínez, STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 17–19; Devorah Dimant, “Noah in Early Jewish literature,” in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (Harrisburg: Trinity Press, 1998), 123–50; see also *Noah and His Books* (ed. Michael E. Stone, Aryeh Amihay, Vered Hillel; SBL–EJL 28; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2010).

²¹¹ 4Q534 1 i 10.

²¹² The phrase is reconstructed in 4QVisions of Amram^a (4Q543) 2 a + b 4.

²¹³ 4Q536 2 i + 3 8.

²¹⁴ WAC, 541.

²¹⁵ Puech, DJD 31:166–167.

²¹⁶ See Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1999), 1073.

the action of the “chosen one” in revealing secrets. In light of the prepositional use of כּ, the question becomes either the extent to which the Most High reveals secrets, and the “chosen one” is revealing secrets in like manner, or whether beings associated with the heavenly or divine council are revealing secrets. The scribal milieu of the Aramaic writings from Qumran—a focus on priestly and angelic types of mediated knowledge—seems to favor the translation of Martínez, Tigchelaar, and Puech.

2.3.4 Genesis Apocryphon

The *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen or 1Q20) dates paleographically to the first century BCE/CE, but was likely composed no later than the mid-second century BCE.²¹⁷ The author follows the story line of Genesis 6–15, but inserts lively first person speeches of Enoch, Methusaleh, Lamech, Batenosh, Noah, Abram, and Sarai. 1Q20 is an important source for the study of divine names not only because it preserves so many of them, but also because the text closely parallels the Hebrew book of Genesis, providing several opportunities for comparison.

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Reference (column number)</i>		<i>Frequency</i>
קדישא רבא	Great Holy One	1Q20	0, 2, 4, 6, 7 (2x), 12	7x
קדישא...	Holy One...?		6	1x(?)
מרה שמיא	Lord of Heaven		0, 6, 7	3x ²¹⁸
מרה שמיא וארעא	Lord of Heaven and Earth		22	2x
מרה עלמא	Lord of Eternity		0 (2x), 6	3x
מרה/א	Lord		1, 3, 5, 6, 12	5x
עליא...	Most High		2, 6, 10, 15	4x
...מרה רבותא...	Great/Mighty Lord		2	1x
...מלך כול עלמים...	King of all Eternity		2 (2x), 6, 10	4x
מלך עלמ[י]ם	King of Eternity		19	1x
...מלך שמיא...	King of Heaven		2, 8	2x
מרה כולא	Lord of All		5, 10	2x

²¹⁷ See Daniel Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon, A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13-17* (STDJ 79; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 134–42.

²¹⁸ In col. 0:14 and 6.11, מרה is reconstructed, although its extant use elsewhere in these columns make it the probable choice.

בריא	Creator		10	1x
מרכון	your Lord		10	1x
...אל עליון...	God Most High		12, 15, 21 (2x), 22 (2x)	6x
אל	God		19	1x
רחמנא	Merciful One		15	1x
אל עלמא	God of Eternity		15	1x
אלהא	God		19, 21 (3x), 22	5x
...מרי לכול עלמים...	my Lord, of All Eternity		20	1x
...מרה ושליט על כול...	Lord and Ruler of All		20	1x
שליט	Ruler		20	2x
מרה עלמיה	Lord of Eternity		21	2x
מרי אלהא	my Lord, God		22	1x

1Q20 provides an astonishing range of divine title and epithets for the God of Israel. These appear to cluster in specific contexts, as we saw in Daniel, which perhaps reflects literary seams or previously independent sources. Moshe Bernstein provides an insightful study of this material, observing that some terms (e.g., עליא, מרה, רבותא, קדישא, רבא) occur only in what he designates “Part i” of the *Genesis Apocryphon* (columns 0–17), while others (e.g., אלהא) occur only in his “Part ii” (columns 19–22). Furthermore, Part ii does not use any combination with מלך, while Part i does.²¹⁹ But while 1Q20 contains a specific distribution of some designations, others bridge Part i and ii, such as אל עליון.²²⁰ In the following example from 1Q20 12 17 (Part i), Noah recounts his blessing of God after surviving the flood and planting his vineyards:

והוֹיֵת מְבוֹךְ לְמֵרָה שְׁמִיָּא לְאֵל עֲלִיּוֹן לְקַדִּישָׁא רַבָּא דִּי פִלְטָנָא מִן אַבְדָּנָא

“I was blessing the Lord of Heaven, God Most High, the Great Holy One, who saved us from the destruction...”

The use of אל עליון occurs in 1Q20 20.12–13 (Part ii), in Abram’s entreaty to God after Sarai is forcibly taken by Pharaoh Zoan.

²¹⁹ Moshe Bernstein, “Divine Titles and Epithets and the Sources of the Genesis Apocryphon,” *JBL* 128 (2009): 291–310.

²²⁰ See 1Q20 12.21, 15.24, 21.2, 21.20, 22.15–17.

That night I prayed and entreated and asked for mercy. Through sorrow and streaming tears I said, “Blessed are you God Most High, my Lord, for all ages; for you are Lord and Ruler over everything (אל עליון מרי לכול עלמים די אנתה מרה ושליט על כולא)...”

The appeal of אל עליון for the author is evident in its distribution across Parts i and ii of 1Q20, but also in its use as a replacement for the Tetragrammaton. At times, 1Q20 follows Genesis closely.

Where Genesis contains אל עליון, 1Q20 also uses אל עליון, but where Genesis contains the

Tetragrammaton, 1Q20 still uses אל עליון. This is not the only term to replace the

Tetragrammaton in 1Q20, however. The evidence is collected below:

ויקרא בשם יהוה [וקרית תמן בש[א]ל[הא]	MT 1Q20 19.7–8	Gen 12:8
ויקרא שם אברם בשם יהוה וקרית תמן בשם מרה עלמיא והללת לשם אלהא וברכת אלהא ואודית תמן...	MT 1Q20 21.2–3	Gen 13:4
ויבן שם מזבח ליהוה ובנית תמן מדבח ואספת עלוה[י] עלא ומנחא לאל עליון	MT 1Q20 21.20	Gen 13:14
ומלכי צדק מלך שלם הוציא לחם ויין והוא כהן לאל עליון ומלכי צדק מלכא דשלם אנפק מאכל ומשתה לאברם ולכול אנשא די עמה והוא הוא כהן לאל עליון	MT 1Q20 22.14–15 ²²¹	Gen 14:18
ויברכהו ויאמר ברוך אברם לאל עליון קנה שמים וארץ וברוך אל עליון... וברך לאברם ואמר בריך אברם לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא וברוך אל עליון	MT 1Q20 22.15–16	Gen 14:19–20
הרימתי ידי אל יהוה אל עליון קנה שמים וארץ מרים אנה ידי יומא דן לאל עליון מרה שמיא וארעא	MT 1Q20 22.20–21	Gen 14:22
אחר הדברים האלה היה דבר יהוה אל אברם במחזה בתר פתגמיא אלן אתחזי[ו] אלהא לאברם בחוזא	MT 1Q20 22.27	Gen 15:1
ויאמר אברם אדני יהוה מה תתן לי ואנכי הולך ערירי	MT	Gen 15:2

²²¹ Genesis reports that Abram invoked the name יהוה, but the author of 1Q20 19.7–8 actually includes the words of Abram’s invocation: “You are God (אלהא) ... and King of Etern[i]ty.”

ואמר אברם מרי אלהא שגי לי עתר ונכסין ולמא לי כול [א]לן 1Q20 22.32–33

והנה דבר יהוה אליו לאמר לא יירשך זה כי אם אשר יצא	MT	Gen 15:4
ואמר לה לא ירתנד דן להן די יפוק	1Q20 22.34	

Genesis contains the Tetragrammaton in 7 passages that share near identical texts with 1Q20, but 1Q20 consistently avoids the Tetragrammaton.²²² 1Q20 omits the Tetragrammaton twice, replaces it with אלהא (3x), מרה עלמיא (1x), and אל עליון (1x).²²³ This evidence also draws attention to the use of אלהא as a replacement for the Tetragrammaton.

2.3.5 Tobit

There are five Aramaic manuscripts of Tobit, and one is in Hebrew.²²⁴ Here we find the use of אלהא and a unique epithet מלכא רבא, but the most striking practice is the use of the Tetrapuncta, usually understood as four scribal dots to replace the four letters of the Tetragrammaton. We encounter this practice to a much greater in the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls. The Tetrapuncta occurs in 4QpapTob^a 17 I 5 (Tob 12:22) and 18 5 (Tob 14:2). These instances are represented with “••••” in the following table:

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
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²²² Bernstein takes a narrow view of the biblical passages that can be identified as direct sources for 1Q20. He comments that “[o]nly in this last instance [1Q20 22.27] can the employment of אלהא by the author of Part ii be claimed to be directly dependent on the biblical text he was following.” The clear parallels above, however, suggest a closer literary dependence of 1Q20, especially in Part ii, on Genesis.

²²³ For discussion between Fitzmyer, Tov, and Bernstein over translating, omitting, or stylistically rendering divine designations in 1Q20 22.20–21 compared to Gen 14:22, see Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 [1Q20]: A Commentary* (BibOr 18B; 3rd ed.; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), 251; Tov, *Text Criticism of the Hebrew*, 260–61; and M. Bernstein “Divine Titles and Epithets,” 303, fn 38.

²²⁴ 4QpapTob^a (4Q196), 4QTob^{b-d} (4Q197–199), and Schøyen Tobit (4Q196a). The oldest of these is 4Q199, dated to ca. 100 BCE. See Fitzmyer, DJD 19:1–76. Tobit is attested in Hebrew by 4QTob^c (4Q200). Some have taken this as an indication that Tobit was originally composed in Hebrew. At present the majority of scholars favor an Aramaic original. For an overview of this debate see Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2003), 21–28. A recent discussion can be found in D. Machiela and A. Perrin, “Tobit and the Genesis Apocryphon: Toward a Family Portrait,” *JBL* 133 (2014): 111–132. For all other versions of Tobit, see Stuart Weeks, Simon Gathercole, and Loren Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Tobit: Texts from the Principal Ancient and Medieval Traditions with Synopsis, Concordances, and Annotated Texts in Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac* (Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam pertinentes 3; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004).

א • • • • לה[ך	[LORD] your God	4Q196	6 7 (Tob 3:11)	1x ²²⁵
מל[אך • • • •]	angel of the LOR[D		17 i 5 (Tob 12:22)	1x
לה[ל • • • • ולהודיה רב[ותה	[...to the]LORD...		18 15 (Tob 14:2)	1x
מלכא רבא	Great King		18 5	1x
אלהא	God	4Q198	1 1, 3, 6	3x

In the first instance, 4Q196 17 i 5 shows all four dots. Fitzmyer reconstructed the fourth, because he missed a faint trace of the second dot, but it is evident on closer inspection.²²⁶ In the second instance, 4Q196 18 15 contains three dots; the first dot is not visible, but according to Fitzmyer it was on the edge of the fragment.²²⁷ The use of Tetrapuncta is a rare example of explicit avoidance in the Aramaic scrolls. It is clearly connected to the context of scribal copying, as this practice is used to avoid the Tetragrammaton in some Qumran Hebrew scrolls. Furthermore, there is debate over what designation the Tetrapuncta replaces in 4QpapTob^a.

At first, scholars assumed that the use of Tetrapuncta meant that the Tetragrammaton was in the *Vorlage* of Tobit.²²⁸ This would be an anomaly, because there is not a single occurrence of the Tetragrammaton itself in Aramaic literature. Recently, Machiela has argued that “4QpapTob^a [4Q196] employs the tetrapuncta as a substitute not for the Tetragrammaton but for the Aramaic designation, אלהא, ‘God’.”²²⁹ He supports this through reference to the most reliable Greek and

²²⁵ The reconstruction of both the Tetrapuncta and אלהך is tenuous.

²²⁶ See Machiela, “Lord or God?” 466. For the image on the IAA website, see <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-508188>.

²²⁷ Fitzmyer, DJD 19:30: “Not visible in the photograph is the tiny part of a dot to the right of the three preserved; it is still visible on the fragment itself. Before it is a small space of the same width as those between the first and second and the second and third dots.”

²²⁸ Fitzmyer, DJD 19:26, 30; Florentino García Martínez, “Scribal Practices in the Aramaic Literary Texts from Qumran,” in *Myths, Martyrs, and Modernity: Studies in the History of Religions in Honour of Jan N. Bremmer* (ed. Jitse Dijkstra, Justin Kroesen, and Yme Kuiper; Numen 127; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 338; Michaela Hallermayer, *Text und Überlieferung des Buches Tobit* (DCLS 3; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2008), 71, 80.

²²⁹ Machiela, “Lord or God?” 468. Importantly, Machiela shows that אלהא does not occur elsewhere in 4Q196 (at least in a non-puncta form), which in part leads him question Fitzmyer’s reconstruction of אלה[ך • • • • in 4Q196 11 1 (=Tob 3:11). The strongest material challenge for Fitzmyer’s proposal here is that there is enough space on the edge of the fragment (where the *aleph* of אלהך should be legible) but the *aleph* is not there. Machiela notes further the discrepancy between the shorter and longer recensions of Greek I and II and their correspondence with the Aramaic, suggesting the reconstruction of אלהא is unlikely in this location.

Latin witnesses,²³⁰ standard Aramaic translation practices,²³¹ the “elevation” of the name אלהא in other Aramaic texts from Qumran, and lastly, an intriguing textual observation where the Tetrapuncta occurs in 4QpapTob^a 18 15 (= Tob 14:2) but the overlap in 4QTob^c 1.1 uses אלהא, not the Tetrapuncta. He presents the evidence for this last point as follows:

4QTob ^c 1.1 (= Tob 14:2)	למדחל לאלהא ולה[ודיה רבותא
4QpapTob ^a 18.15 (= Tob 14:2)	לברכה ל] • • • • ולהודיה רב[ותא

For Machiela, this provides additional material support that the Tetrapuncta replaced אלהא.

Building on this observation, Machiela takes the replacement of the Tetragrammaton with אלהא in 11Q10, an Aramaic translation of Job, and the use of paleo-Hebrew for אלהכה in 4QpsDan^a (4Q243 1 2),²³² to indicate that אלהא “achieved a high level of sanctity by the mid-Second Temple period, a level that may well have warranted its replacement with tetrapuncta.”²³³

Machiela’s proposal is well argued and more convincing than the alternative, supposing that the Tetragrammaton occurred in the prior textual history of 4QpapTob^a. This does not preclude the fact that several difficult questions remain unanswered. First, it is important to note that we are dealing with exceptions. 4QpapTob^a is the only Aramaic scroll to contain this practice. On this basis, it does not matter that the Tetragrammaton is unattested in all other Aramaic texts, because the Tetrapuncta is unattested in all Aramaic texts. The evidence of

²³⁰ For example, the Greek texts contains θεος where the Tetrapuncta are extant.

²³¹ Machiela notes that where “κύριος may reflect an Aramaic *Vorlage* in the Greek translations, this word translates מרא (“Lord/lord”), not the Tetragrammaton” (472). Furthermore, if Tobit was original in Hebrew, the use of the Tetragrammaton would be expected, as found, for example, in Hebrew manuscripts of *Jubilees* from Qumran. But if Tobit was original in Aramaic, the use of the Tetragrammaton would be an anomaly. Machiela, along with Edward Cook, Matthew Morgenstern, and Fitzmyer, supports the view that Aramaic is the original language of Tobit, which makes the use of the Tetragrammaton unlikely.

²³² For more on 4Q243, see below. For discussion of the title אלהים, see the following the chapter.

²³³ Machiela, “Lord or God?” 471. The elevated status of אלהא may also be inferred, generally, by the avoidance of אלהים in Hebrew Qumran sectarian scrolls.

11QAramaic Job (11Q10) suggests that אלהא is simply a standard title for God; the translator uses it not just for the Tetragrammaton, but all Hebrew terms for God in Job. Thus 11Q10 does not provide evidence for the elevated status of אלהא or the avoidance practices similar to Hebrew sectarian writings from Qumran. The use of paleo-Hebrew in 4QpsDan^a (4Q243) may suggest that the scribe of that scroll considered the title to be sacred, but it is difficult to see how this view was widespread, given that אלהא is by far the most common title in the Aramaic literature of early Judaism, and there seems to be no indication of its special status in any other text. Along similar lines, one must still explain the use of אלהא in 4QTob^c (4Q198) 1.1 (= Tob 14:2), where a scribe did not replace it with Tetrapuncta, which suggest that at least two different views toward divine titles are reflected in the Tobit manuscripts from Qumran.²³⁴ If we remove these warrants for the view that אלהא was sacred, there is very little reason to see why it was necessary for the Tetrapuncta to replace אלהא.²³⁵ Despite these questions, the basic fact remains that Tetrapuncta are used in 4QpapTob^a, and this is an anomaly in a first century BCE Aramaic text.²³⁶ That the scribe of 4QpapTob^a uses dots for a divine designation suggests an attitude

²³⁴ It should also be noted that the Hebrew manuscript of Tobit uses אלהים 4 times, as well as אדוני once (4Q200 2 3, 7; 7 ii 2; 6 5, 9), but no uses of the Tetragrammaton. On the one hand, אלהים may be considered a substitute for the Tetragrammaton, but אלהים itself is not avoided, a practice we find in the Qumran sectarian scrolls. Thus the scribal use of אלהים in 4Q200 is similar to the use of אלהא in 4Q199, which diverge from the use of the Tetrapuncta for אלהא in 4Q196.

²³⁵ At first, on the basis of Fitzmyer's *edition princeps*, I entertained the possibility that there were not four dots in the two locations above, but only three, because a cursory glance at the fragments appears to show only three dots in both locations. Furthermore, I supposed that these could be replacing the Aramaic form of the divine name, YHW. Even though this would be very unusual for the Qumran corpus of Aramaic scrolls, there is at least precedent for this form in Aramaic, unlike the Tetragrammaton. But this seems to be ruled out on material grounds by the faint trace of a second dot (missed by Fitzmyer, caught by Machiela) in 4Q196 18 15 (Tob 14:2), which makes it relatively clear that four dots exist in this location. One could speculate that the second "dot" is an ink trace, but the spacing of the dots suggest against this.

²³⁶ With regard to 4QpapTob^a the situation is doubly complicated because several Hebrew documents that use the Tetrapuncta can be traced to the sectarian scribe who copied 1QS, but the use of Tetrapuncta in 4QpapTob^a falls outside this group of manuscripts on the basis that it was not copied in the Qumran Scribal Practice; see Toy, *Scribal Practices*, 206.

towards the divine name that is much closer to the avoidance in Hebrew sectarian scrolls, where a priestly/scribal milieu favored a customary avoidance because of the sacredness of the divine designation. But importantly, this does not account for the wider reason(s) behind divine name avoidance in the Aramaic literature.

2.3.6 The Aramaic Levi Document

The *Aramaic Levi Document* (*ALD*) is attested by seven manuscripts.²³⁷ In these we find three extant terms for God:

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Frequency</i>
מרי	O Lord/my Lord	4Q213a	1 10; 1 18; 2 6	3x
אל עלמיא	God of Eternity	4Q213b	1 6	1x
מריה]	the Lord	4Q214	4 4	1x

The epithet מרי (“my Lord”) occurs with the first person pronominal suffix – ׀. This phrase is translated as a vocative in the reconstructed *ALD* scroll.²³⁸ The epithet [--]ל עלמיא [--] (“God of Eternity”) also occurs in 1QapGen.

There are other Aramaic texts that are associated with the figure of Levi and contain divine epithets, namely 4Q213 and 4Q541, but these are fragmentary. The phrase [--] כמברך אל [--] (“[as/when?] blessing God[...]) is found in the unidentified 4Q213 6 1.²³⁹ The terms אל, (“God”),

²³⁷ 1QLevi (1Q21), 4QLevi^{a-f} (4Q213–214). Before the discovery of the DSS, *ALD* was known from various sources collected from the Cairo Genizah, Mt. Athos monastery, and a Syriac fragment of the British Museum. See R. H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908), 245–56; Gideon Bohak, “A New Genizah Fragment of the Aramaic Levi Document,” *Tarbiz* 79 (2011): 373–383 [Hebrew]. For an introduction to the critical issues of *ALD*, see Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), and H. Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text From Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJ Supp. 86; Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004).

²³⁸ DJD 22:31–32.

²³⁹ If this is an Aramaic fragment, the form מברך may be a *paal* participle with a prefixed preposition כ, although this would be a unique locution. For instances without a preposition, see 1Q20 5.23, מברך למרה כולא, (also 1Q20 12:17) and Dan 2:20 מן עלמא די אלהא מברך מן עלמא.

שמין, (“Heaven”) and perhaps [צ]דיקא [ל]וא (“God of Righteousness”) all occur in

4QApocryphon of Levi^b? (4Q541).²⁴⁰ Notably אל and שמין occur in parallel in 4Q541,

מאמרה כמאמר שמין ואלפונה כרעות אל

Sa parole (sera) comme une parole des Cieux et son enseignement conforme à la volonté de Dieu.²⁴¹

Puech considers these terms to be synonymous, because שמין is absolute (i.e., not written as

שמיא).²⁴²

2.3.7 Testament of Qahat

The Testament of Qahat (4Q542), dates paleographically to around 125–100 BCE. It is another example of the testament genre, similar to *ALD*, in which the speaker encourages his sons to be prudent and especially “careful with the inheritance that has been entrusted to you,” presumably referring to duties of the priestly office. The divine epithets in 4Q542 are concentrated at the beginning of the document and comprise a long epithet chain:

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Frequency</i>
אל אלין לכול עלמין	God of gods...	4Q542	1 i 1	1x
אלה עלסיה...	God of Eternity		1 i 2	1x
...מרא כול סעבדיא...	Lord of All Deeds		1 i 2	1x
שליט בכולא	Ruler of All		1 i 2	1x

These epithets were presumably part of the blessing that prefaces Qahat’s final words to his sons, in particular, Amram, the father of Moses:

ואל אלין לכול עלמין ו'נהר נהירה עליכון ויודענכון שמה רבא 1
 ותנדעונה {{ותנדעונה}} די הוא אלה עלסיה ומרא כול סעבדיא ושליט 2

²⁴⁰ See 4Q541 1 ii 4, 2 ii 2, and 9 i 3; 4Q541 9 i 3; 4Q541 24 ii 3. On paleographic grounds, 4Q541 has been dated to ca. 100 BCE; cf. DJD 31:217. Note the uncertain relationship between 4Q541 and 4QapocrLevi^a (4Q540); See Dimant “Review of É. Puech, Qumrân Grotte 4.XXII: Textes Araméens, première partie 4Q529–549,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 292–304; also Stone, Greenfield, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 32.

²⁴¹ Puech, DJD 31:242. For discussion of אל as a Hebraism, see Christian Stadel, *Hebraismen in den aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2008).

²⁴² Puech, DJD 31:242.

- 1 [(parce) qu'il/qui est Seigneur des seigneurs] et Dieu des dieux pour tous les siècles. Et Il fera briller sur vous Sa lumière et Il vous fera connaître Son grand nom
- 2 et vous Le connaîtrez {et vous Le connaîtrez} parce que, Lui, Il est le Dieu des siècles et le Seigneur de toutes les œuvres et (qu')Il est souverain
- 3 sur toutes choses en agissant avec elles selon Sa volonté...

The author begins by referring to אל אלין לכול עלמין (“God of gods for all Eternity”),²⁴³ and continues the vivid portrayal of the deity until line 3, ending with the epithet שליט בכולא (“Ruler of All”). We previously encountered שליט in 1QapGen, and in 4QEnGiants^b the related but unique epithet שלטן שמיא (“Ruler of Heaven”).²⁴⁴

Of further significance is the intriguing claim of Qahat, namely that God “will make known his great name (שמה רבא).” If this is a reference to the Tetragrammaton, the Aramaic author shows an explicit awareness of this name, but avoids writing it, in practice. The author’s particular convictions regarding the magnitude of the “great name” may be seen through his use of the verb “to know”:

...וידוענכון שמה רבא ותנדעונה די הוא אלה עלסיה

Scholars debate whether the 3ms suffix ה on the verb ותנדעונה refers to the divine name or the deity. Puech translates “you will know it...” thus taking the antecedent to be the divine name.²⁴⁵ The majority of scholars, however, take the antecedent as a reference to the deity (“you will know Him”). Puech also translates ותנדעונה as an independent clause, rendering the *waw* as a

²⁴³ Puech suggests that אל אלין “est un hébraïsme quelque peu aramaïsé (pluriel en ה-) de אל אלים en Dn 11:36 ou même אל אלהים Jos 22:22,” DJD 31:272. He also remarks, “On pourrait aussi se demander si אל אלין n'est pas un décalque aramaïsé de l'expression hébraïque très fréquente אל עליון dans les textes araméens de Qumrân...”

²⁴⁴ For details on the orthographic features of 4Q542 (and other notes), see Puech, DJD 31: 269–273; Ed Cook, “Remarks on the Testament of Qahat from Qumran Cave 4,” *JJS* 44 (1993): 205–219.

²⁴⁵ He writes, “Le suffixe de ותנדעונה reprend le précédent dans שמה רבא.” Puech, DJD 31:272.

conjunction, “et vous Le connaîtrez...” But given the syntax of the imperfect verbs, it is plausible to understand ותנדעונה as a result clause (“...so that you will know him”).²⁴⁶ The entire line may be translated: “He will make known to you his great name so that you will know him.” The following relative clause, די הוא אלה עלמיה, also supports reading the antecedent of the pronominal suffix as a reference to the deity, because it concerns the identity of the deity, namely “he is God of the Ages...” The author reveals a strong conviction about the efficacy of the divine name—knowledge of the name leads to knowledge of the deity—but he nonetheless avoids using the name.

2.3.8 Visions of Amram

The *Visions of Amram* is attested by five Aramaic manuscripts from Cave 4.²⁴⁷ This work is part of the testament genre and shares literary themes with *ALD* and 4QTQahat. The following epithets are preserved:

²⁴⁶ This translation was also suggested by Cook, “Remarks,” 206. Regarding the syntax of these clauses Cook gives several examples (one of which includes 4Q542): “When preceded by a waw and following an imperative or another imperfect, it may express purpose or result: ויעלה עלוהי ויחה, ‘and he will pray for him that he might be cured’ (1QapGen 20:23); ויודענכון שמה רבא ותנדעונה, ‘and he will make his great name known to you that you may know him’ (4QTQahat ar [4Q542] 1 ii 1–2); and אשתעי לי חלמך ואנדע, ‘tell me your dream so I may know it’ (1QapGen 19:18).” See Cook, “Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 376. U. Schattner–Rieser follows Cook regarding the same principle; see *L’araméen des manuscrits de la mer Morte: I. Grammaire* (Laussane, Ch–Switzerland: Editions du Zébre, 2004), 117. Additional examples of the waw + imperfect preceded by an imperfect expressing result may include 11Q10 34.3–4 (האף תעדא דינה ותחיבנני על דברת) (די תזכא) and 4Q541 24 ii 5 (וצצא אל תקרוב בה ותקים לאבוכה שם חדוא).

²⁴⁷ 4QVisAmram^{a-c} (4Q543–547). While in DJD 31, Puech considered 4Q548 and 4Q549 (4QVisAmramf[?] and 4QVisAmramg[?]) as part of the *Visions of Amram*, more recently Robert Duke has argued otherwise; see *The Social Location of the Visions of Amram* (4Q543–547) (SBL 135; New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 35–42.

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Frequency</i>
אל [בחיר]	God	4Q543	2 a + b 4	1x
ומלאך אל	angel of God		2 a + b 2 ²⁴⁸	2x
עליון	Most High		22 2	1x
מראי	my Lord	4Q544	2 13 ²⁴⁹	3x
אל	God	4Q547	6 3	1x

In this Aramaic work, we find a relatively high concentration of the Hebraism אל. This is similar to the uses of אל in 4Q541 above. The term occurs once independently, but also in various compounds, such as מלאך אל (“the messenger of God...”) or אל [בחיר] (“[chosen] of God...”). The term עליון also occurs in 4Q543, but the context is unclear as it is the only word on fragment 22. The fragmentary nature of *Visions of Amram* makes it unclear whether מראי is referring to God or another figure.²⁵⁰

2.3.9 Words of Michael

4QWords of Michael (4Q529) dates to ca. 50 BCE and recounts the words that the archangel Michael spoke to other angels (למלאכיא).²⁵¹ In this context, we find the striking repetition of the epithet chain רבי מרא עלמא (“my Master, Eternal Lord”) in quick succession in lines 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12.²⁵² Note, for example, 4Q529 1 5–7,

[כחזוא והחזיתה חזוה ואמר לי דני 5

²⁴⁸ See also 4Q545 1 a i 17.

²⁴⁹ See also 4Q548 1 ii + 2 7; 4Q546 8 5 (מרי).

²⁵⁰ For example, in 4Q544 2 13, the use of מראי (“my lord”) in של[טן] (“And I said, “My lord, what is the do[minion...]”) probably refers to the angel of light, with whom Amram enquires about his vision of Malki-Resha. In 4Q546 8 5, a similar phrase occurs, “[... and I said,] “My lord (מרי), y[ou ...],” but the referent is probably some revelatory agent, not the Jewish deity.

²⁵¹ Two additional manuscripts may belong to this work: 4QArabic (4Q571) and 6QpapUnclassified (6Q23); See Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 91; David Hamidovic, “La Transtextualité dans le livre de Michel (4Q529; 6Q23): Une étude du répertoire des motifs littéraires apocalyptiques sur Hénoch, Daniel et les Jubilés,” *Semitica* 55 (2013): 117–37.

²⁵² The only other extant divine name in this text is the partially preserved על[יון] in frag. 3 line 1. It is also important to note the possible reconstruction of this phrase in 6QpapUnclassified Fragments (Words of Michael? 6Q23). Fragment 1 line 1 preserves the word עלמא; and in 6Q23 2 2, Baillet transcribes רבו מרא, although Puech reads this as רבי מרא [עלמא]. See also 1 En 58:4, 81:10; Jub 31:13; 25:23; As. Mos. 1:11.

[בין]	בספרי די רבי מרא עלמא כתיב הא]	6
[	] בני חס לבני שם והא רבי מרא עלמא	7
5	comme la vision et je lui montrai la vision et il me dit qu[e ...]	
6	dans mon/mes livre(s), (celui/ceux) de mon Seigneur, le Souverain éternel, il est écrit: voici[... entre]	
7	les fils de Ham et les fils de Šem. Et voici, mon Seigneur, le Souverain éternel[

The epithet רבי מרא עלמא becomes something of a mantra for the author; its frequency is remarkable considering that the majority of this work is preserved in frg 1. This epithet is very close to what we find in 4QEnoch^b,

[אנתה הוא] מרנא רבא [הו]א מרא עלמא [אנתה מרא מריא ואלה ואלהיא ומלך עלמיא]

[...] our Great Lord, he is the Eternal Lord [...]

Also worth noting is the first person suffix on רבי. We have encountered the use of the first person suffix on מרא in several other works: 1QapGen, 4QEnoch^b, 4QEnGiants^a, 4QLevi^b, and 4QVisions of Amram^d. The use of first person suffixes in Aramaic texts reflects the literary tendency to use direct speech as a mode of discourse, for example, evident in speeches of Enoch, Methusaleh, and others, in 1QapGen.²⁵³

2.3.10 4QTestament of Judah?

4QTestament of Judah? (4Q538) is another Aramaic document characterized by the use of first person speech. Fragment 3 line 3 uses אל. At the end of what seems to be Judah's first person reminiscence of when Joseph revealed his identity to his brother in Egypt (reflecting parts of Gen 37–47), we find the phrase [...] הוא אל טב ("he is a good God"). The use of אל טב is unique among the Aramaic Scrolls and never occurs in Hebrew.²⁵⁴

²⁵³ A few other Aramaic manuscripts contain first person speech, although their contexts are fragmentary, and they do not contain divine names: 4QTestament of Jacob? (4Q537) and 4QTestament of Joseph (4Q539).

²⁵⁴ This phrase may have in the background something like Joseph's response to his brothers in Gen 50:20:

2.3.11 Son of God Text (or: Aramaic Apocalypse)

The 4QSon of God Text (4Q246) dates to late first century BCE. It mentions the “son of God...son of the Most High.”²⁵⁵ This manuscript preserves three designations:

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Frequency</i>
אל	God	4Q246	1 ii 1, 4	2x
עליון	Most High		1 ii 1	1x
אל רבא	Great God		1 ii 7	1x

The terms אל and עליון are poetic parallels in 4Q246,²⁵⁶

]ברה די אל יתאמר ובר עליון יקרונה

Il sera dit le fils de Dieu et le fils du Très-Haut on l'appellera

The title אל also appears to be commonly used in compound epithet chains, particularly those in poetic expressions. We saw in *ALD*, for example, that אל is paralleled with שמין, and elsewhere אל is frequently combined with עליון to form אל עליון.²⁵⁷

2.3.12 Four Kingdoms

4QFour Kingdoms^a (4Q552) contains a vision of four trees representing four kingdoms. אל עליון (4Q552 6 10) is found in this work. “God Most High” gives one kingdom to another.²⁵⁸

“Even though you intended to do harm to me, God intended it for good (אלהים חשבה לטבה).”

²⁵⁵ The identity of the “son” has been extensively debated, which has implications for the notion of the divine in this text. For discussion on the figure in this text, see Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 60; David Flusser, “The New Testament and Judaism on the First Centuries C.E.: The Hubris of the Antichrist in a Fragment from Qumran,” *Immanuel* 10 (1980): 31–37; Fitzmyer, “The Aramaic ‘Son of God’ Text from Qumran Cave 4 (4Q246),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 41–61; Puech, “Le fils de Dieu, le fils du Très-Haut, messie roi en 4Q246,” in *Le Jugement dans l’un et l’autre Testament I: Mélanges offerts à Raymond Kuntzmann* (ed. Eberhard Bons; Lectio Divina 197; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2004), 271–86; John J. Collins, “The Messiah as the Son of God,” in *The Scepter and the Star* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 154–72.

²⁵⁶ For various reconstructions of these lines see DJD 22:173–174.

²⁵⁷ אל occurs in the phrase עם אל (e.g., ינוח מן חרב, “Until the people of God arise, all will rest from the sword,” 4Q246 1 ii 4). Lastly, אל is used to form the rare epithet אל רבא (“the Great God,” 4Q246 1 ii 7).

²⁵⁸ The word מרא is used in 4Q552 of human leaders: מראיהון (“their lords”) in 4Q552 1 i + 2 11 and מראיא (“the lords”) in 4Q552 6 9. Furthermore, there may be a first person reference to “my Lord” in 4QFour Kingdoms^c (4Q553a) 4 3, [למר]אי עיניא ל[ע]ל[א] (“[...to] my [Lo]rd [I lifted] my eyes a[b]ov[e...]”).

2.3.13 Other Visionary/Historical Texts

Additional divine titles and epithets are found in other visionary/historical type texts.

4QVision^a (4Q557) partially preserves אלהא.²⁵⁹ 4QpapVision^b (4Q558) consists of 141

fragments, containing the following designations:

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Reference</i>		<i>Frequency</i>
מ[ר]יָא	Lord	4Q558	29 6	1x
אל	God		67 6	1x
אל עליון	God Most High		88 1	1x
מרי	my Lord		80 1	1x
אל[הא --]	God		70 1	1x

Fragment 29 line 6 may portray God speaking in the first person: אֲנִי מְרַיָא בְעַה/יָת (‘‘...]moi, le Se[ign]eur, deman[dais’’).²⁶⁰

2.3.14 Prayer of Nabonidus

4QPrayer of Nabonidus (4Q242) dates between 75–50 BCE, and preserves a tale about the seven-year affliction of king Nabonidus of Babylon. He prays to the Jewish God for healing and his sins are forgiven. A narrator opens the passage, introducing Nabonidus’ first person account:

The words of the pra[y]er which Nabonidus, king of [Baby]lon, [the great]king, prayed [when he was smitten] with a bad disease by the decree of G[od] (אלהא) in Teima[...]²⁶¹

Instrumental in the healing of Nabonidus is the exhortation of a Jewish diviner (גזר והוא יהודי).

He commands Nabonidus:

‘Pro[cla]im and write to give honour and exal[tatio]n to the name of G[od Most High]’ ...]

²⁵⁹ 4Q557 1 7, אלהא, וְרַחֲמֵי מִן קֳדָם אֱלֹהִים (‘‘and mercies from before G[od]’’); DJD 37:175. A trace of אלהא is also found in 4QVision^d (4Q575).

²⁶⁰ Puech notes, ‘‘Cette ligne fait allusion à un requête ou demande du Seigneur au prophète (Moïse ou Élie) à l’Oreb, demande dont le contenu échappe: observation des lois et coutumes? (Ml 3:22).’’ DJD 37:201.

²⁶¹ 4Q242 1 + 3 1–2.

([לשם אלהא עליא]).²⁶²

Nabonidus is commanded to honor and exalt “the name” of God. This is intriguing because the author of the prayer, like the author of 4QTQahat (4Q542), directly refers to the divine name, but nevertheless avoids it in writing.

Scholars have often pointed to the literary parallels between the Prayer of Nabonidus and the story of Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 4, where the more famous king is made to eat grass like oxen until “seven times” pass by him and he learns that עליא (“Most High”) is ruler over the kingdom of mortals.²⁶³ But the unique role of the “name” in 4Q242 seems to have gone unnoticed. For example, in commenting on 4Q242, Collins writes,

The king is commanded to make public acknowledgement of the Most High God, presumably as a condition for the cure of his disease...The qualification ‘Most High’ is necessary here as the identity of the true God is crucial to the passage.²⁶⁴

The identity of the true God is certainly at issue, but 4Q242 actually does not provide clear evidence for the epithet “Most High,” which is only reconstructed in lines 3, 5, and 6. The unique element in 4Q242, when compared with Dan 4, is ascribing honor and praise directly to the “name” of God, which is presumably none other than the Tetragrammaton.

2.3.15 Pseudo–Daniel Texts

Pseudo-Daniel comprises three manuscripts: 4QpsDan^{a-c} (4Q243–245).²⁶⁵ These manuscripts are linked by textual and thematic features, but they use different divine titles and epithets.²⁶⁶ 4Q243 contains about 40 fragments that have been dated to 30–1 BCE. Fragment 1

²⁶² 4Q242 1 + 3 5.

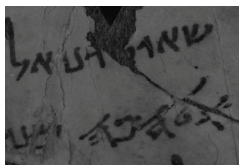
²⁶³ See Dan 4:14, 29, 31–32 [MT]. Dan 4 also contains the first person account of Nebuchadnezzar’s restoration.

²⁶⁴ See Collins, DJD 22:91.

²⁶⁵ Two other texts that are sometimes associated with Daniel are 4Q246 (4QSon of God Text) and 4Q551 (4QDaniel–Suzanna?).

²⁶⁶ Note, for example, the overlap between 4Q243 and 4Q244 in their quotation of Ps 106:37; see more below.

line 2 contains a surprising use of the paleo-Hebrew script for the Aramaic אלהכה (“your God”):²⁶⁷



At first glance, it appears that the *kaf* is not written in the paleo-Hebrew script. Emanuel Tov writes,

[The] suffixed divine name [is] written in paleo-Hebrew characters, with the *kaf* of the suffix written in a square script different from the hand evident throughout the rest of the manuscript, perhaps indicating the scribe’s ignorance of the paleo-Hebrew alphabet beyond those characters required for penning the divine name.²⁶⁸

Milik, however, considered the *kaf* to be “clearly Samaritan,” a script closely identified with the paleo-Hebrew script.²⁶⁹ Collins agrees with Milik, and Milik is probably right because when we compare the *kaf* in 4Q243 1 2 with another *kaf* in this manuscript (e.g., the square-Aramaic script of מלכה in 4Q243 3 2) they look different. Furthermore, the top bar of the *kaf* in 4Q243 1 2 extends towards the right, a characteristic feature of Samaritan/paleo-Hebrew script.

The use of paleo-Hebrew in 4Q243 is not found elsewhere in the Pseudo-Daniel fragments. אלוהין occurs 2 times in 4Q244, which dates to the same period as 4Q243, but both occurrences of the title are in the square script.²⁷⁰ The first occurrence of אלוהין is in 4Q244 5 ii 5, and the second is found in 4Q244 12, parts of which overlap with 4Q243 13. These fragments

²⁶⁷ See Collins and Flint, DJD 22:98, Plate VII.

²⁶⁸ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 240.

²⁶⁹ DJD 22:98.

²⁷⁰ There are possible traces of the term [...]להין[א,] in 4Q243 32 1, but it is written in the square script. Collins notes that this might possibly read להין (“to them”), cf. DJD 22:118. At any rate, if it is אלהין (without the *waw* as in אלוהין) then it probably refers to foreign deities, in which case the scribe would not use paleo-Hebrew anyway. The four occurrences of אלהין in the Aramaic scrolls (4Q242 1 + 3 8; 4Q243 32 1; 4Q570 17 2; 4Q570 21 2) are probably all references to foreign deities. This is also the case with the 9 occurrences of אלהין in Daniel.

both appear to use Ps 106:37, 40–41, either in loose translation or allusion.²⁷¹ DJD 22 provides the (combined) reconstructed work, referred to as 4Q243–244.²⁷² The reconstruction below depends mostly on the extant text of 4Q244 12 1–4. The underlined portions are common to both fragments 4Q244 12 and 4Q243 13:

[	בחרו בני ישראל אנפיהון מן [אנפי אלוהין]	1
[	והוּו דב]חין לבניהון לשידי טעותא ורגז עליהון אלוהין וא[מר] למנתן	2
]	אנון ביד נב[כדנצר מלך ב]בל ולאחרבא ארעהון מנהון מן די ש]	3
]	[אשׁתאָ] ° בני גלותא °	4

- 1 []The Israelites chose their presence rather than [the presence of God]
- 2 [and they were sacri]ficing their children to the demons of error, and God became angry at them and sa[id] to give
- 3 them into the hand of Neb[uchadnezzar, king of Ba]bylon, and to make their land desolate of them, because [
- 4 [] the exiles [

Comparing line 2 above with its approximate parallel in Ps 106, we find further evidence for the avoidance of the divine name:

ויחר אף יהוה בעמו	MT	Ps 106:40
ורגז עליהון אלוהין וא[מר]	4Q244 12 2	

This is not an explicit citation of Ps 106, but scholars agree that Ps 106 provides the framework for this portion of 4Q244. The syntax is rearranged in the Aramaic of 4Q244, as the prepositional phrase comes before the divine title אלוהין, but the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton is clear.

2.3.16 Jews at the Persian Court

Jews at the Persian Court (4Q550) reflects several topoi of Jewish diaspora literature, such as the unexpected rise of marginalized individuals to prominent positions of leadership.²⁷³

²⁷¹ García Martínez and Beyer have suggested that Ps 106:37 and 40 provide the background for this text. See K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Totem Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 224–225; F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 137–149; DJD 22:150.

²⁷² DJD 22:133–134; see p. 142 for fragment.

²⁷³ Examples from biblical literature include Joseph in Egypt (Gen 38–40), Daniel in Babylon (Dan 1–6), or

This work tells the story of Patireza and Bagasraw. Many details are obscure because the work is fragmentary, but it appears to conclude with the Persian king defending the Jew Bagasraw and commanding everyone to worship the “Most High.” In this context, we encounter the two extant epithets: עלִיא (“Most High”) and שְׁלִיט בְּכוֹל אֶרְעָא (“...Ruler ov[er all] the [la]nd”).²⁷⁴ The Persian king vindicates Bagasraw and proclaims:

...fear] the Most High (עִלְיָא), who you (all) fear and worship. He is Ruler over [all] the [la]nd (הוּ שְׁלִיט בְּכוֹל אֶרְעָא). All that he desires is near his hand to [d]o.

In this work, the epithets “Most High” and “Ruler” occur at the precise moment when the supremacy and sovereignty of the Jewish deity is given definitive articulation by the foreign king. Puech calls this the “profession de foi du roi perse.”²⁷⁵ It appears that these epithets provide a specific portrayal of the Jewish deity not possible through use of the Tetragrammaton. We have previously encountered the substantive adjective שְׁלִיט and the noun שְׁלִטָּן in 1QapGen, 4QEnGiants^b, and 4QTQahat, but here the deity is said to be שְׁלִיט בְּכוֹל אֶרְעָא, yet another variation on the theme of sovereignty.²⁷⁶

2.3.17 New Jerusalem

The work known as *New Jerusalem* comprises seven manuscripts from five different caves.²⁷⁷ It imagines a new layout for the holy city, similar to ideas found in Ezekiel, Revelation, and the *Temple Scroll*. The term אֶל appears twice in *New Jerusalem*, both in 11Q18. The first reads,

Esther in the Persian Court of Xerxes.

²⁷⁴ 4Q550 7 + 7 a 1.

²⁷⁵ DJD 37:38.

²⁷⁶ Other texts use the noun to describe the “dominion” of God, but not necessarily using it as an epithet. For example, 4QSon of God Text (4Q246) 1 ii 9: שְׁלִטְנָה שְׁלִטָּן עִלְמָא (“His rule will be an eternal rule...”).

²⁷⁷ 1QNew Jerusalem (1Q32), 2QNew Jerusalem (2Q24), 4QNew Jerusalem^{a-c} (4Q554–555), 5QNew Jerusalem (5Q15), and 11QNew Jerusalem (11Q18). The earliest manuscript appears to be 4Q554a, dating around 100–75 BCE; see DJD 37:98.

כו[ל יום שביעי קודם אל דכר]נא

eve]ry seventh day before God, a memori[al offering...²⁷⁸

This line refers to the changing of the showbread each Sabbath, and thus may be compared to Lev 24,²⁷⁹

ביום השבת ביום השבת יערכנו לפני יהוה תמיד	MT	Lev 24:8
כו[ל יום שביעי קודם אל דכר]נא ²⁸⁰	11Q18 20 1	

To employ the language found in 11Q18, the Aramaic author was likely aware of the wording similar to Lev 24:8, where the Tetragrammaton occurs, thus highlighting the Aramaic author's preference for אל.

The second use of אל occurs in the phrase “from the festivals of G[od...] (מועדי אל)” 11Q18 30 4. This is another stock expression parallel to the Hebrew מועדי יהוה.²⁸¹ While these texts are fragmentary, providing little context for establishing the dependency of one text on another, their approximate expressions show that it had become customary, when using such language, to avoid the Tetragrammaton.

2.3.18 Wisdom Instruction Texts

The Wisdom Instruction texts are fragmentary. There is only one certain attestation of the name אלהא in 4QWisdom Composition (4Q563) 1 3.²⁸²

²⁷⁸ 11Q18 20 1.

²⁷⁹ See DJD 23:337; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 3.255 and m. Menah 11.7.

²⁸⁰ The דכר]נא refers to the memorial portion; the parallel Hebrew term is אזכרתה (Lev 6:8).

²⁸¹ See Lev 23:2, 4, 37, 44; 2 Chr 2:3; Ezra 3:5.

²⁸² 4Q563 dates to ca. 100 BCE. In 4QProverbs (4Q569) 1 + 2 4 and 6, we מרך (“your master”), but the referent is human.

2.3.19 Unidentified Aramaic Texts

4Q562 4 2 and 4Q475a 1 3 use the term אלהא. 4Q570 2 5 refers to the “God of Israel” in the context of passing judgment. 4Q573 1 7 uses מרא, and lastly, 4Q586 contains the phrase א]לכהן דאללה]א [“for/to a priest of God[”].²⁸³

2.3.20 Aramaic Translations: Job, Leviticus, and Isaiah

The Aramaic translation of Job (11Q10) dates paleographically ca. 30–68 CE, and preserves portions of every chapter of Job 17–42 (MT), in total about 20% of the book.²⁸⁴ This makes it a valuable source for the comparative study of divine titles and epithets. The following table contains the designations in 11Q10 (on the left) with MT Job (on the right):

*The dash (–) indicates where 11Q10 contains a name that is not present in MT Job.

<i>11Q Aramaic Job</i>		<i>Hebrew (MT) Job</i>	
4.8	אלהא	אלוה	21:9
5.2	אלהא	–	21:21
5.3	הלא]להא --] ²⁸⁵	אל	21:22
6.1	א]להא	שדי	22:3
7.3	א]להא	שדי	22:18
8.2	אלהא	אלוה	24:12
9.4	אלהא	–	25:2
9.7	אלהא	אל (or pron.)	25:3–4
10.8	אלהא	אל	27:2
11.1	אלהא	אל	27:11
19.3	אלהא	אל	31:28
21.5	אלהא	אל	32:13
22.6	אלהא	אלוה	33:12
22.8	א]להא	אל	33:14
24.3	אלהא	אלהים	34:9
24.4	לאלהא	אל	34:10
24.5	מ]רא	שדי	34:10
24.6	אלהא	אל	34:12a

²⁸³ For these texts, see DJD 37:323 and 492.

²⁸⁴ DJD 23:87; Bruce Zuckerman, “Jobs, Targums of,” *ABD* 3:869. For relationship between 11Q10 and 4QTargum of Job (4Q157), dating to ca. 20–50 CE, see Milik, DJD 6:90 and DJD 23:79.

²⁸⁵ This form shows the ה–interrogative, and the ל–preposition: “Is it to G[od you will teach...]?”

24.7	ומרא	שדי	34:12b
26.4	אלהא	אלוה	35:10
28.3	אלהא	אל	36:26
29.5	אלהא	אל	37:14
29.6	אלהא	אלוה	37:15
30.5	מלאכי אלהא	כל בני אלהים	38:7
34.2	אלהא	יהוה	40:6
34.5	אלה	אל	40:9
37.3	אלהא	יהוה	42:1
38.2	אלהא	יהוה	42:9
38.2	א[ל]הא	יהוה	42:9
38.3	אלהא	יהוה	42:10
38.7	אלהא	יהוה	42:11
38.9	אלהא	יהוה	42:12

The first observation to be drawn from this collection of evidence is 11Q10's full-scale replacement of all Hebrew designations in Job with the Aramaic title אלהא. In all but two instances, the translator has leveled the diversity of the divine names and titles—שדי, אל, אלהים, אלוה, and יהוה—with the consistent use of אלהא. Scholars have frequently taken אלהא in 11Q10 as evidence for the replacement/avoidance of the Tetragrammaton, and this is true to an extent, but what has gone unnoticed is that אלהא also replaces other designations, and is therefore a characteristic feature of the translation technique of 11Q10. The avoidance of the divine name cannot fully explain the use of אלהא.

Clues for the purpose of אלהא are given by the insertion of this title where the MT does not contain a divine name. In these instances, it serves to clarify an antecedent or the referent of an ambiguous pronoun. For example, the translator sought to clarify the referent of the 3ms pronominal suffix in Job 21:21, and so inserted אלהא:

כי מה חפצן בביתו אחריו	MT	Job 21:21
[ארו מא] צבו לאלהא בביתה ו[--]	11Q10 5.2	

A similar scenario is found in Job 25:2:

המשל ופחד עמן עשה שלום במרומיו MT Job 25:2
[ארו ש]לטן ורבו עם אלהא ע[בד שלם במרון]מה 11Q10 9.4–5

Both uses of אלהא make potentially ambiguous or confusing passages more readable.²⁸⁶

Despite the predominant use of אלהא, in one instance the translator seems attentive to poetic parallelism, where he intentionally varies the terms for God:

אף אמנם אל לא ירשיע ושדי לא יעות משפט MT Job 34:12
[הכען צדא אלהא ישקר ומרא] 11Q10 24.6–7

The translator is able to vary his style when called for, but his overall interest appears to be pragmatic.²⁸⁷ The title אלהא in 11Q10 is chosen as the standard reference of the deity, probably because it is the most widely used term for God in Aramaic literature. This indicates that the translator rendered divine names in 11Q10 for the sake of readability. As is well known, the Hebrew of Job is notoriously challenging, with its difficult syntax, *hapax legomena*, and dense poetry. It is likely that the translator aimed for a simple, consistent, and readable text. Furthermore, while the Tetragrammaton is clearly avoided in 11Q10, the reason behind this practice does not seem to be sufficiently explained on the basic assumption that the translator believed the divine name was holy, or avoided it out of respect, though the translator may have held both convictions.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ Ironically, we also find the clarification of the pronoun in modern English versions. The NRSV, for example, inserts “God” in Job 25:2, a decision not supported by a reading in any ancient witnesses, apart from its use in 11Q10.

²⁸⁷ The only other time the translator uses מרא is in 11Q10 24 5 (MT Job 34:10).

²⁸⁸ Zuckerman (“Job,” *ABD* 3:868) and others have noted that “[w]here there appear on occasion to be editorial alterations in 11Q₁₀ Job, they tend to be focused upon avoiding implicit disrespect for the Deity, upgrading the image of Job, and perhaps downgrading the image of the friends, especially Elihu.” These adjustments are of a different nature than described by the rabbis with regard to avoiding the divine name. The fact that the translator rendered all Hebrew names with אלהא requires further explanation.

4QAramaic Leviticus (4Q156) and 4QProphecy^c (4Q583) offer two additional cases of Aramaic translation. These texts do not preserve material where the divine name would occur, but Milik and Puech both use the Tetragrammaton in reconstructions.²⁸⁹ Milik uses the Tetragrammaton twice in 4Q156 1 2–4,

[	יְהוָה וּמְלֵא	חֲפְנֹהָ]י כִשׁ]	2
[	וְיַעֲלֵ מִן גּוֹא לִפְ	רְכֻתָא: וְיִשׁוּהָ [כְּשִׁתָּא עַל נוֹרָא]	3
[	לְקִדְם יְהוָה וְ	יִכְסֵה עֲנָנָא]	4

Leviticus 16:12–13 (MT)

יְהוָה וּמְלֵא חֲפְנֵי קִטְרֵת סָמִים דָּקָה	12
וְהִבִּיא מִבֵּית לְפָרְכָת: וְנָתַן אֶת הַקִּטְרֵת עַל הָאֵשׁ	13
... לְפָנֵי יְהוָה וְכִסָּה עֲנַן הַקִּטְרֵת	

While 4Q156 is a literal translation of Lev 16, there is no precedent in any Aramaic text from the Second Temple period that would support the reconstruction of the Tetragrammaton.

Puech, more recently, considers 4QProphecy^c (4Q583) to be “une citation presque littérale” of Isa 14:32. He reconstructs the Tetragrammaton in frag. 1 line 2:

כִּי יְהוָה יִסַּד צִיּוֹן וּבָה יַחֲסוּ עֲנֵי עַמּוֹ	MT	Isa 14:32
אֲרוּ/י יְהוָה יִתְקַן יִסְדֵּי מְבִנָּה צִיּוֹן וּבָה יִסְתַּתְרוּן כָּל עֲנֵי עַמְ[הָ]	4Q583 1 2	

Again, there is no precedent for reconstructing the Tetragrammaton here. The shorter form of the divine name is attested in Aramaic literature, but not the Tetragrammaton. The most relevant comparative evidence for the Aramaic translation of Hebrew terms for God is 11Q10, and here we find the use אֱלֵהָא.

²⁸⁹ See Milik, DJD 6:86–89; Puech, DJD 37:447–450.

2.4 *Summary and Conclusion: Divine Name Conventions from the Persian Period*

Every extant term for God from the Aramaic literature of early Judaism is collected in the table below. These terms were discussed in their literary and epigraphic contexts and now they are listed according to general frequency. The most common terms are listed first, while the rare and unique terms are last:

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
אלהא	God	Elephantine (27x) ²⁹⁰ Mt. Gerizim (11x) Ezra (13x) Daniel (16x) 1QapGen (6x) 4QTob ^c (3x) 4QPrayer of Nabonidus (2x) 4QEn ^c 4QpsDan ^a 4QEschatological Vision? 4QBirth of Noah ^a 4QAccount 4QVision ^a 4QpapVision ^b 4QUnidentified A 4QUnidentified D 4QWisdom Composition 11QAramaic Job (30x)	138x ²⁹¹
יה, יהה, יהו	YHW, YHH, YH	Elephantine (43x) ²⁹² BM Drachm (1x) P. Amherst 63 (1x) Idumean Ostrakon (1x)	46x
אלה שמיא	God of Heaven	Elephantine (7x) Ezra (7x) Daniel (4x)	18x
עליא	Most High	Daniel (10x) 1QapGen (4x) 4QProphecy ^d	16x

²⁹⁰ The title אלהא is rarely used as an independent designation of the Jewish deity in the Elephantine material. One occurrence is found in TAD B3.6, 10 (“Manumission”) וּאֲנִי שְׁבִיקָה לְאֵלֵהָא “you are released to God.” The second is in the fragment D8.8, 1 “[...] in the name of God...”

²⁹¹ For the Elephantine material, Ezra, and Daniel, this number includes inflected forms of אלהא, such as אלהא + pronominal suffixes. It also includes the phrase בית אלהא from Ezra (18x).

²⁹² In 27 of these 43 occurrences we find יהו אלהא.

		4QJews at the Persian Court	
אל	God	4QSon of God Text (2x) 4QTestament of Judah 4QApocryphon of Levi ^{a, b} (4x) 4QVisions of Amram ^{a, c, e} (4x) 11QNew Jerusalem (2x)	13x
אל עליון	God Most High	1QapGen (9x) 4QKingdoms ^a 4QpapVision ^b	11x
אלהא עליא	God Most High	Daniel	3x
עליון	Most High	Daniel (4x) 4QBirth of Noah	5x
עליון	Most High	4QSon of God Text 4QWords of Michael 4QVisions of Amram	3x
מרי	my Lord/O Lord	1QapGen (3x) 4QEnGiants ^a 4QLevi ^b (2x) 4QVisions of Amram ^d 4QpapVision ^b 4QTestament ^{e?}	9x
קדישא רבא	Great Holy One	1QapGen (5x) 4QEn ^{a, b, c} (3x)	8x
רבי מרא עלמא	My Master, Eternal Lord	4QWords of Michael	6x
רבא	Great One	4QEnoch ^{a, c} (2x) 4QEnGiants ^{f?} 4QAstronomical Enoch ^b 4QSon of God Text	5x
מרה שמיא	Lord of Heaven	Elephantine Daniel 1QapGen (3x)	6x
מרה שמיא וארעא	Lord of Heaven and Earth	1QapGen	2x
שמיא	Heaven	Daniel	1x
שליט	Ruler	1QapGen (2x) 4QTQahat 4QJews at the Persian Court	4x
מרה	Lord	Daniel (2x) 1QapGen (2x)	4x
אלה ישראל	God of Israel	Ezra (3x) 4QUnidentified D ar (4Q570)	4x
מרה עלמא	Lord of Eternity	1QapGen (2x) 4QEn ^b	3x
מלך כול עלמים	King of all Eternity	1QapGen	3x
אל עלמא	God of Eternity	1QapGen Aramaic Levi Document 4QTQahat (אלה עלמיה)	3x

אלהא רבא	Great God	Ezra Daniel (אלה רב) 4QSon of God Text (אל רבא)	3x
אלוהין	God	4QpsDan ^b	2x
אלהא חיא	Living God	Daniel	2x
חי עלמא	One Living Forever	Daniel	1x
אלה שמיא וארעא	God of Heaven and Earth	Ezra	1x
אלהכון הוא אלה אלהין ומרא מלכין	your God, he is God of gods and Lord of Kings	Daniel	1x
מלכא רבא	Great King	4QpapTob ^a	1x
מלך שמיא	King of Heaven	Daniel 1QapGen	2x
מרה כולא	Lord of All	1QapGen	1x
מרא כול סעבדיא	Lord of All Deeds	4QTQahat	1x
בריא	Creator	1QapGen	1x
מרי אלהא	my Lord, God	1QapGen	1x
אל טב	Good God	4QTestament of Judah?	1x
שלטן שמיא	Ruler of Heaven	4QEnGiants ^b	1x

In the extant Aramaic texts of the Second Temple period, authors use roughly 37 different terms for God, 328 times total. The title אלהא is the most frequent designation with 138 occurrences, followed by the short form of the divine name (יה, יהה, or יהו) with 46 occurrences, either alone or in combination with other epithets, but most of these are from Elephantine. We never find the full Tetragrammaton in Aramaic.

The Elephantine ostraca and papyri show inconsistent orthographic and formulaic uses of the divine name, suggesting that scribes were unconcerned with its actual writing, and it was not the focus of distinctive treatment. Most importantly, the terms for God in the Jedaniah archive stand out when compared to the Ostraca, Mibtahiah, and the Anani archives. We find, for example, a concentrated use of שמיא and a high frequency of יהו in the letter for aid (A4.7–8). We also noted the non-use of יהו in the memorandum of the return letter (A4.9) from the governors of Yehud and Samaria. Additional uses of the Aramaic divine name occur in the Idumean Ostrakon, P. Amh 63, and probably the BM Drachm. These reflect a broad geographic

distribution—Egypt, Idumea, and possibly Judea, Philistia, or Samaria—but even more important is the diversity in the socio-religious background of these finds, none of which are representative of an emerging Israelite/Judahite monotheism as they acknowledge multiple deities or represent syncretistic practices.

In contrast to the above sources, the Aramaic Mt. Gerizim Inscriptions, Ezra, Daniel, and the Aramaic Qumran Scrolls consistently avoid the divine name. The Mt. Gerizim inscriptions use the Tetragrammaton exclusively in Hebrew (2x), while אלהא is used exclusively in Aramaic (11x). Ezra, Daniel, and the Aramaic Qumran Scrolls also demonstrate this distinction based on language. In the Aramaic Scrolls, the authors consistently avoid the divine name, even when it is clearly used in their source texts. This happens in 1QapGen (5x), 11QNew Jerusalem (2x), 4QpsDan^b (1x), and 11QAramaic Job (7x). We noted that 4QpapTob^a is a special case because the two occurrences of the Tetrapuncta may actually replace the title אלהא. Of the total 15 explicit replacements of the Tetragrammaton, the author rendered one of the following alternatives: אלהא (1Q20, 11Q10), מרה עלמיא (1Q20), אלוהין (4Q244), אל (11Q18), and אל עליון (1Q20).

The Aramaic texts from Mt. Gerizim, Ezra, Daniel, and Qumran invariably share the avoidance of the divine name, even as these sources are diverse in terms of genre, purpose, and date. The phenomenon of consistent divine name avoidance in Aramaic, while probably conceptualized in the minds of later authors in various ways, is best explained light of two assumptions: (1) it must have become conventional early in the Second Temple period, and (2) it must be directly related to the Aramaic language. This is the best way to explain how international diplomatic correspondences, Aramaic tales, dedicatory inscriptions, and apocalyptic-wisdom or testamentary type texts all avoid the divine name in Aramaic, but use it in

comparative Hebrew sources.²⁹³ The origin of divine name avoidance in Aramaic is obscure, and the question of why Aramaic writers began to avoid the divine name in the Persian period cannot be fully answered in the current chapter. Beneath the penumbra of the divine name avoidance, however, there are some clues about what individual Aramaic writers thought about God, and the divine name, as discerned through the divine titles and epithets that they used instead. These titles and epithets provide some insight into the Persian period history of the divine name.

While Aramaic writers referred to God in roughly 37 different ways, 25 of these include compound titles or epithets; the latter demonstrates the importance of using descriptive elements in terms for God. Many scholars have argued that in the post-exilic Persian period we see a shift in the portrayal of the God of Israel.²⁹⁴ In this new social, political, and linguistic environment, Jewish authors experimented with new ways of communicating their beliefs in God. Some epithets that stuck remarkably well first appear in the extant record in the Elephantine material, namely the “God of Heaven” and “Lord of Heaven,” which are concretely dated to the fifth century BCE. These terms also factor prominently in Ezra and Dan.

Kraeling emphasized the role of “God of Heaven” in the diplomatic letters from Elephantine.²⁹⁵ Freedman considered the diplomatic emphasis of this title to have both

²⁹³ The texts that avoid the Aramaic divine name also have in common their exclusive acknowledgement of the Jewish deity, although the Mt. Gerizim inscriptions may require more nuanced treatment. This may provide a unifying theological thread among these sources. In contrast, all the texts that use the divine name also acknowledge other deities, and may therefore be understood as polytheistic or syncretistic. I still consider divine name avoidance in Aramaic, foremost, to be a linguistic convention, which was established early and adopted by later writers, because these texts, as pointed out below, do not appear to avoid the divine name for the same reasons, and thus require a larger model of explanation.

²⁹⁴ Ernst A. Knauf, *Die Umwelt des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1994), 252, has explained the emergence of such terms as part of a much broader phenomenon of the ancient Near East: “[T]he withdrawal of the gods from the earth into heaven begins already in the third millennium BCE.” The use of epithets with “heaven,” therefore, are simply describing the natural evolution of this belief.

²⁹⁵ Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, 84: “The occurrences are restricted to the ‘diplomatic’ documents and to two other letters, A.P. 38:2, 3 and 40:2... Since this phrase is also found in Old Testament writings of the Persian or Hellenistic age, the predilection shown for it in the diplomatic texts may be in conformity with recent Palestinian custom, reflecting Yahweh’s absorption of the title of the god Baalshamin... Certainly God of

administrative and theological implications, for example, in relation to the Persian administration but also in the “partial but marginal syncretism with Ahura Mazda,” the sky god of Zoroastrianism.²⁹⁶ The special role of “God of Heaven” has been carefully described by D. K. Andrews, who suggested that the epithet was a double entendre. From the pen of the Jewish writers it made the claim that the Jewish cult should be recognized by the Persian authorities, and therefore qualify for financial support, but as it occurs in the mouth of Persian officials, it functions as an acceptance of this claim.²⁹⁷ Andrews also points out that Ahura Mazda and YHWH may have been syncretized, but this view can only be inferred from the larger context, because Persian sources never refer to Ahura Mazda as “God of Heaven.” Aitken also considers the international context to be most helpful for understanding the emergence of the title in the Persian period: “[I]t was in conversation with Persian officials that God was given this epithet.”²⁹⁸ All of this together means that “God of Heaven” had important connotations, and clearly fulfilled a specific role in Jewish Aramaic literature in the international context of the Persian empire. Such external political circumstances required new articulations of God.

Nearly every scholar agrees that “God of Heaven” and related epithets are connected to the new political circumstances of the post-exilic Persian period.²⁹⁹ In the context of this development, the Tetragrammaton seems neither capable nor well suited to play the role of “God

Heaven does not seem to have been a term in general use for Yahu at Elephantine.” For the early connection to ancient Syria, see R. A. Oden, “Ba’al šāmēm and ’El,” *CBQ* 39 (1977): 457–73; and Eissfeldt, “Ba’alšāmēm und Jahwe,” *ZAW* 57 (1939): 1–31.

²⁹⁶ Freedman, “YHWH,” *TDOT* 5:521; Thomas M. Bolin, “The Temple of יהוה at Elephantine and Persian Religious Policy,” in *The Triumph of Elohim*, 127–42.

²⁹⁷ D. K. Andrews, “Yahweh the God of the Heavens,” in *The Seed of Wisdom. Festschrift T. J. Meek* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 45–57.

²⁹⁸ Aitken, “God of the Pre-Maccabees,” 259.

²⁹⁹ Williamson, *Ezra*, 12: “The title is thus to be seen as a product of administrative terminology by which the deities of subject peoples might be tested for their relation to Ahura Mazda. It is certainly noteworthy that its use in the OT is largely confined to points of official contact between Jews and Persians.”

of Heaven.”³⁰⁰ To make an additional observation, the emergence of “God of Heaven” and the non-use of the Tetragrammaton happen at the same time, during the Persian period. This may be an important piece of the puzzle for explaining the origins of the customary avoidance of the divine name in Aramaic. But still, the mechanism for avoidance does seem to be provided by the Jewish Aramaic writers themselves.

The divergent practices related to the use and non-use of the divine name in the Persian period, symbolized by a contrast between Elephantine and Ezra, may be best explained according to the way that various groups acquired and used the Aramaic language at the dawn of the Persian period. Rather than viewing the phenomenon of divine name avoidance in Aramaic as primarily an internal development, it could be that the divergent practices are tied to different modes of language acquisition. This is based on the assumption that the Tetragrammaton is not native to official Aramaic. For those Jews who wished to use the divine name, a vernacular innovation was required. We see this in the Elephantine papyri and ostraca of the fifth century BCE, which may partially explain the different orthographic practices, יהו and יהה, because there was no accepted standard at the time; these forms were vernacular innovations as Aramaic was acquired.³⁰¹ At Elephantine the divine name is used along with the general absorption of other

³⁰⁰ Regarding the variant that we encountered in Dan 1:1–2 (אֲדֹנִי in the MT), Goldingay assumed it was a replacement of the Tetragrammaton. I suggested that אֲדֹנִי might be reflecting the underlying Aramaic original of Dan 1 in which case it would be a translation of מַרְאָה. But either way, the larger implications of this activity—either original avoidance in Aramaic, or a replacement of an earlier Hebrew Tetragrammaton—the following comments of Goldingay are relevant. He states that while the (purported) replacement “may issue from reverence, the effect is also to undermine any hint that he is merely Israel’s national God and the temple its national shrine, as Babylon has its gods and shrines. The titles “the Lord” and “God” belong only to Yahweh; they have absolute implications, hinting that the exile happened by the act of the sovereign God who is also Israel’s God, not Nebuchadnezzar’s.” Goldingay, *Daniel*, 14; see also A. Lacocque, *Daniel et son temps* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1983); O. Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1965).

³⁰¹ In his monograph on the Elephantine material, Porten suggested that “...this trilateral form of the divine name... was virtually confined to the vernacular. The literary form was almost always YHWH...” See Porten, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1968), 106; cf. also Kittel quoted by L. Blau, “Tetragrammaton” in *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (ed. I Singer; New York, 1907), XII, 118ff. Porten draws a vernacular vs. literary distinction, suggesting that the vernacular form is

titles and epithets of local deities,³⁰² and the community had few religious restrictions, even as they self-identified as *yehudin*.³⁰³ The use of the Aramaic divine name in a range of liturgical, documentary, or numismatic contexts, as evident in P. Amh 63, the Idumean Ostrakon, and the BM Drachm, could then be viewed as a continuation of this vernacular usage.

The writers of Ezra and Daniel, however, chose to use the conventional modes of Aramaic discourse available at the time, particularly the conventions for referring to their deity in the context of international diplomacy. This explains the general and widespread use of generic titles such as אלהא, but also the use of key epithets as in אלהא שמיא in the literature of this period. Jewish compositions, during this formative time, seem to have set a literary precedent that was subsequently followed, for example, by the Aramaic Mt. Gerizim inscriptions and the Qumran Aramaic Scrolls.

There are many questions that remain about the relationship between the Tetragrammaton and other Aramaic divine titles and epithets. Aitken considers the continued use of שמיא to have become standard in Jewish texts of the Second Temple period (e.g. 1 Macc. 3:50; 4:10, 24, 40; 12:15; 16:3; cf. Dan. 4:23), which “is perhaps due to the decline the use of the tetragrammaton,”³⁰⁴ thus positing a scenario in which various titles and epithets fill the gap left

already present in the language. But this does not explain why the Tetragrammaton should be consistently avoided in other *literary* Aramaic texts such as Ezra, Daniel, and the Qumran Scrolls. While his description generally account for the *use* of the divine name, it does not help us understand the avoidance in other Aramaic texts. This is why I consider the “vernacular” use of the divine name to be an innovation.

³⁰² Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, 84: “The Jews there lived among Egyptians, Aramaeans, Phoenicians, Babylonians, and Persians. Mutual tolerance and a willingness to recognize other deities were almost a practical necessity.”

³⁰³ The invocation of the God of Israel, alongside other deities, is militated against in the biblical prophetic tradition. The well-known example, as it pertains to Jews in Upper Egypt, is the indictment of Jer 44:24–30: “Therefore hear the word of the LORD, all you Judeans who live in the land of Egypt: Lo, I swear by my great name, says the LORD, that my name shall no longer be pronounced on the lips of any of the people of Judah in all the land of Egypt, saying, ‘As the Lord GOD lives (חיי־אדני יהוה),’” (Jer 44:24–30). Ironically, this is exactly what the Elephantine material shows (e.g., TAD D7.16, 3–4). See also Isa 19 and Ezek 29.

³⁰⁴ Aitken, “God of the Pre-Maccabees,” 259.

by the Tetragrammaton. In the early twentieth century, George F. Moore posited a similar scenario related to the title עליון, namely that its increased use was partially intended to fill the vacuum left by the avoidance of the divine name, but he also correlated the rise in the use of עליון with preferences among early Jewish writers for terms that portrayed God in the language of exaltation.³⁰⁵ While clearly we see the increase in the frequency of some terms for God, it is probably not accurate to think of them as filling a void left by the Tetragrammaton. On the one hand, the notion of a void is imprecise because, as we will see in the next chapter, the divine name continued to be used in Hebrew in various sources, and of course the books that later become part of the Jewish canon of scripture were still under development at this time. On the other hand, the new divine titles and epithets in Aramaic offer their own unique depictions of the God of Israel. They do not function simply in a secondary sense to fill a void left by the divine name. Rather, the meaning derived from the divine titles and epithets, perhaps most prominently שמיא, עליון and/or עליא, seem to be in part responsible for the avoidance of the divine name.

Further distinctions are important. It is noteworthy that עליון and עליא (“Most High”), along with various compounds, are found only in Daniel and the Qumran Aramaic Scrolls. They do not occur in Ezra, the Elephantine material, or elsewhere.³⁰⁶ This suggests that the “God of Heaven” was not universally important for all Jewish writers, although we see שמיא continue in various ways. Aitken makes the striking observation that “the title ‘God of heaven’ is absent from Ben Sira, where עליון and, in the Greek translation, ὑψιστος are very important. It suggests

³⁰⁵ Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (3 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.; Cambridge University Press, 1927–30), 429–30.

³⁰⁶ See further Bauckham, “The Nature of the ‘Most high’,” 107–126.

that for some the title ‘God of heaven’ had significance, whilst for others their preference lay elsewhere.”³⁰⁷ The clear preference for some divine designations, but not others, provides further background for why Aramaic authors continued to avoid the divine name.

Some Aramaic texts, no doubt, avoided the divine name because of its sacredness. This could be the case especially for the texts that emphasize priestly themes or lineage, such as *New Jerusalem*, 4QTQahat, and *Visions of Amram*. The authors of these texts very well may have shared strict observance of purity halakha, given their literary foci. Regarding 4QTQahat we discussed the author’s conviction about the efficacy of the divine name: “He will make known to you his great name (שמה רבא) so that you will know him.”³⁰⁸ Other works emphasize the greatness and magnitude of the divine name, from which we may conclude that their authors likely revered the name.³⁰⁹ In 4QPrayer of Nabonidus, the foreign king is exhorted to proclaim “honour and exaltation” specifically to the “name of God (אֱלֹהִים...)].” This channeling of piety towards the name is missing from the parallel story involving Nebuchadnezzar’s rehabilitation in Dan 4, which reveals the particular perspective of the Aramaic author of 4Q242. The name of God is perceived to be an object of reverence. Furthermore, the scribe that used Tetrapuncta in 4QpapTob^a (4Q196) clearly thought that the term for God in this location should be avoided. The writer chose not to use another designation in its place. For the paleo-Hebrew writing of אֱלֹהִים in 4QpsDan^a (4Q243), the scribe probably also considered this term for God to be sacred. Most scribes of Aramaic texts, however, left no explicit indication of their view of the divine name or other divine titles and epithets in the copies of their works.

³⁰⁷ Aitken, “God of the Pre-Maccabees,” 264.

³⁰⁸ 4Q542 1 1.

³⁰⁹ In addition to the texts that follow above, see 4Q246 1 i 9, “...called the Great, and be designated by his name (ובשמה יתכנה)...”; 4Q529 1 9, “...behold a city is to be built to the name (לשמה) of the Great One...”

On the surface, for many other Aramaic writings, the continued avoidance of the divine name seems to be a reflex of the role played by the epithets and titles themselves. In principle, this is the same dynamic at work in the use of “God of Heaven” in the Persian period, where the Tetragrammaton could not offer what the Aramaic writers needed. The book of Daniel and the Qumran Aramaic scrolls present a colorful array of epithets that are fundamentally expansive—geographically, temporally, and spatially. The dominion, stature, and sovereignty of God encompasses all land, heavens, and even all time. In this regard, the adjective רבא is frequently used.³¹⁰ It occurs substantively or as a modifier: רבא (“Great One,” 4QEn^a, c, 4QEnGiants^f?, 4QAstrEn^b, 4QSon of God), אל רבא (“Great God,” 4QSon of God [4Q246] 1 ii 7), אלה רב (“Great God,” Dan 2:45)³¹¹, מרנא רבא (“our Great Lord,” 4QEnoch^b [4Q202] 1 iii 14), מלכא רבא (“Great King,” 4QpapTob^a 18 5) קדשא רבא (“Great Holy One,” 1QapGen, 4QEn^a). For the Aramaic authors of 1 Enoch, Nickelsburg regards the epithets as the “first clue to their views about the Deity...the terms “God” and “Lord” in 1 Enoch are almost always elaborated with modifiers that emphasize God’s transcendent character.”³¹² These titles and epithets offer depictions of God that are not possible through use of the divine name. Passages like Dan 7 and *Giants* also present interesting cases. They employ unique epithets—עתיק יומיא and שליט שמיא—and these portrayals seem to match the author’s distinct view of the Jewish deity.³¹³ Lastly, there

³¹⁰ In the Hebrew Bible, by contrast, the adjective is often attributive or used in the predicate position, but not as an epithet itself. We find רב חסד (“rich in loving-kindness,” Ex 34:6), רב טוב (“rich in goodness,” Isa 63:7), רב כח (“rich in power,” Ps 147:5), רב העלילה (“great in action/deed,” Jer 32:19). The word גדול (“great”) also has this sense; cf. Ps 47:3, 48:2, 95:3; Mal 1:14.

³¹¹ The increased use of רבא in the Aramaic scrolls may explain one subtle but intriguing variant in the cave 4 copy of Daniel. The MT (Dan 2:20) reads “blessed be the name of God (אלהא) from age to age,” but 4Q112 reads, “blessed be the name of the Great God (אלהא רבא) from age to age.” This may be understood as a harmonization with the use in Dan 2:45, where we find אלה רב. But the use of רבא may also reflect a trend towards the expansion of divine epithets with modifiers in late Second Temple period Aramaic.

³¹² Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 42.

³¹³ Aitken (“God of the Pre-Maccabees,” 266) comments on the overall effect of the use of divine titles and

are some works, like the Aramaic translation of Job (11Q10), that maintains the convention of divine name avoidance in Aramaic, but this cannot be explained simply on the basis of his replacement of the Tetragrammaton with אלהא, because the translator renders all Hebrew designations consistently with אלהא. What beliefs these authors may have had about the divine name is uncertain, but these types of avoidance seem to be best explained on the assumption of a customary practice of divine name avoidance in Aramaic that was fixed early in the Persian period.³¹⁴ The context of the Hellenistic and Roman periods is different, but in principle divine name avoidance in these later times is similar to the function of “God of Heaven” as the new context required new depictions of the God of Israel. Such practices are distinct from the types of avoidance that came to characterize literary texts of the late Second Temple period.

epithets in lieu of the Tetragrammaton. “Rather than a decline in the use of the divine name bringing about a loss of theological significance, there is a gain from the descriptive elements in the name.”

³¹⁴ As will become evidence in the following chapter, many of the so-called rewritten scriptural texts from Qumran, written in Hebrew, use the Tetragrammaton. The Aramaic composition, 1QapGen, is invariably discussed in the debate over the “rewritten” genre. But whereas the Hebrew rewritten texts use the Tetragrammaton, 1QapGen avoids it. This is best explained on the basis of linguistic convention: 1QapGen is written in Aramaic.

3 CHAPTER 3: THE DIVINE NAME IN HEBREW TEXTS

The evidence for the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew literature of the Second Temple period comes primarily from Qumran Caves 1–11, located near the northwest shore of the Dead Sea.³¹⁵ These manuscripts range in paleographic date from the early third century BCE to the end of the first century CE. Further evidence comes from the caves south of Qumran, namely Naḥal Şe‘elim, Naḥal Hever, Wadi Murabba‘at, and Masada, the latter on southwest shore of the Dead Sea.³¹⁶ While these locations generally represent the same geographic region—the Judean desert—the texts comprise a diverse collection of over 900 manuscripts, including (a) works that were later included in the Jewish canon of scripture, (b) literature written by the Qumran *yahad* authors, such as the *Rule of the Community*, *Thanksgiving Scroll*, and the *War Scroll*, and lastly (c) a variety of literary compositions, most of which were previously unknown, that were copied or used by the Qumran writers, but likely originated from the wider literary milieu of Judea.

The treatment of the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew scrolls is a complex phenomenon. Its discussion requires some categorization of texts, and this has proven to be notoriously difficult. In effort to make the complexity of this material accessible to the reader, and for a lack of a better alternatives, the current chapter is organized according to the scholarly construct known as the “tripartite” division of the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls. This division uses *etic* terminology to describe ancient groupings of texts in an attempt to provide a heuristic framework

³¹⁵ The only exception is the Nash Papyrus from Egypt, dated paleographically to around 125 BCE, which contains a unique combination of the Decalogue and Shema.

³¹⁶ See DJD 39 “C: Annotated List of Texts from the Judean Desert.” Naḥal Şe‘elim contained a phylactery with the Tetragrammaton (34Se Phylactery) (Y. Yadin, *IEJ* 11, 36–52); the “Cave of Letters” from Naḥal Hever preserved extensive passages from Psalms (Peter Flint, DJD 38:133–34); Wadi Murabba‘at preserved fragments of Gen, Num, Deut, and Isa (Mur1–3) as well as a phylactery (Mur4).

for better understanding the diversity of the evidence.³¹⁷ The collection of over 900 manuscripts described above (a, b, and c) can be labeled with some qualification as “biblical,” “sectarian,” and scrolls of “non-sectarian” origin.³¹⁸ This division may not be helpful for focused research on literary aspects of Qumran scrolls, but for the present study it works relatively well because larger patterns of the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton are generally consistent within each respective category, with one important caveat related to the scrolls of non-sectarian origin.

I define these terms and then note some qualifications:

- **biblical:** texts later included in the Jewish canon of scripture.³¹⁹
- **sectarian:** texts originating with the Qumran writers, self-described as members of the *yahad*. These texts contain distinctive ideas and terms, as found in compositions like 1QS, CD, 1QH^a, and 1QM, that are generally not shared as far as we know, among other groups of early Judaism during the late Second Temple period.
- **scrolls of non-sectarian origin:** texts that do not fit in the above categories in so far as they were not included in the present Jewish canon and have few sectarian affinities.³²⁰

³¹⁷ For a helpful discussion of *emic* versus *etic* terminology used to describe scriptural texts, see Anders Klostergaard Petersen, “Rewritten Bible as a Borderline Phenomenon: Genre, Textual Strategy, or Canonical Anachronism?” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. A. Hilhorst, Émile Puech, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 285–306.

³¹⁸ Devorah Dimant recently affirmed the utility of these categories in “The Library of Qumran in Recent Scholarship,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library* (ed. S. W. Crawford and C. Wassen; STDJ 116; Leiden: Brill, 2016), 8. A recent review and critique of prevailing terminology is found in Årstein Justnes, “On Being a ‘Librarian’: Labels, Categories, and Classifications,” in *The Dead Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library*, 15–32. Florentino García Martínez also discusses problems for categorizing texts from Qumran in “¿Sectario, no-sectario, o qué? Problemas de una taxonomía correcta de los textos qumránicos,” *RevQ* 23/91 (2008): 383–94.

³¹⁹ The term “biblical” can be misleading for those unfamiliar with the diversity of textual forms found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. A “Bible” did not exist as a fixed collection of sacred scripture during the late Second Temple period. Even if the Torah and Prophets were authoritative, for example, their textual content was not fixed in the sense of a “canon” of scripture. See Eugene Ulrich, “Pluriformity in the Biblical Text, Text Groups, and Questions of Canon,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991, Vol. 1* (ed. J. Treballe Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 36: “...it was the sacred work or book that was important, not the specific edition or specific wording of the work...” According to James VanderKam, the textual pluriformity of the Qumran scrolls gives way to greater uniformity by the end of the first or beginning of the second century CE; see VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible*, 15.

³²⁰ The non-sectarian scrolls are often referred to as “non-biblical,” but the latter is more problematic because it imposes a (potentially anachronistic) modern assumption about how an ancient text was understood within a community that used it. The labels “apocryphal” and “pseudepigraphical” have also been applied to the “non-sectarian” scrolls, but these may cause confusion as most of the non-sectarian texts do not belong to the traditional collection of books found in the Apocrypha or Pseudepigrapha. For further discussion, see James

The scrolls of non-sectarian origin do not represent a unified category. One cannot describe a common profile that is typically “non-sectarian.” This group of texts should be understood primarily according to the *negative* prefix of the label. In other words, whatever scholars may believe about these scrolls, they are *not* considered sectarian, at least in terms of origin, even though they were subsequently collected and copied by Qumran scribes. Importantly, the label “non-sectarian” does not make an assumption about the authoritativeness of these works, which is why “non-sectarian” is preferable to “non-biblical.” The latter makes the implicit assumption that the works it describes were not authoritative. This makes it possible, then, to discuss such works as *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, 4QReworked Pentateuch A–E, the *Temple Scroll*, and *Jubilees*, under the heading “non-sectarian” without assuming coherence or intending to conflate the differences in exegetical intention, purpose, literary aims, or most importantly the degree to which some compositions were more authoritative than others. These works are discussed further below. A very special case involves the *Psalms Scroll* from Cave 11, which is important to address immediately in order to demonstrate the challenges inherent in the tripartite division of the Hebrew scrolls.

The Qumran *Psalms Scroll*, represented by 11QPs^a (11Q5) along with the more fragmentary copies 11QPs^b and 4QPs^c, forms a collection of psalms that are also found in Books 4 and 5 of the MT Psalter (Psalms 90–150). In addition, however, 11QPs^a includes Hebrew compositions that are not found in the MT Psalter, such as versions of the medieval Syriac

VanderKam, “Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Texts,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids; Eerdmans, 2010), 52–61. For copies of Qumran works that were later collected in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha see Peter Flint, “Index of Passages from the Apocrypha and Previously-Known Writings (“Pseudepigrapha”) In the Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 666–68.

Psalms I (=LXX Ps 151 A, B), II, and III (11Q5 28.3–14; 18; 19.3–17), as well as previously unknown psalms, including *Plea for Deliverance* (11Q5 19), *Apostrophe to Zion* (11Q5 22), *Hymn to the Creator* (11Q5 26.9–15), and *David's Compositions* (11Q5 27.2–11). Notably, we also find a snippet of Ben Sira (Sir 51:13–20b = 11Q5 21.11–22.1).³²¹

Two observations are fundamental for an accurate view of the evidence in 11QPs^a. First, the arrangement of psalms is different from the MT Psalter; the previously unknown psalms of 11QPs^a are interwoven among the MT psalms. Second, the Tetragrammaton, in the paleo-Hebrew script, occurs throughout the entire scroll. This means that the compiler of 11QPs^a did not distinguish between the MT psalms and the additional material in either arrangement or use of the divine name.³²² This creates a problem for the tripartite collection of evidence, if assuming that the scroll functioned as a unified scriptural work, because it forces an either/or classification. It would require, for example, listing under the “biblical” section the evidence for the Tetragrammaton in the *Plea for Deliverance*, *Apostrophe to Zion*, *Hymn to the Creator*, and *David's Compositions*. The alternative would be to list the evidence for the Tetragrammaton in the MT-like psalms under the “non-sectarian” heading. Both options are somewhat problematic. An important observation, however, may provide a way forward. In addition to the previously unknown psalms, we also find the poem to wisdom that concludes Ben Sira (Sir 51:13–22). The

³²¹ James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 5–6.

³²² Sanders considered 11QPs^a to have functioned as the canonical psalter at Qumran; see Sanders, “The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^a) Reviewed,” in *On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida* (ed. M. Black and W. A. Smalley; The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 98. But others have stressed the “nonbiblical” or secondary status of the *Psalms Scroll*, notably Patrick Skehan, “A Liturgical Complex in 11QPs^a,” *CBQ* 34 (1973): 201 n. 24; *ibid.*, “Qumran and Old Testament Textual Criticism,” in *Qumrân: Sa Piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, 169, 172; a view also held by Talmon, Goshen-Gottstein, Wacholder, and Haran. Peter Flint, however, has comprehensively reassessed the material and agrees largely with Sanders’ earlier position; see Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 223: “[T]he 11QPs^a-Psalter is the foremost representative of the Book of Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls. As such it must have been used as Scripture.”

use of this poem suggests, at least in part, that 11QPs^a is composite collection of material. In light of this observation, and for the purpose of this study, it seems warranted to list the evidence for the use of the Tetragrammaton in the MT-like psalms of 11QPs^a (11Q5 cols 1–17, 20–28; frgs. A–F) as “biblical,” and to list the evidence for the Tetragrammaton in the previously unknown psalms of 11QPs^a (11Q5 18–19 and parts of 22, 24, 26–28) under the heading “non-sectarian.” This obviously cuts up a scroll that the editor/collector viewed as one, but it does not change the fact that his material existed previously as independent compositions. If scholars disagree with this approach, at least the evidence will be presented clearly, and the final statistics may be adjusted accordingly. In short, with requisite qualifications, the tripartite division of Hebrew scrolls into biblical, sectarian, and non-sectarian will serve as a framework for presenting the extant collection of evidence for the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton. Before entering a more focused discussion, I briefly outline the contours of divine name use in each category, highlighting key areas of interests to be pursued further.

3.1 A Sampling of the Use of the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls

In the copies of biblical manuscripts from Qumran, יהוה occurs just over 2,100 times. This high frequency is expected, given the 6,828 occurrences of the divine name in the Hebrew Bible (MT). While there is extensive accord between the textual evidence of the Qumran biblical manuscripts and the MT, a considerable number of divine name variants are evident. Some of these variants, particularly the use of אדני in a Qumran biblical scroll where the MT reads יהוה, have been misunderstood. An assessment of divine name variants will occupy our main focus when discussing the Qumran biblical manuscripts.

In original sectarian compositions, the Tetragrammaton is consistently avoided, except in some biblical quotations within these compositions, where it occurs a total of 46 times in 15

documents.³²³ In other biblical quotations, however, the Tetragrammaton is also omitted or replaced with לש , along with a range of other replacement practices.³²⁴ This shows that Qumran authors modified the content of biblical quotations to fit their views and literary compositions. An assessment of divine name replacements within biblical quotations reveals a clear trend towards the avoidance of the divine name that is categorically different from the patterns of variation between the Qumran biblical scrolls and the MT.

In the remaining scrolls from Qumran, where the evidence is collected under the heading “non-sectarian,” the Tetragrammaton occurs about 254 times in some 54 documents.³²⁵ Many of these writings continue to develop themes in books that were later included in the Jewish canon of scripture. They rewrite, expand, adapt, and interpret earlier “biblical” source texts, but also introduce new material.³²⁶ Some examples include the much debated so-called “rewritten scripture” texts, such as the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19–21, 4Q524),³²⁷ 4QReworked Pentateuch A–E (4Q158, 4Q364–367), and *Jubilees* (1Q17–18, 2Q19–20, 4Q176a, 4Q216–224, 4Q482, 11Q12).³²⁸ The Tetragrammaton occurs frequently in paraphrases, quotations, and various

³²³ For documents and references, see §6.1.1. For a working list of total sectarian documents used in this study, see § 6.1. On the criteria for discerning “biblical quotations” see §3.3.

³²⁴ See § 3.3.2.

³²⁵ See § 3.4.1.

³²⁶ The frequently discussed criteria to examine the degree of changes made to a source-text, in order to determine its approximate relationship to the source text, include: expansions, using a new speaker to recast the material, claims to revelation, changes to the scope and setting, rearrangements, and noticeable theological agenda. Thus, for example, because some of the 4QRP manuscripts have no new speaker, no claim to revelation, and no new scope or setting, they are essentially “biblical.” This is often contrasted with the *Temple Scroll* and *Genesis Apocryphon*, where we find large expansions, changes in speaker, and rearrangements of source material.

³²⁷ Magnus Riska, “The Temple Scroll—Is it More or Less Biblical?” in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (ed. A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta; JSJSup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 607–14.

³²⁸ The term “rewritten Bible” was coined by Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (Studia Post-Biblica 4; Leiden: Brill, 1961). The debate has been well-documented by other scholars. I mention here a few important studies: Daniel J. Harrington, “The Bible Rewritten (Narratives),” in *Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters* (ed. Robert A. Kraft and George W. E. Nickelsburg; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 239–47; Philip S. Alexander, “Retelling the Old Testament,” in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture* (ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 99–121; Emanuel Tov, “Biblical Texts as Reworked in Some Qumran Manuscripts with Special Attention to 4QRP and 4QparaGen-Exod,” in *The Community*

rearrangements of biblical sources, where it would be expected, but it is also found in texts that are not categorized as “rewritten,” such as *Pseudo-Ezekiel* (4Q385, 4Q385c, 4Q386, 4Q388, 4Q391),³²⁹ 4QSapiential Work (4Q185), 4QNarrative Work/Prayer (4Q460), 1QLiturgy of the Three Tongues of Fire (1Q29), 4QExhortation Based on the Flood (4Q370).³³⁰ Sidnie W. Crawford excluded *Pseudo-Ezekiel* from the rewritten genre because although it is thematically related to Ezekiel, it does not “reuse the actual biblical text.”³³¹ The use of the divine name in these scrolls is largely uncharted territory.³³² The reason for the lack of discussion is because it is

of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls (ed. Eugene Ulrich and James VanderKam; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 111–34; *ibid.*, “Three Strange Books of the LXX: 1 Kings, Esther, and Daniel Compared with Similar Rewritten Compositions from Qumran and Elsewhere,” in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays* (ed. Emanuel Tov; TSAJ 121; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 283–305; *ibid.*, “The Many forms of Hebrew Scripture: Reflections in Light of the LXX and 4QReworked Pentateuch,” in *From Qumran to Aleppo: Discussion with Emanuel Tov about the Textual History of Jewish Scriptures in Honor of His 65th Birthday* (ed. Armin Lange, Matthias Weigold and József Zsengellér; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2009), 11–28; Moshe J. Bernstein, “‘Rewritten Bible’: A Generic Category Which Has Outlived its Usefulness?” *Textus* 22 (2005): 169–96; Molly Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts* (STDJ 95; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 1–23; *ibid.*, “Genre and Rewritten Scripture: A Reassessment,” *JBL* 131 (2012): 271–288; Anders Klostergaard Petersen, “Rewritten Bible as a Borderline Phenomenon: Genre, Textual Strategy, or Canonical Anachronism?” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. A. Hilhorst, Émile Puech, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 285–306; Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology* (JSJSup 117; Leiden: Brill, 2007); Daniel K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (LSTS 63; New York: T & T Clark, 2007); Sidnie W. Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008); Daniel A. Machiela, “Once More, with Feeling: Rewritten Scripture in Ancient Judaism—A Review of Recent Developments,” *JJS* 61 (2010): 308–320; John F. Quant, “Rewriting Scripture Inside and Out: A Typology of Rewriting in Variant Editions and Rewritten Scripture,” (PhD Dissertation; Emory University; advisor Brent Strawn, 2014).

³²⁹ For the types of biblical interpretation in these manuscripts, see Monica Brady, “Biblical Interpretation in the ‘Pseudo-Ezekiel’ Fragments (4Q383–391) from Cave Four,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. Matthias Henze; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 88–109.

³³⁰ See notes on the use of יהוה and אל in Goldman, *Scripture and Interpretation*, 49.

³³¹ Sidnie W. Crawford, “The Rewritten ‘Bible’ at Qumran: A Look at Three Texts,” in *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* (vol. 26; ed. Baruch A. Levine, Philip J. King, Joseph Naveh, and Ephraim Stern; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 1. She mentions two major criteria for the categorization of “Rewritten Bible” as a grouping of texts that show “a close attachment, either through narrative or themes” and “some type of reworking, whether through rearrangement, conflation, or supplementation of the present canonical biblical text.”

³³² However, as early as 1986, Eileen Schuller pointed to the significance of this area in her work involving 4Q380 and 4Q381; see Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (Harvard Semitic Studies; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 38–43. Writing before the publication of the Cave 4 material, she observed that “the Tetragrammaton occurs some fifty times in over a dozen different works...None of these are, in origin, necessarily Essene.” The current statistics, as stated above, have now increased beyond what seemed to be an exceptionally large number in the 1980s.

assumed that the rewritten scripture texts “behave” like the biblical scrolls, but the remaining evidence collected under the “non-sectarian” category has received little attention. The collection of evidence here is especially pertinent for further study because the practices in many of these scrolls simply have never been the object of systematic investigation.³³³ In the context of the current study, I can only present the evidence for the Tetragrammaton along with some discussion to illustrate the contexts in which we encounter the divine name.

There has also been extensive debate over the use of paleo-Hebrew for the Tetragrammaton in scrolls otherwise written in the square-Aramaic script.³³⁴ This practice is found, to greater or lesser extent, in scrolls categorized under all three labels: biblical, sectarian, and non-sectarian. It is therefore a primary indication that Qumran scribes copied a certain percentage of the full range of material of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Qumran scribes have also overlaid their views of the divine name—as discerned through their scribal practices, such as the use of paleo-Hebrew—in their copies of works that were in circulation beyond Qumran. As we found previously with the use of the Tetrapuncta in 4QpapTob^a, in the Hebrew scrolls we must be attentive to the possibility of at least two levels of divine name practices, those at the compositional stage of literary works, and those in the Qumran copies.

Theories abound for the use of paleo-Hebrew in the Qumran scrolls, including an attempt to ensure that the Tetragrammaton would not be accidentally erased,³³⁵ expressions of reverence, sanctity, and piety towards the divine name, a view often paired with the idea that the script

³³³ This has been previously noted by scholars, for example, Devorah Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance,” in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness* (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 29 n. 15.

³³⁴ Raymond Edge outlined “at least nine theories” for the use of paleo-Hebrew; see Edge “The Use of Palaeo-Hebrew in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” (PhD Dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, 1995), 334.

³³⁵ Siegel, “The employment of palaeo-Hebrew characters,” 159–72; *ibid.*, “The Alexandrians in Jerusalem and their Torah Scroll with Gold Tetragrammata,” 42.

functioned as a visual reminder to avoid pronunciation,³³⁶ and additionally, issues related to ritual purity and impurity.³³⁷ Others have considered the use of paleo-Hebrew to reemerge in the late

³³⁶ Delcor, Siegel, Howard, Stegemann, Schiffman, McDonough, Miller, and more recently, Brooke, Tov, and Wilkinson hold this view. See, for example, Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 135; Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 218–21, 238–246: “These practices reflect reverence for the divine names, considered so sacred that they were not to be written with regular characters lest an error be made or lest they be erased by mistake. An additional purpose may have been a warning against pronouncing the divine name.” Ibid., *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 205; ibid., “Scribal Characteristics of the Qumran Scrolls,” in *The Caves from Qumran: Proceedings of the International Conference, Lugano 2014* (ed. Marcello Fidanzio; Leiden: Brill, 2016), 93–94. Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton*, 56: “This distinctive script and the retention of the original language do, however, mark off the Tetragrammaton as being of a special sanctity—it may also be a warning to the reader not to attempt to read (i.e., say aloud) the word, but this cannot be said for certain.”

³³⁷ Boaz Zissu and Omri Abadi, “Paleo-Hebrew script in Jerusalem and Judea from the Second Century B.C.E. Through the Second Century C.E.: A Reconsideration,” *Journal for Semitics* 23 (2014): 653–66, have departed from the general consensus by returning to the position espoused in early Qumran scholarship that the use of paleo-Hebrew was less sacred than the use of the square-Aramaic script. They write: “Studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls commonly premise that greater holiness and value was attached to the Paleo-Hebrew script than to the square script. The article shows that, in the Second Temple period, the square script was considered holy. Consequently, those who were scrupulous about observing the laws of ritual purity refrained from using the square script for mundane purposes and used the Paleo-Hebrew script instead.” (653) They essentially argue that the purpose of the scroll determines the use of the script—mundane purposes utilize paleo-Hebrew, while sacred purposes require the square-Aramaic. Their proposal, however, is overly simplistic because they assume that all uses of paleo-Hebrew (e.g., on Hasmonean coins, at Mt. Gerizim, and in the Qumran Scrolls) have the same purpose, and that we can infer the purpose of one from the other. They claim, for example, that because coins use paleo-Hebrew, and coins are part of everyday mundane life, then the paleo-Hebrew in the Qumran scrolls must also be for mundane purposes. They seek further support in rabbinic sources, but the backbone of their argument rests on coins. I quote: “Studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls commonly premise that greater holiness and value attached to the Paleo-Hebrew script than to the square script (Tov 2004; Siegel 1971:245). However, an examination of coins does not support this assertion.” (658) Similar views were held early in Qumran scholarship, before more evidence was available, by Segal, Birnbaum, and Mueller. Segal argued that writing the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew prevented scribes from “contaminating the hands.” See Segal “Problems of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Erets-Israel* I (1951): 39 n. 6 [Hebrew]. But such views have been thoroughly critiqued; see Patrick Skehan, “The Text of Isaiah at Qumran,” *CBQ* 17 (1955): 42–43. Moreover, Zissu and Abadi cite Tov on inaccurate information in support of their own study: “No scroll has been found in which the divine name is written in both the Paleo-Hebrew script and the square script (Tov 2004:225).” (659) This is simply not correct, and many scholars are now aware that paleo-Hebrew and the square-script do in fact occur for divine designations on the same fragment of at least three manuscripts. This involves the Tetragrammaton in 4QLev^g and 4QpPsa^a, and 𐤇𐤍 in 4QD^b.

Second Temple period and evoke sentiments of nationalism,³³⁸ archaism,³³⁹ or historicism.³⁴⁰ In contrast, still others have argued that the paleo-Hebrew script simply continued in use, albeit with some gaps, by many different groups for varying sociological purposes, from the Iron Age and Persian periods up to the Bar Kochba revolt.³⁴¹ Some of these proposals are contradictory or mutually exclusive,³⁴² as in the second and third theories above, but others are compatible.

George Brooke and Emanuel Tov, for example, hold that the paleo-Hebrew script is a marker of divine name sanctity, prevents the possibility of erasing the divine name, and prevents the reader from pronouncing it.³⁴³ Moreover, a systematic collection of all the evidence will equip scholars

³³⁸ J. Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet: An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1982), 119. He argues that paleo-Hebrew on the Yehud, Hasmonean, and Jewish coins was motivated by political/national convictions.

³³⁹ Cross, Delcor, Sanderson, and Mathews advocated this view. Frank M. Cross considered the use of paleo-Hebrew in terms of revival. He writes, “Evidently the script was taken up anew in the era of nationalistic revival of the second century B.C., to judge from its use as a monumental script by the Hasmoneans on their coinage, as well as its resurgence as a Biblical hand.” See Cross, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G. Ernest Wright; Garden City: Doubleday, 1961), 189 n. 4; Matthews, “The Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll from Qumran,” *Biblical Archaeologist* 50 (1987): 49; *ibid.*, “The Background of the Paleo-Hebrew Texts at Qumran,” in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth* (ed. C. Meyers and M. O’Connor; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 549–68.

³⁴⁰ Edge, “The Use of Palaeo-Hebrew,” 368, argued that no theory has sufficiently distinguished between manuscripts written entirely in paleo-Hebrew and the later manuscripts written in the square-script with paleo-Hebrew divine names. Edge proposes what he calls the “Historical Tetragrammaton Hypothesis,” based on his idiosyncratic reconstruction of the community’s history. Paleo-Hebrew can be ascribed to two separate scribal traditions. “The first tradition, perpetuated by conservative, priestly founders of the community, wrote the entire Hebrew scroll in the Palaeo-Hebrew script. The second tradition produced square Hebrew and Greek scrolls with the Tetragrammaton and other names of God in the Palaeo-Hebrew script.” (vii-viii) Paleo-Hebrew was intended to “reemphasize the authenticity of the interpretations of the Teacher of Righteousness.” The Teacher had “no doubt used Palaeo-Hebrew as the authentic script of ancient Israel to represent the unique God of Israel...[s]o too was the Tetragrammaton represented in the community’s copies of his writings and interpretations. More importantly, the Tetragrammaton in Palaeo-Hebrew gave the Qumran community its identity. An identity centered around the traditional values and roots of ancient Israel’s experience in the wilderness.”

³⁴¹ Mark D. McLean “The Use and Development of Palaeo-Hebrew in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods,” (PhD Dissertation; Harvard University, 1982), discusses how paleo-Hebrew may have been used alongside the square-script by all major religious parties for different purposes (e.g., Hasmoneans, Samaritans, Zadokite priests at Qumran, and later Essenes at Qumran).

³⁴² For example, the archaism theory and the continued use theory are to some extent mutually exclusive. Edge comments, “If other groups used the Palaeo-Hebrew script, then they all could not have revived the script due to an archaistic ideology.” See Edge, “Use of Palaeo-Hebrew,” 339.

³⁴³ George J. Brooke, “Aspects of the Physical and Scribal Features of Some Cave 4 ‘Continuous’ Pesharim,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (ed. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen Schuller; STDJ 92; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 146, 148–49. Furthermore, Brooke offers an insightful study on the role paleo-Hebrew with “reference either to the function of the manuscript or to those who

with the necessary variables in order to make further progress in understanding the use of paleo-Hebrew at Qumran. At a minimum, theories must account for the fact that not just the Tetragrammaton occurs in paleo-Hebrew, but also other titles and epithets as well. We find, for example, לֵא written in paleo-Hebrew in the sectarian scrolls, but it is not likely that the use of paleo-Hebrew for לֵא was intended to mark its avoidance in speech. This basic observation requires more nuancing for the theory that paleo-Hebrew signals only spoken avoidance of the Tetragrammaton. This point is further underscored by the fact that אֱדוֹנִי occurs in paleo-Hebrew (4QIsa^c), the presumable spoken replacement for the Tetragrammaton. Furthermore, there is the question of the diversity and inconsistency in how the paleo-Hebrew script is applied, along with the fact that the square-Aramaic script for the Tetragrammaton is far more common. Without entering the debate on the meaning or purpose of the paleo-Hebrew script in the current study, it is important to document the evidence so that scholars can have a clear view of when and where this practice occurs.

3.2 *The Qumran Biblical Scrolls*

The Qumran biblical scrolls, while reflecting the text of the MT quite closely, still contain numerous textual variants when compared with known biblical witnesses, many of which

might read it, especially in public.” (149) His views are based on the following views: (1) scribes who wrote the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew had “specialist training,” and (2) the use of paleo-Hebrew may reflect higher social stratification: “Perhaps such specialists were even of a higher social grade because of their competence in handling the divine name.” (148) From this premise, he suggests that manuscripts with the square script for the Tetragrammaton “were copies for expert use, such as being scribal base text exemplars or archive copies,” while “those with the divine name in paleo-Hebrew might have been produced to be used by the less adroit, perhaps in public performance as the prophetic texts were studied afresh by novices and longstanding members in the community.” (149) He also suggests that “[i]t is possible that in the second half of the first century B.C.E. and later the increasing tendency for copies of the pesharim to use the tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew indicates a change in the dominant use of such compositions. Perhaps, increasingly, they were performed by community members in contexts where those with less knowledge of the Hebrew scriptures might inadvertently pronounce the divine name.” (147)

pertain to the divine name.³⁴⁴ There has been some ambiguity among scholars about how the divine name variants in the biblical scrolls should be understood. This section begins with two examples that illustrate this disagreement, followed by a complete listing of variant patterns in the biblical scrolls. These provide a much needed context for interpreting the text-critical evidence. Lastly, I present the evidence for writing the Tetragrammaton in the paleo-Hebrew script within square-Aramaic script biblical scrolls.

3.2.1 Divine Name Variants: Comparing the Qumran Biblical Scrolls and the MT

The evidence for divine name variants in the biblical scrolls is often misunderstood. The following examples are instructive. The MT of Deut 32:27 contains the Tetragrammaton, but 1QDeut^b (1Q5), uses אדני:

ולא יהוה פעל כל זאת	MT	Deut 32:27
[ולא אדני] פעל כל זאת	1Q5 5.1	

When encountering this type of scenario, scholars have often considered the phenomenon of spoken avoidance to be in the background; thus אדני entered the textual history because it was read for the Tetragrammaton in the process of transmission. Regarding the same variant pattern in 4QLam (4Q111), Frank M. Cross wrote: “Presumably the direction of change is from יהוה to אדני, since in late times יהוה was not read aloud, and often the manuscripts were dictated.”³⁴⁵ This is representative of the general assumption that characterizes such divine name variants, because it refers to a “direction of change” that implies the scribal activity is both deliberate and in a direction away from the Tetragrammaton.³⁴⁶ Cross attributes this variant to the context of spoken

³⁴⁴ E.g., James R. Davila, “The Name of God at Moriah: An Unpublished Fragment from 4QGenExod-a,” *JBL* 110 (1991): 577–82.

³⁴⁵ Cross, DJD 16:236.

³⁴⁶ Russel Hobson, *Transforming Literature into Scripture: Texts as Cult Objects at Nineveh and Qumran* (BW; Sheffield: Equinox, 2012), 130, briefly notes a few examples of what he calls “interchanges” in the context of linguistic features of some Qumran biblical manuscripts, but does not sample the larger context of variant patterns.

avoidance and the process of transmission by dictation from one scribe to another. Considering the evidence of 1Q5 and 4Q111 on their own suggests that the use of אדני reflects a broader trend of replacing the Tetragrammaton. This is a plausible explanation, as we find this to be the case for 1QIsa^a, but it must not be interpreted in isolation from a total collection of divine name variant patterns. Importantly, we also find the opposite variant pattern. Note how the MT of Exod 15:17 contains אדני, while 4QExod^c (4Q14) uses יהוה,

בהר נחלתך מכוון לשבתך פעלת יהוה מקדש אדני כוננו ידיך	MT	Exod 15:17
בהר נחלתך [ך מכוון לשבתך פעלת] / יהוה מקדש יהוה כוננו ידך	4Q14 6.40–41	

The use of the Tetragrammaton in a Qumran biblical copy, where it does not occur in the MT, requires a different explanation than pertains to the pattern in which the scroll read אדני, which then also calls into question the utility of the explanation for the first scenario.

In order to better understand these variants, it is important to consider the larger context of the divine name variant patterns. I present this evidence in the table below. I have numbered the variant patterns in the first column. The second column contains the divine name reading in a Qumran biblical scroll, while the third contains the reading in the MT. The fourth column shows how many times each variant pattern occurs. The manuscript references can be found in the Appendix.³⁴⁷ Where the MT or the biblical scroll does not contain a divine name reading, I use “null” and vice versa. Lastly, the variant patterns are grouped in sets according to their opposite patterns.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷ See §6.1.3.

³⁴⁸ There are a few more variants that occur in the biblical manuscripts, not listed in the table below. For a complete listing, see §6.1.3.

3.2.1: Divine Name Variant Patterns in the Biblical Scrolls

<i>Variant Pattern Number</i>	<i>Qumran Scroll</i>	<i>MT</i>	<i>Occurrences</i>
1	יהוה	null	28
2	null	יהוה	23
3	יהוה אלהים	יהוה	16
4	יהוה	יהוה אלהים	1
5	אלהים	יהוה	10
6	יהוה	אלהים	7
7	יהוה	אדני	11
8	אדני	יהוה	9
9	יהוה אלהים	אלהים	5
10	אלהים	יהוה אלהים	0
11	יהוה	אדני יהוה	4
12	אדני יהוה	יהוה	4
13	יהוה צבאות	יהוה	4
14	יהוה	יהוה צבאות	1
15	אדני יהוה	יהוה אלהים	2
16	יהוה אלהים	אדני יהוה	2
17	יהוה אלהים	null	2
18	null	יהוה אלהים	5
19	אדוני	null	1
20	null	אדני	2

This collection of evidence shows that almost every variant pattern occurs in the opposite direction. An example of variant pattern no. 1 occurs in Ps 138:1, where the MT reads “I give you thanks” where 11QPs^a (11Q5) uses the Tetragrammaton in the vocative:

לדוד אודך בכל לבי נגד אלהים אזמרך
MT
Ps 138:1
לדוד אודכה בכל לבי נגד אלהים אזמרכה
11Q5 21 1-2

The scribe of 11Q5 has placed dots around the second occurrence of the Tetragrammaton (four dots above and four below) to mark it as a mistake. For an explanation of this activity, see the discussion below on the use of paleo-Hebrew. The occurrence of the Tetragrammaton above has no parallel in the MT, but it occurs in the vocative expression of 11Q5, following the 2ms pronoun with YHWH as the referent. This pattern occurs 28 times in a comparison of the Qumran biblical scrolls with the MT, though not all resemble the same elements. One may observe, at this point, that the LXX (Ps 137:1) also reads the vocative $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\rho\iota\epsilon$, and so 11Q5 may simply be representing another *Vorlage*. But this scenario does not pertain when we examine the opposite variant pattern.

An example of variant pattern no. 2 (the opposite pattern of no. 1) occurs in Ps 121:8, where the MT uses the Tetragrammaton but 11Q5 does not:

יהוה ישמר צאתך ובואך מעתה ועד עולם	MT	Ps 121:8
ישמור צאתכה ובואכה מעתה ועד עולם	11Q5 3 6	

The subject YHWH is explicit in the MT, but implied in the 3ms imperfect verb ישמר in 11Q5.³⁴⁹ In this case, LXX (Ps 120:8) contains $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, in agreement with the MT reading. Thus the variant in 11Q5 cannot be attributed to a known *Vorlage*, nor according to an assumption about the trend towards avoiding the divine name at the time, because in variant pattern no. 1, above, we found that 11Q5 uses the Tetragrammaton, while the MT does not. Variant pattern no. 2 occurs a total of 23 times.

It is important to point out that 11Q5 16–17 contains the litany ברוך יהוה וברוך שמו לעולם $\bar{\text{ו}}\bar{\text{ע}}\bar{\text{ד}}$ 16 times. This is not found in the MT or LXX versions of Ps 145, but is repeated in 11Q5 at

³⁴⁹ There is no *vacat* in 11Q5 at this locus to suggest that the scribe writing the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton failed to do so.

the end of every verse. This partially contributes to the higher number of Tetragrammaton pluses at Qumran. If anything, though, it provides further evidence for the continued *use* of the divine name. In this context, the evidence of 11Q5 17 2–3 is also noteworthy; it supplies the much discussed missing *nun* verse of the acrostic (נאמן אלוהים בדבריו וחסיד בכול מעשיו), obviously absent from the MT. Scholars have pointed out that the divine designation here is אלוהים, which occurs only once elsewhere in this psalm (145:1), in contrast to the frequently used יהוה (9x). The use of אלוהים in the missing *nun* verse has been taken to reflect the broader trend towards divine name avoidance.³⁵⁰ It is often missed, however, that the blessing litany, with the Tetragrammaton, is added to this verse also.³⁵¹ One gets the feeling that the scribe is simply following through with what the opening line of the psalm proclaims, Ps 145:1: “I will bless your name for ever and ever,” thus the author of 11Q5 inserts: “Blessed is YHWH and blessed is his name for ever and ever.” This must reflect the specific setting or circumstance in which this scroll was used. In summary, we have seemingly contrasting practices that converge in the very same verse, both of which is not attested in the MT.

For some omissions of the Tetragrammaton, the principles of textual criticism offer a helpful explanation. The omission of the Tetragrammaton in 1QIsa^a 2.9–10 (Isa 2:3), for example, is probably due to haplography:

והלכו עמים רבים ואמרו לכו ונעלה אל הר יהוה אל בית אלהי יעקב	MT	Isa 2:3
והלכו עמים רבים ואמרו לכו ונעלה אל בית אלוהי יעקוב	1QIsa ^a 2.9–10	

³⁵⁰ See Ben-Dov, “Elohistic Psalter,” 100: “The use of Elohim to replace YHWH, although not a common practice in the scrolls, does appear in some interesting examples...” The examples he cites are the missing *nun* verse 11Q5 17 2–3 (Ps 145); 1QIsa^a 35.14 (Isa 42:5), and 4QCommGen A (4Q252) 1 1–2 (Gen 6:3).

³⁵¹ Ben-Dov here cites Yehoshua Amir, “Excursus on a Lost Verse,” *Beit Miqra* 38 (1993): 80–82 (Hebrew), who shows that the wording with the Tetragrammaton in the missing *nun* verse was preserved in Jewish liturgical paraphrase within the blessing of the Haftarah.

The repeated use of the preposition אַל (“to”) may have caused the scribe reading this scroll to skip over the phrase with the Tetragrammaton.³⁵²

Looking to general frequency now, if we compare the use of the Tetragrammaton in variations no. 1 and 2, we actually find more attestations of the Tetragrammaton in the Qumran biblical manuscripts than we find in the MT. Likewise, for patterns nos. 7 and 8 (יהוה // אדני), we find that the Tetragrammaton occurs two more times in the Qumran biblical scrolls than in the MT. This overall picture would not make sense if scribes tended to replace the Tetragrammaton in copying biblical manuscripts.

Divine name variants are not only found between Qumran biblical manuscripts and the MT, but diversity exists among other types of witnesses as well. Note the variant readings from the *tefillin* (phylacteries) containing Deut 5:26.³⁵³

כי מי כל בשר אשר שמע קול אלהים חיים מדבר	MT= SP = LXX
כִּי מי כול בשר אשר שמע קול יהוה אלהים מדבר	4QPhyl H (4Q135) 1 4
כי מי כִּי בשר / אשר שמע קול אלוהים חי מדבר	4QDeut ⁿ (4Q41) 5 8–9
כי מי כול בשר אשר שמע את קול אלוהים חיים מ / דבר	4QPhyl J (4Q137) 1 32–34

All witnesses contain the title אלהים, but 4QPhyl H contains a variant plus with the Tetragrammaton. We know that a correcting scribe had a keen eye on the divine name reading here, because he made the sublinear insertion of the *aleph*, but made no effort to correct the Tetragrammaton, at least according to a known witness. The use of the Tetragrammaton in 4QPhyl H is another example that would be surprising if there was a trend towards the avoidance of the divine. Such a trend did not affect biblical or *tefillin* material. In fact, there is further

³⁵² 4QIsa^e and 4QIsa^f follow the MT.

³⁵³ Even though Tov (*Scribal Practices*, 76) suggests that 4Q41 is probably a liturgical scroll “rather than a regular biblical text,” it still can offer reliable text-critical data, especially in comparison with other witnesses. For observations on how the scribal practices for *tefillin* compare with biblical manuscripts, cf. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 218–219.

evidence for the increased use of the Tetragrammaton. In some places, this even appears to be deliberate. Note the following witnesses of Deut 10:20:

... ובשמו תשבע	MT = SP = LXX	Deut 10:20
ובו תקרב ובעבְמוֹ תשבְעוּ	8QPhyl 3 12_16 14	
[] בו תדבק ובשמו תשבע	4QMez B 1 6	
וּ[בו] הֶ תדבק ובשמו {ו} תשבע	4QPhyl K 1 7	
יהוה אלוהיכֶּה		

The MT, SP, LXX, 8QPhyl (8Q3), and 4QMez B (4Q150) agree in their reading of Deut 10:20, “by his name you shall swear.” Intriguingly, 4QPhyl K (4Q138) erases the 3ms pronominal suffix and provides the sublinear insertion, and explicitly denotes the name by which to swear: יהוה אלוהיכה. This scribal activity is clearly deliberate, and seems to result from the prerogative of the individual scribe. In this instance, it is not likely that the scribe was correcting the text, because all known witnesses of Deut 10:20 agree with the reading ובשמו. All of the activity above takes place in copies of texts that date on paleographic grounds to the first century CE, pointing towards the continued use of the Tetragrammaton in writing.

3.2.2 Explicit Scribal Interventions: Further Evidence that Scribes Did Not Deliberately Avoid the Tetragrammaton in Biblical Scrolls

There are many instances where scribes have directly intervened into copies of biblical texts in order to change the divine name reading. The following discussion examines the nature of these changes. I will show that changes to divine name readings in biblical texts are all best explained simply as scribal corrections in relation to a *Vorlage*. In light of the dominant view of a trend towards the avoidance of the divine name, especially at the time these manuscripts were copied, these deliberate changes offer important evidence for consideration.

In the table below, I present the collection of scribal divine name changes. The first column lists the number. The second column contains the divine name change in the Qumran

biblical scroll, while the third column contains the parallel reading in the MT. The last column gives the manuscript references. These are divided into two groups: (I) supralinear insertions, and (II) use of deletion dots. The carat symbol (^) shows where the supralinear correction is made. At the outset, we may bracket the use of Tetrapuncta in the supralinear insertions of 1QIsa^a. This practice is related to sectarian copying and does not offer evidence of real variants.³⁵⁴

3.2.2: Explicit Scribal Interventions in Biblical Scrolls

<i>Intervention</i>	<i>Scroll</i>	<i>MT</i>	<i>Reference</i>
I. Supralinear Insertions			
1	^ יהוה ^	יהוה	4Q22 17 33 // Ex 17:15 ³⁵⁵ 4Q87 26 i 8 // Ps 126:2
2	^ יהוה אלו היכמה ^	יהוה אלהיכם	4Q40 1–3 3 // Deut 3:20
3	^...••••• כי רוח ^	...כי רוח יהוה...	1QIsa ^a 33.7 // Isa 40:7 ³⁵⁶
4	^ (•) ••••• ^	יהוה	1QIsa ^a 35.15 // Isa 42:6
5	^ יהוה צבאות ^	יהוה	4Q56 3 ii 11 // Isa 5:25
6	^ כי יהוה צבאות דבר ^	יהוה	4Q78 18 + 20 2 // Joel 4:8
7	^ אדוני יהוה צבאות ^	אדני יהוה צבאות	1QIsa ^a 3.20 // Isa 3:15
8	^ אדוני יהוה ^	אדוני יהוה	1QIsa ^a 22.20 // Isa 28:16 1QIsa ^a 24.25 // Isa 30:15 1QIsa ^a 52.18 // Isa 65:13
9	^ אדוני יהוה ^	אדני	1QIsa ^a 7.27 // Isa 8:7 ³⁵⁷
10	^ יהוה צבאות ^	יהוה צבאות	1QIsa ^a 15.16 // Isa 19:12

³⁵⁴ I discuss the use of Tetrapuncta further below. Overall, there are five instances in the Qumran biblical scrolls where Tetrapuncta occur. Two are found at 1QIsa^a 33.7 [Isa 40:7] and 35.15 [Isa 42:6], both of which are supralinear insertions. In 4QSam^c (4Q53), Tetrapuncta occur 3 times in the main text. The use of Tetrapuncta was probably used throughout this scroll, which preserves parts of 1 Sam 25:30–32 and 2 Sam 14:7–15:15 (no instances of the Tetragrammaton are extant in 4Q53). The remaining biblical manuscripts of Samuel (i.e., 1Q7, 4Q52, and 4Q51) contain the Tetragrammaton in square script.

³⁵⁵ The Tetragrammaton is a supralinear insertion in a lighter second hand in the paleo-Hebrew scroll.

³⁵⁶ There is some debate whether the Qumran scribe corrected 1QIsa^a 33.7 by supplying the “omission” (Tov) or actually added this line to 1QIsa^a reflecting the developmental growth of biblical books (Ulrich). See Ulrich, *Developmental Composition* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); *ibid.*, “Identification of a Scribe Active at Qumran: 1QPs b -4QIsa c -11QM,” in *מגילות: מחקרים במגילות מדבר יהודה ה-ו. מוגשים לדבורה דימנט*, *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls V-VI. A Festschrift for Devorah Dimant* (ed. Moshe Bar-Asher, Emanuel Tov; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and Haifa University Press, 2007), 201–10.

³⁵⁷ There seem to be correction dots around the Tetragrammaton, but the only the tops of the letters are preserved on the scroll.

11	יהוה א[להי]א	אלהי	4Q30 54–55 i 5 // Deut 31:17
II. Cancellation/Deletion Dots			
12	יהוה אלהי	אלהי	4Q58 4.10 // Isa 49:4
14	יהוה אלוהים	אלהי	11Q5 21.2 // Ps 138:1 11Q5 16.7 // Ps 145:1
15	ממעו יהוה אמי הזכיר	ממעו אמי הזכיר	4Q58 4 6 // Isa 49:1 ³⁵⁸
16	אדוני יהוה	אדני	1QIsa ^a 3.24 // Isa 3:17
17	יהוה אדוני	אדני	1QIsa ^a 3.25 // Isa 3:18
Special Case (supralinear insertion + deletion dots)			
18	יהוה ואדוני ואלוהי	יהוה ואדני	1QIsa ^a 41.14 // Isa 49:14 ³⁵⁹

Every scribal change above, with the exception of insertion in 4Q78 (Joel 4:8), reflects readings in other known biblical witness; a high percentage of these are in the MT.³⁶⁰ This means that the scribal changes are best understood as “corrections” in light of a *Vorlage*. One example illustrates the nature of these scribal changes. The copyist of 4QIsa^d (4Q58) seems to have inadvertently written the Tetragrammaton, when only אלהים was in the source text,

אכן משפטי את יהוה ופעלתי את אלהי	MT	Isa 49:4
[... אכן משפטי את יהוה ופעלתי את יהוה אלהי	4Q58 4.10	

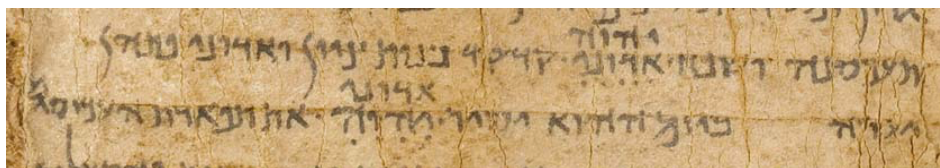
This scribal change does not provide evidence for divine name avoidance in 4Q58, but instead suggests that the scribe is concerned with the accurate transmission of Isaiah. He is not avoiding the Tetragrammaton, but rather correcting his text. Other examples, such as 4QpaleoExod^m (4Q22) and 4QPs^e (4Q87), show the supralinear insertion of the Tetragrammaton to bring these readings in line with their presumable *Vorlage*.

³⁵⁸ The scribe began to write the Tetragrammaton, but continued with the correct word.

³⁵⁹ At this location, the scribe inserted ואלוהי as a supralinear correction, but then signaled its error with one dot on each side. It is directly above אדוני.

³⁶⁰ Only 4Q56 (Isa 5:25) and 4Q30 (Deut 31:17) share readings with the LXX against the MT. The only reading unattested in an extant witness is 4Q78 18 + 20 2 (Joel 4:8).

The relationship between אדוני and יהוה in 1QIsa^a deserves further attention, especially as it relates to the context of transmission. The scribe of 1QS also copied 1QIsa^a, and this was most likely done at the dictation of another scribe. The scribal activity of 1QIsa^a provides evidence for the spoken replacement of the Tetragrammaton with אדוני, but it is important to be clear on a further point: the scribal practices do not indicate concern for avoiding the Tetragrammaton in the text of 1QIsa^a. Most scholars agree that the Tetragrammaton was read as אדוני, but written by the 1QS scribe as יהוה, except where he confused the two when they occurred in close proximity with each other.³⁶¹ This situation is illustrated by the well-known example of 1QIsa^a 3.24–25. In line 24 the scribe cancels אדוני and inserts יהוה, but in line 25 the scribe cancels יהוה and inserts אדוני, a seemingly contradictory practice.



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Writing the Tetragrammaton itself, for the sectarian scribe copying this manuscript, is not a problem. As it pertains to the details of the transmission process, Skehan provided one possible explanation, although his theory depends almost entirely on a hypothetical situation in which the reader of the scroll warned the copyist every time he encountered the Tetragrammaton.³⁶² Skehan states that the scribe of 1QIsa^a writes at dictation:

...both he and his reader pronounce Adonay for both יהוה and אדוני. When he hears

³⁶¹ In a description of the linguistic profile of 1QIsa^a, Martin Abegg writes: “Although the 30 occurrences of variation in 1QIsa^a may defy a unified explanation, the phenomenon is almost certainly related in part to the scribe’s vocalization of the tetragrammaton as ’adōnāy; and thus his propensity to replace אדוני with יהוה.” See DJD 32:39.

³⁶² This view was first entertained Millar Burrows, “Variant Readings in the Isaiah Manuscript (Continued),” *BASOR* 113 (1949): 24–32, and developed further by Skehan.

Adonay, unless somehow warned, he automatically writes יהוה...[the copyist] has no problem with the name Yhwh as such, which he writes in his ordinary script. He always has a problem with the name אדוני, and when that name occurs in close conjunction with Yhwh, a secondary problem arises for the tetragrammaton.³⁶³

In particular, regarding the correction in 1QIsa^a 3.24–26 (Isa 3:17–18), Skehan writes:

There are 2 false corrections; unfortunately for readers' impressions, the first, in 3:17, is the most botched. Warned that אדוני occurred in the verse...the scribe wrote it correctly, then within the same verse and the same line of script, where ויהוה should occur, he wrote ואדוני [see image above: second from last word in the first line]. Learning (from the 2 אדוניs in one verse) that he had made an error, he “corrected” the first אדוני by writing יהוה above it and placing 5 dots below it. He thus left both names wrong.³⁶⁴

Assuming that אדני was read for the Tetragrammaton is the best way to account for the mistakes that entered this manuscript at the stage of copying. But the best way to explain the direct scribal changes to the divine name, is to understand them as corrections intended to maintain the accuracy of the text. Furthermore, almost all scribal changes to divine names in 1QIsa^a are in the direction of the MT, except the botched “false corrections” above. The explicit scribal interventions show that divine name changes are best understood as corrections in light of a *Vorlage*.

3.2.3 Assessment of Scholarly Views on Biblical Variants

The observations made so far allow us to more accurately describe the treatment of the divine name in the Qumran biblical scrolls. In a text-critical study of seventeen variant readings for the divine name in 4QSam^a, Donald Parry concludes:

[T]he MT avoids or lacks the Tetragrammaton on twelve occasions. If one discounts the three secondary pluses belonging to 4Q[51] in which the name Yhwh appears to have been added, we are still left with nine occasions when MT either lacks or has substituted for the Tetragrammaton. Compare this with the one occasion where MT reads Yhwh against 4Q[51], which reads Elohim (2 Samuel 12:15). Does this suggest an avoidance of the Tetragrammaton on the part of MT's version of Samuel? The evidence does not

³⁶³ Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 41 n. 14.

³⁶⁴ Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 41 n. 14.

necessarily point to an avoidance, but certainly one can see preferences being made by the textual witnesses for divine names.³⁶⁵

For the seventeen examples that comprise Parry's study, he neatly lays out the evidence. But some details require clarification. In five out of the twelve instances, the Tetragrammaton is reconstructed in 4Q51. In other words, Parry assumes that 4Q51 read יהוה and counted these against אלהים in the MT; 4Q51 and the MT could have agreed here; there is no way to know. This discounts another five variants from the nine where MT "lacks or has substituted for the Tetragrammaton," leaving only four variant readings of אלהים in the MT against יהוה in 4Q51. If we take into consideration the opposite variant pattern, we are down to three cases.³⁶⁶ From these numbers, Parry states that the MT "compared with 4Q51 and LXX, prefers the epithet Elohim over Yhwh"³⁶⁷ and that "one can certainly see preference being made by the textual witnesses for divine names..." This gives scholars the impression that scribes were actively expressing their preferences about divine names in the biblical texts they copied. But this view cannot be sustained in light of the evidence examined in the current section. Furthermore, if we step back and look at the larger picture, the MT of 1–2 Samuel uses יהוה 473 times, while אלהים occurs only 154 times. These numbers do not support the view that MT Samuel preferred אלהים. In fact, the more intriguing question, even if the evidence is slight, is why does 4QSam^a, a late first century BCE copy from Qumran, have more occurrences of the Tetragrammaton than the MT? This would be out of place if there was a universal trend towards the avoidance of the divine

³⁶⁵ Parry, "4QSam^a and the Tetragrammaton," in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 121.

³⁶⁶ Even more problematic, some of Parry's examples have alternative explanations. The MT of 1 Sam 6:3 does not preserve the Tetragrammaton (ארון אלהי ישראל), while 4Q51 does (ארון ברית יהוה אלוהי ישראל), but the data of these readings should not be gathered in isolation from other passages. The same phrase occurs in 4Q51 four times without the Tetragrammaton (1Sam 5:8, 10, 11; 2Sam 6:6; (ארון אלוהים)). In other words, the selection of evidence in his study is not representative.

³⁶⁷ Parry, "4QSam^a," 121.

name at the time. But as the overall collection of evidence from the biblical scrolls demonstrates, varied patterns exist in both directions and therefore do not depict a larger trend towards the use or avoidance of the Tetragrammaton or other divine titles or epithets. The varied patterns between MT and 4Q51 are similar to what we find in other biblical scrolls. The evidence is neutral. Individual scribes may have made specific changes, but if so, it must also be true that other scribes made changes in the opposite direction. The implication is that no trend towards specific names can be discerned.

In a more recent study, Nathanael Andrade refers to the use of אֱל and אֱדוֹנִי in support of his discussion on the avoidance of the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton in the late Second Temple period. He writes:

Hebrew texts from Qumran in fact contain instances in which the Tetragrammaton was consistently replaced with אֱל or אֱדוֹנִי in scriptural passages. In this way, the scribes uniformly avoided writing the Tetragrammaton, thereby preventing its pronunciation.

The larger focus of Andrade's essay is very insightful, but some details require greater precision. When Andrade refers to "scriptural passages" he may have in mind "quotations" within sectarian texts, but this does not seem to be the case. He continues to write: "For example, one scribe who normally copied the Tetragrammaton sometimes substituted אֱדוֹנִי for it; apparently the scribe was mistakenly writing the Tetragrammaton in the manner that he pronounced it." The fact that this would be a mistake, then, does not show evidence for deliberate replacement, or that the Qumran scribes "uniformly avoided writing the Tetragrammaton." Andrade then lists 11QPs^a 5.1, 6, and 10 as examples (Pss 129–130) of where a Qumran scroll contains אֱדוֹנִי and the MT uses יהוה, but does not mention variant patterns in the opposite direction. No one disputes that אֱדוֹנִי was pronounced for the Tetragrammaton at Qumran, at least in the dictation of some manuscripts like 1QIsa^a, but evidence for this is not clear from uncorrected variants in the

biblical scrolls themselves. Even in 1QIsa^a there are deliberate corrections in both directions, which clearly prove that the scribe is not concerned with avoiding the Tetragrammaton in writing but instead with accurate transmission, whatever his *Vorlage* or assumptions about the correct reading may have been.

In summary, this collection of divine name variant patterns strongly affirms what Eugene Ulrich has previously stated: there are no “sectarian variants” in the biblical scrolls. He writes:

All actors had limited viewpoints, but all apparently agreed that the text of the ‘original’ Scriptures should not be altered, and if there were problems, the texts should be corrected toward the ‘original’... This does not mean, of course, that no ancient scribe ever made a sectarian variant; but it does mean that intentional sectarian-motivated alteration of Scripture would not be a problem-free action.³⁶⁸

The situation is more complex when sectarian authors quote scripture within their own compositions, in which we find a range of deliberate changes and omissions. The evidence for these changes will be fully examined below (§3.3). In conclusion, the Qumran biblical scrolls show no evidence for a larger trend towards avoidance in writing. The view that preferences are being made by the scribes can only be sustained from a narrow selection of evidence, and if true then other scribes were expressing their preferences in the opposite direction. This evidence, at any rate, does not negate the fact that the Tetragrammaton was the focus of special attention for some scribes of Qumran biblical scrolls. This is clear from the use of the paleo-Hebrew script to write the divine name within scrolls otherwise written entirely in the square-Aramaic script.

³⁶⁸ Eugene Ulrich, “The Absence of ‘Sectarian Variants’ in the Jewish Scriptural Scrolls Found at Qumran,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries* (ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 181, 191: “Almost always, the scribes tried simply to copy faithfully the text that lay before them, or at least the text their eye or mind perceived.”

3.2.4 The Paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton in Qumran Biblical Scrolls

The writing of the Tetragrammaton in the paleo-Hebrew script creates a striking contrast between the divine name and the surrounding text written in the square-Aramaic script. There are about 230 biblical scrolls written in the square-Aramaic script from the Judean desert. There are also about 17 biblical scrolls written entirely in paleo-Hebrew, which naturally use paleo-Hebrew for the Tetragrammaton as well.³⁶⁹ But 9 biblical scrolls written in the square-Aramaic script use paleo-Hebrew for the divine name.³⁷⁰ These square-Aramaic script scrolls that use paleo-Hebrew for the Tetragrammaton do not use it consistently.³⁷¹ Two scrolls, in particular, contain mixed practices.

3.2.4 Biblical Scrolls: Paleo-Hebrew Divine Names

<i>Manuscript</i>	<i>Divine Name</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Paleographic Date</i>	<i>Occurrences</i>
I. Consistent Practices				
2QExod ^b (2Q3)	יהוה	paleo	30 BCE–20 CE	3
3QLam (3Q3)	יהוה	paleo	30 BCE–68 CE	1
4QDeut ^{k2} (4Q38a)	יהוה	paleo	30–1 BCE	1
4QExod ^j (4Q20)	יהוה	paleo	1-30 CE	1
11QLev ^b (11Q2)	יהוה	paleo	50 CE	3
1QPs ^b (1Q11)	יהוה	paleo	50–68 CE	1
11QPs ^a (11Q5)	יהוה	paleo	1–50 CE; 30-68 CE	127 ³⁷²
II. Mixed Practices				
4QLev ^g (4Q26b)	יהוה	both s/p	no date	2
4QIsa ^c (4Q57)	יהוה	paleo ³⁷³	30–68 CE	29

³⁶⁹ For description of the paleo-Hebrew manuscripts, see James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 1.

³⁷⁰ While Tov mentions a smaller number (six or seven) in *Scribal Practices*, 265, (considering 2QEx^b probably a “rewritten Bible manuscript,” and the nature of 3Q14 “unclear”) he counts nine on pgs. 279–80. He lists the following: 1QPs^b, 3QLam, 2QEx^b, 4QEx^j, 4QLev^g, 4QDeut^{k2}, 4QIsa^c, 11QLev^b, 11QPs^a.

³⁷¹ Manuscripts of the same book do not always follow consistent practices. For example, 3QLam (3Q3) uses paleo-Hebrew for the Tetragrammaton, but 4QLam (4Q111), uses the square script. 11QPs^a (11Q5) uses paleo-Hebrew, but 11QPs^b (11Q6) uses the square script. 4QDeut^{k2} (4Q38a) uses paleo-Hebrew for the Tetragrammaton, but 4QDeut^{k1} (4Q38) uses the square script.

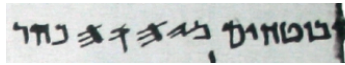
³⁷² This number includes only the MT Psalms.

³⁷³ 4QIsa^c also uses paleo-Hebrew for other divine titles, but not consistently.

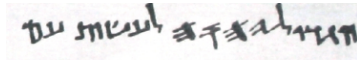
These manuscripts date from the late first century BCE to the mid-first century CE. Most of them are fragmentary and only preserve a few occasions where the divine name is extant. 11QPs^a and 4QIsa^c are more extensively preserved. Both of these use paleo-Hebrew consistently for the Tetragrammaton. I first discuss the writing practices in 11QPs^a.

There is debate over the procedure for writing the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew in 11QPs^a. Sharmaryahu Talmon was first to advance the view that the Tetragrammaton was written secondarily to the copying of the main text. Stegemann, and more recently Al Wolters, also support this view.³⁷⁴ They argue that the varying shapes and sizes of the spaces underlying the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton, into which it was inserted, would not exist if the Tetragrammaton was written at the same time of the main copying of the text. Emanuel Tov, however, has suggested that “same scribe wrote both the square characters and the paleo-Hebrew letters, as is evident from ligatures of the two types of characters in cols. IV, 3, 11 and XIII, 12, 14 which seem to have been performed in one stroke.”³⁷⁵ Here are some examples:

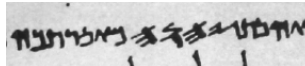
11Q5 4 3



11Q5 4 11



11Q5 13 11



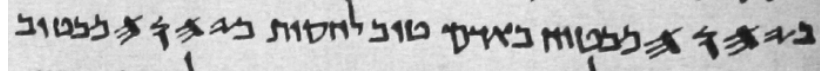
In 11Q5 4 3, especially, the *bet* prepositional prefix is bound to the Tetragrammaton, where the ligature connects from the *bet* to the paleo-Hebrew *yod*. The evidence, however, is not entirely

³⁷⁴ S. Talmon, “The Qumran Psalms Scroll,” *Tarbiz* 37 (1967): 101 [Hebrew]; Stegemann, *KYPIOC*, 90 n. 501; Al Wolters, “The Tetragrammaton in the Psalms Scroll,” *Textus* 18 (1995): 87–99.

³⁷⁵ Tov, “The Socio-Religious Background of the Paleo-Hebrew Biblical Texts Found at Qumran,” in *Geschichte–Tradition–Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. H. Cancik et al.; 2 vols.; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 1:356. Regarding 11Q5 XIII, only line 11 has the Tetragrammaton with the connecting ligature; lines 12 and 14 do not contain the Tetragrammaton.

clear. Other prefixed prepositions (11Q5 2 2; 14 13; 16 1, 4, 5) mostly show similar ligatures, but some cases stand out:

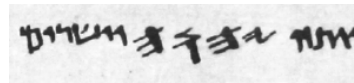
11Q5 16 4



There are two instances here. In the first, the paleo-Hebrew *yod* is not connected to the *bet* prepositional prefix, which looks as if an initial scribe left a blank space, and a second scribe filled in the Tetragrammaton but expanded it to fill the entire space, while in the second instance the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton is much smaller. There are additional cases where the paleo-Hebrew *yod* connects with the preceding letter, even when it is not a preposition, but these ligatures could be explained on the basis that a second scribe began writing the Tetragrammaton at the very beginning of the blank space to ensure that he had enough room; this seems to be the case because the final *heh* never appears to crash into the first letter of the following word.

Moreover, there are many examples with no connecting ligatures:

11Q5 12 10



In a thorough and independent analysis, the study of Wolters corroborated the earlier conclusions of Talmon, namely that the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew was added after the writing of the text in square script. This seems to account best for the writing practices in this manuscript, but also for the mistakes that arose. Wolters begins with three claims:

(1) that the scribe who wrote the main text originally left blank spaces which were filled afterwards with the tetragrammaton in Paleo-Hebrew script, (2) that the subsequent filling-in procedure gave rise to a number of scribal errors in the biblical text of 11QPs^a, and (3) that in all likelihood it was not the original scribe who later inserted the tetragrammata into the blank spaces.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁶ Wolters, “The Tetragrammaton,” 87.

Wolters shows how the varying spaces affected the size of the Tetragrammaton, producing “a cramped version...and a sprawling version.”³⁷⁷ This theory is further supported by the scribal errors introduced into 11Q5 as a result of this procedure. The scribe left two kinds of gaps, one for the Tetragrammaton but another due to imperfections or scars of the animal skin. There are two instances where the Tetragrammaton was inserted into the latter, but these were corrected by placing scribal dots around the divine name (11Q5 16.7 [Ps 145:1] and 21.2 [Ps 138:1]).³⁷⁸

The reasons for this practice are still debated. Wolters considers Skehan’s earlier proposal likely, that the paleo-Hebrew script was intended to signal avoidance in reading. He writes: “We know that the tetragrammaton was associated with a number of strict taboos in the Judaism of the early centuries of our era...The religious awe with which the ineffable name was treated also extended to its written form.”³⁷⁹ Wolters concludes that the “religious mystique” surrounding the divine name “led to ever more elaborate precautions against profaning it.” He lastly entertains the idea that scribes who wrote the Tetragrammaton “belonged to a higher echelon within the Qumran hierarchy than the original scribe...only certain scribes within the Qumran community were permitted (that is, were considered sufficiently advanced in piety) to put it down in writing.”³⁸⁰ Similarly, Brooke also held that a second scribe wrote the paleo-Hebrew: “The writing of the tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew script was probably done by a

³⁷⁷ Wolters, “The Tetragrammaton,” 91. Examples can be seen in 11Q5 16.10 and 21.9.

³⁷⁸ He also argues that two scribes wrote 11Q5 because the secondary writing procedure would have been inefficient and unnecessary if only one scribe wrote this scroll, and at any rate, there also appears to be two paleo-Hebrew hands. The down stroke of the paleo-Hebrew *waw* is thinner than the down stroke of the *hehs* up until 11Q5 6 11, then the *waw* and *heh* are identical; Wolters, “The Tetragrammaton,” 96–7: “A change in writing instrument would not account for the bolder line, since a down stroke of the same thickness is used for the *he*’s from the beginning. In that case, one scribe filled in all the tetragrammata of Fragments A–E and the first six columns of the extant scroll, and another scribe did all the rest.”

³⁷⁹ Skehan, “Divine Name,” 28; Wolters, “Tetragrammaton,” 98. Wolters also cites Siegel (“The Employment of Palaeo-Hebrew,” 169) in support of the proposal that once written down the Tetragrammaton could not be erased.

³⁸⁰ Wolters, “The Tetragrammaton,” 98–99: “Such a regulation would be consistent with what we know of the scrupulous outward piety and strict hierarchical ranking which was observed in the Qumran community.”

different scribe with specialist training; this seems to be likely on the basis of noting that the scribe of Peshier Isaiah E has left a space (6 4) for the tetragrammaton to be added later but it never was. Perhaps such specialists were even of a higher social grade because of their competence in handling the divine name.³⁸¹ The reasons given for this practice are plausible, but they are based on the view of a two-stage writing procedure, with which Tov disagrees. Furthermore, we will see in Chapter 4, that in two Greek biblical scrolls the Tetragrammaton is written in paleo-Hebrew in a one stage system, in sequence with the surrounding Greek text. Thus the explanation offered for 11Q5 is not sufficient for all uses of paleo-Hebrew.³⁸²

Two other biblical scrolls deserve mention as it pertains to their divine name practices. 4QIsa^c writes the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew, but varies the script for other divine titles,³⁸³ and 4QLev^g (4Q26b) writes the Tetragrammaton in both the square and paleo-Hebrew scripts on the very same fragment.³⁸⁴ Theories on the meaning of the paleo-Hebrew must take into account this kind of inconsistency.

With regard to the paleographic date assigned for each manuscript, we can summarize that the use of paleo-Hebrew script for the Tetragrammaton in biblical manuscripts concentrates around 1–50 CE. Some may be slightly earlier, such as 2QExod^b, 3QLam, and 4QDeut^{k2}, and others slightly later, like 1QPsa^b and 4QIsa^c, but even these fall within the reasonable

³⁸¹ See Brooke, “Aspects,” 148 n. 61.

³⁸² Another relevant comparison to mention here, which will be elaborated in Chapter 4, concerns the two-stage writing procedure in the Greek scroll P. Fouad 266b from Fayyum, where the Tetragrammaton occurs in the square-Aramaic script. Parallel principles are at work, namely the contrastive use of the divine name, but the Tetragrammaton is not in the paleo-Hebrew script as found in 11Q5.

³⁸³ The designations אלהים, אדני, and צבאות, as well as their bound prefixes and suffixes occur in both paleo-Hebrew and the square script. אלהים occurs in paleo-Hebrew in 24.39, 37.3, and 35.10, but in the square script in 47.16. צבאות occurs in paleo-Hebrew in 24.38 and 62.1, but in square script in 40.3 and 57.2. אדני occurs in paleo-Hebrew in 9 i 25, 20.11, and 63.2, but in square script in 9 ii 27. Moreover, paleo-Hebrew is not used for the title אל.

³⁸⁴ See 4Q26b 2, 8; Ulrich and Cross, DJD 12:203. Paleo-Hebrew is also used for the preposition ליהוה.

paleographic range for the Herodian style. We find here more of a concentration of paleo-Hebrew usage than a spreading development, as proposed by Skehan. The use of paleo-Hebrew for the divine name in biblical scrolls is a relatively marginal practice, though prominent in some examples that have been preserved relatively well, like 11QPs^a. But we also see the continued use of the square-Aramaic script for the Tetragrammaton, and other divine titles and epithets, in copies that are dated to the mid first century CE. A broader comparison will be possible after examining the evidence from the remaining Qumran scrolls.

3.3 *The Qumran Sectarian Scrolls*

This section presents the evidence for the use and avoidance of the Tetragrammaton in the scrolls considered sectarian in nature. As mentioned above, the Tetragrammaton occurs in biblical quotations (46x) within 15 sectarian scrolls.³⁸⁵ I provide below three examples that illustrate the primary categories for treating the divine name in sectarian biblical quotations: use, replacement, and omission. These examples are followed by a complete listing of the types of replacements in the sectarian scrolls. Then, the main categories of divine name replacement—use of יהוה , use of other divine titles, pronominal elements, and minor practices—are investigated further. I conclude this section with a presentation of the evidence for writing the

³⁸⁵ For the list of biblical quotations provided in §6.1.1, I have compared, contrasted, corrected, and supplemented the data compiled by Martin G. Abegg and Joëlle Lake in “The Ineffable Name” (MA Thesis: Trinity Western University, 2014) with Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature* (JASup 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011). In addition, I have consulted other works in attempts to refine the current data set. This includes Devorah Dimant, “Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Mulder and H. Sysling; CRINT, 2.1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 379–419; Fitzmyer, “The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the NT,” in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Chapman, 1971), 3–58; and Shani Tzoref, “Qumran Pesharim and the Pentateuch: Explicit Citation, Overt Typologies, and Implicit Interpretive Traditions,” *DSD* 16 (2009): 190–220.

Tetragrammaton, and other divine titles, in the square-Aramaic script and the paleo-Hebrew script.

3.3.1 Sectarian Biblical Quotations: Use and Avoidance of the Tetragrammaton

Qumran scribes use the Tetragrammaton in some biblical quotations. For example, in the *peshet* of Isaiah, 4Qpap pIsa^c (4Q163 23 ii 9–10), the author quotes Isa 30:18, word for word, replicating each feature of the biblical passage, followed by his specific interpretation (פֶּשֶׁר):

כי אלהי משפט יהוה אשרי כל חוכי לו / כי עם בציון ישב בירושלם	MT	Isa 30:18–19
כיא אלוהי משפט יהוה אשרי כול חוכי לו / פֶּשֶׁר הדבר לאחרית הימים	4Q163	

In other biblical quotations, however, the Tetragrammaton is avoided or replaced. The scribe of the *Damascus Document* (CD) replaces the Tetragrammaton with אל in his quotation of Mal 3:14.³⁸⁶

ויכתב ספר זכרון לפניו ליראי יהוה ולחשבי שמו	MT	Mal 3:16
ויכתב סִפְרֹ זְכוֹרֹן [לפניו] ליראי אֵל ולחושבי / שמו	CD 20.19–20	

In another example, 1QS simply omits the Tetragrammaton:

ואשר לא בקשו את יהוה ולא דרשהו	MT	Zeph 1:6
כיא לוא בקשו ולוא דרשהו בחוקיהו	1QS 5.11	

Within these biblical quotations, there are many different ways that Qumran scribes have replaced the divine name.³⁸⁷ In what follows, I show how Qumran scribes treat the

Tetragrammaton with greater freedom than is evident in their copying of actual biblical texts.

The following table lists the evidence for divine name treatments in sectarian biblical quotations.

The manuscript references for each type of replacement can be found in §6.1.4.

³⁸⁶ MT = 4QXII^a (4Q76) 4 4.

³⁸⁷ For a discussion of nine types of avoidance, see Donald Parry, “Notes on Divine Name Avoidance in Scriptural Units of the Legal Texts of Qumran,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. G. Martínez, and J. Kampen; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 437–49.

3.3.1: Divine Name Replacements in Sectarian Biblical Quotations

<i>Replacement</i>	<i>Scroll</i>	<i>MT</i>	<i>Occurrences</i>
I. Use of אל			
1	אל	יהוה	22
2	אל	אלהים	2
3	אל ישראל	יהוה	2
4	אל אלים	יהוה	2
5	אל עליון	יהוה	2
6	אל	יהוה צבאות	1
7	אל הצדק	יהוה אדני	1
8	אל חי	יהוה אלהים	1
9	אל	י (suffix)	1
II. Use of Divine Titles			
	אדני	יהוה	11
	null	יהוה	8
	אלהים	יהוה אלהים	2
	אלהים	יהוה	1
III. Use of Pronominal or Cryptic Elements			
18	ו (as 3ms)	יהוה	3
19	הוא	יהוה	3
20	אתה	יהוה אלהים	1
21	2ms verb	יהוה	3
	אונ הו	יהוה	1
	הואהא	יהוה	1
IV. Use of Divine Epithets and Tetrapuncta			
22	אמת	יהוה	1
23	מלכי צדק	יהוה	1
26	•••• (Tetrapuncta)	יהוה	1 ³⁸⁸
27	שם	יהוה	1

³⁸⁸ In original sectarian compositions, the Tetrapuncta only occurs in 1QS 8.14. I treat the remaining instances in the scrolls listed under the “non-sectarian” section.

3.3.2 Replacement with אַל in the Sectarian Scrolls

The collection of evidence from the biblical quotations in the table above, shows that אַל replaces יהוה about 30 times total, including compound elements such as אַל עליון. In CD 19:8, for example, the scribe replaces יהוה with אַל in a quotation of Zech 13:7:

חרב עורי על רעי ועל גבר עמיתי נאם יהוה	MT	Zech 13:7
חרב עורי על רועי ועל גבר עמיתי נאם אַל	CD 19:8	

1QS replaces the יהוה with אַל in the paraphrase of Deut 29:19–20:

כי אז יעשן אף יהוה וקנאתו באיש ההוא ורבצה בו כל האלה הכתובה בספר הזה והבדילו יהוה לרעה מכל שבטי ישראל	MT	Deut 29
אף אַל וקנאת משפטיו יבערו בו לכלת עולמים ידבקו בו כול / אלות הברית הזות ויבדילו אַל לרעה ונכרת מתוך כול בני אור	1QS 2.15–16	

Perhaps the most striking observation from the evidence of sectarian biblical quotations is that we never see a variant pattern in the opposite direction. We never find אַל in the MT where the sectarian biblical quotation has the Tetragrammaton. Recall that in the biblical scrolls, divine name variant patterns occurred in both directions, and in fact the Tetragrammaton is more frequent in the biblical scrolls when compared to the MT. In contrast, the sectarian biblical quotations show a clear trend towards the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton in writing. The most important indication of this phenomenon is the use of אַל to replace יהוה in sectarian biblical quotations.

In addition to the replacement of יהוה with אַל in sectarian biblical quotations, the title אַל is also found in phrases and idioms in original sectarian passages, comparable to biblical phrases that use the Tetragrammaton. This provides further evidence for divine name avoidance, though not as explicit as in the biblical quotations. In the *Hodayot* and the *Serekh ha-Yahad*, for

example, **אתה יהוה אל** (“You, O God...”) occurs 31 times with some variation.³⁸⁹ In contrast, **אתה יהוה** (“You, O YHWH”) occurs 29 times in the MT,³⁹⁰ but only 3 times in Qumran literature and even these are not in sectarian passages.³⁹¹ The combination **אל + אתה** is never found in the MT the way it is employed in Qumran sectarian passages.³⁹² Furthermore, the formula **ברוך אתה אל** (“Blessed are you, God...”) ³⁹³ contrasts with **ברך אתה יהוה**.³⁹⁴ These instances are not abundant, but it is notable that the phrases **אל + ידה** and **אל + ברך אתה** never occur in biblical texts, while **יהוה + ידה** and **יהוה + ברך אתה** never occur in sectarian texts.³⁹⁵

The strong preference for **אל** among sectarian authors is clear from its frequency in original sectarian writings, occurring about 492 times total (including biblical quotations).³⁹⁶ It is found most frequently in CD (64x), 1QS (55x), 1QpHab (23x), 1QM (106x), 1QH^a (43x), 4QInstruction^d (17x), and 4QDaily Prayers^a (35x). This certainly provides the background for the replacement activity that we see in the explicit biblical quotations. In summary, these replacements show that most sectarian scribes were not pedantic about replicating the biblical text in their own documents, as they freely changed divine names and titles. This contrasts sharply with their approach to copying biblical texts. Thus we see a clear differentiation between regular biblical texts and sectarian biblical quotations. The former must not be altered, except as

³⁸⁹ See, for example, 1QS 11.15; 1QM 12.7; 13.7, 18.8, 1QH^a 10.36, 12.13, 19, 13.34, 16.17.

³⁹⁰ Such uses are found especially in the Psalms, such as Ps 91:9, **בי אתה יהוה מחסי** (“For you, O YHWH, are my refuge...”) or Ps 102:13, **אתה יהוה לעולם תשב** (“You, O YHWH, are enthroned forever”). See also Ps 3:3, 4:8, 6:4, 12:7, 22:19, 40:12, 41:11, 86:17, but also 1Chr 17:22, Lam 5:19.

³⁹¹ E.g., 4QPs^f 10.13; 11QPs^a 19.16; 24.13.

³⁹² See Ps 90:2, Jon 4:2, Isa 45:15, and Gen 16:3.

³⁹³ E.g., 1QH^a 19.32, 22.34.

³⁹⁴ E.g., 1 Chr 29:10; Ps 119:12.

³⁹⁵ In this regard, we find the expression **אודכה אלי** (“I thank you, O my God...”) in 1QH^a 19.6, 18, which may be contrasted with biblical expression **אודה יהוה** (“I will thank YHWH...”) in Ps 7:18, 9:2, 109:30, 111:1.

³⁹⁶ This number is derived from a search of the 122 sectarian documents listed in §6.1. This count does not include the plural **אלים** (35x), or **אל** in Aramaic texts (31x).

it related to the use of the paleo-Hebrew script, while in the latter the divine name could be used, replaced, or omitted.

3.3.3 Replacement with אדני and אלהים in the Sectarian Scrolls

The Qumran sectarian scrolls also use אדני and אלהים to replace the Tetragrammaton.

There are 11 instances in sectarian biblical quotations, where אדוני explicitly replaces the Tetragrammaton. In 1QH^a, for example, the scribe replaces יהוה with אדוני in a quotation of Exod 15:11:

מי כמכה באלם יהוה	MT	Exod 15:11
כי מי כמוכה באלים אדוני	1QH ^a 15.31	

The title אדוני is also found in sectarian phrases and idioms, such as blessing formulas comparable to biblical phrases, which provides implicit evidence for avoiding the Tetragrammaton. In the sectarian scrolls, for example, ברוך אדוני occurs 5 times,³⁹⁷ but in the MT we find this expression only in Ps 68:20. In contrast the MT uses ברוך יהוה about 27 times. In the *Hodayot*, we find ברוך אתה אדוני and אודכה אדוני,³⁹⁸ but these expressions are rare in the MT.³⁹⁹ There is one exception to the trend to replace the Tetragrammaton in sectarian biblical quotations. This occurs in 4QpPsa^a (4Q171) 1–2 ii 12. Here the MT of Ps 37:12–13 contains אדני while the sectarian biblical quotation uses the Tetragrammaton:

זמם רשע לצדיק וחורק עליו שניו אדני ישחק לו	MT	Ps 37:12–13a
זומם רשע לצדיק וחורק ע[ליו שניו] אֱלֹהִים ישחק לו	4Q171 1–2 ii 12 ⁴⁰⁰	

³⁹⁷ 1QFestival Prayer (1Q34) 2 + 1 4; 4QFestival Prayers^a (4Q507) 2 2; 3 1; and 4QFestival Prayers^c (4Q509) 3 9; 206 1.

³⁹⁸ For ברוך אתה אדוני see 1QH^a 8.26, 13.22 (correction), 17.38, 18.16, 19.30, 35–36. For אודכה אדוני, see 6.34, 10.22 and 33, 11.20, 11.38, 12.6, 13.7 and 22 (erased), 15.9 and 29, 15.37, and 4QH^b (4Q428) 10 11. The deity is directly addressed as אדוני about 18 times in 1QH^a.

³⁹⁹ The closest we find is Ps 68:20 (ברוך אדני יום יום), Ps 86:5 (כי אתה אדני טוב וסלח), Ps 86:12, (אודך אדני), Ps 86:15, (אלהי בכל לבבי), and 2 Sam 7:27 (כי אתה אדני יהוה דנרת).

⁴⁰⁰ The fragment is broken at the place where the Tetragrammaton occurs, although faint traces of the top of the paleo-Hebrew final *heh* may be detected. In the original publication (Allegro's DJD 5), the Tetragrammaton was

This variant is similar to those found in the Qumran biblical scrolls in the sense that we find the opposite variation in other sectarian biblical quotations (i.e., יהוה in the MT versus אדוני in the quote). It is most likely that the scribe's *Vorlage* contained the Tetragrammaton in this instance.

The use of אלהים to replace the Tetragrammaton is also significant. This title occurs 22 times total in sectarian documents, but most of these are within biblical quotations.⁴⁰¹ There are 6 uses that cannot be clearly identified with a biblical quote.

1QSb 4 25 uses the curious phrase אלוהי צבאות. We find אלהי צבאות in the MT 21 times, but it is usually preceded by יהוה, except in the two instances of the Elohist psalter (Ps 80:8 and 15), where יהוה is omitted.⁴⁰² Thus אלוהי צבאות in 1QSb is unique for occurring in a freely composed sectarian text, and furthermore contrasts with normal biblical usage of the expression יהוה אלוהי צבאות.

4QSelf Glorification Hymn provides another use of the title אלהים that cannot be identified with a biblical quote. The relevant line is found at 4Q491 11 i 20,

[--] צדיקים באלוהי [--] במעון הקודש זמרוהו [--]

Some have taken באלוהי as a reference to “angels,”⁴⁰³ but the usual term for “angels” or “divine beings” in this manuscript is אלים, for example, בעדת אלים (4Q491 11 i 12), אני עם אלים (4Q491

partially reconstructed. Strugnell later moved fragment 3 of 4Q183 to this location, thus fully restoring the Tetragrammaton. Skehan supported this placement in writing that fragment 3 of 4Q183 “belongs with 4Q171 and its different paleohebrew hand: Strugnell’s *Planche* IIIa shows the join.” See Skehan “Divine Name,” 27. See image at <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-285025>.

⁴⁰¹ See 1QSb 4.25; 1QM 10.4, 7; 4Q163 23 ii 9, 4Q171 1–2 i 16, 13 3; 4Q177 1–4 9, 7 5; 4Q252 1 1; 4Q259 3 5; 4Q491 11 i 20; 4Q503 13 1, 37–38 14; 4Q509 214 2, 244 2; 5Q13 1 2; 11Q13 2 10, 16, 23, 24.

⁴⁰² Note, however, that Ps 80:5 and 20 contain the Tetragrammaton: יהוה אלהי צבאות.

⁴⁰³ Note WAC: “[... rejoice, you] righteous among the angels of [...] in the holy habitation. Praise Him in song[...].” Other copies or recensions of this hymn are found in 1QH^a, 4Q427 (4QH^a), and 4Q431 (4QH^c) 1 = 4Q471b 1a–d.

11 i 14), and **אניא עם אליים** (4Q491 11 i 18). We find the phrase **צדיקים באלוהי** elsewhere with reference to God in 4Q510 1 8, **רננו צדיקים באלוהי פלא**.⁴⁰⁴

4QDaily Prayers^a contains [--] **אלוהי אורים** [--] and [--] **אלוהי כול קודש**.⁴⁰⁵ The usual reference to the deity in this manuscripts is **אל** (35x), and especially the expression **ברוך אל**,⁴⁰⁶ and so to find the longer title is somewhat peculiar.

4QFestival Prayers^c contains traces of [--] **אלוהינן** [--] and [--] **אלוהי**.⁴⁰⁷ But **אל** does not occur in this manuscript like it does in 4QDaily Prayers^a. Instead, we find **אדוני** (7x). The use of **אלוהים** appears in some prayer texts, specifically those mentioned here, but it is not the most common designation for either text—4QDaily Prayers^a mostly uses **אל**, while 4QFestival Prayers^c uses **אדוני**.

5QRule contains [--] **אלוהי הכול** [--].⁴⁰⁸ Similar phrases are rare in the MT. We find only **אלהי כל הארץ** in Isa 54:5 and **אלהי כל בשר** in Jer 32:27. Overall, the 6 occurrences in the scrolls above comprise all known uses of **אלוהים** outside of sectarian biblical quotations. The title also occurs 16 times in sectarian biblical quotations. It is also important to note, though, that **אלוהים** itself is replaced on occasion. In CD, for example, the author uses **אל** instead of **אלוהים** as in the MT:

ושבתם וראיתם בין צדיק לרשע בין עבד <u>אלהים</u> לאשר לא עבדו	MT	Mal 3:18
ושבתם וראיתם בין צדיק / ורשע בין עבד <u>אל</u> לאשר לא עבדו	CD	20.20–21

⁴⁰⁴ This observation was made by Martin Abegg (personal correspondence).

⁴⁰⁵ 4Q503 13 1, 37 + 38 14, respectively.

⁴⁰⁶ 4Q503 7 + 9 6, 15 + 16 8, or 69 2. Note also the analogous phrase **אל אורים** (“God of lights”) 4Q503 29 + 32 9.

⁴⁰⁷ 4Q509 214 2 and 244 2, respectively.

⁴⁰⁸ 5Q13 1 2.

Because scribes rarely used אלהים in original compositions, and also replaced it with אל in some quotations, אלהים seems to be treated similar to the Tetragrammaton by sectarian scribes. Their treatment was not identical, however. In some biblical quotations, אלהים is used instead of the Tetragrammaton. For example, note the use of אלוהים in 4QCommGen A (4Q252),⁴⁰⁹

ויאמר יהוה לא ידון רוחי באדם לעלם	MT=SP	Gen 6:3
καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ὁ θεός Οὐ μὴ καταμείνη τὸ πνεῦμά μου...	LXX	
ואלוהים אמר לא ידור רוחי באדם לעולם	4Q252 1 1–2	

Given the use of κύριος ὁ θεός in the LXX, the reading 4Q252 could reflect the variant type that we encountered between the Qumran biblical scrolls and the MT, but the use of אלוהים shows at least that the title was acceptable for the scribe of 4Q252.

1QM 10.4 retains אלהים in the quotation of Deut 20:3–4, but omits יהוה:

ואל תחפזו ואל תערצו מפניהם כי יהוה אלהיכם ההלך עמכם	MT	Deut 20:3b–4a
ואל תח[פזו ואל תערצו מפניהם כי אלוהיכם הולך עמכם	1QM 10.4	

With these few exceptions, the majority of original sectarian scrolls avoid אלהים, much like the Tetragrammaton.

⁴⁰⁹ Many aspects of 4Q252 are debated. Tov lists it as sectarian (*Scribal Practices*, 267). Many have discussed the original material as reflecting rewritten scriptural elements that were later framed by a more standard form of commentary involving “biblical” citation followed by interpretation. Crawford considered the final product to be a sectarian work (*Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*, 141), although likely drawn from non-sectarian sources. Daniel Falk, similarly, considered it to be non-sectarian in origin but to have perhaps been compiled in a sectarian milieu; see Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts*, 122. For the major points of debate, see Moshe Bernstein, “4Q252: Method, Genre, and Sources,” *JQR* 85 (1994–95): 61–79; Brooke, “4Q252 as Early Jewish Commentary,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 385–401; and recently Machiela, “Once More, With Feeling,” 311.

3.3.4 Pronominal Elements Replacing the Tetragrammaton

In sectarian literature, the Tetragrammaton is also replaced by pronominal elements, including the independent pronouns הוא (“He”) and אתה (“You”), as well as pronominal suffix-ו (“His”). For example, CD 9:5 replaces יהוה with הוא in a quotation from Nahum 1:2:⁴¹⁰

נקם יהוה לצריו ונוטר הוא לאיביו	MT	Nah 1:2b
ואין כתוב כי אם נוקם הוא לצריו ונוטר הוא לאויביו	CD 9:5	

Perhaps informed by the use of הוא in the second colon, the author of CD replaced יהוה with הוא in the first colon. 1QM 10.1–2 renders the compound designation יהוה אלהים with אתה, although this is in part related to a change in narrative voice, in the new literary context of 1QM, in which the priest gives a first person speech:

כי יהוה אלהיך בקרבך אל גדול ונורא	MT	Deut 7:21
ואשר הגיד לנו כיא אתה בקרבנו אל גדול ונורא לשול את כול	1QM 10:1–2	

1QM repeatedly employs the expression found in 1 Sam 17:47, כי ליהוה המלחמה, although replacing יהוה with the second person suffix-כה (“You”),

כי ליהוה המלחמה ונתן אתכם בידנו	MT	1 Sam 17:47
כיא לכה המלחמה...	1QM 11:1–4	

CD 8.15 uses the third person pronominal suffix ו for the Tetragrammaton when quoting Deut 7:8,

כי מאהבת יהוה אתכם ומשמרו את השבעה	MT	Deut 7:8
כי מאהבתן את אבותיך ומשמרו את השבועה	CD 8.15	

Overall, the use of pronominal elements in sectarian biblical quotations provides a convenient way to avoid the Tetragrammaton. Often pronominal replacements are introduced as the sectarian author recasts biblical material, events, or divine promises, in the context of a prayer or

⁴¹⁰ MT = Mur 88 16.9.

supplication. Pronominal replacements such as these are never found in biblical scroll divine name variants. This is expected, to some extent, because the biblical scrolls do not adapt the narrative or literary perspectives as we find in 1QM’s reuse of Deut and 1 Sam. The pronominal replacements, however, are not simply attributable to changes in narrative voice. Both CD 8.15 and Deut 7:8 use second person narration, but CD replaces the Tetragrammaton with the 3ms pronoun ׀. This shows the broader range of replacement types in the sectarian scrolls.

3.3.5 Other Replacements: Divine Epithets and Tetrapuncta

The avoidance of the Tetragrammaton is discernible in other texts, though these replacements are rare and slightly ambiguous. 11QMelchizedek (11Q13) seems to use מלכי צדק where one would expect יהוה,

...לקרא שנת רצון ליהוה...	MT	Isa 61:2
...הואה הקץ לשנת הרצון למלכי צדק...	11Q13 2.9	

The use of the preposition ל may indicate that the author had in mind the replacement of יהוה with מלכי צדק, but it is not clear in this context that מלכי צדק is an epithet for God. 11Q13 seems to use מלכי צדק as a type of divine agent or messenger.⁴¹¹ Note especially 11Q13 2 13, ומלכי צדק ואל]ל (“Melchizedek will carry out the vengeance of Go[d’s] judgments”).⁴¹² The fact that multiple divine or semi-divine beings are imagined in this text further obscures the referents of the divine titles, especially in the context of the divine assembly. For example, 11Q13 2 10 quotes Ps 82:1 אלהים נצב בעדת אל בקרב אלהים ישפט (“God has taken his place in the

⁴¹¹Annette Steudel considers the figure in 11Q13 to be a “heavenly high priest, eschatological savior of the righteous ones; as the instrument of God, he will be judge on the ‘day of atonement’ at the time of God’s final judgement...” (EDSS, 536). Van der Woude writes: “The column focuses on the acts of redemption which will free the sons of light from Belial and the spirits of his lot. These acts will be brought about by Melchizedek, who figures here as a heavenly figure comparable to the Prince of Lights (1QS III 30; CD V 18; 1QM XIII 10), and the archangel Michael (1QM XVII 6–7).” See DJD 23:222.

⁴¹² See van der Woude, DJD 23:221–41.

council of EI, in the midst of gods he holds judgement”).⁴¹³ Still, the author clearly alludes to Isa 61:2 and appears to replace the Tetragrammaton with מלכי צדק, even if this epithet does not refer to the God of Israel.

In some sectarian scrolls, the Tetragrammaton is replaced by ciphers and other cryptic designations. An intriguing concentration of practices is found in 1QS 8.13–14 and the 4QS parallel. In 1QS 8.14 the scribe replaces יהוה with the Tetrapuncta in the quotation of Isa 40:3,

קול קורא במדבר פנו דרך יהוה ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלהינו	MT	Isa 40:3
כאשר כתוב במדבר פנו דרך •••• ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלהינו	1QS 8.14	

Importantly, this is the only occurrence of the Tetrapuncta in a manuscript that is clearly sectarian in composition.⁴¹⁴ There are 35 instances of this practice overall in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 1x in 1QS, 5x in the biblical scrolls, 2x in 4QpapTob^a, and 27x in the scrolls of non-sectarian origin. The latter are addressed in the following section. In the line immediately preceding the Tetrapuncta, 1QS 8:13 replaces the Tetragrammaton with הוואהא, alluding to Isa 40:3, literally “...to prepare there the way of *huhah* (הוואהא).” 4QS^c also preserves the allusion to Isa 40:3, but uses דרך האמת instead of either the Tetrapuncta (1QS 8.14) or הוואהא (1QS 8.13):

אנשי ה[עול] ללכת המ[ד]ב[רה] לפנות שמ]ה את דרך האמת כאש[ר]

4QS^c (4Q259) 3.4

It is possible to read האמת simply as a noun (e.g., “way of the truth”), but the definite article and the parallels in 1QS 8.13–14 suggest that אמת is intended as a divine epithet. In short, we find three different types of replacements for the Tetragrammaton all interacting with Isa 40:3.

⁴¹³ R. Van de Water has examined the identification of Melchizedek in 11Q13 against the background of the rabbinic doctrine of the “two powers.” This is related to Philo’s description of God according to attributes related to his various titles. See Van de Water, “Michael or Yhwh? Toward Identifying Melchizedek in 11Q13,” *JSP* 16 (2006): 75–86; also Pierre Boyancé, “Le Dieu très haut chez Philon,” in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), 139–49.

⁴¹⁴ For a list of manuscripts that contain Tetrapuncta, see §6.1.6.

Another rare replacement for the Tetragrammaton is found in 4QD^a (4Q266). The scribe writes **אונ הו** in a priestly invocation during an excommunication ceremony,⁴¹⁵

ברוך את
4Q266 11 8–9 [וא]מר **אונ הו** הכול וּבִידִיד הכול ועושה הכול...

And he [the priest] shall say: Blessed are you, *ōn hu* of everything, in your hand is everything, and who makes everything.⁴¹⁶

In this passage, the priest begins with a blessing and then alludes to God’s judgment of transgressors, thus providing justification for expelling those guilty of rebellion. Joseph Baumgarten has suggested that this curious phrase has an analogous function to **אני והו** in m. Sukkah 4:5, which reflects the tradition of using a “muffled” pronunciation of the divine name in the priestly liturgy the Temple.⁴¹⁷

3.3.6 The Tetragrammaton and **אל** in the Square and Paleo-Hebrew Scripts in the Qumran Sectarian Scrolls

The writing of **יהוה** and **אל** in the paleo-Hebrew script provides further indication for when scribes begin to take special interest in these designations. This material is diverse, so it will be helpful to focus on a few main features in order to get a sense of when and where paleo-Hebrew enters the extant record. The Tetragrammaton occurs 18 times in the paleo-Hebrew script, out of the total 46 uses in sectarian biblical quotations. The title **אל** occurs 21 times in the paleo-Hebrew script, out of the total 492 uses in sectarian manuscripts. Three observations are

⁴¹⁵ The *nun* in **אונ הו** is written in the medial form.

⁴¹⁶ Translation modified from DJD 18:77. For rabbinic use of **אני והו**, see J. Baumgarten, “A New Qumran Substitute for the Divine Name and Mishnah Sukkah 4:5,” *JQR* 83 (1992): 1–5; Kister, “On A New Fragment of the Damascus Covenant,” 249–251; Baumgarten, “**אונ הו הכול**—**את הו הכול**, A Reply to Kister,” 485–487, and subsequently Catrin Williams, *I Am He: The Interpretation of ani hu in Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000).

⁴¹⁷ For further discussion, see comments in Chapter 1.

pertinent: (1) יהוה and אֵל are the only designations written in paleo-Hebrew in the sectarian scrolls, (2) both begin to appear in paleo-Hebrew around the same time (Herodian; 30–1 BCE), and (3) יהוה in paleo-Hebrew is featured only in the *pesharim* (with the possible exception of 4Q183),⁴¹⁸ while אֵל in paleo-Hebrew is found mostly in community compositions (e.g. H, S, and D). I present this evidence in the table below, divided into three sections: (I) lists יהוה in the square script, (II) lists יהוה in paleo-Hebrew or mixed scripts, and (III) lists אֵל in paleo-Hebrew or mixed scripts. The use of אֵל in (I) and (II) are footnoted.

3.3.6 The Square and Paleo-Hebrew Scripts in The Sectarian Scrolls

<i>Manuscript</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Occurrences</i>
I. Tetragrammaton in the Square Script				
4QpIsa ^c (4Q163)	יהוה	square	100 BCE	9
4QpNah (4Q169)	יהוה	square	50–25 BCE	1
4QpIsa ^b (4Q162)	יהוה	square	50–25 BCE	3
4QpMicah? (4Q168) ⁴¹⁹	יהוה	square	30 BCE–68 CE	1
4QpZeph (4Q170)	יהוה	square	no date	1
4QMidrEschat ^a (4Q174)	יהוה	square	30–1 BCE	5 ⁴²⁰
4QpPsa ^b (4Q173)	יהוה	square	30 BCE–20 CE	1 ⁴²¹

⁴¹⁸ The fragmentary nature of 4QMidrEschat^a? (4Q183) makes its identification uncertain, but its themes and orthography probably suggest that it is some type of *peshar*. No biblical quotations are identifiable in 4Q183, but the fragment with the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton is probably part of a quote.

⁴¹⁹ It is possible that 4Q168 may simply be a biblical manuscript. Allegro tentatively classified it as a *peshar*. More recently, Lim has not included 4Q168 in his companion volume on the *pesharim*, although Brooke apparently considers it a *peshar* (cf. Brooke, “Aspects,” 141). Tov does not have a firm opinion, writing “4Q168 is presented in all lists as 4QpMic?, but it could be presented equally well as 4QMic?” (DJD 39:165–66). Whatever one decides about 4Q168, it may be wise to avoid dependence on different script practices as our sole criterion for discerning whether or not this is a biblical or *peshar* text. Other material observations or orthographic features may be helpful. The fragmentary evidence seems to suggest that the orthography is mixed (e.g., ירושלם in frg. 1 1, compared to ירושלים in sectarian texts such as 1QM, but החזיקבה in frg. 1 2, compared to החזיקך).

⁴²⁰ אֵל occurs 1x in the square script.

⁴²¹ In 4Q173 4, the Tetragrammaton occurs in the square script, but in 4Q173 5, לֵאל (“to/for God”) is written in a strange type of paleo or cryptic script. Fragment 5 is also written in a hand later than frgs. 1–4. Timothy Lim writes, “Fragment 5 is paleographically later than the other four fragments and it probably belongs to another exegetical text that quotes Ps. 118.20.” See Lim, *Pesharim*, 39. For descriptions of the script, see Allegro, DJD 5:53; Skehan, “Divine Name,” 27; Tov, “Paleo-Hebrew Biblical Texts Found at Qumran,” 356; and M. Horgan, *Pesharim*, 226. Recently, frg. 5 has been designated “4QHouse of Stumbling Fragment.” See IAA website: <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/search#q='4q173'>.

4QH ^c (4Q429) 6 2	יהוה	square	40 BCE	1(?) ⁴²²
4QMidrEschat ^b (4Q177)	יהוה	square	30–1 BCE	5
II. Tetragrammaton in the Paleo-Hebrew Script (or mixed)				
1QpHab	יהוה	paleo	30–1 BCE	4 ⁴²³
4QpIsa ^a (4Q161)	יהוה	paleo	20–70 CE	1
4QpPsa ^a (4Q171)	יהוה	mixed	20–70 CE	7 (paleo) 1 (sq)
1QpZeph (1Q15)	יהוה	paleo	no date ⁴²⁴	2
1QpMic (1Q14)	יהוה	paleo	late 1st BCE ⁴²⁵	2 ⁴²⁶
4QMidrEschat ^{e?} (4Q183)	יהוה	paleo	30 BCE–20 CE	1 ⁴²⁷
III. ל in Square and Paleo-Hebrew Scripts				
1QH ^a	ל	mixed	30-1 BCE	3 (pal) 43 (sq)
1QH ^b (1Q35)	ל	paleo	no date	1
4QS ^d (4Q258)	ל	paleo	30-1 BCE	2
4QD ^b (4Q267)	ל	mixed	30-1 BCE	4 (pal) 6 (sq)
4QD ^c (4Q268)	ל	paleo	1-30 CE	1
6QD (6Q15)	ל	mixed	1-100 CE	2 (pal) 1 (sq)
6QpapHymn (6Q18)	ל	paleo	30 BCE–68 CE	3
4QAgasCreat ^a (4Q180)	ל	paleo	20-70 CE	1
3QUnclassFrag (3Q14)	ל	paleo	no date	1

The use of the Tetragrammaton in the square-Aramaic script begins with 4QpIsa^c (4Q163) around 100 BCE, the oldest extant *peshet*. Following next, on paleographic grounds, are 4QpNah (4Q169) and 4QpIsa^b (4Q162), which date to ca. 50 BCE. Apart from these early *pesharim*, the remaining scrolls that use the square-Aramaic script for the Tetragrammaton (4Q174, 4Q168, 4Q173, 4Q429, and 4Q177) generally overlap with those that use the paleo-

⁴²² Regarding the possible reading of the Tetragrammaton in fragment 6 line 2 (traditionally associated with 4Q429), Eileen Schuller comments: “The use of the tetragrammaton in line 2 (if this is the correct reading) precludes taking this as a *Hodayot* fragment. The fragment is presented here only because of its traditional association with this manuscript.” Schuller, DJD 29:194.

⁴²³ ל occurs 23x in the square-Aramaic script.

⁴²⁴ Milik, DJD 1:80; Lim, *Pesharim*, 21–22.

⁴²⁵ García Martínez, *Literatura judia intertestamentaria*, 99. T. Lim (*Pesharim*, 21) cites Martínez as giving a date “before the first century BCE,” but this is a mistake. Martínez writes, “copiado a finales del siglo 1 a.C.” (i.e., copied at the end of the first century BCE).

⁴²⁶ ל occurs 1x in the paleo-Hebrew script.

⁴²⁷ ל occurs 1x in the paleo-Hebrew script. Furthermore, originally, there were two attestations of the Tetragrammaton in 4Q183, but Strugnell joined “fragment 3” with 4Q171 1–2.

Hebrew script (4Q183, 1Q14, 1Q15, 4Q171, 4Q161, 1QpHab). During the early Herodian period, and into the first century CE, scribes of sectarian compositions chose either script.

Two observations are critical in order to assess the significance of the paleo-Hebrew script in the sectarian scrolls. First, the meaning of the paleo-Hebrew script, whether as a signal to avoid pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton, or to ensure its non-erasure, must also include an explanation for why אל also appears in this script. Most of the reasons given for the Tetragrammaton do not likely pertain to the use of אל . The same observation is relevant for writing אדוני in the paleo-Hebrew script elsewhere, as in the biblical scroll 4QIsa^c. Second, we encounter considerable diversity, or inconsistency, in the employment of paleo-Hebrew for the Tetragrammaton and אל in the sectarian scrolls. Therefore, the practice does not seem to result from a widespread or unified program of usage. 4QpPsa^a, for example, presents a striking level of diversity. In iii 5, the Tetragrammaton occurs once in the square script as part of the supralinear insertion,⁴²⁸ but in iii 14–15 (the same column) the Tetragrammaton occurs 2 times in paleo-Hebrew. Apparently, the convention of the main text, did not influence the practice of the correcting scribe. Much diversity also characterizes the use of אל . For example, 1QH^a uses paleo-Hebrew for אל 3 times, and 1QH^b (1Q35) uses it once, but all other divine names in the *Hodayot* are written in the square script.⁴²⁹ In 1QS, we find the use of square script for אל , but the shorter version, 4QS^d (4Q258), writes אל in paleo-Hebrew (cf. 2 iii 9 and 2 iv 8), while all other *Serekh* manuscripts use the square script for divine names.⁴³⁰ The copies of the *Damascus Document*

⁴²⁸ Ps 37:20 (4Q171 1 + 3–4 iii 5).

⁴²⁹ The use of paleo-Hebrew in the *Hodayot* was observed by Delcor already in 1955 (“Des diverses manières,” 147 n. 2). These occur at 1QH^a 7.38, 9.28, 10.36, and 1Q35 (1QH^b) 1 5 (respectively, DJD 40:98, 119, 133 and DJD 1:137). At this point, I cannot enter the discussion on the whether or not the scribe(s) of 1QH^a and 1QH^b are the same.

⁴³⁰ The relationship between 4Q258 and 1QS is much discussed, and I cannot enter the discussion here. The

show further diversity in their uses of לש .⁴³¹ The square script is used for לש in 4QD^{a, d, e, f} (4Q266, 269, 270, 271), but the scribe of 4QD^c (4Q268) writes לש in the paleo-Hebrew script. Lastly, two copies of the *Damascus Document* have internal mixed practices. The scribe of 6Q15 writes לש in both scripts (albeit on different fragments), and even more striking, the scribe of 4QD^b (4Q267) uses both scripts for לש on the very same fragment (9 iv).⁴³² The closest comparison for the internal diversity of 4Q267 is the use of both scripts for the Tetragrammaton on the same fragment in the biblical scroll 4QLev^g (4Q26b).

In summary, Qumran scribes consistently avoid the Tetragrammaton in original sectarian compositions. Some use the Tetragrammaton in biblical quotations, all *pescharim*—half in the square-Aramaic script (beginning ca. 100 BCE) and half in the paleo-Hebrew script (beginning ca. 30 BCE)—while others omit the Tetragrammaton in biblical quotations of non-*pescharim* sectarian compositions, or replace it with other titles, pronouns, or ciphers. The title לש is the most frequent replacement of the Tetragrammaton; it occurs in paleo-Hebrew 21 times, mostly in community compositions.

3.4 *Scrolls of Non-Sectarian Origin*

The evidence for the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton in the remaining scrolls from the Judean desert is presented here. These scrolls are arguably non-sectarian in origin. Many of these works, to greater or lesser degrees, share themes with biblical writings. The textual content of some works even overlaps considerably with biblical texts, most notably

important point is that paleo-Hebrew is applied inconsistently and this must be taken into account when conceptualizing the role of paleo-Hebrew at Qumran.

⁴³¹ Baumgarten, DJD 18:95–96; Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, 21.

⁴³² In 4Q267 לש occurs 6x in the square script (4Q267 2 5, 7 [2x], 13; 7 6; and 9 iv 11) and 4x in the paleo-Hebrew script (4Q267 3 7; 9 i 2; 9 iv 4; and 9 v 4).

4QReworked Pentateuch A–E, the *Temple Scroll*, and *Jubilees*. The evidence of other scrolls listed below shows the combination of biblical psalms with previously unknown material. For example, the author of 4QProphecy of Joshua (4Q522) appended to the end Ps 122, and the last “song” 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11) is a version of Ps 91. In another example, as discussed above, the *Psalms Scroll* (11QPs^a) has interwoven previously unknown compositions with psalms from Book 4 and 5 of the MT-Psalter. The use of the Tetragrammaton in this material has never been the focus of systematic study, much of it unknown before the mid-twentieth century, let alone integrated into scholarly views on the use of the Tetragrammaton in the late Second Temple period. The collection of evidence here is a step in this direction.

3.4.1 The Tetragrammaton in Scrolls of Non-Sectarian Origin

The Tetragrammaton occurs about 253 times in 55 scrolls listed below.⁴³³ The most frequent uses are found in the *Temple Scroll* (52x), 4QRP A–E (60x), and the compositions of 11QPs^a (21x) that are not paralleled in the MT-Psalter. Dozens of other documents, although fragmentary, also contain the Tetragrammaton. Whatever scholars may conclude about the use of the Tetragrammaton in these scrolls, the presence of the divine name clearly aligns them more closely with the biblical texts than either the sectarian scrolls or the Aramaic scrolls. But how close to the biblical scrolls are those of non-sectarian origin? This question is vigorously debated.⁴³⁴ In order to provide a helpful context for interpreting the evidence below, it is

⁴³³ The Tetragrammaton occurs an additional 13 times in unidentified fragments.

⁴³⁴ It has been shown that the 4QRP manuscripts reflect the same type of exegetical activity, namely moderate harmonizing expansions, found in the so-called pre-Samaritan manuscripts 4QpaleoExod^m, 4QNum^b, and 4QExod-Lev^f, suggesting that they can be viewed as biblical. Ulrich, in particular, has argued that 4QRP^{b,c} should not be considered a new work, but an expanded biblical text; see Ulrich, “The Qumran Scrolls and the Biblical Text,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls — Fifty Years After Their Discovery-Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 10–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov and James VanderKam; Jerusalem, 2000). See also Tov, “Rewritten Bible Compositions,” 341; Tov and Crawford, “Reworked Pentateuch,” in DJD 13:187–352. For a summary of types of compositional techniques in the 4QRP manuscripts, see Zahn, *Rethinking Rewriting*, 129.

important to get a sense of the debate over these scrolls, some of which are often discussed as “rewritten scripture.” Following this discussion, I present a complete listing of the Tetragrammaton in scrolls of non-sectarian origin. In the context of the current chapter, it is possible to look only at a few examples of the types of practices we encounter in these scrolls. One implication of this evidence, regardless of the meaning or function of the Tetragrammaton, is that the scrolls of non-sectarian origin provide evidence for the continued written use of the Tetragrammaton, in contrast to its avoidance in both speech and writing in the sectarian texts of the first century CE. I will return to this observation in conclusion of this chapter.

The biblical or scriptural nature of the texts addressed in this section is debated. In order to gain clarity on this issue, scholars have compared and contrasted these scrolls with biblical manuscripts as well as the MT version the books that became part of the Jewish canon. Eugene Ulrich and James VanderKam have argued that the expansions and harmonizations in the 4QRP manuscripts is characteristic of other biblical texts whose content was still fluid.⁴³⁵ Michael Segal has suggested that 4Q364–367 appear to qualify as “biblical,” but 4Q158 should be understood as a rewritten scriptural text.⁴³⁶ For Crawford, the 4QRP texts reflect some aspects of biblical scrolls, but there is hardly any evidence that they were authoritative because they are not quoted or the subject of a commentary.⁴³⁷ Falk and Bernstein also tend to think that 4QRP are not typical Pentateuch copies, otherwise key legal material would not have been omitted.⁴³⁸ A similar observation was made by Schiffman regarding the absence of the Ten Commandments in the

⁴³⁵ Ulrich, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Text,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*, 1:79–100; James VanderKam, “Questions of Canon Viewed through the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Canon Debate* (ed. Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders; Peabody: Hendrikson, 2002), 96–100.

⁴³⁶ Segal, “4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QPentateuch?” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery*, 394–95.

⁴³⁷ Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 56–57.

⁴³⁸ Bernstein, “What Has Happened to the Laws?” The Treatment of Legal Material in 4QReworked Pentateuch,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 48–49; Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts*, 111.

Temple Scroll; in this sense it could not have been considered a replacement of the Pentateuch. Zahn has recently examined the compositional technique of the 4QRP material and argues that each shows different exegetical tendencies and should not be conflated.⁴³⁹ Her study follows on an earlier observations that 4Q158 offers a distinct profile regarding its exegetical activity and 4Q364 is more conservative in “rewriting,” than the other manuscripts, both observation of Segal and Bernstein, respectively.⁴⁴⁰ Overall, Zahn compares 4QRP, the *Temple Scroll*, and SP and concludes that they all “made use of virtually the same compositional techniques,” but no two manuscripts were alike in the proportions or purposes.⁴⁴¹

Many of these works can be understood to some degree as interpretive compositions, for example, as they rearrange and juxtapose biblical passages that are separated in the Tanakh.⁴⁴² They also do not appear to stand alone, as they depend on earlier biblical source material and also lack important biblical laws. Furthermore, these compositions include new material, in addition to harmonizing expansions. In another way, for many of these works their self-presentation as authoritative seems to be a high priority.⁴⁴³ Thus, in the compositional stage,

⁴³⁹ For a summary of types of compositional techniques in the 4QRP manuscripts, see Zahn, *Rethinking Rewriting*, 129.

⁴⁴⁰ Segal, “Biblical Exegesis in 4Q158: Techniques and Genre,” *Textus* 19 (1998): 45–62; Bernstein, “What has Happened?” 48–49.

⁴⁴¹ Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten*, 228.

⁴⁴² Zahn discusses how 3Q365 36 “presents Num 27:11 followed directly by Num 36:1-2, without so much as an extra space to mark a new paragraph.” This seems to be an implicit interpretation of these passages. See Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten*, 117. The logic behind these juxtapositions is to join thematically related units, such as the issue of Zelophehad’s (Num 27) daughters with women inheritance rights (Num 36). She concludes: “Ultimately, the importance of understanding rewritten texts lies in their prevalence as a mode of interpretation in the late Second Temple period.” (242)

⁴⁴³ VanderKam has enumerated criteria for determining whether a work was considered authoritative. These concern (1) the number of copies, (2) self-presentation of a work (i.e., compositional intention) as authoritative or coming from God, (3) the subsequent use of a work by other works, for example, in quotation (i.e., the acceptance by a community), and (4) the focus of the work as a commentary. See VanderKam, “Authoritative Literature in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 382–402, and more recently, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible*, 66–71. Some of the compositions dealt with here clearly present themselves as authoritative, such as 4QRP, the *Temple Scroll*, and *Jubilees*, but they are also not the subject of commentaries and include new material, which places them outside of the Qumran biblical texts proper. *Jubilees* probably has a better claim to authoritative status because it is attested in about 14 mss. (although some of these most likely did not contain the entire book), along

authoritative status was an anticipated goal to be achieved, which was neither self-evident nor an inherent aspect of a composition. For these reasons, we may suspect that more is at play in the use of the Tetragrammaton in works of non-sectarian origin. For some writings, the Tetragrammaton may simply have been reproduced as a “biblical” feature, but for others, it may comprise a deliberate component of a writer’s compositional strategy.

The evidence for the use of the Tetragrammaton in scrolls of non-sectarian origin is found in the table below. The manuscripts are diverse, but seem to represent three principle categories—torah and narrative texts, prophetic texts, hymnic/liturgical texts—and one catch-all category labeled “other.”⁴⁴⁴

3.4.1 The Tetragrammaton in Scrolls of Non-Sectarian Origin

<i>Composition</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Occurrences</i>
I. Torah and Narrative Traditions		
4QExhort on Flood (4Q370)	75-50 BCE	5
Mas 1m (MasapocrGen) ⁴⁴⁵	50-25 BCE	1
4QText Rachel/Joseph (4Q474)	30-1 BCE	2
4QApocrMoses ^{c?} (4Q408)	150-50 BCE	4
4QApocrMoses ^a (4Q375)	50-25 BCE	2
2QApocrMoses (2Q21)	30 BCE–68 CE	1
4QDiscourseExod (4Q374)	30-1 BCE	1
4QRP A (4Q158)	40-1 BCE	9
4QRP B (4Q364)	40-10 BCE	22
4QRP C (4Q365)	40-10 BCE	21
4QRP D (4Q366)	40-10 BCE	2
4QRP E (4Q367)	125-50 BCE	6
4QApocrPent A (4Q368)	30-1 BCE	3
4QApocrPent B (4Q377)	100-50 BCE	2

with *Enoch* (11 mss.) and the *Book of Giants* (9–10 mss.). Very low on the authoritative scale at Qumran were probably Chronicles, Esther, Ezra, and Nehemiah, even though they were later accepted in the Jewish canon.

⁴⁴⁴ These categories are intended to facilitate comparisons and should not be pressed too far. The diversity that is characteristic of these scrolls is evident even in the modern labels give to these works. For example, 4Q408 has been named both “ApocrMoses^{c?}” and “Morning and Evening Prayer” (DJD 36:298) and 4Q522 has been named “ApocrJosh^{c?}” and “Prophecy of Joshua” (DJD 29:39–74). For further discussion, see Dimant, “Between Sectarian and Non-Sectarian: The Case of the Apocryphon of Joshua,” in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (ed. E. Chazon, et al.; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 105–34.

⁴⁴⁵ Yadin, *Masada VI*, 101. He compares the preserved fragment to Gen 41:25, 32.

4QJub ^a (4Q216)	125-50 BCE ⁴⁴⁶	3
4QJub ^d (4Q219)	110-50 BCE	1
4QJub ^g (4Q222)	75-50 BCE	1
4QpseudJub ^a (4Q225)	30 BCE-20 CE	1
4QpseudJub ^b (4Q226)	50-25 BCE	2
11QTemple ^a (11Q19)	125-100 BCE	45
11QTemple ^b (11Q20)	20-50 CE	7
4QNarr B (4Q461)	100-50 BCE	2
4QNarr F (4Q480)	50-25 BCE	1
4QNarr and Poetic ^c (4Q373)	125-50 BCE	1
4QNarr Work and Prayer (4Q460) ⁴⁴⁷	75-1 BCE	1
4QNarr and Poetic ^b (4Q372)	50 BCE	5
2QNarr and Poetic (2Q22)	1-68 CE	1
II. Prophetic Traditions		
4QApocrJoshua ^b (4Q379)	150-50 BCE	4
4QApocrJoshua ^a (4Q378)	20-50 CE	4
4QProphecy of Joshua + Ps 122 (4Q522)	65-30 BCE	6
4QParaKings (4Q382)	75 BCE	2
4QApocrJer C ^a (4Q385a)	50-25 BCE	2
4QApocrJer C ^c (4Q388a)	50-25 BCE	1
4QPseudo Ezek ^a (4Q385)	50-25 BCE	10
4QPseudo Ezek ^c (4Q385b)	50-25 BCE	1
4QPseudo Ezek ^d (4Q388)	50-25 BCE	1
4QPseudo Ezek ^b (4Q386)	50-1 BCE	4
1QApocrProphecy (1Q25)	undated	2
III. Hymnic, Liturgical, and Poetic Traditions		
4QNon-Canonical Ps A (4Q380)	125-50 BCE	6
4QNon-Canonical Ps B (4Q381)	75 BCE	6
4QHym or Sap B (4Q528)	100-50 BCE	1
4QPs ^r + AposZion, Judah; Esch Hymn (4Q88)	50 BCE	3
8QHymn (8Q5)	30 BCE-68 CE	1
11QPs ^b (11Q6)	30-1 BCE	1
11QPs ^a (11Q5)	1-50 CE; 30-68 CE	21 ⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ Columns V–VII date to 125–100 BCE, while columns I–II, and IV date to 75–50 BCE. The Tetragrammaton occurs 3x in column I.

⁴⁴⁷ On the verso of fragment 9 is 4QAccount gr, a Greek documentary text. Because the sectarian scribes would not have reused a fragment that contained the Tetragrammaton for listing cereals in Greek, Larson suggested that “this list could become evidence of a later occupation of the Qumran caves in the wake of the destruction of the settlement in 68 CE.” Larson, DJD 26:369. For an overview of the discussion of this document, see Tov, “The Greek Biblical Texts from the Judean Desert,” in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text* (ed. Scott McKendrick and Orlaith A. O’Sullivan; Grand Haven, MI: The Scriptorium, Center for Christian Antiquities, 2003), 100–1.

⁴⁴⁸ The 21 occurrences of the Tetragrammaton in 11Q5 here include only those not paralleled by books of

11QApocrPsalms (11Q11)	50-70 CE	9
1QThree Tongues of Fire (1Q29)	undated	2
4QSapWork (4Q185)	75-25 BCE	1
4QSapHymn (4Q411)	50-30 BCE	5
IV. Other		
11Qpaleo Unidentified (11Q22) ⁴⁴⁹	100-25 BCE	1
4QConfession (4Q393)	30 BCE-20 CE	1
2QUnclassified (2Q30)	undated	1
4QCongr of the Lord (4Q466) ⁴⁵⁰	undated	1
4QTanh (4Q176)	150-30 BCE//30–68 CE	1
4QMidrEschat ^b (4Q177)	30-1 BCE	5

The Tetragrammaton occurs in copies of these works, dated on paleographic grounds, beginning in the mid-second century BCE and continuing to the mid-first century CE. We have only vague guesses about when these works were originally composed, but the date of when they were copied shows that they continued to be of interest, and for the most part, scribes continued to write the Tetragrammaton. But still, we find evidence for its non-use, both at the stage of original composition, and at the stage of scribal copying. In order to illustrate the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton in works that are non-sectarian in origin, I survey the practices of the following: *Temple Scroll*, 4QapocrMoses^{c?} (4Q408), *Jubilees*, 4QProphecy of Joshua (4Q522), 8QHymn (8Q5), and 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11). Following these examples, I explore the evidence for divine name avoidance in these works, and lastly, writing the Tetragrammaton in the paleo-Hebrew script.

the Psalter as represented by the MT.

⁴⁴⁹ Apparently the scribe has used red ink for לְאֱלֹהִים; cf. Tov *Scribal Practices*, 239.

⁴⁵⁰ Pike, DJD 36:396–397. Very little is known about the 4Q466. The phrase עַדַּת יְהוָה occurs at 4Q446 1 3. We find the same phrase in 4Q377 2 ii 3, which also has a fuller orthography, bringing it closer in line to QSP; cf. DJD 28:207; also Num 27:17, 31:16, Josh 22:16, 22:17. See further, Pike, “The Congregation of YHWH in the Bible and at Qumran,” *Revue de Qumrân* 17 (1996): 233–40.

3.4.1.1 *Temple Scroll* (11Q19–21, 4Q524)

In the *Temple Scroll* the Tetragrammaton occurs about 52 times. The work itself closely follows the architectural, legal, and administrative passages of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy in an effort to provide an idealized blueprint for a massive future Jerusalem Temple, to be created by God, with associated festivals and ritual purity laws.⁴⁵¹ Scholars have enumerated a continuum of compositional activity in relation to the author's biblical source texts, including original composition, echo, allusion, periphrastic conflation, fine conflation, gross conflation, modified quotation, and extended quotation.⁴⁵² In several cases, especially towards the end of the *Temple Scroll*, we find large excerpts of biblical passages. Moreover, the *Temple Scroll* clearly distinguishes itself from its biblical source texts. For example, it reorganizes the biblical material into unique discrete literary and thematic blocks.⁴⁵³ Even more striking, the author of the *Temple Scroll* changes the narrative voice of the Pentateuchal legislation, which he borrows from Deuteronomy, into the narrative voice of Leviticus—the first person revelatory

⁴⁵¹ This claim is made by God speaking in the first person, see 11Q19 29.8–10 (אשר אברא אני את מקדשי). The purpose of the *Temple Scroll* has been much discussed since Yigael Yadin's *editio princeps*, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols. and supplement; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983 [1977 Hebrew]). See Stephen A. Kaufman, "The Temple Scroll and Higher Criticism," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 53 (1982): 29–43; Andrew M. Wilson and Lawrence Wills, "Literary Sources of the 'Temple Scroll'," *HTR* 75 (1982): 275–88; Hartmut Stegemann, "The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll and its Status at Qumran," in *Temple Scroll Studies* (ed. George J. Brooke; JSP 7. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 123–148; Dwight Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible: The Methodology of 11QT* (STDJ 14; Leiden, Brill, 1995); Brooke, "The Temple Scroll: A Law unto itself?" in *Law and Religion: Essays on the Place of the Law in Israel and Early Christianity* (ed. B. Lindars; Cambridge: James Clarke, 1988), 34–43, 164–166; *ibid.*, "The Temple Scroll and LXX Exodus 35-40," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings* (ed. George J. Brooke and B. Lindars; SBLSCS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 81–106; Sidnie W. Crawford, *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); Bernard M. Levinson and Molly M. Zahn, "Revelation Regained: The Hermeneutics of כִּי and אֵם in the Temple Scroll," *DSD* 9/3 (2002): 295–346; Larry Schiffman's collected essays in *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 2008).

⁴⁵² These categories were formulated by Kaufman, "The Temple Scroll," 29–43; Michael Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll, Appendix I*.

⁴⁵³ Wilson and Wills, "Literary Sources," 275–88; Stegemann, "The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll," 123–148; Swanson, *The Temple Scroll*, 230–31. Swanson proposes four methods of compositional patterns operative for the scribe/editor of 11QT, including (a) Word-form insertion, (b) Key-word link, (c) Signaling, and (d) Developing.

voice of God. The author extends this to all torah legislation, effectively erasing Moses and largely replacing Deuteronomy.⁴⁵⁴ To achieve this the author changes the third person narration in biblical reworkings to the first person. For the author of the *Temple Scroll*, this necessitates various changes: the omission of the Tetragrammaton and the insertion of the first person pronoun (e.g., אֲנִי),⁴⁵⁵ the change of verbs from third to first person (e.g., וְנָתַן vs. וְנָתַתִּי),⁴⁵⁶ and the use of prepositions with the first person suffix י (e.g., לִי vs. לִיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ).⁴⁵⁷ In the *Temple Scroll* we find pronominal replacements of the Tetragrammaton, a feature also found in the sectarian scrolls, but in the *Temple Scroll* the pronoun is boldly rendered in first person.⁴⁵⁸ Sectarian quotations only replace the Tetragrammaton with second and third person pronominal elements. While the *Temple Scroll* frequently replaces the Tetragrammaton, this practice should not be understood as avoidance, simply because the authors still uses the Tetragrammaton 52 times. The non-use of the Tetragrammaton is primarily occasioned where the author recasts his source material in the first person voice.⁴⁵⁹

3.4.1.2 *Apocryphon of Moses* (1Q29, 4Q376, 4Q408)

The *Apocryphon of Moses* illustrates the complexity of understanding the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton in scrolls of non-sectarian origin.⁴⁶⁰ In this work, we find several uses

⁴⁵⁴ For a recent overview of the literary goals of the author as seen through editorial activity, see Juha Pakkala, “The *Temple Scroll* as Evidence for Editorial Processes of the Pentateuch,” in *Crossing Imaginary Boundaries*, 101–127.

⁴⁵⁵ E.g., 11Q19 51.15–16b (Deut 16:20); 53.20 (Num 30:6).

⁴⁵⁶ E.g., 11Q19 55.11 (Deut 13:18b).

⁴⁵⁷ E.g., 11Q19 52.10 (Deut 15:21); 52.3b–5 (Deut 17:1, 2x).

⁴⁵⁸ M. Weinfeld, “God versus Moses in the *Temple Scroll*—‘I do not Speak on my Own but on God’s Authority,’” *RevQ 15* (1991): 175–80.

⁴⁵⁹ Crawford, *Temple Scroll and Related Texts*, 17–18.

⁴⁶⁰ This work appears to comprise three manuscripts: 1QLiturg of the Three Tongues on Fire (apocrMos^b?) (1Q29), 4QApocrMoses^b (4Q376), and 4QApocrMoses^c? (4Q408); Steudel, DJD 36:298. But see recently, Ariel Feldman and Liora Goldman, *Scripture and Interpretation: Qumran Texts that Rework the Bible* (ed. Devorah Dimant; Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2014), 263–351.

of the Tetragrammaton, but also one “correction.” The scribe has apparently marked the Tetragrammaton for deletion and added a supralinear insertion. This changes Moses’ blessing from יהוה ברוך to ברוך אתה אדני, the latter formula is found only in the *Hodayot*.⁴⁶¹

אתה אדני

[בר]וד · יהוה [ה]צדיק בכל דרכיך ה[ג]בֹרֶ כח הח[סיד במש]פטיד הנאמן 4Q408 3 + 3a 6

This correction occurs in frg. 3, where we also encounter a peculiar use of the term יחד and a likely reference to אל (“God”).⁴⁶²

[--] אֵל ישראל [ה]ברא הוא ליחד [--] 4Q408 3 + 3a 3

Scholars have debated the meaning of all three elements—the correction, the use of אל, and the use of ליחד. Each seems to have sectarian nuances. These features coalesce in frg. 3 of this scroll that is otherwise non-sectarian, and uses the Tetragrammaton elsewhere.

Baumgarten suggested that “the correction of the use of the Tetragrammaton in the blessing with the formula ברוך אתה אדני may serve as testimony both for the increasing restriction in the use of the divine name and the standardization of the liturgical blessing into the form with direct address of the deity which also became fixed in rabbinic Judaism.”⁴⁶³ Goldman also noted that the specific formulations of frg. 3 show affinity with the sectarian scrolls.⁴⁶⁴ However, Steudel suggested that “[s]ince the Tetragrammaton occurs also in frg. 2 1, 3 (cf. the parallel text 1Q29 3–4) the correction cannot be explained as an intentional replacement for the Tetragrammaton which was no longer used; rather, it is simply a correction of a scribal

⁴⁶¹ DJD 36:306.

⁴⁶² For notes on the reconstruction of אל, see DJD 36:305–6.

⁴⁶³ Joseph M. Baumgarten, “Some Notes on 4Q408,” *RevQ* 18 (1997): 143–44.

⁴⁶⁴ Goldman, *Scripture and Interpretation*, 349: “In contrast to the remainder of the composition, the prayer in frg. 3 contains a large number of terms or formulations that have affinity with those employed in sectarian scrolls.”

mistake.”⁴⁶⁵ The question then becomes why the Tetragrammaton occurs elsewhere, but is corrected in frg. 3. The answer that seems to present itself is that the uses of the Tetragrammaton elsewhere (4Q408 2 1, 3; 11 6) do not involve blessing formulas, which makes the use of the Tetragrammaton in frg. 3 unique. Furthermore, the presence of **אל** and **יחד** in frg. 3, which are not found anywhere else in the *Apocryphon of Moses*, tip the balance towards interpreting the correction along the lines proposed by Baumgarten,⁴⁶⁶ and could simply be explained as the result of sectarian copying. Steudel and Goldman both believe that the questions related to 4Q408 3 must remain open, but Goldman in particular wonders if “the prayer itself may have been extracted from a sectarian source...”⁴⁶⁷ The complex nature of 4Q408 supports Goldman’s intuition, but the inverse of her proposal is more likely. Rather than being extracted from a sectarian source, this originally non-sectarian prayer (or frg. 3 itself) was edited by a Qumran scribe in the process of copying the larger *Apocryphon of Moses*, and it was revised to be recited or simply brought in line with the standardized direct address, as Baumgarten suggested. This explains the peculiar sectarian language of frg. 3, as well as the inconsistent replacement of the Tetragrammaton in the blessing formula.⁴⁶⁸ Thus the *Apocryphon of Moses* seems to provide a window into the use of the Tetragrammaton in an originally non-sectarian manuscript that was

⁴⁶⁵ DJD 36:302.

⁴⁶⁶ Ironically, Goldman does not interpret **אל** and **ליחד** as sectarian terms (she renders a preposition and infinitive, respectively), but nonetheless notes strong sectarian affinities in the language of the correction, while Steudel translates **אל** and **ליחד** as nouns, but thinks the deletion of the Tetragrammaton is simply a correction of a scribal mistake. It seems plausible simply to take all three elements as sectarian influence. See Goldman, *Scripture and Interpretation*, 331. Steudel questions if **ליחד** should be understood as “for the community,” “as a community,” or “as unique.” DJD 36:307. Cf. 1QS 5:5–6. Qimron (*Hebrew Writings*, 2:315) reads **הדר הוא ליחד** (“majesty is he to the Yahad...”).

⁴⁶⁷ Goldman, *Scripture and Interpretation*, 350.

⁴⁶⁸ There are several plausible examples of manuscripts moving from non-sectarian to sectarian contexts. See discussion above regarding 4Q252; also Feldman, following Tov, argues that 4Q422 was originally a non-sectarian scroll that was copied by *Yahad* scribes. This scroll uses **אל** “God” instead of **אלהים** or **יהוה** (e.g., 4Q422 2:5 // Gen 7:16). See Ariel Feldman and Liora Goldman, *Scripture and Interpretation*, 85–86.

later copied at Qumran, and in the process, now represents some influences that are characteristic of original sectarian compositions.

3.4.1.3 *Jubilees*

The Qumran manuscripts of *Jubilees* use the Tetragrammaton, but also contain some features that are more common of the sectarian literature. The following terms are extant: יהוה (5x), אלהים (16x), and אל (3x).⁴⁶⁹ In biblical literature, the Tetragrammaton and אל are found together, notably in Gen, Exod, Josh, and Ps, but the manuscripts of *Jubilees* offer unique pairings between אל and other divine designations.⁴⁷⁰

4QJub^d contains יהוה אל עליון [...].⁴⁷¹ This compound designation is found only in Gen 14:22. In the context of 4QJub^d, however, the author is not paraphrasing Gen 14:22, but rather reporting Abraham's final words, a scene that would be situated near the beginning of Gen 25. If the reading of the Tetragrammaton here is correct, then the author uses the Tetragrammaton in conjunction with אל עליון in an unparalleled fashion. He is not simply using the Tetragrammaton in a biblical quote. In another example, 4QJub^g uses the Tetragrammaton in a passage unparalleled in Genesis. A blessing for the birth of Jacob is placed on the lips of Rebekah (Jub 25.12–13),

And she [Rebekah] said, 'May YHWH God be blessed (ברוך יהוה אלוהים) and may his holy name be blessed forever and ever, he who gave to me Jacob, a pure son and a holy seed; because he is yours and his seed will (belong) to you for all times and in all

⁴⁶⁹ There are 14 manuscripts that contain parts of *Jubilees* at Qumran. However, some are very fragmentary, others may belong to the same manuscript, and each manuscript probably did not contain the entire book. For further discussion of the *Jubilee* manuscripts, see James C. VanderKam, "The Manuscript Tradition of Jubilees," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibbá; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 4–8.

⁴⁷⁰ For a broader discussion on role of divine epithets in *Jubilees*, see Kugel, James. "A Note on Divine Names and Epithets in The Book of Jubilees," in *A Teacher for All Generations, Festschriften in Honor of James VanderKam* (Leiden, Brill: 2012), 757–63.

⁴⁷¹ 4Q219 2 21 (=Jub 21.20).

generations forever.

This shows that at the time *Jubilees* was composed the author could freely use the Tetragrammaton.⁴⁷² We find a similar free use of יהוה in 4QRP A (4Q158) 1–2 7. Following the wrestling match between Jacob and divine figure at Penuel (Gen 32:30) the writer inserts a blessing for Jacob, not paralleled in the biblical story.

The *Pseudo-Jubilees* manuscripts also offer important evidence for the use of the Tetragrammaton in scrolls that are of non-sectarian origin. 4QPsJub^a contains the unique compound אל יהוה in the line [...] ויברך אל יהוה את יש[חק] (“And God, YHWH, shall bless Isaac”). This is the only instance of the Tetragrammaton in apposition to אל.⁴⁷³ These terms appear together 16 times in the MT, but the compound is always rendered אל יהוה. Furthermore, the use of אל in the MT is relatively rare compared to יהוה and אלהים. Almost all occurrences of אל are accounted for in Gen (18x), Deut (13x), Isa (22x), Ps (77x), and Job (56x). But still, the use of אל here does not come from a quotation or paraphrase of a biblical sources. In Qumran literature, אל predominantly occurs in original sectarian texts.

In the above examples, we found original uses of יהוה and אל, but we also encounter some evidence for divine name avoidance. Note the source of 4QpsJub^a (= Gen 15:2):

ויאמר אברם אדני יהוה מה תתן לי ואנכי הולך ערירי	MT	Gen 15:2
[ויאמר א] ברהם אל אלוהים אדני הנני בא עררי ואל[יעזר]	4Q225 2 i 3	

In Gen 15:2, Abram utters “O Lord YHWH,” which is pointed in the MT אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה presumably to be read as “Adonai Elohim.” For the Massorettes, this avoids the redundant “Adonai Adonai.”

⁴⁷² For further bibliography on the role of Rebekah in *Jubilees*, see John C. Endres, “Revisiting the Rebekah of Jubilees,” in *A Teacher for All Generations, Festschriften in honor of James VanderKam* (Leiden, Brill: 2012), 765–82.

⁴⁷³ 4Q225 2 ii 10. The closest parallel is Ps 118:27 where אל יהוה is a verbless clause “God is YHWH.”

In 4QpsJub^a, “Abraham said to God, O Lord (אדני)...” thus the single אדני avoids the redundancy of the compound designation. The author of 4QpsJub^a apparently omitted the Tetragrammaton. Still, the written use of the Tetragrammaton is not a problem for the scribe because it occurs in 4Q225 2 ii 10, and elsewhere in the Qumran *Jubilees* manuscripts.

In summary, it seems that the divine name practices in *Jubilees* cohere with what we find in the biblical scrolls. Still, *Jubilees* and the related *Pseudo-Jubilees* move beyond the source text of Genesis in unique combinations of the Tetragrammaton and אל. The compound אל יהוה in 4QpsJub^a is unique. The free use of יהוה in Rebekah’s blessing is also notable. While the compound אדני יהוה (Gen 15:2) is rendered with the single אדני (4QpsJub^a), the larger context of this manuscript suggests the scribe is not avoiding the divine name *per se*, but could reflect one of the varied patterns in the biblical scrolls.

3.4.1.4 4QProphecy of Joshua (4Q522)

4QProphecy of Joshua uses the Tetragrammaton 6 times. This work is set within the pre-Davidic era and looks forward to the time when the Amorites and Canaanites will be driven from Jerusalem and the temple established on the סלע ציין (“rock of Zion”).⁴⁷⁴ Until that time, the author is content to set up the אהל מועד (“Tent of Meeting”) from afar. At the end of this prophetic, pro-Jerusalem composition the author has appended Ps 122, a psalm that primarily concerns the peace and prosperity of Jerusalem. The divine name occurs 3 times in Ps 122 (1x in the short יה form). The text of 4Q522 reflects the MT closely, evident in the scribe’s copying of יה, identical to its use in Ps 122, [עלו שבטים] שבטי יה.⁴⁷⁵ 4Q522 thus combines a novel prophetic-

⁴⁷⁴ 4Q522 9 ii 4.

⁴⁷⁵ 4Q522 22 + 26 3 (=Ps 122:4); Puech, DJD 25:39–74; Skehan, Ulrich, Flint, DJD 16:169–70.

like work with a previously known biblical psalm, and there is no differentiation in the use of the Tetragrammaton.

3.4.1.5 8QHymn (8Q5) and 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11)

The Tetragrammaton occurs in some hymns from Qumran that may have been used to ward off evil spirits. The recitation or performance of these texts was believed to secure protection against malevolent forces. 8Q5 contains one extant use of the Tetragrammaton, judged by Esther Eshel to be a magical or incantational text of non-sectarian origin.⁴⁷⁶ 11Q11 comprises six columns that contain at least three apotropaic psalms against demons, to which a final “song” is actually a version of Ps 91.⁴⁷⁷ This provides another example of individual compositions of non-sectarian origin that were later collected into the current work 11Q11 with an appended biblical psalm that coheres thematically with the contents of the work.⁴⁷⁸ The Tetragrammaton occurs 9 times. In 11Q11 4 4 the speaker uses it in a direct second person address, apparently in effort to destroy the demonic force, יככה יהוה מ[כה גדול]ה אשר לאבדך. Furthermore, 11Q11 may

⁴⁷⁶ See Esther Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period,” in *Liturgical Perspectives Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19-23, January, 2000* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, Ruth Clements, and Avital Pinnick; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69. Eshel examines two groups of apotropaic prayers. The first comprises five prayers from Qumran of non-sectarian origin: one in *ALD*, two in 11Q5, and two in *Jubilees*. In addition, she discusses four documents that “seem to be close to the thought of the Qumran sect”: 4Q510–511, 4Q444, 6Q18, 1QH^a frg 4. She then contrasts these apotropaic prayers with three magical texts (incantations against demons) that are probably non-sectarian in origin: 4Q560, 8Q5, 11Q11. For an early discussion of the criteria for apotropaic prayers, see D. Flusser, “Qumran and Jewish Apotropaic Prayers,” *IEJ* 16 (1966): 194–205.

⁴⁷⁷ For an explanation of the different versions of Psalm 91, see Mika S. Pajunen, “Qumranic Psalm 91: A Structural Analysis,” in *Scripture in Transition: Essay on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (ed. A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta; JSJSup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 591–605. See also Puech, “Les Psaumes davidiques du rituel d’exorcisme (11Q11),” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998. Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet* (ed. Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez and Eileen M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 160–81; and earlier “11QPsAp^a: un rituel d’exorcisme. Essai de reconstruction,” *RevQ* 14 (1990): 377–408.

⁴⁷⁸ DJD 23:181–205. See further Brennan Breed, “Reception of the Psalms: The Example of Psalm 91,” in *Oxford Handbook of the Psalms* (ed. William P. Brown; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 299: “11QApocryphal Psalms most likely derives from a nonsectarian source and was thus in circulation beyond the Qumran community. Among several textual variances, this version of Psalm 91 includes a superscription attributing it to David, which draws on the tradition of his apotropaic musicianship (cf. 1 Sam. 16:23; Eshel 2003: 85).”

be closely compared with other apotropaic works, such as *Songs of the Sage*, but the latter does not use the Tetragrammaton. Matthias Henze has noted that in this regard 11Q11 “deviates from the usual practice in the sectarian writings at Qumran, as well as from the majority of Jewish magical songs.”⁴⁷⁹ Puech holds that the divine name served as a shield against evil spirits and was necessary for the efficacy of the exorcism. If these texts were actively used by the Qumran sect, it is not clear to what extent they may have pronounced the Tetragrammaton. Puech draws a contrast between 11Q11 and the *Songs of the Sage*, the latter as a “compositions esséniennes” replaces the Tetragrammaton with *yod* (Ps 19:10 cited in 4Q511 10 12), while 11Q11’s use of the Tetragrammaton concurs with the genre of pre-Qumran psalmic literature, like Ps 91.⁴⁸⁰ In the context of highly ritualized exorcisms, of which we find textual trails from Qumran apotropaic texts—11Q11 and 8Q5—one could imagine an exception to the otherwise consistent “sectarian” avoidance. Puech insightfully draws attention to Josephus’s description of the Essenes as experts in the art of healing and medical properties of plants (*War.* 7:136). In this regard, one could imagine an exception to the otherwise consistent sectarian avoidance of the Tetragrammaton, at least in writing but perhaps also in speech. Such a ritual use of the divine name may have been conceptualized in their minds almost like a surgical tool for extracting the demons. It is also important to consider that on paleographic grounds 11Q11 dates between 50–70 CE.⁴⁸¹ Pajunen even entertains the possibility that this might be an “original composition,” thus showing the active use of the Tetragrammaton in the mid-first century CE.⁴⁸²

⁴⁷⁹ Matthias Henze, “Psalm 91 in Premodern Interpretation and at Qumran,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, 190–91.

⁴⁸⁰ Puech, “Les derniers Psaumes davidiques,” 181. Puech follows Baillet with the identification of 4Q511 10 12 as a citation of Ps 19:10. Cf. G. W. Nebe, “Der Buchstabe YOD als Ersatz des Tetragrams in 4Q511, Frag. 10 Zeile 12?” *RevQ* 12 (1986): 284–84.

⁴⁸¹ DJD 23:184.

⁴⁸² Pajunen, “How to Expel a Demon,” 128–61. It could be important too, if we are to imagine the spoken use of the Tetragrammaton in this scroll, that the Tetragrammaton is in the square-Aramaic script, not the paleo-

In summary, the *Temple Scroll*, *Apocryphon of Moses*, *Jubilees*, 4QProphecy of Joshua, 8QHymn, and 11QApocryphal Psalms show much greater diversity in their evidence for the use and non-use of the divine name than the biblical and sectarian scrolls. Some scrolls use the Tetragrammaton freely, while there is evidence for avoidance in other scrolls. This diversity is likely related, in some cases, to the situation of transmission. Scrolls of non-sectarian origin were preserved in Qumran copies in which changes to divine names were made. An additional example may be found in the narrative insertion of 11QPs^a 27, known as *David's Compositions*. This brief narrative gives a running total of all the songs and psalms composed by David, but opens with וּגְבוּן וְתַמִּים בְּכֹל דַּרְכָיו לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים וְאֲנָשִׁים (“discerning and perfect in all his ways before God and men” (11Q5 27 1–3)). This is the only use of אֱלֹהִים in the entire scroll, and can probably be attributed to a sectarian scribe.

3.4.2 Avoidance of the Tetragrammaton in Scrolls of Non-Sectarian Origin?

The above texts provide only a small sample of the literature of non-sectarian origin. We have seen so far that in the case of 4Q408 3, and perhaps 4QpsJub^a, what could be considered practices of avoidance may actually have entered these compositions at the copying stage. This raises the question of whether or not deliberate avoidance of the Tetragrammaton can be discerned at the stage of composition. To answer this question, we need to look more closely at the textual overlaps between scrolls of non-sectarian origin and their biblical source texts.⁴⁸³ In

Hebrew script.

⁴⁸³ For the 4QRP manuscripts, a list of the variants has been enumerated by Andrew Perrin, “The Variants of 4Q(Reworked) Pentateuch: A Comprehensive List of the Textual Variants in 4Q158, 4Q364–367 in Biblical Sequence,” *JJS* 63 (2012): 127–57. For a discussion of the problems with using books of the “Rewritten Scriptures” for the text-critical purposes, but also the problems inherent in the label “biblical,” see James C. VanderKam, “The Wording of Biblical Citations in Some Rewritten Scriptural Works,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries* (ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 41–56. He examines the variants in the source-texts of the *Reworked Pentateuch*, the *Temple Scroll*, Pseudo-Philo’s *Biblical Antiquities*, *Jubilees*, and the *Genesis Apocryphon*.

comparison of this evidence, several divine name variants arise, but these are much closer to the type of variant patterns found in comparison of the Qumran biblical scrolls with the MT, in contrast to the clear avoidance practices in the sectarian biblical quotations. The evidence is collected in the table below, and organized into (I) use of divine titles, (II) pronominal replacements, and (III) special practices. There are cases of non-use, primarily in the pronominal replacements of the *Temple Scroll*, but as shown above, these should not be understood as technical avoidance because the *Temple Scroll* still frequently uses the Tetragrammaton.⁴⁸⁴ The one difference between the *Temple Scroll* and the biblical variant patterns is that the *Temple Scroll*'s biblical quotations never use יהוה where it is not paralleled in the MT. In other texts, by contrast, we find some uses of יהוה not paralleled in the MT (e.g., *Jubilees* and 4Q158, above).

On the whole, there is relatively little evidence at the compositional stage for divine name avoidance in texts of non-sectarian origin. In fact, as we examine the material further, we find more evidence that avoidance practices entered these manuscripts at a later stage. In 4QRP B (4Q364), for example, we find two vertical dots placed just before the Tetragrammaton, which apparently signaled avoidance in reading (4Q364 14 3, *ויאמר :יהוה אל מושה*). This practice is extant 16 times and does not occur in other 4QRP manuscripts, or anywhere else in the Qumran scrolls.⁴⁸⁵ Another special case involves the use of the Tetrapuncta in scrolls of non-sectarian

⁴⁸⁴ E.g. 11Q19 53.8 (לפני אני יהוה אלוהיכה) // Deut 12:25b (בעיני יהוה); cf. also 11Q19 54.12 (=Deut 13:4).

⁴⁸⁵ Siegel mentions that Strugnell drew his attention to this same practice in 4Q134 (cf. Siegel, "The Employment of Paleo-Hebrew," 171 n. 41), but this is a mistake. Siegel refers to 4Q134 as a "Biblical paraphrase" along the lines of 4Q158," when in fact 4Q134 is "Phylactery G." The images show no clear evidence of dots in 4Q134 and nothing is mentioned of this in the official publication of DJD VI. This mistake seems to have continued in McDonough, *YHWH at Patmos*, 70, who cites Strugnell via Siegel. Also Donald Parry, "4QSam^a and the Tetragrammaton," in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 107, mentions that "two dots are located before the name in 4Q139 [Phylactery L]," but this is also apparently a mistake. The beginning of the divine name is not extant in 4Q139; only the ending of אלוהים.

origin. The reason we find almost all cases of Tetrapuncta in the scrolls of non-sectarian origin is because of the basic fact that the sectarian scrolls largely avoided the Tetragrammaton. When the scrolls of non-sectarian origin were copied at Qumran, the Tetrapuncta practice was introduced. Manuscript references for the evidence below is found in §6.1.5.

3.4.2: Divine Name Variants in the Scrolls of Non-Sectarian Origin

<i>Scroll</i>		<i>MT</i>	<i>Occurrences</i>
I. Use of Divine Titles			
1	אדני	יהוה	2
2	אדני	אדני יהוה	1
3	אל	יהוה	3(?)
4	אלהים	יהוה	4
5	אלהים	יהוה אלהים	2
6	אלהי אלהים	יהוה אלהים	3
7	יהוה אלהים	יהוה	2
8	יהוה	יהוה אלהים	1
9	יהוה	אלהים	2
10	<i>null</i>	יהוה	16+/- (<i>Temple Scroll</i>)
11	עליון	יהוה	1
12	יהוה	unparalleled	2
II. Use of Pronominal Elements			
13	ו (suffix, 3ms)	יהוה	1
14	הוא	יהוה	1
15	אנכי	יהוה	11 (<i>Temple Scroll</i>)
16	י (suffix, 1cs)	יהוה	13 (<i>Temple Scroll</i>)
17	אתה	יהוה	3
III. Use of Special Practices			
18	••••	יהוה	28
19	אלהים ••••	אלהים	1
20	יהוה :	יהוה	16
21	יוד	יהוה	1

A brief investigation into each category above will clarify the divine name practices in the scrolls of non-sectarian origin.

3.4.3 Replacement with אלהים, אדני, and אל in Scrolls of Non-Sectarian Origin

In what follows, I survey the practices found in Joshua Apocryphon (Mas 11), Ben Sira (Masada and Geniza copies),⁴⁸⁶ *Sabbath Songs* (4Q400–4Q407, 11Q17, Mas1k), *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510–11) and 4QNon-Canonical Psalms B (4Q381). As with the sampling of the evidence for the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton in scrolls of non-sectarian origin, the following discussion too is not exhaustive but illustrates the ranges of practices we encounter in this material.

3.4.3.1 The Joshua Apocryphon (Mas 11)

In the Joshua Apocryphon from Masada we find an intriguing use of אל. This may occur as a replacement for the Tetragrammaton, but this cannot be identified as an explicit biblical quote.⁴⁸⁷ Mas 11 paraphrases the sequence of events in Josh 23–24. In line 6, we read,

ולוא יראון מפניהם כי אל עמהם ויברכם ויו[שי]ע[ם]

There is no clear parallel to the phrase כי אל עמהם (“God is with them”) in Joshua, but we find similar phrases that use the Tetragrammaton in other biblical passages.⁴⁸⁸ The context surrounding line 6 also resonates with commands similar to Josh 8:1; 10:8, 25; and 11:6 that use the Tetragrammaton (e.g., ויאמר יהוה אל יהושע אל תירא). Furthermore, title אדוני occurs in line 8. Taken together, Yadin understood the use of these titles and the *plene* orthography of Mas 11 to provide a link between this Masada fragment and the sectarian scrolls.⁴⁸⁹ Very little is known

⁴⁸⁶ The Qumran Ben Sira manuscripts (2Q18, 11Q5 [Sir 51:13–30]) do not preserve divine names.

⁴⁸⁷ In comparing Josh 23–24 with Mas 11, the editors suggest that “[t]he dependence of the Masada fragment on the latter part of the Book of Joshua is emphasized by the juxtaposition of significant phrases in both texts.” *Masada VI*, 110–12.

⁴⁸⁸ E.g., 1 Sam 18:28; 2 Sam 7:3; and Zech 10:5.

⁴⁸⁹ Yadin, *Masada VI*, 111.

about the production and transmission of Mas 11, or its relationship to sectarian literature from Qumran, but its use of divine titles are in line with the sectarian practices. Still, these features were also found in *Jubilee* manuscripts, and they are not exclusively sectarian practices. The use of these titles alone does not provide enough evidence to conclude that they are substitutions or replacements for the Tetragrammaton.⁴⁹⁰

3.4.3.2 Ben Sira

The manuscripts of Ben Sira illustrate the complexity of the evidence for the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton in works of non-sectarian origin. The Masada copy (Mas 1h) is the oldest extant manuscript of Ben Sira. Yadin, Cross, and Avigad all date the copy between 100–75 BCE, but there is good reason to believe that its divine names are not original.⁴⁹¹ It uses אדני, עליון, and אל, but not יהוה or אלהים. Conversely, the Cairo Geniza copies of Ben Sira are much later, employing the medieval scribal convention of three triangular *yods* (י״י) for the divine name, but the Cairo copies, especially MS B, appear to be the most accurate witnesses to the original divine name practices of Ben Sira.⁴⁹² This view is supported by the abundant marginal

⁴⁹⁰ The divine name practices of several works could be compared to gain greater clarity on the social milieu of the Joshua Apocryphon texts, namely 4QApocrJosh^{a-b} (4Q378–9) and 4QProphecy of Joshua (4Q522), though the current study cannot pursue this further. See Émile Puech, “Les manuscrits de Qumrân inspirés du Livre de Josué: 4Q378, 4Q379, 4Q175, 4Q522, 5Q9 et Mas1039-211,” *RevQ* 28 (2016): 45–116. Tov suggests that Mas 11 and 4Q522 could belong to the same composition (*Scribal Practices*, 98). See Yadin, *Masada VI*, 116; and also Strawn and Rietz, “(More) Sectarian Terminology in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: The Case of תמימי דרך,” in *Qumran Studies*, 63 n. 41.

⁴⁹¹ Yadin, *Masada VI*, 153, 157: “Let it be pointed out at the very outset of this survey that the version of *Ben Sira* discovered at Masada—which is the most ancient of all extant MSS (whether of the Hebrew original or in translation)—unmistakably confirms the main conclusions reached by a considerable number of scholars, that the MSS discovered in the Cairo Genizah basically represent the original Hebrew version.”

⁴⁹² Similarly, Stegemann (“Gottesbezeichnungen,” 201) considered Cairo *Damascus Document* (CD A, B; dating from the tenth and twelfth century CE, respectively) to be more accurate than the Cave 4 copies (dated from the first century BCE to the mid-first century CE) as it pertained to the divine name readings in the earliest form of the *Damascus Document*, of which the compositional date was probably towards the end of the second century BCE. For an overview of the compositional history of CD, see Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); Menahem Kister, “The Development of the Early Recensions of the Damascus Document,” *DSD* 14 (2007): 61–76.

notations in the Cairo MS B, made by the copyists of MS B himself. According to Yadin, this shows “an attempt to introduce, into the margin, variants from other MSS available to the copyist and the other readers,” thus suggesting that the scribe was working to discern the original text of Ben Sira.⁴⁹³ Moreover, MS B uses יי and אלהים, as well as אל and אדני. The following table contains the divine name variants in the overlapping passages of Mas 1h and MS B.⁴⁹⁴

3.4.3.2 Masada and the Cairo Geniza Copies of Ben Sira

<i>Masada Copy (Mas 1h)</i>	<i>Cairo Geniza MS B</i> ⁴⁹⁵		
5:1–5 (Sir 42:15–17) ⁴⁹⁶	אל	אל	12r:6–10
	אדני	אלהים	
	אדני	יי	
	אל	אל	
	נפלאותיו	נפלאות יי	
אדני	אלהים		
5:18 (Sir 43:2) ⁴⁹⁷	עליון	יי	12v:2
5:22 (Sir 43:5)	אדני	יי	12v:6
6:3 (Sir 43:10a)	אדני	אל	12v:12
6:5 (Sir 43:12)	אל	אל	12v:4
6:5 (Sir 43:30)	כי יש אל	כי יש עוד	13r:15
11Q5 (Sir 51:15) ⁴⁹⁸	—	אדני	21r:11

⁴⁹³ Yadin, *Masada VI*, 160. Yadin further writes: “[O]ne significant conclusion unmistakably emerges even from the most cursory study: the text of the scroll unquestionably confirms that *Btext* and the glosses of *Bmarg* basically represent the original Hebrew version!” Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada*, 161; See also Di Lella, *The Hebrew Text*, 23–105.

⁴⁹⁴ Other divine name readings are found in the medieval copies (MSS A–F), but these were not copied according to the same principles as MS B.

⁴⁹⁵ These readings represent the main text of MS B, not the marginal notes.

⁴⁹⁶ In light of Ps 103:21 and 148:2, Skehan wonders if יהוה was the earlier reading in this passage. While this is possible, it is not likely that the scribe of MS B intentionally avoided יהוה or substituted it with אלהים because he has no problem representing what he considered the earliest reading with the three yods.

⁴⁹⁷ Mas 1h and MS B agree in every use of עליון, except in one instance (Sir 43:2), where MS has יי. Yadin considers MS B at this point to be corrupt; *Masada VI*, 187 n. 18.

⁴⁹⁸ The only instance where MS B uses אדני is at 21r:11 (אדני מנעורי חכמה למדתי); Sir 51:15). The earlier Qumran version (11Q5 21.13) does not contain a divine name (כי מנעורי ידעתיה), but this is not likely intentional avoidance on the part of 11Q5 because the author/scribe has no problem writing the Tetragrammaton throughout.

Two examples from the above table will suffice to show the different approaches to the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton in the Masada and Cairo Geniza manuscripts. In the first clause, both witnesses read אֱל, but in the second clause Mas 1h reads אֲדָנִי and MS B reads אֱלֹהִים,

אֲדָנִי	אֱלֹהִים	Mas 1h	Sir 42:15–16
אֲדָנִי	אֱלֹהִים	SirB	

Skehan suggested that Sir 42:15 makes an allusion to Gen 1:1–2 (... בְּרֵאשִׁית בְּרָא אֱלֹהִים...), and therefore the earliest reading in Sir 42:15 was probably אֱלֹהִים, as reflected in MS B. The copyist of Mas 1h replaced אֱלֹהִים with אֲדָנִי, perhaps to avoid אֱלֹהִים, a practice commonly found in the sectarian scrolls.⁴⁹⁹ The use of אֲדָנִי in Mas 1h otherwise may have resulted from the general impulse to standardize divine names in this scroll with אֲדָנִי. Even אֱל is rendered once as אֲדָנִי in Mas 1h.

In another example, Mas 1h uses אֲדָנִי, while MS B contains the three yods,

אֲדָנִי	אֱלֹהִים	Mas 1h	Sir 42:16
אֲדָנִי	אֱלֹהִים	SirB	

It is likely that the title אֲדָנִי in the example above is secondary, given the text-critical acumen of the scribe of MS B, along with the likelihood that Mas 1h replaced אֱלֹהִים in the first example above.⁵⁰⁰

Mas 1h also provides hints that it may have been read in a liturgical or communal setting, as opposed to private study or devotion. Placed near the beginning of the pericope in praise of God’s works of creation (Sir 42:15), for example, we find a scribal notation resembling the

⁴⁹⁹ Skehan writes, “אֲדָנִי here stands for Elohim, which the Masada scribe—it is not likely that Ben Sira himself did this—deliberately avoided.” Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 19.

⁵⁰⁰ Skehan writes, “In the light of Isa 6:3, the reading of אֱל in Cairo MS B here reflects יהוה as the presumptive original reading.” Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 19.

Greek letter ψ. Yadin writes: “Perhaps the sign connotes the content of this poetic portion which constitutes a psalm of praise to God, similar to the Biblical psalms (=ψ[αλμός]?).”⁵⁰¹ If Mas 1h was intended to be read in a communal setting, this might partially explain the standardization of divine designations with אֱדָנִי, a term that frequently appears in language of thanksgiving and praise in sectarian literature.

In summary, the comparison of MS B with Mas 1h shows that the Tetragrammaton, and probably also אֱלֹהִים, were likely replaced by the copyist of Mas 1h at a later stage in the transmission of Ben Sira. The Masada copy was likely produced in the orbit of Qumran, which is why it contains evidence for the replacement of the Tetragrammaton, in both speech and writing, near the beginning of the first century BCE. The original Ben Sira, however, most likely used the Tetragrammaton, similar to the evidence of 4Q408, *Jubilees*, and other scrolls of non-sectarian origin.

3.4.3.3 Sabbath Songs and Songs of the Sage

Sabbath Songs (4Q400–4Q407, 11Q17, Mas 1k) and *Songs of the Sage* (4Q511) avoid the Tetragrammaton, but make extensive use of אֱלֹהִים.⁵⁰² In these works, אֱלֹהִים occurs about 157 times, accounting for roughly 40% of the overall 383 uses of אֱלֹהִים in the scrolls of non-sectarian origin.⁵⁰³ This contrasts with the avoidance of אֱלֹהִים in Qumran sectarian texts and Masada Ben Sira (Mas 1h). Notably even the Masada copy of *Sabbath Songs* (Mas 1k)

⁵⁰¹ Yadin, *Masada VI*, 156.

⁵⁰² See Newsom, DJD 11:173–401; Newsom and Yadin, *Masada VI*, 120–32; Martínez, Tigchelaar, van der Woude, DJD 23:259–304. Note also the prevalence of אֱלִים, translated variously as “gods,” “divinities,” “divine beings,” or “divine-like being”. Such referents are not on equal footing with אֱלֹהִים (“God”), indicated by the construct phrase אֱלֹהֵי אֱלִים (“God of divine beings,” e.g., 4Q402 4 8). See also אֱלִים (e.g., 4Q403 1 ii 26).

⁵⁰³ This number is derived from an Accordance search of the total occurrences of אֱלֹהִים in the QUMRAN module (405x). I then subtracted the use of אֱלֹהִים in sectarian biblical quotations (22x).

frequently uses אלהים, in contrast to the avoidance of אלהים in Masada Ben Sira. Similar to the situation at Qumran, divine name practices were not consistent in the material from Masada. Here we have two scrolls of non-sectarian origin, Mas 1k and Mas 1h, but the latter was revised towards sectarian language, while the former was copied with אלהים intact.

3.4.3.4 1QWords of Moses (1Q22)

The use of אלהים in 1QWords of Moses has often been noted for its striking replacement of the Tetragrammaton.⁵⁰⁴ In this work we find the three-fold repetition of אלוהי אלהים.⁵⁰⁵ The replacement of the Tetragrammaton with אלהים is clear when compared with Deut 27:9,

היום הזה נהיית לעם ליהוה אלהיך	MT	Deut 27:9
[היו]ם הזה [תהיה לע]ם לאלוהי [אלוהי]ך	1Q22 1 ii 1	

The peculiar repetition of the title in the construct phrase underscores the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton, but importantly, the scribe was comfortable using אלהים. Similarly, *Songs of the Sage* contains: [--]אתה אל[וה]י ה[א]ל[והים] --].⁵⁰⁶ The closest analogy to the double use of אלהים is Chronicles and the Elohist Psalter, but in these biblical sources, the first term is always absolute and the second is an appositive compound epithet.⁵⁰⁷ Overall, while the biblical scrolls use both יהוה and אלהים, and the sectarian scrolls generally avoid יהוה and אלהים, the *Sabbath Songs*, *Songs of the Sage*, and 1Q22 represent a peculiar middle ground in their use of אלהים, and avoidance of יהוה.

⁵⁰⁴ For recent bibliography and recent discussion, see Ariel Feldman, *Scripture and Interpretation*, 225. 1Q22 may be sectarian in origin. It is classified as a thematic *peshar* by Lim, *Pesharim*, 22. The use of אלהים here would be suitable for biblical quotations within sectarian texts, similar to the use of אלהים in 1QM 10.4.

⁵⁰⁵ 1Q22 1 ii 1, 6, and 1 iii 6.

⁵⁰⁶ 4Q511 8 12.

⁵⁰⁷ E.g., מפני אלהים אלהי ישראל (Ps 68:9), or כברית אלהים אלהי אבותיהם (2Chr 34:32).

3.4.3.5 4QNon-canonical Psalms B (4Q381)

The majority of scrolls that are non-sectarian in origin still use both יהוה and אלהים, sometimes favoring one, but rarely to the exclusion of the other. This is illustrated by 4QNon-canonical Psalms B (4Q381). אלהים occurs 21 times, and in comparative material is a variant for the Tetragrammaton at least 3 times.⁵⁰⁸ However, we still find 6 occurrences of the Tetragrammaton. The variants of אלהים for the Tetragrammaton in 4Q381 may be explained against the background of a complicated transmission history, similar to the evidence we encountered in 4Q408, but in the case of 4Q381 the background does clearly align with a sectarian context.⁵⁰⁹ Even as the Tetragrammaton is used in 4Q381, we find at least one clear practice of avoidance that does not involve another divine title. The author of 4Q381 changes his version of Ps 18:3 to read שמך ישעי (“your name is my salvation”) instead of the Tetragrammaton:

יהוה סלעי ומצודתי ומפלטי	MT	Ps 18:3
שמך ישעי סלעי ומצודתי ומפלטני	4Q381 24 a + b 7	

There is conceptual precedent in the Psalms for the type of elevation of the Tetragrammaton as a mode of salvation. Ps 54:3, for example, reads אלהים בשמך הושיעני ובגבורתך תדינני (“O God, by your name, save me; by your might, vindicate me”). Overall, the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton in 4Q381 stands alongside its use in other nearby passage.

⁵⁰⁸ 4Q381 15 3, 6; 17 3 (Ps 86:17; 89:7; 21:10).

⁵⁰⁹ Schuller suggested that “...the treatment of the Divine Name might suggest that the psalm in 4Q381 15 (and probably 17) had a different origin or author from the other psalms which are now part of the 4Q381 collection.” Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 43.

3.4.4 Pronominal Elements Replacing the Tetragrammaton

Some scrolls use language familiar from biblical sources, but employ pronominal elements where the MT uses the Tetragrammaton. For example, 4QBarki Nafshi^a uses the third person suffix (י),⁵¹⁰ and 4QMyst^a draws on the language of Exod 15:3 יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו, but instead uses the pronoun הוֹאֵה (4Q299 3a ii–b 12) [הוֹ]אֵה [מק]דם עולם הוֹאֵה שמו ולעֹלָם --].⁵¹¹ The most frequent pronominal replacements, as previously mentioned, occur in the *Temple Scroll*. These are not attempts to avoid the Tetragrammaton *per se*, but making God the speaker necessitated changing verb forms and omitting יהוה as the direct or indirect object of sentences.

3.4.5 The Use of Tetrapuncta in Scrolls of Non-Sectarian Origin

The replacement of the Tetragrammaton with the Tetrapuncta is found primarily in scrolls of non-sectarian origin. This practice entered these works at some point in their transmission. The Tetrapuncta are usually written with four-dots, but in different hands and sometimes with slightly longer strokes or jots. This practice was also applied inconsistently. Two manuscripts, in particular, contain both the Tetragrammaton and Tetrapuncta. The evidence is collected in the table below, and can be divided into scrolls with (I) Tetrapuncta and (II) Tetragrammaton and Tetrapuncta.

3.4.5 Tetrapuncta in Scrolls of Non-Sectarian Origin

<i>Manuscript</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Occurrence</i>
I. Scrolls with Tetrapuncta		
4QMen of People Who Err (4Q306)	150–50 BCE	1
4QpapPseudo Ezekiel ^e (4Q391)	150–100 BCE	7
4QTemple Scroll (4Q524)	150–125 BCE	2
4QTestimonia (4Q175)	125–75 BCE	2

⁵¹⁰ 4Q434 1 i 12 (=Ps 34:8).

⁵¹¹ Schiffman, DJD 20:43; Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 100–1 n. 16.

4QPersonal Prayer (4Q443) ⁵¹²	100–75 BCE	1
4QNarrative C (4Q462)	50–25 BCE	2
4QHistText A (4Q248)	30–1 BCE	1
Eschat Hymn (XHev/Se6)	30 BCE–68 CE ⁵¹³	1
II. Scrolls with Tetragrammaton and Tetrapuncta		
4QTanhumim (4Q176)	150 BCE–68 CE	8 (••••) 1 (יהוה)
4QpapParaphrae of Kings (4Q382)	75 BCE	2 (••••) 2 (יהוה)

The highest concentration of Tetrapuncta occur in scrolls that date paleographically ca. 100–50 BCE.⁵¹⁴ A few manuscripts are earlier, such as 4QTemple Scroll (4Q524) and 4QpapPseudo Ezekiel^e (4Q391), which date ca. 150–125 BCE, and some are later, namely 4QHistText A (4Q248) and Eschatological Hymn (XHev/Se6), which date towards the end of the first century BCE.⁵¹⁵ As these scrolls are non-sectarian in origin, they probably all used the Tetragrammaton in their earliest stage of composition. That the Tetrapuncta practice was introduced in the later Qumran copies is a strong inference from the widely held view that about 11 out of 35 occurrences (about 30%) can be traced to the work of the scribe who copied 1QS, most of these date on paleographic grounds roughly ca. 100–50 BCE.⁵¹⁶ The following table shows the manuscripts likely copied by the 1QS scribe, and where evidence is extant the divine name practices in the right-hand column:

<i>1QS Scribe</i>	<i>Divine Name Practices</i>
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⁵¹² Chazon, DJD 29:347–366. Two clear dots precede אלוהי, although Chazon apparently considers the dots to be traces of letters. She writes, “Only one dot of ink remains of each of the first two letters.” See Chazon, DJD 29:351. Puech considers the dots to be Tetrapuncta; Puech, DJD 25:89.

⁵¹³ Morgenstern, DJD 38:193.

⁵¹⁴ For full list of manuscripts, see §6.1.6.

⁵¹⁵ Eshel and Broshi note the peculiar use of Tetrapuncta in 4QHistText A (4Q248): “Here, the tetragrammaton is denoted by five small lines (the second and third are connected, making an N shape).” DJD 36:195.

⁵¹⁶ For discussion about the identity of this scribe, see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 23–24; Tigchelaar, “In Search of the Scribe of 1QS,” in *Emanuel Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft and Weston W. Fields; VTSupp 94; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 339–52; Ulrich, “Identification of a Scribe Active at Qumran, 1QPs^b, 4QIsa^c, 11QM,” in *Meghillot* 5–6 (2008): 204; *ibid.*, “4QSam^c: A Fragmentary Manuscript of 2 Samuel 14–15 from the Scribe of the Serek Hay-yahad (1QS),” *BASOR* 235 (1979): 1–25.





1QS	Tetrapuncta (1x), הוּאֵהָא
1QSa	–
1QSB	–
“corrections” to 1QIsa ^a	Tetrapuncta (2x)
4QSam ^c (4Q53)	Tetrapuncta (5x)
4QTestimonia (4Q175)	Tetrapuncta (2x)
4QpIsa ^c (4Q163)	יהוה (7x)
4QNarrative G (4Q481b)	–
“Hand B” of 1QpHab	–
4QQahat ar (4Q542)	–
4QThanksgiving A (4Q441)	–
4QPrayer (4Q443)	Tetrapuncta (1x)
4QEschHymn (4Q457b)	–

The use of Tetrapuncta does not seem to have been invented by the 1QS scribe—as 4Q524 contains the practice (ca. 150–125BCE)—nor was he the last to use it, but he nevertheless was responsible for its use in some biblical (1QIsa^a, 4QSam^c), sectarian (1QS), and a few scrolls of non-sectarian origin.

Importantly, this practice was not applied consistently, even by the 1QS scribe. 4QTanhumim (4Q176), for example, begins with a fragmentary description of an event (“see the corpses of your priests...with none to bury”)⁵¹⁷ followed by a list of “consoling” biblical quotations, mostly from Isa and one from Zech. In these quotations, we encounter 8 uses of the Tetrapuncta, but in two different forms. In 4Q176 1–2 i 7, for example, the scribe uses four dots, but beginning in column ii, another scribe uses small downward strokes in groups of two.⁵¹⁸ The scribe of column ii seems to have continued to write the Tetrapuncta (8–11 7). Still another scribe seems to have written the Tetragrammaton in the square-Aramaic script in 4Q176 3 1:

⁵¹⁷ Perhaps this is a reflection or comment on Ps 79:1–3.

⁵¹⁸ Although 4Q175 and 4Q176 have not been classified as “thematic pesharim” they have in common the collection of biblical quotations with 4Q177, 4Q178, and 4Q182. Timothy Lim has suggested “that 4Q177 along with 4Q158, 4Q175, and 4Q176 were biblical anthologies with comments that may have originally been used for private devotion or disputation.” See T. Lim, *Pesharim*, 47.

<i>Manuscript</i>	<i>Divine Name</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Image</i>
4Q176 1–2 i 7 ⁵¹⁹	•••• דרך	Isa 40:3	
4Q176 1–2 ii 3	עֹזבני יי	Isa 49:14	
4Q176 8–11 7 ⁵²⁰	יי [צבאות] שמו	Isa 54:5	
4Q176 3 1	אמר יהוה	Isa 43:1	

Though partially reconstructed, the Tetragrammaton is relatively clear from the identification of the *yod* and the bottom half of the *heh*, unlike any of the Tetrapuncta shapes above. In addition to the evident diversity of different Tetrapuncta styles, and the use of the Tetragrammaton, we find the use of אלהים in the quotation of Isa 49:13, where the MT reads יהוה,

MT=1QIsa^a Isa 49:13b כי נחם יהוה עמו ועניו ירחם
 4Q176 1–2 ii 2 כיא נחם אלהים עמו ועניו ירחם

Given the replacement of the Tetragrammaton with the Tetrapuncta, it would seem logical to interpret אלהים as a replacement for the Tetragrammaton. But we also find the use of the Tetragrammaton itself, which shows that the scribe was inconsistent with his replacements. The use of אלהים, then, probably represents a variant pattern similar to those encountered in the Qumran biblical scrolls. This is supported by the LXX (θεος). In summary, 4Q176 contains evidence of four different practices—two forms of the Tetrapuncta, one Tetragrammaton, and the use of אלהים for יהוה.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁹ See also 4Q176 1–2 i 6, 9.

⁵²⁰ See also 4Q176 8–11 8 (2x), 10.

⁵²¹ For further discussion on the literary context of 4Q176, see Jesper Høgenhaven, “4QTanhumim (4Q176): Between Exegesis and Treatise?” in *The Mermaid and the Partridge: Essays from the Copenhagen Conference on Revising Texts from Cave Four* (STDJ 96; Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2011), 151–167; idem, “The literary character of 4QTanhumim,” *DSD* 14 (2006): 99–123.

Mixed practices are also found in 4QpapParaphrase of Kings (4Q382). Both the Tetrapuncta and the Tetragrammaton occur twice.⁵²² Saul Olyan suggests that 4Q382 probably comprises fragments of multiple works:

It is highly unlikely that 4Q382 is a single work. Some fragments appear to be part of a work recasting or quoting from the Elijah-Elisha stories in 1–2 Kings; other fragments may be related to psalmic materials found elsewhere. Finally, a few fragments apparently do not belong with the majority at all, having been erroneously assigned in the first place.⁵²³

This would seem to provide a natural explanation for the mixed practices, but on closer examination they seem to come from the same scribe. 4Q382 9, for example, quotes 2 Kgs 2:3, for which the scribe uses Tetrapuncta. But the quotation of 2 Kgs 2:4 continues in 4Q382 11, in which we find the Tetragrammaton.⁵²⁴ These practices occur on different fragments, but together they represent a continuous quotation of 2 Kgs 2:3–4. There is currently no sufficient theory to explain why this occurs. What can be said with confidence, however, is that these practices originate in the Qumran copies of these works that are non-sectarian in origin. The replacements discussed above have entered the textual history of these scrolls at the hands of sectarian scribes.

3.4.6 The Use of the Paleo-Hebrew Scripts in Scrolls of Non-Sectarian Origin

The Tetragrammaton, in compositions of non-sectarian origin, is written in the paleo-Hebrew script only in the psalms of 11QPs^a, for a total of 21 occurrences. These are found in Psalm II (11Q5 18), *Plea for Deliverance* (11Q5 18) 19), Psalm III (11Q5 24), *Hymn to the Creator* (11Q5 26), *David's Compositions* (11Q5 27), and Psalm I (11Q5 28= Ps 151 LXX). The paleo-Hebrew script is also used for אלהים and אל, but this is seldom.

⁵²² See 4Q382 9 5 and 78 2 (Tetrapuncta), and 4Q382 11 1 and 53 1 (Tetragrammaton).

⁵²³ Olyan, DJD 13:363.

⁵²⁴ Olyan, DJD 13:370.

3.4.6 Paleo-Hebrew Divine Names in Scrolls of Non-Sectarian Origin

<i>Manuscript</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Script</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
4QDivineProv (4Q413)	אל	paleo	30 BCE	2
4QShirShab ^g (4Q406)	אלוהים	paleo	30–1 BCE	2
11QPs ^a (11Q5)	יהוה	paleo	1–68 CE	21 ⁵²⁵
1QMyst (1Q27)	אל	paleo	late Herodian ⁵²⁶	1

As with the use of paleo-Hebrew for אל in the sectarian scrolls, theories on the meaning of this script must take into account its employment for אל and אלוהים in scrolls that are non-sectarian in origin. The function of paleo-Hebrew to signal avoidance in reading is plausible for the Tetragrammaton, but there must be additional reasons to use this script for other divine titles. 4QDivineProv (4Q413) contains 2 occurrences of אל in paleo-Hebrew. 1QMyst (1Q27) contains אל once in paleo-Hebrew.⁵²⁷ 4QShirShabb^g (4Q406) contains אלוהים in paleo-Hebrew twice.⁵²⁸ Regarding 4Q406, Newsom considered the paleo-Hebrew to be an expression of “scribal piety.”⁵²⁹ The use of paleo-Hebrew in 4Q406 is unique when compared to the other copies of the *Sabbath Songs* (4Q400–407), which use אלוהים 94 times. All remaining scrolls of non-sectarian origin write the Tetragrammaton in the square-Aramaic script.

⁵²⁵ As discussed above, paleo-Hebrew is used throughout this scroll, for both MT-like psalms and compositions of non-sectarian origin.

⁵²⁶ The date of 1Q27 is uncertain. Torleif Elgvin classifies it as late Herodian; Elgvin, “Priestly Sages? The Milieu of Origin of 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction,” in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Collins, Sterling, Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 69–70.

⁵²⁷ 1Q27 2 11. Other manuscripts of the *Book of Mysteries* use the square script for divine designations. 1Q27 overlaps with 4Q299, but in the latter אל appears in the square script. 4Q300 and 4Q301 also write אל in the square script.

⁵²⁸ 4Q406 1 2 and 3 2; cf. Newsom, DJD 11:395. The other copies of the *Sabbath Songs* (4Q400–4Q407, 11Q17) have אלוהים in the square script. The title אל also occurs in the square script (e.g., 4Q403 1 i 4; 4Q405 6 6).

⁵²⁹ Newsom, DJD 11:396. It may also be noteworthy that, based on the overlap between 4Q406 1 2 and MasShirShabb (Mas 1k) 1 6, Newsom considered אלוהים to possibly be referring to “god-like beings,” thus referring to angels; cf. Newsom and Yadin, *Masada VI*, 122–3, where at least for its occurrence in Mas 1k, “Context requires the restoration of an angelic designation, e.g., קדושים or אלוהים.”

3.5 *Nash Papyrus*

Before concluding this survey of the Hebrew evidence, it is important to mention the Nash Papyrus. This is the only Hebrew manuscript, from the Second Temple period, that comes from a locale other than the Judean desert. It is from Egypt (purportedly Fayyum) and dates to ca. 150–100 BCE.⁵³⁰ A total of 25 lines are preserved. Lines 1–21 contain an intriguing conflation of the Decalogue accounts in Exod 20 and Deut 5, while lines 22–25 preserve a version of the Shema (Deut 6:4).⁵³¹ The Tetragrammaton occurs in lines 1, 5, 8, 15, 18, and 24, in the square-Aramaic script. This manuscript has no scribal interventions, or variant divine name readings when compared to the MT.⁵³²

3.6 *Masada Fragments: Two Partial Reconstructions of the Tetragrammaton*

In addition to the Qumran scrolls, there are two partially reconstructed occurrences of the Tetragrammaton in texts from Masada. The first is Mas 1o, “A Papyrus Fragment Inscribed in Paleo-Hebrew,” which has been considered Samaritan in origin.⁵³³ This is the only paleo-Hebrew text from Masada, and the only Hebrew text written on papyrus (the rest are Latin and Greek).

Line 4 of the observe is transcribed [--]הוה·כמכמ[--].⁵³⁴

⁵³⁰ F. C. Burkitt, “The Nash Papyrus. A New Photograph,” *JQR* 16 (1904): 559–61; William F. Albright, “A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabaeian Age: The Nash Papyrus,” *JBL* 56 (1937): 145–176; Gary D. Martin, *Multiple Originals: New Approaches to Hebrew Bible Textual Criticism* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 206–208. An image of the papyrus can be viewed at: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-00233/1>.

⁵³¹ The combination of Decalogue and Shema is attested in other sources of early Judaism, and may provide an important clue to discerning the function of this papyrus. For example, portions of Exod 20, Deut 5, 6, 10, and 11 are found in 4QMezuzah A–G (4Q149–155), 8QMezuzah (8Q4). Note also, *Letter of Aristeas* (line 158), Josephus (*Ant.* 4.213), and Philo (*Spec.* 4.142).

⁵³² In the LXX preface to Deut 6:4 (also reflected in Nash Papyrus), the papyrus refers to “the statutes and judgments that Moses commanded the sons of Israel in the wilderness...” The LXX version reads *κύριος* instead of Moses; cf. Albright, “Nash,” 175–6.

⁵³³ Talmon, *Masada VI*, 138–43.

⁵³⁴ Naveh, Eshel, and Yardeni read יה״[] at the beginning of the line. For bibliography, see Yadin, *Masada VI*, 140–41.

The Tetragrammaton may also occur in MasapocrGen (Mas 1m), an “apocryphal composition based upon the Joseph story or on the entire Book of Genesis, of the same or similar literary genre as *Jubilees* or the Qumran *Genesis Apocryphon*.”⁵³⁵ Traces of three letters, which Yadin reads as the Tetragrammaton, are found at Mas 1m 6 1, [--] הָוּהּ ה [--]. The following line reads אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה, a possible allusion to Gen 41:25, הַגִּיד לְפָרְעָה, אֵת אֲשֶׁר הָאֱלֹהִים עֹשֶׂה (“God has revealed to Pharaoh what he is about to do”). Yadin comments that the Tetragrammaton in Mas 1m would, in this case, be substituting for הָאֱלֹהִים. If his proposal is accurate, it could be variant similar to the variant patterns we found in the biblical scrolls.

3.7 Conclusion: Divine Name Practices in Comparative Perspective

The collection of Hebrew evidence in this chapter brings together the disparate and complex sources from biblical, sectarian, and works of non-sectarian origin for the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton. I discuss the major findings under the headings of each of these three categories, then reflect more broadly on the implications of Tetrapuncta and paleo-Hebrew usage for spoken and written avoidance, and how these practices affect our understanding of the Hebrew sources as evidence mediated by the Qumran scribes.

In the Qumran biblical scrolls, even as they show remarkable accord with the textual tradition of the MT, we also find many divine name variants. But, importantly, the patterns of variation do not suggest a discernible trend towards the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton. All scribes of biblical scrolls unwaveringly show concern for the accurate transmission of the books they copied. At times mistakes entered the text, as in the case of 1QIsa^a, likely in the context of

⁵³⁵ Yadin, *Masada VI*, 104. He continues: “This work was presumably carried to Masada by a member of the Covenanters’ community, who fled to the wilderness fortress when the Romans overran their settlement at Qumran.”

transmission by dictation during which a substitute was pronounced for the Tetragrammaton, but this situation gives no indication of attempts to avoid the divine name in writing. Explicit scribal corrections to divine names in the direction of known scriptural witnesses further support this view.

The sectarian biblical quotations offer direct evidence for comparing the scribal tendencies of the biblical scrolls, as well as their contrast with the avoidance in the original sectarian passages themselves. The divine name practices in biblical quotations show a clear trend towards avoidance. The Tetragrammaton is used 46 times, mostly in quotations found within the *pesharim*, but it is also avoided either through omission or replacement with יהו , or with various other titles. Furthermore, the Qumran scribes show a clear distinction between copying the biblical text and using/rewriting biblical quotations within their compositions. The fact that the Tetragrammaton never occurs in a sectarian biblical quotation where it is missing in the MT confirms this trend towards avoidance.

The scrolls of non-sectarian origin present a more complex picture of divine name practices than the relatively consistent profiles of the scrolls under the biblical and sectarian categories. We found that an important distinction helps to clarify the evidence as we encounter the Qumran copies of these works. Most show no signs of divine name avoidance at their original compositional stages, but revisions, though not full or consistent, are evident in the copies preserved at Qumran. This was true for *Apocryphon of Moses*, Masada copy of Ben Sira (Mas 1h), MasapocrJosh (Mas 1l), 4QTanhumim (4Q176), and possibly *Jubilees*. Some works show evidence for both the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton, but these practices cannot be explained as the result of transmission at Qumran. For example, the *Temple Scroll* uses the Tetragrammaton, but also omits it where the compositional strategy requires, a practice that is

not technically avoidance because the Tetragrammaton is frequently used elsewhere in the scroll. The same is true for 4QNon-canonical Psalms B (4Q381), which seems to prioritize the use of אלהים, but not to the exclusion of the Tetragrammaton. Several other scrolls show distinct preference for אלוהים, namely *Sabbath Songs*, *Songs of the Sage*, and 1QWords of Moses. The use of אלוהים in these scrolls is difficult to explain.⁵³⁶ It is not a feature of sectarian writings, which often avoid אלוהים, or only use it in biblical quotations, similar to יהוה. The current study cannot enter the discussion over the specific meaning of divine designations in these scrolls, but it seems that the use of אלוהים is tied to the theological outlook of the authors, a view that the Tetragrammaton would not be able to express. In this regard, the explicit avoidance of the Tetragrammaton, the type we find in the sectarian scrolls, does not account for the use of אלוהים in these works. In this sense, אלוהים should not be considered a replacement for the Tetragrammaton. It stands on its own. Lastly, the Tetragrammaton is found in a range of works that seem to have been compiled from previously independent sources of non-sectarian origin. These include 4QProphecy of Joshua (4Q522), 8QHymn, and 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11), the latter perhaps even to be used by the *yahad* as apotropaic psalms against demons.

Two other practices are found in the Qumran scrolls that provide evidence of written and to some extent spoken avoidance of the divine name: Tetrapuncta and the use of paleo-Hebrew. The reason why most occurrences of the Tetrapuncta are found in the scrolls of non-sectarian

⁵³⁶ For the use of אלהים as a criterion for discerning the origin, function, and rhetoric of the *Sabbath Songs*, and to what extent they may be considered sectarian or non-sectarian, see Carol Newsom, “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature from Qumran,” in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (ed. W. H. Propp, B. Halpern, and D. N. Freedman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 182–83. For more bibliography and continued discussion on the sectarian nature of the *Sabbath Songs*, see Henry W. Morisada Rietz, “Identifying Compositions and Traditions of the Qumran Community: The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* as a Test Case,” in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions* (ed. Michael T. Davis and Brent A. Strawn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 29–52; Strawn and Rietz, “(More) Sectarian Terminology,” 53–64.

origin is because, on the one hand, the sectarian scrolls largely avoided the Tetragrammaton, and on the other hand, the biblical scrolls were copied accurately. A different approach is taken with the copies of scrolls of non-sectarian origin—the original use of the Tetragrammaton in these works could be replaced, as we find with the use of Tetrapuncta. The scribe of 1QS was responsible for about 30% of the occurrences of the Tetrapuncta practice, roughly between 100–75 BCE.

The use of the paleo-Hebrew script for the Tetragrammaton, as well as other divine titles, is also found in copies of Hebrew scrolls from each major category. This provides further confirmation that Qumran scribes embedded their views of the divine name in their copies of Hebrew compositions. Emanuel Tov has observed that all texts using paleo-Hebrew for divine names, whether biblical, sectarian, or non-sectarian “with the exception of 4QS^d (4Q258), reflect the orthography and morphology of the Qumran scribal practice,” and therefore “[a] special link between the writing of the divine names in paleo-Hebrew characters and the Qumran community is therefore highly conceivable.”⁵³⁷ The biblical scrolls contain paleo-Hebrew for the Tetragrammaton in 9 out of roughly 230 manuscripts (about 4%). The non-sectarian scrolls have paleo-Hebrew in 4 out of 55 manuscripts (about 7%), and lastly, the sectarian scrolls use paleo-Hebrew in about 14 out of 122 presumably sectarian documents (about 11%).

In summary, the evidence for the written avoidance of the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew scrolls is difficult to quantify. From the investigation above, it is clear that the biblical scrolls provide no evidence for avoidance in writing. The sectarian scrolls are equally clear, though in the opposite direction—unanimous avoidance in original sectarian compositions. The evidence of the scrolls that are non-sectarian in origin is more complicated. The authors of these texts, at

⁵³⁷ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 229.

the time when they were first composed, used the Tetragrammaton freely, and many of the extant copies from Qumran also use the Tetragrammaton. But this only tells us that Qumran scribes copied the divine name, even as they replaced it at times, in the compositions that came into their possession.

Upon learning about the presence of the Tetragrammaton in the *Temple Scroll*, before its publication in the late 1970s, Stegemann suggested the possibility that it may have functioned to imitate the language of the Pentateuch:

Ich bin deshalb gespannt auf den Befund in der Tempelrolle, von der Herr Kollege Yigael Yadin vorhin berichtet hat, sie verwende als Gottesbezeichnung in der Regel das Tetragramm. Nach meinen heutigen Erwägungen gibt es dafür nur zwei Erklärungsmöglichkeiten: Entweder stammt der Text der Tempelrolle tatsächlich bereits aus dem 4. oder spätestens aus dem 3. Jh. v. Chr., oder der Autor dieses Textes hat den Sprachstil des Pentateuch darin zu imitieren versucht, daß er den dortigen Befunden entsprechend den Gottesnamen schrieb.⁵³⁸

That Stegemann was *gespannt* to see the evidence of the *Temple Scroll* highlights the unexpected surprise for scholars to find the Tetragrammaton outside the biblical material. For Stegemann, the evidence, at least for the *Temple Scroll*, meant that the composition either dated to the fourth or third century BCE, and the divine name was transmitted as the composition was copied, or it was imitating the language of the Pentateuch. It is difficult to know whether or not the Tetragrammaton was in active use in compositions of non-sectarian origin at the same time that the copies preserved at Qumran are dated. The apotropaic psalms in 11Q11 and 8Q5 are probably the surest indication that the Tetragrammaton continued in spoken and written use during the first centuries BCE/CE, if not by members of the *yahad*, then most likely by other priests or ritual specialists of early Judaism. To the extent that at least some of these

⁵³⁸ Stegemann, “Gottesbezeichnungen,” 216. This quotation follows his earlier remark on the restriction of the free use of the Tetragrammaton in the third to second century BCE (see Chapter 1).

compositions were originally composed during the second century BCE, which is very likely, this provides evidence that the written use of the divine name had not died out during the second century BCE, as is often supposed.

There are clear signs for the spoken avoidance of the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew scrolls copied at Qumran. The most well-known examples are the scribal errors related to אדני and יהוה in 1QIsa^a, the use of two vertical dots in 4QRP B (4Q364) placed before the Tetragrammaton (יהוה:),⁵³⁹ and the use of the paleo-Hebrew script in 11QPs^a, even as this script must have had additional functions given its employment for other divine titles and epithets. The evidence for the spoken avoidance of the divine name in biblical manuscripts has often been taken as representative for the reading of biblical texts more broadly. From the extant evidence, however, it is not clear how wide-spread this spoken avoidance should be understood. In the next chapter we consider the use of the Tetragrammaton in Greek biblical manuscripts that date to the first century BCE. This phenomenon is often taken as evidence for spoken avoidance, but the evidence here also needs careful consideration as it does not depict a coherent picture for the spoken avoidance of the divine name.

The use of the Tetragrammaton, either at the compositional or copying stage of works of non-sectarian origin, or in the spoken use of apotropaic psalms, has implications for our understanding of the Tetragrammaton's late Second Temple period history. At a minimum, it demarcate modes of divine name use that have not been accounted for in secondary scholarship, or adequately studied. But even if we side with Stegemann's alternative, namely that non-sectarian scrolls were composed before the trends towards avoidance gained prominence, we still

⁵³⁹ Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 55–56 n. 75: “The dicolon (:) before the occurrences of יהוה in 4QRP^b (4Q364) probably resembles the *Qere*, indicating that the word should be read differently or not at all.”

have a sizeable number of documents that continue to use the Tetragrammaton in writing, alongside the sectarian practices of avoidance. The fact remains that an overwhelming majority of our evidence for the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton comes from Qumran. This context must be kept in mind when considering the chronological framework for its late Second Temple period history. Before making further progress in this area, we need to consider the Greek evidence of early Judaism, and thus complete our collection of extant sources for the use and non-use of the divine name.

4 CHAPTER 4: THE DIVINE NAME IN GREEK TEXTS

The Jewish-Greek literary texts of the Second Temple period offer important evidence for the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton. All extant copies of Jewish literary texts that date on paleographic grounds to the Second Temple period are biblical in a broad sense.⁵⁴⁰ This chapter offers a collection of this evidence and discussion of major related issues. I focus primarily on (1) the different forms of the divine name in the Greek texts, namely the Greek transliteration ιαω and the Hebrew Tetragrammaton in otherwise Greek manuscripts, (2) the use of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton in both the square-Aramaic script and the paleo-Hebrew script along with the implications of these scripts for spoken divine name avoidance, (3) the evidence for the Greek “translation” of the Tetragrammaton as $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, and (4) the scholarly proposals for understanding the historical relationship between the practices above. A careful assessment of these issues will allow us to integrate the Greek evidence into the larger story of the Tetragrammaton’s history in the late Second Temple period. I begin with an overview of the relevant sources for extant divine name practices. These illustrate the gaps in our evidence and the historical problems in need of further investigation.

4.1 *Description of All Jewish-Greek Literary Texts Extant from the Second Temple Period*

In total, there are about fifteen fragmentary Jewish-Greek literary manuscripts that date from the second century BCE to the end of the first century CE.⁵⁴¹ These manuscripts come from

⁵⁴⁰ There are a few Greek fragments from the Judean desert that were found along-side Greek biblical manuscripts, but they cannot be aligned with known Septuagint passages.

⁵⁴¹ Robert Kraft, “The ‘Textual Mechanics’ of Early Jewish LXX/OG Papyri and Fragments,” in *Bible as Book*, 51–72, has collected a list of “Jewish” LXX manuscripts numbering about 30, although he includes those also from the first several centuries of the Common Era. His list needs to be revised now to include the recently published P. Oxy 5101. For earlier studies, see A. R. C. Leany, “Greek Manuscripts from the Judean Desert,” in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honor of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. J. K. Elliot; NTSup 44; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 283–300; Leonard Greenspoon, “The Dead

the Judean desert—Caves 4, 7, and Naḥal Ḥever (Wadi Habra)—and Egypt, mainly Fayyum and Oxyrhynchus.⁵⁴² Not all of these texts preserve evidence for the divine name, but they provide important background for further discussion.

4QLXXDeut (4Q122; Ra 819) is perhaps the oldest Greek biblical text, dating to the early or middle second century BCE.⁵⁴³ It comes from Cave 4 at Qumran and comprises 1 substantial fragment and 4 tiny fragments that reflect Deut 11:4. These fragments do not preserve material where the divine name would occur.

P. Rylands 458 (Ra 957) contends for the spot as the oldest Greek biblical text, dating on paleographic grounds to the mid-second century BCE. This roll of papyrus was extracted from the cartonnage of a mummy acquired in 1917 near Fayyum, Egypt. It contains 8 small fragments from Deuteronomy, but does not preserve material where the divine name would occur.⁵⁴⁴

Sea Scrolls and the Greek Bible,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*, 101–27; Eugene Ulrich, “The Septuagint Manuscripts from Qumran: A Reappraisal,” in *Septuagint, Scrolls, and Cognate Writings*, 49–80.

⁵⁴² For further bibliography and a convenient text-critical comparison, see Tov, “The Greek Biblical Texts,” 97–122.

⁵⁴³ Skehan, DJD 9:195–97.

⁵⁴⁴ At the edge of frg D, where textual material is not extant, LXX Deut 26:18 uses *κύριος*. Here scholars have debated various divine name readings. In the *editio princeps*, for example, C. H. Roberts writes: “It is probable that *κύριος* was written in full, i.e. that the scribe did not employ the theological contractions almost universal in later MSS,” see Roberts, *Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library Manchester* (Manchester University Press, 1936), 44. Later, Paul Kahle, “Problems of the Septuagint,” in *Studia Patristica Vol. 1* (ed. Kurt Aland and F. L. Cross; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957), 329–30, mentions that Roberts changed his mind, and agreed with Kahle’s view that this space actually contained the Tetragrammaton. Françoise Dunand, *Papyrus Grecs Bibliques*, 45: “Sans doute dans le P. Rylands 458 du Deutéronome le tétragramme était-il écrit soit en hébreu carré comme dans le Papyrus F. 266, soit en caractères archaïques...” A few decades later Albert Pietersma, “Kyrios or Tetragram,” 92, commented: “That P. Ryl. Gk. 458 did not read KC is, of course, to be expected since the contractions of the nomina sacra are of Christian origin, but the full *κύριος* would seem to be perfectly acceptable from every perspective. Kahle wished to insert the tetragrammaton because he thought he knew what the original LXX must have read.” More recently, Martin Rösel, “Reading and Translating,” 415, remarked that “[a]n interesting phenomenon can be seen in Papyrus Rylands Greek 458 (Rahlfs 2004: no. 957, p. 241). Here we find a gap in Deut. 26.18 where one would expect either *κύριος* or the tetragrammaton. This gap is large enough to accommodate both words, and it seems likely that the scribe of the Greek text left the space free for someone else to insert the Hebrew characters of the tetragrammaton.” This discussion gives the impression of a clear measurable gap that likely contained a term for God. But as clearly discussed already by Kahle, there is no “gap” but the text “breaks off before the name of God.” The later comments have entered into discussion unchecked, but were built on the mistaken premise that extant material exists for the use of a divine name in this location. P. Rylands 458 should be dismissed from the debate over the earliest rendering of the divine name in Greek texts. For an image and transliteration of P. Rylands 458 frg D lines 27–28, see §6.2.

7QpapLXXExod (7Q1; Ra 805) dates to around 100 BCE. It comes from Cave 7 and comprises 2 fragments that reflect Exod 28:4–6, 7, where the priestly vestments are described.⁵⁴⁵ This manuscript does not preserve evidence for the divine name.

7QpapEpJer gr (Ra 804) dates to around 100 BCE and is also from Cave 7. This fragment preserves 6 lines of verses 43–44 of the *Letter of Jeremiah*, where the worship of idols and false gods is detested: “[W]hy then must anyone thi[nk that] they are g[ods, or call th]em[gods?].”⁵⁴⁶ While the plural title θεοὺς occurs, there is no evidence for the divine name.⁵⁴⁷

4QLXXLev^a (4Q119; Ra 801) dates on paleographic grounds to the late second or early first century BCE. It is from Cave 4 and comprises one large fragment representing Lev 26:2–16, a passage that recounts the covenant blessings and curses. There is no extant material where the divine name would occur in this fragment.

4QpapLXXLev^b (4Q120; Ra 802) dates to the first century BCE, also from Cave 4. This manuscript comprises about 31 identified fragments from 13 columns covering portions of Leviticus 1–6. Another 66 tiny fragments are unidentified. The divine name is transliterated phonetically into Greek as ιαω, which is clearly extant 2 times (4Q120 6 12; 20 4) with 1 additional likely occurrence (frg. 61). For further discussion, see below.

4QLXXNumb (4Q121; Ra 803) dates between the late first century BCE and the early first century CE. It comprises 23 fragments of three columns from Num 3:40–43; 4:1, 5–9, and

⁵⁴⁵ Baillet, DJD 3:142–43.

⁵⁴⁶ Baillet, DJD 3:143.

⁵⁴⁷ There are more Greek fragments from Cave 7, numbered 7Q3–18. These appear to date to the first century BCE, but are extremely fragmentary. See Baillet, DJD 3:144–45. For further discussion and proposals for identification, see Tov, “The Greek Biblical Texts,” 103–5: “In the wake of the existence in cave 4 and 7 of texts of the Greek Pentateuch, the most likely assumption is that 7Q3–7 contain either the Septuagint text of the Pentateuch (LXX Pentateuch) or LXX Enoch.” See also Lincoln H. Blumell, “A Proposal for a New LXX Text Among the Cave 7 Fragments,” *RevQ* 109 (2017): 105–17; Émile Puech, “Les fragments de papyrus 7Q6 1-2, 7Q9 et 7Q7 = pap7QLXXDt,” *RevQ* 109 (2017): 119–27.

11–16. The extant fragments do not show how the divine name was written. The editors comment that “[i]n reconstruction, spacing would seem to allow either $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ or יהוה, whereas $\iota\alpha\omega$ as in pap4QLXXLev^b and the (Christian) abbreviation KC would be too short.”⁵⁴⁸ This observation may be questioned in light of the current study with regard to the material features of $\iota\alpha\omega$. See discussion below.

4QUnidentified gr (4Q126) dates on paleographic grounds to the late first century BCE or early first century CE.⁵⁴⁹ It comes from Cave 4 and comprises 8 fragments. This evidence appears to be closely related to the other Cave 4 Greek scrolls with regard to similar scribal hands, paleographic date, and location of discovery. Fragment 2 contains the line:]ειτε κυριο[ν. This may provide some evidence for a first century BCE use of $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, but 4Q126 cannot be identified with any known passages of the LXX, or elsewhere.

4Qpap paraExod gr (4Q127) dates to the first century BCE or early first century CE and appears to be a paraphrase of Exodus.⁵⁵⁰ It comprises about 10 legible fragments and another 68 fragments, each with only a few letters. The scribal hand is very similar to 4Q120. There is no clear evidence for how the divine name was written, although two fragments preserve letters that may be read as $\iota\alpha\omega$.

P. Fouad 266a (Ra 942) dates to the mid-first century BCE and comprises 9 fragments from 6 columns that reflect parts Genesis 3, 4, 7, 37–38.⁵⁵¹ There is no material that contains the

⁵⁴⁸ Skehan, DJD 9:188. He also suggests that paleo-Hebrew forms in a manuscript this early would be improbable.

⁵⁴⁹ Parsons suggests a date between 50 BCE–50 CE, and states that the hand of 4Q126 is similar to “4Q120 and 121 (but more shakily executed).” See Parsons, DJD 9:12.

⁵⁵⁰ Skehan, DJD 9:223–42.

⁵⁵¹ Ludwig Koenen and Zaki Aly, *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint: Genesis and Deuteronomy. A Photographic Edition Prepared in Collaboration with the International Photographic Archive of the Association Internationale de Papyrologues. With Preface, Introduction, and Notes by Ludwig Koenen* (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 27; Bonn, 1980), 3.

Tetragrammaton in this manuscript, although the use of the “*tetragrammaton* may be inferred from the fact that 942 has probably been written by the same hand as 848 or, at least, by a scribe belonging to the same school and scribal tradition.”⁵⁵² The title $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ occurs in P. Fouad 266a–c, but these readings are also found in other biblical witnesses, except one important textual variant at Gen 4:6, where P. Fouad 266a reads $\omicron \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ against the MT (יהוה) and the LXX ($\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \omicron \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$).⁵⁵³

P. Fouad 266b (Ra 848) dates to the mid-first century BCE and comprises 177 fragments that cover parts of Deuteronomy 17–33. The first half of this roll has disappeared, which led the editors to surmise that the entire Greek Deuteronomy may have originally been contained in two rolls. Most importantly, this manuscript contains over 30 occurrences of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton in the square-Aramaic script. The first scribe left a blank space at the initial stage of copying, and a second scribe inserted the Tetragrammaton. See discussion below.

P. Fouad 266c (Ra 847) dates to the late first century BCE and comprises a total of 49 small fragments that reflect parts of Deut 10–11 and 31–33. There is no extant material where the Tetragrammaton would occur in this manuscript, but instances of $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ are preserved. Overall, the three rolls designated P. Fouad 266a–c (Ra 942, 848, 847) are most likely separate rolls, even though P. Fouad 266a–b were probably copied by the same hand. Regarding the relationship between these rolls, Koenen and Aly summarize: “Both rolls may nevertheless have been part of the same ensemble of 5 (or even more) rolls of the *torah*.”⁵⁵⁴ Intriguingly, there are no extant fragments in the P. Fouad material from Gen 39–Deut 16, which probably supports the claim that

⁵⁵² Koenen and Aly, *Three Rolls*, 3.

⁵⁵³ Koenen and Aly, *Three Rolls*, 31. P. Fouad 266a may provide evidence for the use of $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, as an early rendering of the Tetragrammaton, as argued by Kristin De Troyer, but the evidence for this position in the extant witnesses from the Second Temple copies is very limited.

⁵⁵⁴ Koenen and Aly, *Three Rolls*, 8.

they are individual scrolls. In summary, P. Fouad 266c (Ra 847) is the outlier, written in a different hand and probably not part of the “ensemble” to which P. Fouad 266a–b may belong.

8HevXIIgr (Ra 943) *Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever* dates paleographically between 25 BCE and 25 CE. It was found in the so-called “Cave of Horrors,” about 25 miles south of Qumran, 8 miles north of Masada.⁵⁵⁵ About 26 columns are extant from six of the Minor Prophets (Jonah, Mic, Nah, Hab, Zeph, and Zech); the fully reconstructed scroll comprises close to 55 columns.⁵⁵⁶ This manuscript was produced by two different hands. The Tetragrammaton occurs in the paleo-Hebrew script in this scroll 28 times (24x in hand A; 4x in hand B).

P. Oxy 3522 (Ra 857) dates to the first century CE and preserves two verses from Job 42:11–12.⁵⁵⁷ This manuscript is likely from Oxyrhynchus, Egypt, and contains two occurrences of the Tetragrammaton in the paleo-Hebrew script.

P. Oxy 5101 (Ra 2227) dates paleographically to the first century CE and therefore constitutes the earliest extant witness to the Greek Psalter.⁵⁵⁸ It likely comes from Oxyrhynchus, Egypt, and preserves portions of 56 verses of the Psalter. There are at least three occurrences of the Tetragrammaton in the paleo-Hebrew script. It also contains $\theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$.

⁵⁵⁵ Tov, DJD 8:1–19. This scroll was officially published in 1987, as part of DJD 8, which combined manuscripts from the 1952 discovery by the Bedouins, allegedly from Seiyal, with those found in the 1961 excavations of the “Cave of Horrors.” For description of the discovery see Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d’ Aquila*, SVT 10 (1963); Y. Aharoni, “Expedition B—The Cave of Horror,” *IEJ* 12 (1962): 186–99; B. Lifschitz, “The Greek Documents from the Cave of Horror,” *RB* 60 (1962): 201–207. The 1961 excavation showed that manuscript no. 2 of the Seiyal collection (Se2grXII) probably belonged to the finds from Nahal Hever.

⁵⁵⁶ Tov, DJD 8:7.

⁵⁵⁷ P. Parsons, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Volume L* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1983), 1–3.

⁵⁵⁸ Danielę Colomo and W.B. Henry, “5101. LXX, Psalms xxvi 9–14, xliv 4–8, xlvii 13–15, xlviii 6–21, xlix 2–16, lxiii 6–lxiv 5,” in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Vol. LXXVII* (Greco-Roman Memoirs 98; ed. A. Benaissa; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2011), 1–11.

This outline of texts provides the extant literary terrain of all copies of Jewish literary texts that date to the Second Temple period.⁵⁵⁹ These can be summarized as follows:

4.1 *Jewish-Greek Literary Texts from the Second Temple Period*

<i>Manuscript</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Divine Name</i>
4Q122 (4QLXXDeut; Ra 819)	2 BCE	no evidence
P. Rylands 458 (Ra 957; Deut)	2 BCE	no evidence
7Q1 (7QpapLXXExod; Ra 805)	100 BCE	no evidence
7Q2 (7QpapEpJer gr; Ra 804)	100 BCE	no evidence
4Q119 (4QLXXLev ^a ; Ra 801)	100–50 BCE	no evidence
4Q120 (4QpapLXXLev ^b ; Ra 802)	1 BCE	ιαω (3x)
4Q121 (4QLXXNumb; Ra 803)	25 BCE–25 CE	no evidence
P. Fouad 266a (Ra 942, Gen)	50 BCE	θεος
P. Fouad 266b (Ra 848, Deut)	50 BCE	יהוה, θεος
P. Fouad 266c (Ra 847, Deut)	late 1 BCE	θεος
4Q126 (Unidentified gr)	1 BCE–1 CE	κυριος?
4Q127 (4QparaExod)	late 1 BCE, early 1 CE	traces of ιαω (2x)?
8HevXIIgr (Minor Prophets; Ra 943)	25 BCE–25 CE	paleo יהוה (two hands)
P. Oxy 3522 (Ra 857, Job 42:11–12)	1 CE	paleo יהוה
P. Oxy 5101 (Ra 2227, Psalms)	1 CE	paleo יהוה, θεος

From this material, the following copies of partially preserved Jewish-Greek scriptural books may be adduced: Deut (4), Lev (2), Gen (1), Exod (1), Num (1), Jonah (1), Mic (1), Nah (1), Hab (1), Zeph (1), and Zech (1), Job (1), and Ps (1). In addition, three Jewish-Greek texts deserve note that are not paralleled in the present Jewish canon: 7Q2 (Epistle of Jeremiah), 4Q127 (paraExod), and 4Q126 (Unidentified gr). From these texts, there are about nine that contain terms for God; five have direct evidence for the use of the divine name, clearly attested in three forms:

- (1) 4Q120 uses the Greek three-letter transliteration of the divine name *ιαω*. This form is most likely related to the three letter Aramaic form of the divine name *יהו*. Both the Greek and Aramaic forms have significant Egyptian connections.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁹ For Greek documentary texts from the Judean desert and their relationship to the literary texts, see Emanuel Tov, “The Greek Biblical Texts,” 98–99.

⁵⁶⁰ For a discussion of this relationship, see Jan Joosten, “Le dieu *Iaō* et le tréfonds araméen des Septante,”

- (2) P. Fouad 266b contains the Tetragrammaton in the square-Aramaic script (e.g., “...προς ἡοיה' τον θεον...”).
- (3) 8HevXIIgr, P. Oxy 3522, and P. Oxy 5101 contain the Tetragrammaton in the paleo-Hebrew script (e.g., “...ὅτι τῷ **יהוה** ὀφθαλ[μὸς... ”).

While *ιαω* and the Hebrew Tetragrammaton are clearly attested in Greek biblical texts, absent from all Second Temple copies is the title *κύριος* as a replacement for the Hebrew Tetragrammaton. *κύριος* is the standard title for God in the major Christian codices of the fourth and fifth centuries CE—Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus. In these later Christian codices, *κύριος* is consistently written in the contracted *nomina sacra* form, such that KYRIOC is rendered KC, KY, or KN depending on grammatical case, and similarly ΘEOC appears as ΘC, ΘY, or ΘN.⁵⁶¹ This practice enters the extant record in the second century CE, and from that point on, Christian copies of Greek biblical texts invariably use the term *κύριος* where the underlying Hebrew text reads the Tetragrammaton. Scholars continue to debate whether the use of *κύριος* began with Christian scribes or goes back to the original translation of the Septuagint. The purported use *κύριος* in the Second Temple period has implications, if not for written avoidance of the Tetragrammaton, at least spoken avoidance, and so an assessment of the evidence for *κύριος* is needed. Before I discuss *κύριος*, however, the current task will be an evaluation of the procedure for writing the divine name in the Second Temple copies of Greek biblical texts. This will ground subsequent discussion in the manuscript details in order to clarify the role of the divine name in textual history of the Septuagint.

in *Eukarpa. Études sur la Bible et ses exegetes en homage à Gilles Dorival* (ed. Mireille Loubet, Didier Pralon; Paris: Cerf, 2011), 114.

⁵⁶¹ Ludwig Trobe argued that these names were abbreviated because they were sacred. He coined the technical term *nomina sacra*. He considered this phenomenon to have Jewish roots. See Traube, *Nomina Sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung* (München: Beck, 1907). For a recent discussion of the origin and meaning of *nomina sacra*, see Larry Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts*; and more recently, Alan Mugridge, *Copying Early Christian Texts: A Study of Scribal Practice* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2016).

A brief caveat is necessary about the scope of Jewish-Greek literary texts examined below. The subsequent discussion will focus primarily on the copies of Greek biblical manuscripts that are dated, on paleographic grounds, to the Second Temple period. There are, of course, copious amounts of Jewish-Greek literature that originated in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, including Jewish-Hellenistic poets, historians, apologists, Philo, New Testament writings, and many works known today as Pseudepigrapha. I examine some of this literature, but important factors restrict our focus. As mentioned in the introduction to this study, the Greek copies of these works date on paleographic grounds much later than the Second Temple period. As such, they do not offer a direct window into Jewish divine name practices from earlier times.⁵⁶² In addition, the material details of the Greek biblical texts from the Second Temple period are still poorly understood. Before scholars can appropriate the Greek evidence for the Tetragrammaton's history, we first need to establish consensus around the material details, as far as possible. The space allotted for this task precludes a broader survey of Jewish-Greek literary works.

The lack of consensus around the procedures for writing the divine name, and furthermore, the purpose of using the divine name in Greek biblical texts, demonstrates the need for closer analysis. These early Greek texts are all written in *scriptio continua*. There are some spaces for verse and sense divisions, but generally no spaces between the words, and words are split at the end and the beginning of the column margins. The divine name occurrences, however, are accompanied by noticeable irregularities in comparison with standard customs of copying

⁵⁶² One of Stegemann's main critiques of Baudissin's study on *κύριος* was that he often depended on late and complicated traditions for reconstructing the Second Temple history. See Stegemann, *KYPIOC*, 2: "...so daß er im wesentlichen auf komplizierte Rückschlüsse aus der späteren Überlieferung angewiesen blieb." My goal with narrowing the focus on the Second Temple material is to ground my observations first in the extant material before investigating broader sources of evidence.

early Greek texts. When $\alpha\omega$ occurs in 4QpapLXXLev^b (4Q120; Ra 802) there is a slight blank space on either side of the word. Where the square-Aramaic Tetragrammaton (יהוה) occurs in P. Fouad 266b (Ra 848) there is an even larger space into which the Tetragrammaton has been inserted by a second scribe, after the initial copying of the Greek text. Where the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton occurs in Greek biblical texts, there are no blank spaces and the name appears to have been written in sequence with the Greek text. Before understanding the meaning of these practices, and the role of the divine name in the textual history of the Septuagint, we need to consider each procedure and manuscript in turn.

4.2 *Divine Name Practices in Second Temple Greek Biblical Manuscripts*

The use of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton in Greek biblical texts has been known by scholars for a very long time, dating back at least to the early third century CE in the work of Christianity's greatest text critic, Origen, who copied the Hebrew Tetragrammaton in his Hexaplaric versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion.⁵⁶³ In his *Selecta in Psalmos* 2:2, Origen explicitly states,

There is a certain word of four letters which is not pronounced by them [Jews], which also was written on the gold breastplate of the high priest; but it is read as *Adonai*, not as

⁵⁶³ E.g., Mal 2:13 in Frederick Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt: Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in Totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta* (Oxonii: e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1875). For the Aquila fragments, see F. C. Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the Translation of Aquila* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897). On the complex nature of the Hexapla, and Origen's role as the compiler, see Nautin Pierre, *Origène: sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris, 1977), 303–61. He argues that Origen inherited a Jewish synopsis that likely contained a column of transliterated Hebrew, Aquilas, and Symmachus, to which Origen added the two columns of "Christian" copies—the Septuagint and Theodotion. The original synopsis was intended for Jews to learn accurate Hebrew pronunciation, given the rabbinic movement to encourage the reading of Hebrew in synagogue worship. Nicholas de Lange finds Nautin's proposal convincing and notes that the final work provided Origen with a "handy reference work in compiling his homilies and commentaries." See de Lange, *Japheth in the Tents of Shem, Greek Bible Translations in Byzantine Judaism* (ed. Ivan G. Marcus and Peter Schäfer; TSMEMJ 30; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 46. On the rabbinic encouragement to use Hebrew at a time when Greek still held considerable sway, see Willem F. Smelik, *Rabbis, Language, and Translation in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 89–99; and Philip Alexander, "How did the Rabbis Learn Hebrew?" in *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda* (ed. W. Horbury; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), 71–89.

it is really written in the four letters, while among Greeks it is pronounced Κύριος. And in the more accurate copies this name stands written in Hebrew characters—not the Hebrew used now, but the ancient (Ἑβραϊκοῖς δὲ οὐ τοῖς νῦν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοις).⁵⁶⁴

From Origen we learn that Jews of his day, at least in Alexandria when this commentary was written, before his move to Caesarea, pronounced a substitute for the Tetragrammaton. It may be inferred from Origen that in Greek biblical copies the Tetragrammaton was written in both scripts, and presumably both were pronounced κύριος. This would mean, from Origen's perspective, that both scripts had the same purpose—signaling spoken avoidance.⁵⁶⁵ He does not specify the purpose of paleo-Hebrew, only that the more accurate copies contained it. The account of Origen provides insight into divine name practices in Greek manuscripts during the early third century CE, relatively close to the Second Temple period,⁵⁶⁶ and I return to these observations when reflecting on the purpose(s) of the different scripts of the Tetragrammaton in Second Temple Greek biblical texts.

4.2.1 Use of *ιω*

In 1956, Patrick Skehan made preliminary observations on the use of *ιω* in the papyrus scroll 4QpapLXXLev^b (4Q120), dated to the first century BCE.⁵⁶⁷ There are at least two extant

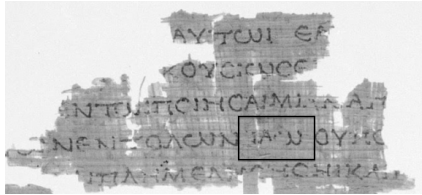
⁵⁶⁴ *PG* 12.1104.

⁵⁶⁵ In the fourth century CE, Jerome echoed Origen's statement, claiming that “[t]he name of the Lord (Domini), the tetragrammaton, in certain Greek versions even today we find expressed in ancient letters.” *PG* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* XXVIII, cols. 594). Jerome also writes, “(Dei nomen est) tetragrammum, quod ἀνεκφώνητον, id est ineffabile, putaverunt et his litteris scribitur: iod, he, vau, he. quod quidam non intelhgentes propter elementorum similitudinem, cum in Graecis libris reppererint, ΠΙΠΠΙ legere consueverunt.” See *Ep.* 25, *Ad Marcellam* (ed. Hilberg, 219).

⁵⁶⁶ Care must be taken not to anachronistically impose Origen's views on earlier texts. We know that Hadrian's “Syria-Palestina” was a radically different place following the Bar Kochba Revolt (132–135 CE), with Judaism banned, the Temple long gone, and Jerusalem converted to the Roman colony Aelia Capitolina. This is a small example of the drastic changes on the societal level that would make it problematic to draw a line of continuity in religious practices, such as the scribal use of divine names. But Origen provides a helpful starting point for broader comparisons.

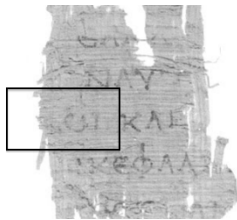
⁵⁶⁷ Skehan, “The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism,” *Volume du congres, Strasbourg 1956* (VTSup 4; Leiden: Brill, 1957), 157. This was followed by a detailed study in 1969 by Hartmut Stegemann, *KYPIOC O ΘEOC*, 110–33, 194–228. See also Eugene Ulrich, “The Greek Manuscripts of the Pentateuch from Qumran, Including Newly-Identified Fragments of Deuteronomy (4QLXXDeut),” in *De Septuaginta: Studies in*

occurrences of *ιαω*, and possibly one partial reconstruction. The editors reconstruct *ιαω* in every location where the MT reads יהוה. The first extant occurrence is found in 4Q120 20–21 4 (=Lev 4:27),



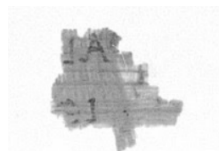
[αφεθησεται]αυτωι εαν[δε ψυχη μια]
 [αμαρτ]η[ι α]κουσιως εκ[του λαου της]
 [γης]εν τωι ποιησαι μιαν απ[ο πασων]
 των εντολων ιαω ου πο[ιηθησε]
 ...

The *iota*, *alpha*, and *omega* are clear in line 4. There is a 2mm space on both sides of *ιαω* in the otherwise *scriptio continua* writing. The second occurrence is found in 4Q120 6–7 12 (=Lev 3:12–13),



[τωι ιαω] ¹²εαν δ[ε απο των αιγων]
 [το δωρ]ον αυτο[υ και προσαξει εν]
 [αντι ι]αω ¹³και ε[πιθησει τας χει]
 ...

The *alpha* and *omega* are certain, and again there is a small space between the *omega* and the following word *και*. This space appears slightly larger (3mm) than the one found above, but it also comes at a verse division before the conjunction *και*, where extra spacing would be expected. A third possible attestation shows an *iota* and *alpha* on the top left of fig. 61 (Unidentified),



]ιαο[
]ει [

Honour of John William Wevers on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday (ed. A. Pietersma and C. Cox; Mississauga, ON: Benben, 1984), 79–80.

This fragment is admittedly small, but to the top right of the *alpha* one may see the loop of an *omega*. There is no indication if extra spaces occurred with this word.

It is difficult to explain why $\iota\omega$ occurs with extra spaces in 4Q120 6 12 and 20 4 in this otherwise *scriptio continua* scroll. Scholars have commented on this feature, but no convincing explanations have been offered to date. Johann Lust proposed that the extra spaces may indicate that $\iota\omega$ was inserted as a replacement of an earlier designation, likely $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$.⁵⁶⁸ This proposal disregards the fact that $\iota\omega$ and the surrounding text appear to be written in the same hand, and furthermore does not offer a convincing rationale for the direction of replacement. There would seem to be no precedent to replace $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, or even the Tetragrammaton, with $\iota\omega$, a pronounceable form of the divine name.⁵⁶⁹ It may be possible that a blank space was left for the divine name to be written secondarily, but then we might expect a different scribal hand for the divine name, or some scribal indication that a blank space was left, but again $\iota\omega$ appears to be written by the same scribe.

The best explanation for the blank spaces around $\iota\omega$ may related to Ludwig Koenen's observations regarding P. Fouad 266a (Ra 942; note: this is not P. Fouad "266b" with the Tetragrammaton, which we will address shortly). He observed that "[I]ittle blanks indicate new cola. There is also a tendency to mark Hebrew names by little blanks before and after the names." In P. Fouad 266b, however, we find that "[f]requently small blanks indicate new verses, sentences, or cola, while Hebrew names are not surrounded by blanks, as is the case in 942."⁵⁷⁰ Regarding P. Fouad 266c, Koenen observes that small blanks "mark Hebrew names," but the

⁵⁶⁸ Johan Lust, "Mic 5,1-3 in Qumran and in the New Testament and Messianism in the Septuagint," in *The Scriptures in the Gospels* (BETHL 131; ed. C. M. Tuckett; Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1997), 66–88.

⁵⁶⁹ See also Shaw, *Earliest*, 265.

⁵⁷⁰ Koenen and Aly, *Three Rolls*, 3.

blanks are all in front of the names, where “no examples survive for a blank after the names.”⁵⁷¹

In summary, we find that some Hebrew names appear with blank spaces on both sides (P. Fouad 266a), others do not (P. Fouad 266b), and furthermore that this practice may not be applied consistently (P. Fouad 266c). In addition to Koenen’s observations, important evidence, closer to 4Q120 may be identified. 4Q127, for example, contains small extra spaces around the Hebrew names Moses, Ada, Joseph, Zebulun, Issachar, Gad, but also proper nouns, such as the Red Sea, Egypt, and Pharaoh. The Hebrew names, to a Greek reader, would be new transliterated Greek words. These small spaces may have been intended to identify these words as Greek transliterations.⁵⁷²

The blank spaces around $\iota\alpha\omega$ may represent a similar convention to the practices found in P. Fouad 266a and 4Q127. This seems to be a more plausible explanation than the replacement of another designation by $\iota\alpha\omega$. To summarize, it seems that $\iota\alpha\omega$ was written in sequence with the surrounding Greek text by the same scribe. The slight blank spaces on both sides of this word may be explained as a custom of writing Hebrew names in Greek transliteration. In addition to spacing features that appear to be reflected in both 4Q120 and 4Q127, there is another connection. The latter may also contain traces of the divine name $\iota\alpha\omega$.

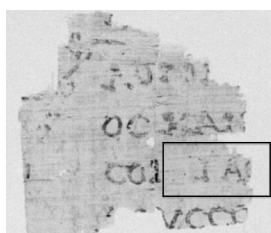
4Q127 (4QpapparaExod gr) appears to have two occurrences of $\iota\alpha\omega$.⁵⁷³ Though technically not a Septuagint manuscript, perhaps a paraphrase of Exodus or an apocalyptic work

⁵⁷¹ Koenen and Aly, *Three Rolls*, 7.

⁵⁷² Given the inconsistency of this practice it is also possible that the Greek scribe was simply double checking his source for accurate transcription. The blank spaces could be explained on pragmatic grounds as the scribe paused to verify the correct spelling.

⁵⁷³ The editors of 4Q127 observe that the text is too fragmentary “to identify the work or to establish it clearly as a biblical text. Rather, it is possibly, as Professor Devorah Dimant suggested in a private communication, an apocalyptic work which involves both a review of history in ‘the former times’ and revelations and moral teaching for the present or future.” See DJD 9:223. Regarding the vocabulary of 4Q127, we find that “[t]he text of fig. 1 mentions of Moses, Pharaoh, Egypt, and possibly Aaron, Miriam, the Red Sea. Fig. 2 speaks of ‘angels’ and

based on Exodus, 4Q127 shares key physical properties with 4Q120.⁵⁷⁴ Regarding the placement of fragments in 4Q127, the editors note that “...the small fragments placed with this manuscript have been so placed on paleographic grounds, but they and the unidentified fragments of pap4QLXXLev^b should be studied as possibly belonging to the opposite manuscript.”⁵⁷⁵ These material observations suggest that even if the fragments are accurately placed, their scribal production occurred in very similar contexts. In 4Q127 8 3, the use of *ιω* is probable,



λογον [
ος και [
σοι ιαο[
οουσσο[

Note, in particular, the clear *iota*, *alpha*, and what appears to be the top-left loop of the *omega*. Importantly, a 4mm space occurs after the first person dative pronoun *σοι*, suggesting that the *iota* and *alpha* belong to the divine name *ιω*. This fragment is probably from a different hand because the spacing is slightly larger than in 4Q120, and the hand of 4Q127 is not as neat. Also, the larger fragments of 4Q127 contain enough text for comparison and do not overlap with any portion of LXX Leviticus (or 4Q120), suggesting that this fragment does not belong to 4Q120.⁵⁷⁶

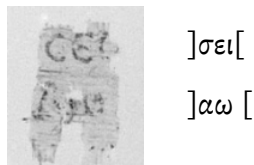
possibly of ‘hidden things’ (*τα κρυπτα*? cf. LXX Deut 29:28). ‘Sins’ are mentioned in fig. 3, ‘heaven’ in fig. 7, ‘word’ in frgs. 8 and 37, and perhaps ‘lawlessness’ in fig. 9.” DJD 9:224.

⁵⁷⁴ DJD 9:167: “...though generally the ink strokes in this manuscript [4Q120] are thinner than those in 4Q127 and the manner of forming letters is distinctive with each manuscript, nonetheless the unidentified fragments of each manuscript should be compared with those of the other...” See also the preliminary publication by E. Ulrich, “A Greek Paraphrase of Exodus on Papyrus from Qumran Cave 4,” in *Studien zur Septuaginta—Robert Hanhart zu Ehren* (ed. D. Fraenkel, U. Quasi and J. W. Wevers; MSU 20; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1990), 287–98.

⁵⁷⁵ DJD 9:223. 4Q127 frgs. 1–9 contain some readable text, though no more than a few complete words. Fragments 10–78 are comprised of tiny scraps and letter traces. Fragments 79–86 “...may with varying degrees of probability, derive from diverse manuscripts.” DJD 9:241.

⁵⁷⁶ 4Q127 1 6, for example, contains the words “*δους Αιγυπτου*.” In LXX Lev, *Αιγυπτου* is always preceded by *γη*, as in *ἐκ γῆς Αιγύπτου* (11x).

A second use of $\iota\omega$ may be found at 4Q127 54 2, but this is less likely than the example above:



An *alpha* and *omega* are visible, and there appears to be a slight space after the *omega*, but nothing of the context remains, making the reconstruction of $\iota\omega$ uncertain. If at least the reading of $\iota\omega$ in 4Q127 8 3 is accurate, then $\iota\omega$ is represented in two manuscripts from Qumran: 4Q120 and 4Q127. By taking these partial reconstructions into account, the total number of occurrences of $\iota\omega$ is probably four, maybe five.

The uses of $\iota\omega$ among the Cave 4 Greek scrolls has been characterized as aberrant or “strange,”⁵⁷⁷ but others find it to be the most natural rendering.⁵⁷⁸ Importantly, the evidence from Qumran, does not stand alone. There is further evidence for the use of $\iota\omega$ in the first century BCE, especially in Egypt. Frank Shaw reviews the evidence for the use of $\iota\omega$ among classical authors, Greco-Roman sources, Jewish and Ecclesiastical writers, and early LXX onomastica.⁵⁷⁹ He illuminates, in particular, the uses of $\iota\omega$ among non-Jewish Greco-Romans: Diodorus Siculus, Varro, Philo of Byblus, Valerius Maximus, and emperor Gaius.⁵⁸⁰ Diodorus (60–30

⁵⁷⁷ Rösel, “The Reading and Translation of the Divine Name,” *JSOT* 31 (2007): 419.

⁵⁷⁸ Stegemann, *KYPIOC*, 197; Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 29; Tov, “The Greek Biblical Texts,” 112–13.

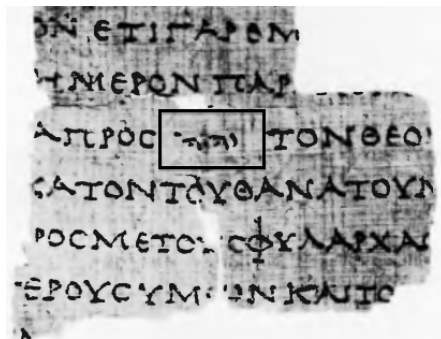
⁵⁷⁹ For the onomastica, see P. Oxy 2745, P. Heid 1359, Codex Marchalianus, Vat. Pius II Gr. 15, Onomasticum Coislinianum, and some Syriac and Ethiopic onomastica translated from Greek. Shaw shows how in our earliest extant papyrus onomastica the Greek transliterations of Hebrew names, listed in one column are explicated in another (e.g., *Ιωναθαν* rendered as *Ιαω δόμα*; or *Ιωσηφ* rendered as *Ιαω πρόσθεμα*). The basic fact that a scribe writes $\iota\omega$ in the explanatory column suggests that “there must have been a somewhat substantial number of Jews employing, and copies of the LXX itself that contained [sic], the divine name *Ιαω*.” Shaw, *Earliest*, 33.

⁵⁸⁰ Shaw, *Earliest*, 37–108; David E. Aune, *Apocalypticism, Prophecy and Magic in Early Christianity: Collected Essays* (Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 363; Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Palaeography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 94.

BCE), for example, mentions that “[a]mong the Jews Moses referred his laws to the god who is invoked as *Ιαω*.”⁵⁸¹ As Shaw argues, the narrow interpretation of *ιαω* reflects the assumption of twentieth century scholarship that this term belonged solely to the realm of mysticism and magic, but the study of all available evidence clearly demonstrates that *ιαω* was both widely known and had a broad geographic distribution. These factors must be taken into account when considering the history of the divine name in Greek biblical texts.

4.2.2 Square-Aramaic Script Tetragrammaton

The Greek biblical manuscript P. Fouad 266b (Ra 848) contains the Tetragrammaton in the square-Aramaic script about 30 times.⁵⁸² It dates on paleographic grounds to around 50 BCE, the same period as the Cave 4 Greek scrolls. Fragment 103 4-8 (=Deut 31:27–28) provides a typical example of the Tetragrammaton:



σκληρ]ον ετι γαρ εμ[ου ζωντος μεθ
υμων σ]ημερον παρ[απικραινοντες
ητε τ]α προς ηηη' τον θεο[ν πως ουχι
και εσ]χατον του θανατου μ[ου
...

The Tetragrammaton was written into a large blank space left by the initial scribe. A small dot occurs at the top left of the space near the final *heh*. These features are typical of every occurrence of the Tetragrammaton. In the announcement of P. Fouad 266’s discovery, Waddell wrote:

⁵⁸¹ *Bibliotheca Historica*, 1.94.2. For exhaustive discussion, see Shaw, *Earliest*, 38–46.

⁵⁸² For earlier editions of these manuscripts, see Françoise Dunand, *Papyrus Grecs Bibliques (Papyrus F. Inv. 266): Volumina de la Genèse et du Deutéronome* (L’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale. Recherches d’archéologie, de philologie, et d’histoire 27, 1966); Paul Kahle, *Études de Papyrologie* 9 (Cairo, 1971), 81–150, 227, 228.

[O]ne sees clearly how the scribe had to prepare each time for his insertion of the Hebrew word by making sure that there was plenty of room for his right-to-left-written JHWH — after finishing the last Greek word from left to right, he would measure off the space, marking it with first one dot and then a second. Thus after all those twenty centuries we surprise the scribe at work and catch a glimpse of his technique.⁵⁸³

Waddell believed that this settled the question of the original divine name rendering in the Septuagint, thus refuting Baudissin and others. The only question to be decided was what the reader would have pronounced, *κύριος* or *Adonai*. Waddell left the question open.

With Françoise Dunand's *editio princeps*, and the later photographic edition of Koenen and Aly, the picture grew increasingly complex. Koenen describes the scenario as follows:

[T]he original scribe of 848 was unable to write the *tetragrammaton* and calculated the space so that it would fit *κύριος*...⁵⁸⁴

And again, he writes,

Where it [the tetragrammaton] was to occur the original scribe left a blank equal to 5-6 letters (i.e. about the size of *κύριος* written in full) and marked it by a high dot at its beginning. A second scribe filled in the Hebrew letters. They cover only the middle of the blank, usually the space of 2 1/2 - 3 letters.⁵⁸⁵

Koenen mentions two important issues: the size of the space compared to *κύριος*, and the procedure of writing the Tetragrammaton. All scholars who have examined this manuscript consider a two scribe system to be the most plausible explanation for the final product: the Tetragrammaton in the Greek text.⁵⁸⁶ The reason for the size of the space, however, is unclear.

Koenen suggests that the scribe “calculated the space” to be filled in with *κύριος*, which presumably means that *κύριος* was not a feature of this text's prior history. Tov implies a similar scenario: “The first scribe left spaces indicating where the divine name (either “kyrios” or the

⁵⁸³ Waddell, “The Tetragrammaton,” 161.

⁵⁸⁴ Koenen and Aly, *Three Rolls*, 2 n. 6.

⁵⁸⁵ Koenen and Aly, *Three Rolls*, 5–6.

⁵⁸⁶ See for example, W. G. Waddell, “The Tetragrammaton in the LXX,” 161; Hartmut Stegemann “Gottesbezeichnungen,” 204; Albert Wolters, “The Tetragrammaton in the Psalms Scroll,” 95.

Tetragrammaton) was to be filled in. The second scribe wrote these Tetragrammata.”⁵⁸⁷ The descriptions of Koenen and Tov both point to the use of κύριος, at least, as the intended subsequent stage, but this did not happen. Instead, the second scribe inserted the Tetragrammaton.

If Koenen and Tov provide an accurate description of the material evidence, then the most likely divine name in the earlier stage of P. Fouad 266b’s textual history would not have been κύριος or the Tetragrammaton. Both are secondary because κύριος was intended and יהוה was actually used as the replacement. On this basis, it seems that *ιαω* would be the most logical choice for the divine name in the earlier stage of P. Fouad 266b’s tradition. For Dunand, the Jewish-Egyptian community used P. Fouad 266 in the context of synagogue reading/worship. She does not describe in detail the procedure of writing the Tetragrammaton, but suggests that the impetus behind its use was the belief that the divine name was ineffable.⁵⁸⁸ The replacement of *ιαω* with the Tetragrammaton in this scroll would offer a reasonable explanation for the avoidance of the pronunciation.

In summary, P. Fouad 266b offers evidence for a two-stage system of writing the Tetragrammaton in the square-Aramaic script. A blank space was left to be filled in by a second scribe. The Tetragrammaton appears to have been written in Semitic fashion right-to-left, while the surrounding Greek text was written left-to-right.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁷ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 208.

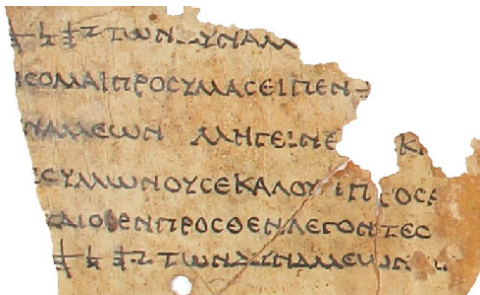
⁵⁸⁸ Dunand, *Papyrus Grecs Biblique*, 50–55.

⁵⁸⁹ Other explanations for the procedure for writing the Tetragrammaton are possible. Believing the Tetragrammaton to be holy, the scribe may have written it after undergoing ritual purification. Wilkinson (*Tetragrammaton*, 55) writes: “Perhaps one may speculate that the insertion of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton was a separate operation requiring greater sanctity.” This explanation would not require the replacement of one term with another, but it is difficult to understand why the space for the Tetragrammaton is so large in this manuscript, or why the second scribe consistently wrote the Tetragrammaton much smaller than the space allows.

4.2.3 Paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton

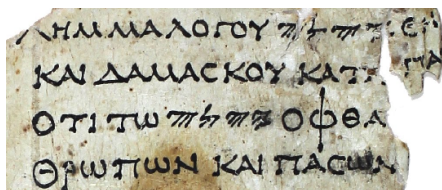
Three Greek biblical scrolls contain the Tetragrammaton in the paleo-Hebrew script—the *Twelve Minor Prophets Scroll* (8HevXIIgr), P. Oxy 3522, and P. Oxy 5101. Importantly, the use of paleo-Hebrew for the Tetragrammaton is not localized to one geographic region, but found in Greek biblical texts in both Judea and Egypt. These scrolls provide evidence of four different styles of writing the paleo-Hebrew script.

8HevXIIgr is the earliest manuscript to use paleo-Hebrew for the Tetragrammaton, copied sometime between 25 BCE and 25 CE, and found in the “Cave of Horrors,” so-named after the discovery human skulls in the cave of those who perished in the Bar Kochba revolt (132–136 CE).⁵⁹⁰ This manuscript was produced by two different hands, and preserves about twenty-six columns from six of the Minor Prophets (Jonah, Mic, Nah, Hab, Zeph, and Zech). The Tetragrammaton is written 24 times in “hand A,” and 4 times in “hand B.” The paleo-Hebrew style of “hand a” is evident in 8HevXIIgr 28 37–42 (=Zech 1:3–4):



[λέγει] ΞΥΞΞ τῶν δυνάμ[εων, καὶ ἐπι]
[στραφ]ήσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἶπεν ΞΥΞΞ
[τῶν δυ]νάμεων μὴ γείνε[σθε] κα
[θῶς οἱ πατέρ]ες ὑμῶν, οὓς ἐκάλουν πρὸς α[ὐ]
[τοὺς οἱ προφῆ]ται οἱ ἔνπροσθεν λέγοντες
[Τάδε λέγει] ΞΥΞΞ τῶν δυνάμεων [ἐ]πι

The second style of paleo-Hebrew (“hand B”) is seen in 8HevXIIgr B2:3–6 (=Zech 9:1),



Λῆμμα λόγου ΞΥΞΞ ἐν [γῆ ἀδραχ]
καὶ δαμασκοῦ κατάπαυ[σις αὐτοῦ,]
ὅτι τῷ ΞΥΞΞ ὀφθαλ[μὸς ἀν]
θρώπων καὶ πασῶν φ[υλῶν τοῦ]

⁵⁹⁰ Tov, DJD 8:1–4.

For the procedure of writing the divine name, the scribe did not leave any blank spaces. No dots are visible as pre-markings for the locations where the divine name was to be written. The sizes of the Hebrew letters are approximate to the frame of the Greek letters, and they are often written at the exact same height.

Emanuel Tov has made an interesting observation regarding the writing of the *yod* of the Tetragrammaton in col. 28 line 37 (the first example above). The ligature of the *yod* connects with following Greek *tau* of the definite article. This provides evidence that the same scribe wrote both the Greek text and the Tetragrammaton:

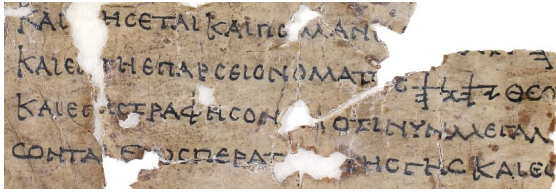
In our scroll hand A probably wrote both the Greek text and the palaeo-Hebrew tetragrammaton without interruption, since some instances there is little or no space between the tetragrammaton and the adjacent words, and occasionally the tetragrammaton is written in almost one continuous movement together with the next letter (col 28, l. 37; also col 8, l. 6).⁵⁹¹

This probably also means that hand A wrote the Tetragrammaton left-to-right, as it would be difficult to replicate a ligature moving in the opposite direction. Thus the scribe wrote the Tetragrammaton in *scriptio continua*, in unbroken sequence with the surrounding Greek text. In the other example above (Zech 9:1), the top horizontal stroke of the *tau* in “τῷ” is identical to the top stroke of the paleo-Hebrew final *heh*.⁵⁹² Thus both hands appear to write the Tetragrammaton left-to-right in *scriptio continua* at the same time the Greek text was copied.

Another example from hand A supports this view, 8HevXIIgr 8 40–43 (=Mic 5:3–4):

⁵⁹¹ Tov, DJD 8:12.

⁵⁹² Larry Perkins notes that the definite article occurs before the Tetragrammaton at 8HevXIIgr 18:39 (=Hab 2:20) καὶ ὁ יהוה, and again here at 8HevXIIgr B2:5 (=Zech 9:1) ὅτι τῷ יהוה. He takes this as evidence that the Tetragrammaton is secondary. Perkins, “KYPIOΣ: Articulation and Non-Articulation in Greek Exodus,” *BIOSCS* 41 (2008): 21–3.



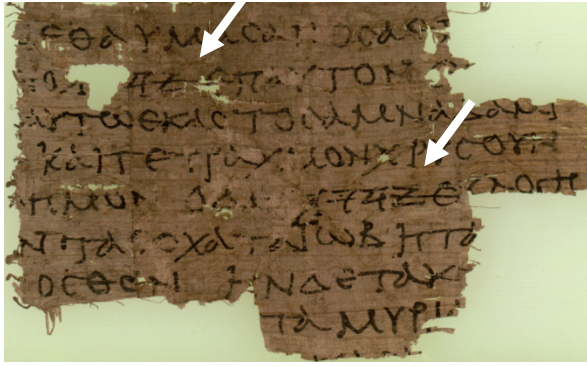
καὶ [στ]ήσεται καὶ πο[ι]μανεῖ ἐν ἰ[σ]χύι YHWH
καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπάρσει ὀνόματος YHWH θεοῦ [αὐτοῦ]
καὶ ἐπιστραφήσονται· ὅτι νῦν μεγαλ[υθη]
σονται ἕως περάτων τῆς γῆς καὶ ἔσ[ται]

Here, the *yod* of Tetragrammaton matches the exact height of the *theta* in *θεου*, while the words to the left of the Tetragrammaton are at a higher level. This suggests that *θεου* followed in sequence from the writing of the Tetragrammaton.

A few observations may be drawn from the different procedures of writing the divine name in 8HevXIIgr and P. Fouad 266b. The spaces and dots of P. Fouad 266b provide evidence of a two stage writing system in which Tetragrammaton, written right-to-left, was inserted by a second scribe. According to the scenario described by Koenen and Tov, this may represent a replacement of an earlier designation in the textual history of P. Fouad 266b. In contrast, there are no pre-markings for the use of the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton in 8HevXIIgr. Both hand A and B write the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew left-to-right in sequence with the Greek text in a one-stage writing system. Thus 8HevXIIgr and P. Fouad 266b follow two drastically different procedures for writing the Tetragrammaton, yet they both considered the use of the Tetragrammaton important. Two more Greek scrolls provide evidence for the use of the paleo-Hebrew script.

P. Oxy 3522 (Ra 857) contains the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew. It preserves a small portion of Job 42:11–12, and dates to the first century CE.⁵⁹³

⁵⁹³ Parsons, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Volume L* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1983), 1–3.



κ]αι εθαυμασαν οσα επ[ηγα
γεν]ο ΞΥΞΞεπαυτον εδ[ωκε
δε]αυτω εκαστος αμναδα μι
αν] και τετραχμον χρυσουν
α]σημον ο δε ΞΥΞΞευλογη
σ]εν τα εσχατα ιωβ η τα [εμ
π]ροσθεν ην δε τα κτ[ηνη
αυτου προβα]τα μυρια[τε

The first occurrence of the Tetragrammaton is found in line 2, at the hole in the fragment above.

The second occurrence is in line 5, at the beginning of Job 42:12 (ὁ δὲ ΞΥΞΞ εὐλόγη). In both examples, the ligature of the paleo-Hebrew *yod* extends into the following Greek letter, an epsilon in both cases, forming its middle stroke. The evidence of P. Oxy 3522 appears to be similar to 8HевXIIgr. The scribe wrote the Tetragrammaton left-to-right in *scriptio continua* in sequence with the Greek text in a one-stage system.

P. Oxy 5101 (Ra 2227) dates paleographically to the first century CE. It constitutes the earliest extant witness to the Old Greek Psalter.⁵⁹⁴ There are at least three occurrences of the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew, but the procedure for writing the Tetragrammaton in this manuscript is unclear because the evidence is fragmentary and inconclusive. One important locus concerns a blank space, where the Tetragrammaton would have occurred. Two scenarios seem possible. The blank space could have been left by an original scribe that was later missed by the second scribe writing the Tetragrammaton, which would comprise a two-stage system (up to this point, unattested for Greek texts using paleo-Hebrew), or the letters of the Tetragrammaton

⁵⁹⁴ See Danielę Colomo and W.B. Henry, “5101. LXX, Psalms xxvi 9–14, xlv 4–8, xlvii 13–15, xlviii 6–21, xlix 2–16, lxiii 6–lxiv 5,” in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 1–11.

suffered abrasion and flaked off. The clearest example of the divine name is at Ps 64:2 (D 13–16):



[.]. [] εις το τε^λψαλμος τω Δαυειδ [
 [σοι πρ]επει ΞΥΞΞ υμνος εν Σειων [
 [και σοι] αποδοθησεται ευχη [
 [εισακο]υσον προσευχης: προς σε π[ασα

The size of the Hebrew and Greek letters are the same and the line heights appear to be approximate. The manuscript generally follows the *scriptio continua* convention, but indications for the direction of writing the Tetragrammaton are missing. The preserved material does not show any connection of ligatures between the Greek words that come before or after the Tetragrammaton. While there do not appear to be pre-markings for the later insertion of the Tetragrammaton, the evidence is very fragmentary. There is one peculiarity, however, that stands out. Colomb and Henry note that,

[T]he scribe of our roll has assimilated the initial *yod* to the *he* by giving it a third bar, suggesting that he was not familiar with the paleo-Hebrew letters. It is possible but by no means guaranteed that the preserved instances of the Tetragrammaton in this papyrus were written together with the Greek text.⁵⁹⁵

A lack of familiarity with the correct form of the paleo-Hebrew letters might suggest that the scribe had little knowledge of the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton. Such ignorance could also suggest that the scribe was not familiar with how the divine name should be written, right-to-left or left-to-right. The default mode would probably be writing the Tetragrammaton according to the direction of the Greek text, although there is not enough evidence to provide firm indication either way.

⁵⁹⁵ Colomo and Henry, “5101,” 5 n. 12.

The next example shows the contested blank space, along with the two other occurrences of the Tetragrammaton: Ps 26:14 (A 10–14),



[και εψευσατο] η α[δικια ε]αυτη
[πιστευω του ι]διν τα αγαθα
[εν γη ζωντων υπο]μενοντων τον υϞ[ϞϞ]
[ανδριζου και κρ]αταιουσθω η καρδια σ[ου]
[και υπομεινο]ν τ[ον] ϞϞϞϞ

On the right edge of the fragment in line 12 the *waw* and final *heh* of the Tetragrammaton are visible. Line 14 is almost completely missing, with only traces of the tops of the Tetragrammaton letters remaining. Again, it is unclear if the scribe wrote the divine name in sequence with the Greek text, left-to-right, or not. The definite article “τον” in line 12 appears to have flaked off the manuscript, which would suggest very little space between the Tetragrammaton and the surrounding Greek text.

In line 11, just above the extant *waw* and *heh* of the Tetragrammaton, there appears to be an empty space following τα αγαθα. This is not likely an intentional *vacat* because it occurs at the middle of the verse, leaving no reason for punctuation or sense division, and more importantly κύριος occurs at this location in other LXX manuscripts. Colomo and Henry write:

Perhaps a space was left blank for the Tetragrammaton to be inserted later, as in P. Fouad inv. 266, though the Tetragrammaton at D 14 at least fits the space well enough to suggest that it may have been written together with the rest of the text. Another possibility is that an earlier copy had left a space of this kind, and that our roll is descended from that copy. The text without κυριου makes sense, and a scribe might well have forgotten to insert the Tetragrammaton. It is also possible that traces have been lost through abrasion as elsewhere in this scrap.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹⁶ See Colomo and Henry, 4.

In a recent essay on the text-critical significance of P. Oxy 5101, Jannes Smith considers both options possible, but interprets the space in line 11 as a blank space left for the divine name. He writes: “The apparent absence of the Tetragrammaton (for *κύριου*) in 26:13 is probably due to a failure to notice that a space had been left for it, because the text makes sense without it and because the space comes at the end of a line.”⁵⁹⁷ For Smith, the procedure of leaving a blank space, subsequently filled in with the Tetragrammaton, is evidence for the replacement of *κύριος*, and the secondary nature of the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton.

Smith seeks further text-critical support for the secondary nature of the Tetragrammaton in P. Oxy 5101. Colomb and Henry observed that the Tetragrammaton at D 14 (first example above) is a unique divine name reading in comparison with Ps 64:2—the MT reads *אלהים* and the LXX reads *ο θεος*. Smith argues that it is highly unlikely that the Tetragrammaton at D 14 goes back to a Hebrew *Vorlage*, and considers it instead to have arisen in the transmission history. He gives priority to the MT/LXX readings *אלהים/θεος*. The MT, however, is the only Hebrew witness attesting to Ps 64:2, and we are of course dealing with the Elohistic Psalter. This makes it at least equally likely that *אלהים* (*θεος*), arose late in the transmission history as a replacement of an earlier Tetragrammaton. In this case, the Old Greek text of P. Oxy 5101 may be a reliable guide to an earlier reading.

At any rate, the evidence of P. Oxy 5101 is too fragmentary to give decisive evidence for the procedure of writing the Tetragrammaton, and therefore its role in the textual history of this manuscript. We may tentatively suggest that if P. Oxy 5101 follows the procedure of other Greek

⁵⁹⁷ J. Smith, “The Text-Critical Significance of Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 5101 (Ra 2227) for the Old Greek Psalter,” *JSCS* 45 (2012): 7.

biblical texts that write the Tetragrammaton in the paleo-Hebrew script, then it would represent a one-stage writing system.

We have encountered so far two groupings of manuscripts based on their procedure of writing the Tetragrammaton. On the one hand, P. Fouad 266b shows evidence of a two-stage writing system with blank spaces, dots, and the Tetragrammaton in the square script. This evidence may represent a replacement of an earlier designation. On the other hand, 8HevXIIgr, P. Oxy 3522, and perhaps P. Oxy 5101, show evidence of a one-stage writing system, where the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew is written along with the Greek text left-to-right.⁵⁹⁸ The procedure of writing the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew appears not to have required any additional steps or techniques for its rendering.

4.3 *The Purpose of the Divine Name Scripts in the Greek Biblical Manuscripts*

The use of the divine name in Greek texts is clearly a distinctive scribal practice. As such, there must have been a purpose behind its use. Given the three clearly attested forms of the divine name, we can describe at least three scenarios.

The Greek transliteration of $\iota\omega$ was most likely written in sequence with the Greek text by the same hand in a one-stage writing system. Even though small spaces appear on both sides of $\iota\omega$, these do not provide enough evidence to suggest that $\iota\omega$ was written into a blank space. As discussed above, this small spaces may represent a spacing convention around Hebrew proper names transliterated into Greek. Because $\iota\omega$ was written with vowels, a novel development in

⁵⁹⁸ P. Oxy 1007 (Ra 907) is a third century CE fragment of Gen that contains two paleo-Hebrew *yods*, as an abbreviation for the Tetragrammaton, and also shows the one-stage writing system, left-to-right. See Robert Kraft's image database: <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak/lxxjewpap/>.

the history of the divine name, as vowels are not indicated in the consonantal Hebrew, the scribe seemingly did not consider it important to warn against the pronunciation of the divine name.

A further puzzle for discerning the purpose of the name $\iota\alpha\omega$ in this manuscript is the location of its discovery in Cave 4 at Qumran. The Greek biblical texts, in general, comprise a very small percentage of the total number of Hebrew and Aramaic texts, and Tov does not think that these Greek biblical texts were used at Qumran. He draws this inference from the striking absence of Greek documentary texts from the Qumran caves, while at all other sites in the Judean desert there is a much higher percentage of Greek documentary texts, but few Hebrew and Aramaic texts.⁵⁹⁹ This correlation means that the presence of Greek documentary texts points to the active use of Greek, and vice-versa:

[T]here is no proof that Greek was a language in active use by the inhabitants of Qumran. It is possible that at least some of them knew Greek, since fragments of Greek Scripture were deposited in caves 4 and 7. But cave 4 probably served as a depository of some kind (not a library) in which the Qumranites placed all their written texts... This depository in cave 4 contains eight Greek texts, which may signify that the person(s) who brought these text to Qumran had used them prior to their arrival, which would imply knowledge of Greek. But it is not impossible that these texts came directly from an archive in which case no knowledge of Greek by the Qumranites needs to be assumed. The evidence does not suggest that the Greek texts from cave 4 were read or consulted at Qumran or that they were written there.⁶⁰⁰

The evidence of 4Q120 is incongruous with most literature from Qumran, particularly the sectarian texts that show consistent avoidance in reading and writing the Tetragrammaton. There

⁵⁹⁹ The one exception to a Greek documentary text is the opisthograph fragment of 4QNarrative Work and Prayer (4Q460). The verso contains 4QAccount gr (4Q350); see Cotton, *DJD* 26. Tov assumes that this was written on 4Q460 after the occupation of the site by the Qumranites. Tov, “The Greek Biblical Texts,” 101.

⁶⁰⁰ Tov, “The Greek Biblical Texts,” 99–100. He continues: “Cave 7 is a different issue. The contents of that cave which was probably used for lodging (thus R. de Vaux, *DJD* 3, 30) or as a workplace, consisted solely of Greek literary papyri, probably all Greek Scripture, and possibly all of these were brought directly to the cave from an archive outside Qumran or from a specific spot within the Qumran compound.” Furthermore, that Greek speakers were actively using 8HevXIIgr, in contrast to the situation with the Cave 4 Greek scrolls is suggested by the fact that documentary texts were found in Naḥal Hever: “Since the documents found in Naḥal Hever show that Greek was used actively by the persons who left the texts behind, including a Scripture scroll, some or much use of that scroll by persons who deposited the text in Naḥal Hever may be assumed.” Tov, “The Greek Biblical Texts,” 100.

is nothing about the procedure of writing $\iota\omega$ that points towards distinctive treatment. There is also nothing to suggest that $\iota\omega$ was avoided in reading by the Jewish communities who at one time may have used Greek biblical texts with this form of the divine name. One could imagine this translation to make sense to Greek readers anywhere in the Greek-speaking diaspora. Perhaps these texts were originally from Egypt.⁶⁰¹ On analogy, even though the Qumran biblical scrolls regularly wrote the Tetragrammaton in the standard square-Aramaic script, the Tetragrammaton was avoided in speech, at least at Qumran. But the difference with $\iota\omega$ is that this form was written with vowels. If a substitute was spoken instead, it would mean that the vowels had no purpose, which does explain why they were written in the first place. The evidence for $\iota\omega$ shows no hindrance in writing or reading this form of the divine name, and therefore it lies outside of the tradition of attributing special sanctity to the name.

The Tetragrammaton in the square-Aramaic script was inserted into a blank space left by the original scribe of P. Fouad 266b. The significance of the procedure for the writing the Tetragrammaton may have alternative explanations, but to a Greek reader, the final product would likely have presented a hurdle for vocalization. This suggests that the Tetragrammaton was not pronounced. Several scholars, usually with reference to Origen, conclude that most likely $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, but maybe *Adonai*, was pronounced for the Hebrew Tetragrammaton in Greek biblical texts.⁶⁰² The paleo-Hebrew script for the Tetragrammaton in 8HevXIIgr, P. Oxy 3522, and P. Oxy 5101 would also clearly present a hurdle for vocalization for Greek readers. It is safe

⁶⁰¹ As Tov has shown that these Greek literary scrolls were unlikely to have been used at Qumran, additional lines of evidence could support an Egyptian provenance: 4Q120 and 4Q127 both show unique spacing patterns around Hebrew names transliterated into Greek, only found elsewhere in P. Fouad 266a, c. Skehan and Parsons considered the scripts of 4Q120 and P. Fouad 266b to be very similar. According to Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1978), 64, the phonological-orthographic variant $\epsilon\gamma$, in lieu of $\epsilon\chi$ (cf. 4Q119 frg. 1 ln. 19), is evidence of an Egyptian connection.

⁶⁰² Stegemann, "Gottesbezeichnungen," 198.

to assume that another designation was pronounced in these manuscripts. But if avoidance could be achieved also through the square-Aramaic script Tetragrammaton, as suggested by Origen, then the use paleo-Hebrew would seem to require further explanation. In this regard, it is helpful to recall Origen’s other comment, namely that the more “accurate” exemplars used the archaic script. This is a comment about the nature of the composition in which the Tetragrammaton occurs, and has been in recent decades a major point of discussion. I review below the inference drawn by scholars that the presence of the Tetragrammaton is a sign that a Greek biblical text has been revised towards a Hebrew exemplar. I agree that a correlation exists between the recensional nature of Greek manuscripts and the use of the Tetragrammaton, but there are also exceptions. More importantly, this correlation does not provide an inherent reason for the use of the Tetragrammaton, nor decisive solution to the question of the earliest rendering of the divine name in the Septuagint, as some have implied.

Following the work of Dominique Barthélemy, many scholars agree that early Septuagint manuscripts show revisions towards a proto-MT like Hebrew exemplar.⁶⁰³ With regard to the Greek biblical texts specifically—not the Qumran Hebrew biblical manuscripts written in the square script with paleo-Hebrew divine names—Septuagint scholars have proposed that, in addition to spoken avoidance, the Hebrew Tetragrammaton is a recensional trait of a “Hebraized” Greek biblical manuscript. Tov states:

All the texts transcribing the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew characters reflect early revisions, in which the employment of Hebrew characters was considered a sign of authenticity, even though this practice only entered the transmission of Greek Scriptures

⁶⁰³ For the “epoch-making” work on the textual history of the Septuagint, see Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d’Aquila: Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaprophète* (SVT 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963); *ibid.*, “Redécouverte d’un chaînon manquant de l’histoire de la Septante,” *RB* 60 (1953): 18–29; and now Anneli Aejmelaeus and Tuukka Kauhanen (eds.) *The Legacy of Barthélemy: 50 Years after Les Devanciers d’Aquila* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017); see also, Leonard J. Greenspoon, “Recensions, Revisions, Rabbinics: Dominique Barthélemy and Early Developments in the Greek Tradition,” *Textus* 15 (1990): 153–167.

at a second stage.⁶⁰⁴

Every scholar who has commented on the nature of 8HevXIIgr holds it to be a revision of the Old Greek Minor Prophets.⁶⁰⁵ Similarly judged is P. Fouad 266b–c. Koenen and Aly state: “[T]he result of continuous attempts to bring the Greek text into closer accord with the Hebrew are clearly recognizable... Both rolls show the tendency of harmonizing the text of the Septuagint with the Hebrew parent text.”⁶⁰⁶ Because the revision activity is secondary, the logical assumption is that other features of the scroll are also secondary, in particular the Hebrew Tetragrammaton. This correlation has been used to argue that the Tetragrammaton is not an original feature of the Old Greek translation. The stated reason, in part, of Pietersma, Rösel, Perkins, Smith, and others, is that we do not find *κύριος* in the early Septuagint copies because most are revisions towards a Hebrew exemplar in which *κύριος* was replaced with the Tetragrammaton.

Scholars agree that the Greek biblical texts with the Tetragrammaton, in either script, contain evidence of revision. There is, however, one important exception: P. Oxy 5101. This manuscript is genuine OG witness of the Psalter, but it contains what would seem to be a problem, the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton. Pietersma states that “[o]n balance nothing impresses me more about 5101 than its early date and its thoroughly Septuagintal character notwithstanding its sole recensional trait, namely, the replacement of *κύριος* by the tetragram in

⁶⁰⁴ Tov, “The Greek Biblical Texts,” 112.

⁶⁰⁵ Tov, “The Greek Biblical Texts,” 105: “As a Jewish revision, this text represented the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew characters.” This was systematically described by Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d’ Aquila*. See also Tov, DJD 8:131–42; *ibid.*, “The Greek Biblical Texts,” 116–7; Pietersma, “Kyrios or Tetragram,” 88–89; Lester Grabbe, “The Translation Techniques of the Greek Minor Versions: Translations or Revisions,” in *Septuagint, Scrolls, and Cognate Writings*, 505–56.

⁶⁰⁶ Koenen and Aly, *Three Rolls*, 9; cf. Wevers, *THGD*, 26, 66.

palaeo-Hebrew script.”⁶⁰⁷ If the sole recensional trait is the Tetragrammaton, then the much relied upon correlation between the recensional nature of a manuscript and the presence of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton, at this point, breaks down. But in a recent text-critical study, Jannes Smith further corroborates the OG character of P. Oxy 5101, and also agrees with Pietersma that the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton is the “sole recensional trait” of this manuscript, assuming that it has entered the text at some point in transmission history. Smith concludes his study by suggesting that because the Psalter has borrowed language from the Pentateuch it is likely to have emulated its (alleged) use of *κύριος*. Thus “[Ra] 2227 supports an argument in favour of an original *κύριος*, with the paleo-Hebrew form of the Tetragram as a secondary, archaizing stage.”⁶⁰⁸ Even though the important correlation between the revisionary nature of the manuscript and Tetragrammaton is lacking, Pietersma and Smith maintain that the Tetragrammaton is a sign of revision. The evidence of P. Oxy 5101 should call into question this view.

On the whole, apart from the dubious procedure of drawing inferences from the recensional (or non-recensional) nature of a Greek biblical text and the reason for its use of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton, the correlation itself is not decisive for understanding the role of the divine name in the textual history of the Septuagint. Even as most scholars agree that the Hebrew Tetragrammaton is a secondary development in revised Greek biblical texts, none of this evidence is from Qumran. When examining the textual nature of the Cave 4 Greek texts, the overall impression is that they are genuine witnesses of the Old Greek translation. 4Q119 and 4Q120 probably reflect earliest OG versions of Lev.⁶⁰⁹ In a well-known statement, even

⁶⁰⁷ Colomb and Henry, “P. Oxy 5101,” 2; Smith, “The Text-Critical Significance,” 21–22.

⁶⁰⁸ Smith, “The Text-Critical Significance,” 22.

⁶⁰⁹ See Innocent Himbaza, “What are the consequences if 4QLXXLev^a contains earliest formulation of the Septuagint?” in *Die Septuaginta – Orte und Intentionen: 5. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 24.-27. Juli 2014* (ed. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser, and Marcus Sigismund;

Pietersma observed that the genuine Septuagintal credential's of 4Q120 are "well nigh impeccable."⁶¹⁰ The textual character of 4Q121 is also an early version of Num, but "not clear-cut,"⁶¹¹ and 4Q122 is too fragmentary for analysis. Importantly, the only extant evidence for the divine name in the Cave 4 Greek texts is $\iota\omega$. On the basis of this reasoning, which scholars continue to employ with regard to the Hebrew Tetragrammaton, nothing would hinder the view that $\iota\omega$ was a feature of the original Septuagint translation. This is precisely the course taken by Tov. In the context of the debate over the original divine name rendering of the Septuagint, he states:

In absence of convincing evidence in favour of any one explanation, the view of Skehan and Stegemann [that $\iota\omega$ is original] seems more plausible in light of the parallels provided. This argument serves as support for the view that 4QpapLXXLev^b reflects the OG, and not a later revision/translation.⁶¹²

Notwithstanding the circular reasoning that is also apparent in using $\iota\omega$ as a sign of OG translation, the recensional nature of the Cave 4 Greek scrolls and the presence of $\iota\omega$ shows that the question of the earliest rendering is not decisively answered by resort to observations about the textual nature of Greek biblical manuscripts and their use of divine designations. Otherwise, those who maintain the originality of $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ would have to concede that on balance the evidence for $\iota\omega$ is more compelling. It is worth commenting, moreover, that if $\iota\omega$ can be positively

Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 294–308.

⁶¹⁰ Pietersma, "Kyrios or Tetragram," 91; cf. Himbaza, "What are the Consequences," 294–5, 306–8; J. B. Faulkenberry Miller, "4QLXXLev^a and Proto-Septuagint Studies: Reassessing Qumran Evidence for the Urtext Theory," in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions* (ed. M.Th. Davis and B. A. Strawn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 1–28.

⁶¹¹ Tov, "The Greek Biblical Texts," 106–17; Skehan, "4QLXXNumb: A Pre-Christian Reworking of the Septuagint," *HTR* 70 (1977): 49–40; Wevers, "An Early Revision of the Septuagint Numbers," *Eretz-Israel* 16 (1982): 235–39, where Wevers observes that 4Q121 is not *kaige* or proto-Theodotian, but still shows revision towards MT.

⁶¹² Tov, "The Greek Biblical Texts," 113.

identified in 4Q127 (pap paraExod gr) then this would provide evidence for its use in a scriptural like composition that seemingly has nothing to do with the debate over the revisions of the OG.

In summary, there is a correlation between the divine name and the textual nature of the Greek biblical manuscripts, but one cannot positively identify one as the cause of the other. At the core of the arguments for understanding the purpose of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton as a recensional trait is a simple correlation. There is no proof that the reason for the Tetragrammaton is caused by or inherent to the textual character of early revisions of the Old Greek. Our surest indication of the purpose of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton in Greek biblical texts is to signal its spoken avoidance in reading.

Stegemann, Skehan, and others have long noted that regardless of what was written in Greek biblical manuscripts, most likely κύριος was pronounced in reading. This would clearly pertain to the evidence of Greek biblical scrolls using the Tetragrammaton, but the implications of manuscripts with ιαω are less clear. This casts some doubt on the view that at least in speech κύριος would have gone back to the original translation. It would be helpful to pin-point in what texts and at what time the evidence for the use of κύριος in the late Second Temple period comes into view, at least in writing, in order to gain further clarity on its replacement of the Tetragrammaton and the formal equivalent יהוה. This is the last topic of discussion before we are in position to assess the scholarly proposals for the overall development of divine name practices in Greek biblical texts.

4.4 Evidence for the Use and Non-Use of κύριος in the Second Temple Period

For this foray into the evidence for κύριος in the Second Temple period, it must be stated at the outset that this section is very limited in scope. Extensive twentieth scholarship has

focused on the Hellenistic use of *κύριος*, particularly in attempts to understand the origin of the New Testament title for Jesus.⁶¹³ My purpose does not concern the use of the title as it relates to the New Testament, but gaining clarity on where and how it enters Judaism more broadly. The major questions asked by New Testament scholars, nevertheless, are of some relevance, albeit with a different application. For the first century CE uses of the title *κύριος*, scholars have asked whether it arises from a translation of the Palestinian semitic absolute uses of *מָרָא* and *אֲדֹנָי*, Hellenistic Jewish uses drawn from the Septuagint rendering of the Tetragrammaton *יהוה*, or from Hellenistic secular uses in which the title was attributed to gods and human rulers relatively late, only around the first century BCE/CE. Consensus today considers the first option, with various modifications, to be the most likely background for the application of the *κύριος* title to Jesus.⁶¹⁴ In part, this has been argued because the latter two reasons give only scanty evidence for Jewish uses of *κύριος*. In the context of this study, I cannot entertain these broader questions. My focus here will be to introduce two types of evidence, epigraphic and literary, that have not been discussed in relation to divine name practice in Greek biblical texts, and then draw some inferences from them about the historical context for early Jewish uses of *κύριος*.⁶¹⁵

We know that there are no extant copies of Jewish-Greek biblical texts from the Second Temple period that use *κύριος*. On the other hand, beyond the arguments from the recensional

⁶¹³ For a concise overview on the historical issues involving the use of *κύριος* in Judaism, and documentation of the views of Dalman, Foerster (and Quell), Cullmann, Schweizer, Fuller, Baudissin, Bousset, Bultmann, Vielhauer, and Conzelmann, see Fitzmyer, “The Semitic Background of the New Testament *Kyrios* Title,” in *A Wandering Aramean*, 115–127; also Stegemann, *KYPIOC*.

⁶¹⁴ Again, Fitzmyer’s study is often taken as the basis for this consensus.

⁶¹⁵ This seems to be the more immediate and pressing area in need of further study in order to provide more concrete basis for our understanding of early divine name practices in Greek. All the evidence furnished for an original use of *κύριος*—whether the grammatical arguments of Pietersma, or the use of quotations in Philo or the New Testament—is based on versions of the Septuagint that are at least 550 years after the purported translation of the Pentateuch.

nature of Greek biblical texts mentioned above, scholars have advanced grammatical arguments in support of an original use of κύριος in the mid-third century BCE translation of the Pentateuch.⁶¹⁶ Many of these details, however, are somewhat inconsistent and can be explained on alternative grounds. In what follows, I attempt to show how the available evidence supports a view that Jews began using κύριος in writing approximately during the second and first centuries BCE, but such usage does not appear to be consistent or standardized, even by the end of the first century CE.

I will demonstrate this view in three parts. First, I provide a list of all Septuagint manuscripts from the second century CE up to the major Christian codices of the fourth to fifth centuries CE—Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus—in order to fix the *terminus post-quem* for the extant uses of κύριος in LXX manuscripts. I then discuss the epigraphic evidence for extant uses for κύριος during the Second Temple period. Lastly, I briefly sample the use and non-use of κύριος in Jewish literature that originates in the Second Temple period, although no copies are extant from this time.

4.4.1 The Use of K(YPIO)C in Septuagint Manuscripts of the Common Era

The earliest Christian copies of the LXX provide a comparative backdrop for better understanding the shift in divine name practices that took place between Jewish and Christian transmission of Greek biblical texts. This is paralleled by a change in the medium and formatting

⁶¹⁶ The grammatical evidence proposed by Pietersma for patterns of articulation/non-articulation of κύριος in the Pentateuch do not hold true for evidence in the Psalter; see Wevers, “The Rendering of the Tetragram in the Psalter and the Pentateuch: A Comparative Study,” in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honor of Albert Pietersma* (ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert; JSOTSup 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 21–35. But more important is Emanuel Tov’s observation, “The Greek Biblical Texts,” 112: “According to Pietersma, the first translators wrote κύριος, mainly without the article, considered a personal name in the Greek Pentateuch, as ‘the written surrogate for the tetragram’. However, the internal LXX evidence offered in support of this assumption is not convincing, as all the irregularities pertaining to the anarthrous use of κύριος can also be explained as having been created by a mechanical replacement of ιαω with κύριος by Christian scribes.”

of manuscripts themselves, most notably from the use of the scroll or book roll to codex.⁶¹⁷ The following list contains evidence of about fifty manuscripts that date paleographically between the second and fourth centuries CE.⁶¹⁸ Towards the end of the list, I have also included much later instances of divine name practices, occurring in manuscripts from the sixth to ninth centuries CE, that resemble earlier Jewish conventions. These will not be discussed further.

4.4.1 Greek Biblical Manuscripts from Second to the Fourth Century CE

<i>Manuscript</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Name</i>
P. Yale 1 (Ra 814; Gen 14)	2nd	codex	– ⁶¹⁹
P. Bodl 5 (Ra 2082; Ps 48–49)	2nd	codex	–
P. Antinoopolis 1.7 (Ra 2077; Ps 81–82)	2nd	codex	κς
P. Baden 56b (P. Heid. Gr. 8; Ra 970; Exod 8)	2nd	codex	κς
P. Oxy 656 (Ra 905; Gen 14–27)	2nd–3rd	codex	κυριε, κς, θεός
P. Horsley (=Deissmann; Ra 865; Exod 4)	2nd–3rd	codex	κς, θς
P. Chester Beatty VI (Ra 963; Num, Deut)	2nd–3rd	codex	κς, θς
P. Chester Beatty VIII (Ra 966; Jer 4–5)	2nd–3rd	codex	κς
P. Leipzig 170 (Ra 1014; Ps 118)	2nd–3rd	codex	κς
Cairo Ostrakon 215 (Ra 999; Judith 15)	3rd	ostrakon	–
P. Schøyen 2648 (Ra 816; Josh 9–11)	3rd	codex	κς
Flor. Bib. Laur PSI 127 (Ra 968; Judges 1)	3rd	codex	–
P. Scheide + P. Chester Beatty IX (Ra 967; Ezek)	3rd	codex	κς
P. Chester Beatty X (Ra 967; Dan and Est)	3rd	codex	κς
P. Chester Beatty V (Ra 962; Gen 8–46)	3rd	codex	κς
P. Oxy 1007 (Ra 907; Gen 2–3)	3rd	codex	” in paleo, θς
P. Berlin 17213 (Ra 995; Gen 19)	3rd	codex	– ⁶²⁰

⁶¹⁷ Kraft provides a very clear outline in “The ‘Textual Mechanics’ of Early Jewish LXX/OG Papyri and Fragments,” 51–54. See also the major contribution of Larry Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006).

⁶¹⁸ The evidence presented here is drawn from the catalogues of Septuagint manuscripts by Joseph van Haelst, Kurt Aland, and Alfred Rahlfs and Detlef Fraenkel. This evidence was checked against the catalogues of Robert Kraft, Emanuel Tov, and Larry Hurtado. Kraft provides a list of data with at the following website: <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak/earlylxx/earlypaplist.html>. Emanuel Tov’s list of early Greek manuscripts is found in *Scribal Practices and Approaches*, 304–310. Larry Hurtado has maintained a list entitled “Christian Literary Texts in Manuscripts of Second & Third Centuries” originally compiled in Larry W. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), Appendix 1, 209–29.

⁶¹⁹ I have included some manuscripts that have important material features such as the use of abbreviations, paragraphos, or spacing features that may be relevant for understanding their (presumable) divine name practices, but themselves do not preserve instances of a divine name. These are marked with dash (–).

⁶²⁰ Kraft notes, “There is a mid-stop with a space at the end of 19.17, and a space of about three letter widths at the end of 19.18, where most texts have a form of KYPIOΣ,” see Kraft, “Mechanics,” 62. Furthermore, Treu comments, “...as though the scribe omitted the word unintentionally ... Or perhaps this resulted from a vorlage that had the Hebrew divine name here?”

P. Oxy 1226 (Ra 2025; Ps 7–8)	3rd	codex	ας
P. Oxy 1074 (Ra 908; Exod 31–32)	3rd	codex	ας
P. Oxy 1166 (Ra 944; Gen 16)	3rd	roll	ας
P. Oxy 1075 (Ra 909; Exod 40)	3rd	roll	ας
P. Berlin Fol. 66 I/II (Ra 911; Gen 1–35)	3rd	roll	ας
P. Merton 2 (=P. Chester Beatty VII; Ra 965; Isa 8–60 and Ezek 11–17)	3rd	codex	ας
P. Wash. Freer 5 (Ra W; Minor Prophets)	3rd	codex	ας
P. Lit. London 204 (Ra 2051; Ps 2)	3rd	codex	ας
P. LondChrist. 3 (Ra 971; 2 Chr 24)	3rd	codex	ας
P. Mich. 22 (Ps 8–9)	3rd	codex	ας
P. Mich. 133 (Ra 2067; Ps 8–9)	3rd	codex	ας
P. Vindob. gr. 26035B (=MPER ns 12; Ra 2094; Ps 68, 80)	3rd	codex	χς
P. Bodmer 24 (Ra 2110; Ps 17–53, 55–118)	3rd	codex	ας
P. Berlin 17212 (Ra 837; Jer 2–3)	3rd	codex	ας
P. Berlin 21265 (Ra 2117; Ps 144)	3rd	codex	ας
P. Berlin 11778 (Ra 974; BKT 8.17; Job 33–34)	3rd	re-used	ας
P. Egerton 4 (Ra 971; B. M.; 2Chr 24)	3rd	codex	ας
P. Antinoopolis 1.8 + 3.210 (Ra 928; Prov 5–20)	3rd	codex	ας, θς, et al
PSI Cap. 46 (Ra 878; Tobit 12)	3rd	codex	θν, θυ
P. Heid. 290 (Ra 858; Lev 19)	3rd	codex	θς
P. Vindob. Gr. 26035B (Ra 1094; Ps 68–69)	3rd	codex	θς
P. Alex. 240 (Ra 1054; PSI 921; Ps 77)	3rd	opistho.	θς
P. Mil. 1.13 (Ra 818) + P. Mich 1.135 (Qoh 3, 6)	3rd	codex	θς
P. Oxy 4442 (Ra 993; Exod 20)	3rd	codex	θς
Hamb. Staats/Univ. 1 (Ra 998; Qoh)	3rd	codex	θς
P. Harris 31 (Ra 2108; Ps 43)	3rd	roll	θεος
P. Alex. 203 (Ra 850; Isa 48)	3rd–4th	roll	–
P. Vindob. G 39777 (Stud. Pal. 11.114; Ps 68, 80; Symmachus)	3rd–4th	roll	יהוה in paleo, θεός
P. Heid 1359 (Onomasticon)	3rd–4th	roll	αω in expl. col.
P. Oxy 2745 (Onomasticon)	3rd–4th	roll	αω in expl. col.
P. Lit. Lond. 211 (Ra 925; Dan 1; Th)	4th	roll	θεος
P. Oxy 1167 (Ra 945; Gen 31)	4th	codex	θς
P. Oxy 1168 (Ra 946; Josh 4-5)	4th	codex	ας
Later Jewish Divine Name Practices			
Codex Marchalianus	6th	codex	αω and יהוה
T-S 20.50 (Aquila, 2 Kgs 23:11–27) ⁶²¹	6th	palimp	יהוה in paleo, KS

⁶²¹ The Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew in *scriptio continua* by the same hand of the Greek text occurs at 2 Kgs 23:16 (far left column, 3rd line from bottom) and 2 Kgs 23:21. This palimpsest appears to contain both *nomina sacra* and paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton forms. “The Greek text uses paleo-Hebrew characters for the tetragrammaton. The pronunciation of this word was evidently kurios, ‘lord’ (like Hebrew adonay), for when the

T-S 12.186622	6th	palimp	יהוה in paleo
T-S 16.320 (Pss 143–144)	6th	palimp	יהוה
T-S 12.182 (Ps 21:19–24, Hexapla)	7th	palimp	ΠΙΠΠ
Ambrosiano O 39 (Ra 1098; Hexapla, but only 5 cols. i.e., w/ out Hebrew column)	9th	palimp	יהוה in square

Important for the current discussion is the high level of consistency in the use of $\kappa(\upsilon\rho\iota\varsigma)$ in the *nomina sacra* form. This contrasts with the diversity of practices in the relatively few copies of Jewish-Greek biblical texts from the Second Temple period. The above list clearly shows when $\kappa(\upsilon\rho\iota\varsigma)$ enters the extant record and what the transmission of Septuagint manuscripts looks like beginning in the second century CE.

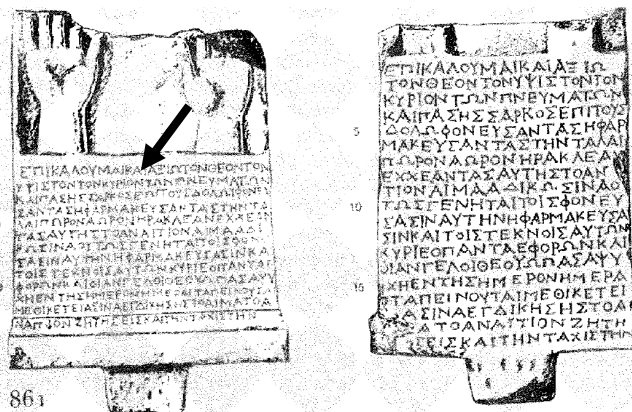
4.4.2 Earliest Epigraphic Evidence for the Use of $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$

In addition to the use of the divine name in the Second Temple Greek biblical texts, and the practices outlined immediately above for Christian copies of the Septuagint, it will be helpful now to discuss the extant pre-Christian uses of $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$. To my knowledge this evidence has not been discussed with regard to its implications for the divine name in the textual history of the Greek biblical manuscripts. There are traces of $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$ in two Greek epitaphs from the island of Rheneia, Ach70 and Ach71, possibly an unidentified Greek text from Qumran, 4Q126, and one prayer or apotropaic text, P. Fouad 203. As far as I am aware, this comprises all extant pre-Christian evidence for $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$ that may be characterized as “Jewish,” with minor exception. This evidence supports the use of $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$ beginning in the first century BCE.

scribe ran out of room to write the tetragrammaton at the end of 2 Kgs 23:24 (folio 2b, col. a, line 15), he simply wrote $\kappa\upsilon$, as an abbreviation of $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$.” See <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-TS-00020-00050/1>; also de Lange, *Japheth in the Tents of Shem*, 76, who agrees with the above statement, “This indicates, in case we had doubted it, that the tetragram was pronounced $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\varsigma$.” Even so, this only indicates the pronunciation practices of the sixth century CE, close to a thousand years after the original translation.

⁶²² See C. Taylor, *Hebrew Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests*, (1900), 51-85; N. Tchernetska, *Pap. Flor. 031* (2000), 737.

Ach70 “Epitaph of Heraclea with Curse” is an extraordinary white marble stele that was discovered on Rheneia, the burial island of Delos in the middle of the Aegean Sea.⁶²³ A wide range of dates have been proposed, but general consensus holds to a paleographic date before the destruction of Delos in 88 BCE.⁶²⁴ At the top of the stele are two uplifted hands, followed by an inscription, written on both sides in *scriptio continua*:



The opening line of the epitaph reads,

I call upon and entreat the Highest God, the Lord of the spirits and all flesh (τον θεον του υψιστου τον κυριον των πνευματων και πασης σαρκος) against who have treacherously murdered or poisoned the wretched, untimely dead Heraclea...⁶²⁵

The title *κύριος* occurs twice in this stele, written in full. The claim that this epitaph is Jewish is based on Deissmann’s identification of allusions in Ach70 to similar wording found in LXX Num 16:22 and 27:16, particularly the phrase *των πνευματων και πασης σαρκος* (= *הרוחת לכל ובשר*).⁶²⁶ The near verbatim wording provides a compelling connection, but there are also some differences. Most importantly, the divine designations in Ach70 do not match the LXX Num

⁶²³ David Noy, Alexander Panayotov, and Hanswulf Bloedhorn (eds), *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis* (Vol. 1, Eastern Europe; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 1:235–242.

⁶²⁴ See *IJO* 1:239; Deissmann, 1927, 422.

⁶²⁵ *IJO* 1:236–237. Translation follows Couilloud, 1974.

⁶²⁶ Deissmann, 1927, 416–18.

16:22 or 27:16 passages, nor the underlying Hebrew. For example, Num 16:22 contains אל אלהי (MT) and θεος θεος (LXX), whereas Num 27:16 contains יהוה אלהי (MT) and κύριος ο θεος (LXX). In contrast, Ach70 reads “τον θεον τον υψιστον τον κυριον.” The author of the epitaph uses the definite article for the divine epithet, treating it as a title. The LXX, however, leaves κύριος unarticulated, probably construing it as a proper name. This does not provide a clear indication of the direction of use between these sources, if in fact the connection exists, but it does show that their conception of the deity may have been slightly different. Ach70 may reflect influence from the widespread worship of *theos hypsistos*, prevalent throughout the Mediterranean world.⁶²⁷ Furthermore, there is a strong possibility that the family of the epitaph was not Jewish, but Samaritan, or had some connection with the Samaritans of Delos. This stele shares close geographic proximity to the two Greek inscriptions that mention “The Israelites on Delos who make contribution to the sanctuary *Argarizein*...”⁶²⁸

Ach71 “Epitaph of Martina with Curse” is another stele from Rheneia that dates on paleographic grounds to the same period. The text is virtually identical to Ach70, except for the replacement of “Heraclea” with “Martina.” Its state of preservation is worse than Ach70 (κύριος

⁶²⁷ Hengel considered this epithet to be an interpretation of “God of Heaven”: “In the synagogue inscriptions we find as the official designation for the God of Israel the title *theos hypsistos*, a Greek interpretation of the ‘God of heaven’ from Persian times. This then becomes the official designation of the Jewish God throughout later antiquity.” See Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 297; *ibid.*, *Jews Greeks, and Barbarians: Aspects of the Hellenization of Judaism in the Pre-Christian Period* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 95. Note also Stephen Mitchell, “Further Thoughts on the Cult of *Theos Hypsistos*,” in *One God: Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire* (ed. Stephen Mitchell and Peter van Nuffelen; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 197–208; Nicole Belayche, “Hypsistos: A Way of Exalting the Gods in Greco-Roman Polytheism,” in *The Religious History of the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews, and Christians* (ed. J. A. North and S. R. F. Price; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 153; Mark Mueller, “Hypsistos Cults in the Greek World During the Roman Imperium,” (MA Thesis; advisor Claude Eilers; McMaster University, 2014).

⁶²⁸ L. M. White (1987, 141) translates the inscription: “The Israelites on Delos who make contribution to the sanctuary *Argarizein* crown, with a gold crown, Sarapion, son of Jason, of Knossos, for his benefactions toward them.” For recent discussion, see Jan Dušek, *Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Mt. Gerizim* (2012), 75–79. Reinhard Pummer, *The Samaritans in Flavius Josephus* (TSAJ 129; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 179–199, discusses the diaspora Samaritan communities with reference to Josephus *Ant.* 11.345; 12.7, 10; 13.74–79.

is legible once). Deissmann has suggested that the two women “may have been murdered and buried together.”⁶²⁹ In summary, assuming that Ach70 and Ach71 are either Jewish or Samaritan—both groups used the Greek scriptures and both are pre-Christian—this stele provides evidence for the use of κύριος in the late Second Temple period. It is probably not accurate to think that the scribe(s) of Ach70 and Ach71 derived the wording of the epitaph directly from a Greek biblical translation, as the curse epitaph is a formulaic convention. The similarity in phrases and allusions to LXX Num 16:22 or 27:16, however, seem to suggest that Greek biblical language may be somewhere in the background.⁶³⁰

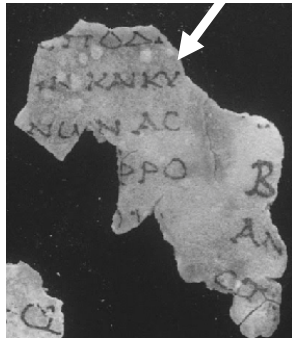
4Q126 (Unidentified gr) comprises 8 fragments that date between 50 BCE and 50 CE that appear to be related to the other Cave 4 Greek scrolls, but currently cannot be identified with any known LXX passage.⁶³¹ 4Q126 is written in *scriptio continua* and the words are often split between lines. Two fragments contain letters that could be read as κύριος. In frg. 1 line 2, on the right margin we find the letters “κν”:

⁶²⁹ *IJO* 1:242.

⁶³⁰ If the families of Heraclea and Martina were “non-Israelite” then the formula των πνευματων και πασης σαρκος could have been borrowed from an “Israelite” community on Rheneia. In this scenario, the divine designations in Ach70 and Ach71, which are at variance with the LXX and MT, could have resulted from Greek scribes adjusting the Jewish divine designations to standard Hellenistic titles. Thus the compound epithet in Ach70, τον θεον τον υψιστον τον κυριον.

⁶³¹ Parsons suggests a date between 50 BCE–50 CE for 4Q126 and states that the hand is similar to “4Q120 and 121 (but more shakily executed).” See DJD 9:12.

4QUnidentified gr (4Q126) 1 1–6

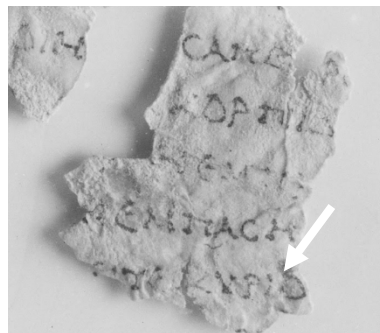


]σποδο[
]ον και κυ [
]νων ασ ο[
]φρο β[
]οο αν[
] στο[

The margin indicates that if κύριος is the correct reading, and written in full, the remaining letters would occur at the beginning of line 3. The conjunction και precedes κυ, and may suggest that a new sentence begins here. Obviously, many other words could begin with κυ, and the identification of the other words is uncertain. This fragment, then, does not offer substantive evidence for reconstructing κύριος.

4Q126 2 5 provides a more plausible basis for reading κύριος. Here we find the letters κυριο[...],

4QUnidentified gr (4Q126) 2 1–7



]σαπορ[]ο[
]οκορπιδ[
]φ[]ηεμπο[
]νεμπαση[
]ειτε κυριο[ν
]οο[

The editors suggest that *κυριο*[...], if read as *κύριος*, “may indicate that the text is biblical or parabiblical.”⁶³² The preceding “*εἴτε*” may be the coordinating conjunction (“or, either/or, even/if”) or the second person plural present active imperative conjugation of a verb like *ὑμνέω*, as in the phrase *ὑμνεῖτε κύριον* (e.g., Isa 12:4). Using database search programs, I have not found any convincing Greek biblical or Hellenistic parallels matching the wording of 4Q126.⁶³³ Overall, only two complete words from the 8 fragments of 4Q126 may be positively identified: *καὶ* and *τον*. The context is unclear, but if *κύριος* is identified in 4Q126 this would provide evidence for a Jewish use of this title in the first century BCE/CE. Even so, there is still no indication that *κύριος* refers to God.

P. Fouad 203 is an early Jewish-Greek prayer dated paleographically to the first century CE or slightly later.⁶³⁴ The contents of this prayer, fit well with other early Jewish prayers from around the first century BCE/CE, and so is worthy of consideration even though it comes near the end of our time period. There is evidence for 3 columns, but the middle column is best preserved. Benoit, van Haelst, and van der Horst all consider this prayer to have the function of an amulet.⁶³⁵ Hurtado thinks that it may be exorcistic.⁶³⁶ Shaw has noted the disagreements in the reconstructions of Benoit and van der Horst, and suggests this prayer could fit multiple settings,

⁶³² DJD 9:219.

⁶³³ I have conducted multiple searches using TLG and Accordance Bible Software with inconclusive results. The only parallel for the letters “[*ἵ*]κορπιδ[*ι*]” is found in 1 Macc 6:51 “*σχορπίδια*,” but 1 Macc does not match other words in this fragment and does not use *κύριος*.

⁶³⁴ P. Benoit, “Fragment d’une prière contre les esprits impurs?” *RB* 58 (1951): 549–65. For recent commentary on this prayer, see Pieter van der Horst and Judith Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), VIII, 125–33.

⁶³⁵ Benoit, “Fragment d’une prière,” 564; Jan Van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1975), 298; van der Horst, *Early Jewish Prayers*, 125. The Trismegistos database lists P. Fouad 203 as “magical: amulet with prayer against demons.” See <http://www.trismegistos.org/magic/detail.php?tm=63231>.

⁶³⁶ Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts*, Appendix 1, no. 215.

some of which are not necessarily apotropaic or magical.⁶³⁷ Lines 1–14 are written in the first person, presumably addressing an unclean spirit.⁶³⁸ Lines 15–19 comprise what van der Horst considers to be a type of “doxology.” The opening of this doxology reads, “Honor and glory be to the Lord...” (τειμη και η δοξα κυριω).⁶³⁹ The title κύριω is the last word of line 15, and although it is fragmentary, its occurrence is relatively clear.⁶⁴⁰ P. Fouad 203 provides evidence for the Jewish use of κύριος in an independent diaspora prayer towards the end of the first century CE.

In summary, evidence for the pre-Christian use of κύριος enters the extant record in the first century BCE. Ach70 and Ach71 provide a close link with LXX wording, although the divine name conventions differ in details. 4Q126 might contain the word κύριος, but there is no indication of context other than its similarity to the other Cave 4 Greek biblical scrolls. P. Fouad 203 uses κύριος in an apotropaic prayer from the late first century CE, although it likely reflects similar prayers at earlier times. Each of these sources, except 4Q126, can be positively identified as evidence from the popular diaspora level. κύριος is used in formulaic epitaph curses and apotropaic prayers.

4.4.3 Sampling of Literary Evidence for the Use and Non-Use of Κύριος

Jewish texts composed in the Second Temple period and original in Greek offer an important window into practices for the use and non-use of κύριος, even though there are no extant copies of these works from this early time. Stegemann made an insightful observation in

⁶³⁷ For hesitations regarding the date of this manuscript and its classification as an “amulet” and or “magical” see Shaw, *Earliest*, 237–42. He writes, “It is surely a phylactery in the literal meaning, but that is all that one can securely assert about it.”

⁶³⁸ E.g., “...you are unclean. May he send out to you his angel who guided this people at the exodus...for that reason you will not appear anymore neither will you exist to harm any soul.” For the translation and notes, see van der Horst, *Early Jewish Prayers*, 131–33

⁶³⁹ van der Horst, *Early Jewish Prayers*, 132–33.

⁶⁴⁰ Benoit reconstructs the line as follows “TEIMHKAIHΔOΞAKYP[Ω]” (551).

his study on “Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha” that “Kyrios in manchen dieser Schriften eine durchaus gängige Bezeichnung des jüdischen Gottes ist.”⁶⁴¹ Some of these texts are Greek translations with earlier semitic versions, while others are original in Greek. The uses of κύριος in much of this literature, especially works that later were not included in the Septuagint, seem original, and would point to a date for the Jewish use of κύριος sometime in the second or early first century BCE. However, at the same time, many Jewish authors seem to prefer other terms for God, such as θεος, δεσποτης, or υψιστος.⁶⁴² Given the confines of the current study, I cannot explore this material comprehensively, but provide a sampling of the literary evidence for the use and non-use of κύριος in early Jewish compositions. I discuss below the Jewish-Hellenistic writers, Esther (as compared to the Greek additions), 1, 2, and 4 Maccabees, Ezekiel the Dramatist, and the most famous Jewish historian from antiquity—Josephus. The discussion over Philo’s use of κύριος and θεος, particularly as it relates to his quotations of the LXX, has been well documented by other scholars, as well as the evidence of the New Testament, so I do not address this evidence here. Importantly, however, the framework of my working hypothesis, drawn from the epigraphic and literary evidence for κύριος, accommodates the view that the Septuagint manuscripts of the first century CE, which Philo and

⁶⁴¹ Stegemann, *KYPIOC*, 347.

⁶⁴² Aitken reflects on the preference of early Jewish writers and comments that “the title ‘God of heaven’ is absent from Ben Sira, where ייִהוָה and, in the Greek translation, ὕψιστος are very important. It suggests that for some the title ‘God of heaven’ had significance, whilst for others their preference lay elsewhere.” Aitken, “God of the Pre-Maccabees,” 264. For other discussions of naming God in the Hellenistic context, see R. M. van den Berg, “Does It Matter to Call God Zeus? Origen Contra Celsum 1.24–25 against the Greek Intellectuals on Divine Names,” in *The Revelation of the Name YHWH to Moses: Perspectives from Judaism, the Pagan Greco-Roman World and Early Christianity* (ed. G. H. van Kooten; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 169–83; Eberhard Bons, “The Noun βοηθός as a Divine Title,” in *The Reception of Septuagint Words in Jewish-Hellenistic and Christian Literature* (ed. Eberhard Bons, Ralph Brucker, and Jan Joosten; WUNT II 367; Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 53–66.

NT authors rely on for their quotations, could well have contained *κύριος*, but this does not necessarily require that *κύριος* goes back to the Old Greek translation.

4.4.3.1 Jewish Hellenistic Writers

Many fragments of Jewish-Hellenistic poets, apologists, and historians are preserved in quotations by Josephus, and later Christian writers, Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius. Among the Jewish-Hellenistic authors, most belonging to the second century BCE, we find that Eupolemus uses “God Most High” in the letters of Solomon to the kings of Egypt, Tyre, Sidon, and Phoenicia.⁶⁴³ Artapanus prefers *δεσποτης*: “Moses replied that he had come because the Lord of the universe (*τον της οικουμενης δεσποτην*) had commanded him to liberate the Jews.”⁶⁴⁴ Ezekiel the Dramatist uses *θεός* generally, but *δεσποτης*, for example, when quoting LXX Exod 12:14.⁶⁴⁵

In all the evidence from these early writers, *κύριος* is attested four times—twice in Aristobulus, and twice in Pseudo-Orpheus—but it is not clear that these uses should be understood as original. The first occurrence is found in a quotation of Aristobulus by Clement. This passage, however, shows striking resonance with the language of Paul (e.g., Romans 3:22). In Aristobulus’ reflections on the Sabbath, he writes,

From this day, the first wisdom and knowledge illuminate us. For the light of truth—a true light, casting no shadow, indivisibly apportioned to all—is the spirit of the Lord (*πνευμα κυριου*) for all those who are sanctified through faith (*δια πιστεως*), occupying the position of a lamp... (*Stromata*, 6.16.138)

⁶⁴³ Holladay, *Fragments*, 1:120.

⁶⁴⁴ Holladay, 1:216 (Eusebius, *P.E.*, 9.27.22).

⁶⁴⁵ Eusebius. *P.E.* 9.29.13; C. Holladay, *Fragments*, 2:384); See Stegemann, *KYPIOC* 63–77, 345. Howard Jacobson, *The Exogoge of Ezekiel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Pierluigi Lanfranchi, *L’Exagoge d’Ezéchiel le Tragique: Introduction, texte, et commentaire* (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 21; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

The phrase “δια πιστεως” is only found in the New Testament, and so Clement may have harmonized Aristobulus with familiar Christian passages. The second occurrence of κύριος appears more straightforward, in a quotation of LXX Exod 9:3, “χειρ κυρίου ἐπέσται ἐν τοῖς κτήνεσίν σου...”⁶⁴⁶ But another quotation of the LXX, this time by Pseudo-Orpheus shows that the text of these quotations, as preserved by later Christian authors, are not always consistent with the MT or LXX. Pseudo-Orpheus, for example, uses κύριος in a quotation of LXX Isa 10:14, but neither the Tetragrammaton nor κύριος occurs in Isa 10:14 (MT/LXX). The same is true for Pseudo-Orpheus’ quotation of Jer 10:12.⁶⁴⁷ The uses of κύριος, attributed to Aristobulus and Pseudo-Orpheus, are ambiguous. They could represent various types of harmonizations or minor adaptations with Septuagint or New Testament texts as transmitted by Christian authors.⁶⁴⁸ This gives an overall impression that the uses of κύριος among Jewish-Hellenistic authors was very rare, if even original in the first place.

4.4.3.2 Esther

In the Hebrew book of Esther, it is well-known that the Tetragrammaton does not occur, and “God” plays virtually no role in the narrative. In the translation of this book, then, we have no reason to expect to find κύριος. And this is true, for the parts of Greek Esther that parallel the Hebrew version, but Esther has survived in two distinct Greek versions, designated the Old Greek and the Alpha text. These Greek versions both contain six additional chapters (A–F) interspersed throughout Esther, but not found in the Hebrew version. These additions are nearly

⁶⁴⁶ Eusebius, *P.E.*, 8.10.8.

⁶⁴⁷ Clement, *Stromata*, 5.14.127.2–3.

⁶⁴⁸ For a range of changes in Patristic citations of New Testament texts, see Carroll D. Osburn, “Methodology in Identifying Patristic Citations in NT Textual Criticism,” *NT* 47 (2005): 313–43.

identical in the Old Greek and Alpha text, where other material differs, and so scholars consider the additions not to be original to the Greek translation, but inserted later into both versions, perhaps one copied from another.⁶⁴⁹ The OG version of Esther contains a postscript (F 11.1) that seems to place the date of translation sometime between the late second century and the mid-first century BCE, and by this time to have already contained the additional material.⁶⁵⁰ *κύριος* is used about 25x in the additions, but not once in the material paralleled in the Hebrew version. A high concentration of *κύριος* (10x) is found in Mordecai’s prayer: “Then he petitioned the Lord, remembering all the works of the Lord. And he said, ‘Lord, Lord, king of all powers (*Κύριε κύριε βασιλεῦ πάντων κρατῶν*)...’ (C1–2). The absence of *κύριος* in the Greek portions of Esther that parallel the Hebrew are easily explained by the fact that the Tetragrammaton does not occur in Hebrew version either, but its frequent use in the Greek additions to the Greek translations, OG and Alpha, would place the use of *κύριος* sometime early in the first century BCE.⁶⁵¹ Lastly, using *κύριος* at this time, in these additions, does not imply that the Tetragrammaton is behind it.

4.4.3.3 Books of Maccabees

The author of 1 Maccabees rarely includes God in his Hasmonean story, but when he does, the author obliquely refers to God as *οὐρανός* “Heaven.”⁶⁵² The author does use *κύριος* three

⁶⁴⁹ See Karen H. Jobes, “Esther,” in *The New English Translation of the Septuagint* (ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin Wright; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 424–25; W. Lee Humphreys and Sidnie White Crawford, “Esther,” in *HCSB*, 1333–1334.

⁶⁵⁰ The opening of the postscript reads: “In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy...” which could refer to a number of Ptolemies who ruled at 114 BCE, 78 BCE, or 48 BCE. The content of the postscript concerns the authenticity of the “Letter about Purim” and that it was translated “by Lysimachus son of Ptolemy, one of the residents of Jerusalem.” The earliest extant copy of Esther is P. Oxy 4443 (E + 8–9), which contains a fragment of E (but does not contain material where *κύριος* would occur) dates to the late first or early second century CE. See Kraft, “The ‘Textual Mechanics’,” 59.

⁶⁵¹ Thus using *κύριος* in this time does not necessarily imply that the Tetragrammaton is behind it.

⁶⁵² 1 Macc 3:18, 19; 3:50; 4:10, 24, 40, 55; 5:31; 9:46; 12:15; 16:3.

times, but never with reference to God.⁶⁵³ After a brief introduction mentioning the conquest of Alexander of Macedon, 1 Macc narrates the events from the revolt up to the accession of John Hyrcanus to the high priesthood (134 BCE). The book was probably completed sometime after this point, in the late second century BCE. The language and style of 1 Macc has led many to believe that it was original in a semitic language,⁶⁵⁴ which in retroversion would suggest the non-use of the Tetragrammaton.

A striking contrast emerges when comparing the terms for God in 1 Macc with 2 Macc, the latter most likely composed originally in Greek, around the same time as 1 Macc, and reflecting Hellenistic rhetorical and literary conventions.⁶⁵⁵ In 2 Macc, *κύριος* is used 45 times. This book opens with the well-known reference to the two letters from the Jews in Jerusalem to those in Egypt, encouraging them to keep the “festival of booths.” The first letter is dated to 143 BCE, and the second is 124 BCE; the latter may be the time when 2 Macc was completed.⁶⁵⁶ As far as these dates are accurate, the use of *κύριος* in 2 Macc can be situated in the late second century BCE.

4 Maccabees is original in Greek, and contains rhetorical and philosophical conventions aimed to persuade Jews to observe the Torah in light of their persecutions. The faithful models of Eleazer, the seven brothers, and their mother are rehearsed as three examples in support of the author’s premise that “devout reason is sovereign over emotions” (4 Macc 1:7–8, 6:31). Most

⁶⁵³ 1 Macc 2:53; 8:30; 9:25.

⁶⁵⁴ Uriel Rappaport, “1 Maccabees,” in *The Apocrypha* (ed. Martin Goodman, John Barton, John Muddiman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 129–160.

⁶⁵⁵ For overview, see Daniel Swartz, *Second Maccabees: Translation and Commentary* (De Gruyter, 2008); Robert Doran and Harold W. Attridge, *2 Maccabees: A Critical Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012).

⁶⁵⁶ Daniel J. Harrington, “Second Maccabees,” in *HCSB*, 1519–20; Robert Doran, “2 Maccabees,” in *The Apocrypha*, 161–84.

scholars date the work between the mid-first to early second century CE.⁶⁵⁷ Intriguingly, 4 Macc avoids using *κύριος* with reference to God. This is clear when comparing passages where the author of 4 Macc relies on 2 Macc. For example, in 2 Macc 3:22 the priests and women pray to the “Almighty Lord” (τὸν παγκρατῆ κύριον) for the safeguarding of the temple treasury, but in 4 Macc 4:9 the priests and women implore “God” (τὸν θεόν). Even more pointedly, as righteous Eleazer is “burned to his very bones” he lifted up his eyes and said:

4 Macc 6:27 “You know, O God (θεέ) that though I might have saved myself, I am dying in burning torments for the sake of the law...”

2 Macc 6:30 “It is clear to the Lord (τῷ κυρίῳ) in his holy knowledge that, though I might have been saved from death, I am enduring terrible sufferings in my body under this beating, but in my soul I am glad...”

These examples show that the choice of *θεος* by the author of 4 Macc involved a deliberate decision, in light of his source 2 Macc, to avoid *κύριος*. A comparison of 1, 2, and 4 Maccabees shows that even works originally composed in Greek diverge in their choice of term for Jewish deity.⁶⁵⁸

4.4.3.4 Josephus

Josephus, writing around the same time as the author of 4 Macc, prefers *θεος* and *δέσποτης* for God. He makes considerable use of the Septuagint in *Antiquities*, often following it

⁶⁵⁷ See Tessa Rajak, “The Fourth Book of Maccabees in a Multi-Cultural City,” in *Jewish and Christian Communal Identities in the Roman World* (ed. Yair Furstenberg; AJEC; Leiden: Brill, 2016), 134–150.

⁶⁵⁸ 3 Macc also uses *κύριος*. Because this work shows dependence on the Greek additions to Esther and Daniel, but also growing tensions between Alexandrians and Jews, it is often taken as an early Roman composition (30 BCE–70 CE). In 3 Macc 2:2 we find an intriguing use of the double vocative in a prayer introducing a long epithet phrase (Κύριε κύριε, βασιλεῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ δέσποτα πάσης κτίσεως...). This is similar to the prayer in 2 Macc 1:24 (Κύριε κύριε ὁ θεός, ὁ πάντων κτίστης...) and Mordecai’s prayer in the addition to Esther (C1–2; Κύριε κύριε βασιλεῦ πάντων κρατῶν...).

closely, but we do not find *κύριος* in his paraphrase/rewriting of biblical events. Concerning the command not to eat from the tree of knowledge of good and evil, Josephus writes,

Gen 2:16 LXX καὶ ἐνετείλατο κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀδαμ,
Ant. 1:40 Ὁ δὴ τοίνυν θεὸς τὸν Ἄδαμον...ἐκέλευε...

When Melchizedek meets Abram in Gen 14 (LXX) the deity is ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὑψιστος, but Josephus renders this important encounter with ὁ θεὸς. In the description of the event involving the destruction of Sodom and Gomorra, for Josephus, the deity is much more Zeus-like, casting fire bolts,

Gen 19:24 LXX κύριος ἔβρεξεν ἐπὶ Σοδομα καὶ Γομορρα
Ant. 1:203 ὁ θεὸς ἐνσκήπτει βέλος εἰς τὴν πόλιν

Even in the often cited passage where Josephus provides a gloss of “ἄδωνι” as “κύριος” he says nothing about the Jewish deity:

At that time the Chananaians were at the height of their power. They took their stand for battle with a large army at Zebeke, having entrusted the leadership to the king of the Zebekenoι, Adonizebek (whose name means “lord of the Zebekenoι,” for “adoni” is “lord” in the Hebrew language) (ὁ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτο σημαίνει Ζεβεκηνηῶν κύριος ἄδωνι γὰρ τῇ Ἑβραίων διαλέκτῳ κύριος γίνεται)...(*Ant.* 5:121)

This shows that by the end of the first century Josephus understood these terms as formal equivalents, but there is no suggestion by Josephus that *κύριος* should refer to the Jewish deity. Josephus does use *κύριος*, some 50 times, but it always accords with the standard Hellenistic idiom of referring to gods and kings.

There are two exceptions to Josephus’ avoidance of *κύριος* for God. As with the quotations of the early Jewish-Hellenistic authors, however, the originality of these occurrences is unclear. In *Ant.* 13:68 (Isa 19:19), Josephus states that the prophet Isaiah foretold, “there should be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God, ’...”

Isa 19:19 LXX ἔσται θυσιαστήριον τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν χώρᾳ Αἰγυπτίων

Ant. 13:68 ἔσται θυσιαστήριον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ

The biblical quote, as preserved in Josephus has a unique plus, τῷ θεῷ, not attested in any other Septuagint witness. If this reflects Josephus' *Vorlage*, then he rearranged the syntax and added τῷ θεῷ. But if he went to this measure to add τῷ θεῷ it would seem natural, given his consistent avoidance of κύριος elsewhere, to omit κυρίῳ here. The unique plus more likely reflects Josephus' consistent replacement κύριος with θεος. The text even mirrors the pattern of articulation with τῷ θεῷ paralleling the LXX τῷ κυρίῳ. It seems more likely that κυρίῳ was added in the transmission history of Josephus in order to harmonize it more closely with the LXX reading.⁶⁵⁹

The only other uses of κύριος for God in Josephus are found in *Ant.* 20.89–90. Josephus records the supplication of Izates—a client king of the Parthians—to the God of Israel: “Then he called upon God, and said, ‘O Master Lord (ὃ δέσποτα κύριε), if I have not in vain committed myself to thy goodness, but have justly determined that thou only art the Lord and principal of all beings (τῶν πάντων δὲ δικαίως μόνον καὶ πρῶτον ἡγῆμαι κύριον), come...to my assistance, and defend me...” Following the entreaty of Izates, according to Josephus, God vindicates him and he rules in peace for the rest of his life. Here, κυριος is used twice by the Parthian client king, who professes faith in the God of Israel. This use of κύριος, however, fits comfortably within the conventions of Hellenistic political discourse. Even as Josephus writes the title in his text, he

⁶⁵⁹ Fitzmyer, “The Semitic Background,” 121–22, also discusses the evidence in Josephus and considers the rarity of κύριος as evidence for the rarity of the title in the pre-Christian Greek biblical manuscripts, but he also does not think that these instances result from later Christian scribal habits. He asks if this was the case, why are there only two instances, and not many more? He also suggests that Josephus' *Vorlage* could constitute a more complex problem than often assumed, stressing the diversity of Greek versions in the first century CE, thus accounting at some level for the stray occurrences of κύριος. For more on Josephus' *Vorlage* see below.

puts the term in the mouth of Izates, a non-Jew, who shows deference to foreign deity, in this case the God of Israel. This allows Josephus to use *κύριος* for God according to Greco-Roman idiom similar to his other uses. Furthermore, there is not a single reference to God as *κύριος* in *War*. In fact, the Roman commanders interpreted the internal sedition among rival Jewish factions to signify that the “providence of God” had crossed over to their side. The commanders then urged Vespasian, their *κύριον τῶν ἄλλων*, to advance on Jerusalem (*War* 4:366). Vespasian takes the wiser course to let the Jews exhaust their resources in fighting each other, explaining that “God acts as a general of the Romans better than he can.” This is Josephus’ quotation of Vespasian speaking in the third person about himself.

Baudissin, Markus, and Fischer assumed that Josephus used a Hebrew *Vorlage* as a biblical source for his *Antiquities*, and proposed that he avoided *κύριος* because it signaled the Tetragrammaton, which as a priest, Josephus was careful to avoid.⁶⁶⁰ More recently, scholars have doubted to what extent Josephus’ *Vorlage* is recoverable,⁶⁶¹ and even if an analysis of Josephus’ terms for God is questionable, as based on his assumed *Vorlage*, other variables suggest that Joseph chose to avoid *κύριος* based on his literary goals and his intended audience.

⁶⁶⁰ J. B. Fischer, “The Term *despotes* in Josephus,” *JQR* 49 (1958): 132–38; Ralph Marcus, “Divine Names and Attributes in Hellenistic Literature,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 2 (1931–32), 45–120. This is often connected to the view that Josephus did not think the Tetragrammaton should be revealed to Gentiles; cf. *Ant.* 2.276, which scholars have argued was a factor in his use of *δεσποτης*, e.g., *Ant.* 1.72, 272; 2.270.

⁶⁶¹ Paul Spilsbury, “Josephus and the Bible,” in *A Companion to Josephus*, 128, summarizes the situation: “Generally speaking, Josephus implies that he used a Hebrew text throughout (*Ant.* 1.12), and it would be surprising if he did not in fact have recourse to Hebrew biblical texts for his work. Additionally, there is also evidence that he had at his disposal Greek translations of the Bible (e.g., Begg and Spilsbury 2005, 265–266, on the various versions of the Book of Daniel Josephus may have used), and it is likely that he relied heavily on Greek texts throughout his biblical paraphrase... Indeed, while there is nothing intrinsically implausible about the idea of Josephus using Bible texts in each of these languages (Basser 1987, 21; Feldman 1988, 466), his expansive paraphrase is so loosely based on his source texts that determination of the precise character of those texts is now impossible (Rajak 2009, 252–253).”

In reflection on the view that Josephus equated κύριος with the Tetragrammaton, McDonough writes that “[w]hile there is a remote possibility that this indicates a reluctance on his part to employ even the Greek surrogate for the name YHWH, it is far more likely that Josephus is attempting to use the most generally accepted term for God possible.”⁶⁶² Along similar lines, Morton Smith has claimed that Josephus’ use of θεος was intended as a general reference to the deity, to be understood within the larger context of the Jewish adjustment to the pagan world. In many places, Josephus seems to intend double meanings. Regarding divine designations, then, “Josephus’ works are full of such references, which pagans would read as referring to “a god,” but which Josephus expected his Jewish readers to understand as references to the Jewish god.”⁶⁶³ Gohei Hata has related Josephus’ avoidance of κύριος, more specifically to Gentile perceptions of Jewish traditions. Hata examined Josephus’ literary presentation of the topic of blasphemy in the context of the simmering antagonistic views of Gentiles towards Jews. As monotheists, the Jews were often accused of atheism, thus threatening the established order of the Greco-Roman pantheon. In *Ant* 4:202, Josephus changes the object of blasphemy from the “name of the Lord” to “God.” Then, in *Ant.* 4:407, Josephus presents his version of Exod 22:27 (“You shall not revile God (κύριος/θεός), or curse a leader of your people), as follows: Βλασφημείτω δὲ μηδεὶς θεός οὐς πόλεις ἄλλαι νομίζουσι. For Josephus, this conveniently coheres with what he already said about blasphemy in *Ant* 4:202, based also in the LXX’s rendering θεός, a Greek command not to revile “gods.” Gata considers Josephus’ presentation of this law “to confirm that the Jews do not dare to blaspheme any god, be it their own god or the gods of

⁶⁶² McDonough, *YHWH at Patmos*, 86.

⁶⁶³ Morton Smith, “The Occult in Josephus,” in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity* (ed. Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 237.

any other religion; the Jews are not ‘atheists,’ as it was being rumored.”⁶⁶⁴ Lastly, Louis Feldman has stated that “throughout *Antiquities* Josephus, while focusing on the achievements of his heroes, de-emphasizes the role of G-d.”⁶⁶⁵ The natural implication of this literary strategy would be the avoidance of divine designations that might draw unnecessary attention to the role of God in Israel’s history, which would make the designation θεος most appealing. Overall, if the one occurrence of κύριος in Josephus’ quotation of LXX Isa 19:19 (*Ant* 13:68) can be explained as a later harmonization with the LXX, then there is not a single use of κύριος in Josephus that has a connection to the Septuagint use of κύριος for God. The use by the client king Izates accords with Greco-Roman idiom. The use of terms for God in Josephus must be understood in the larger context of early Jewish authors preferring some divine designations but not others.

In summary of the use and non-use of κύριος, the available epigraphic and literary evidence suggests that Jews began using κυριος in writing approximately during the second and first centuries BCE, but such uses are not uniform or standard. At both ends there are writers for whom κύριος was not significant: the Jewish-Hellenistic authors of the early second century BCE and Josephus and 4 Macc of the late first century CE. But among these, other writers use κύριος, including the Greek additions earlier works (Esther, A–F), original Jewish-Greek compositions (2 Macc), and also epigraphic sources (Ach 70 and Ach 71). Further evidence may be adduced from 4Q126, if the reading is accurate, and the apotropaic prayer of P. Fouad 203.

⁶⁶⁴ Hata, “The Story of Moses Interpreted within the Context of anti-Semitism,” in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, 192–93; cf. *Ant.* 4:202–207; *Contra Apion* 2:237.

⁶⁶⁵ Feldman, “Josephus’ Portrayal of the Hasmoneans,” in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period* (ed. Fausto Parente and Joseph Sievers; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 63. In the Ruth pericope, Josephus does not mention God at all (*Ant.* 5.318–336).

4.4.4 Comparative Greco-Roman Uses of Κύριος

The picture from the epigraphic and literary sources for the use and non-use of *κύριος* fits approximately well with other developments in the expected range of uses for *κύριος* in non-Jewish Greco-Roman sources of the late Hellenistic and early Roman period. I will not elaborate further on this subject, except to call attention to two areas that may provide helpful comparative data for further study. The first concerns the grammatical uses of the *κύριος* in the first century CE, and the second is the much discussed Greco-Roman attribution of *κύριος* title to gods and human rulers only in first century BCE/CE, beginning in the eastern Mediterranean, primarily Egypt and Syria, and spreading west.⁶⁶⁶

Classicist Eleanor Dickey has demonstrated that *κύριος* does not acquire a vocative until the first century CE.⁶⁶⁷ An examination of numerous Greek documentary and literary sources shows that *κύριος* “suddenly acquired a vocative after centuries of being conspicuously unusable in address.”⁶⁶⁸ This was necessary, she argues, because the need arose for an equivalent to the Latin form of address *domine*; thus *κύριε* became the translation of *domine*, not the other way around, as often assumed. Dickey notes that apart from one use in Pindar the only exception to the vocative *κύριε*, before the first century CE, is in the Septuagint and Septuagint quotations. When the need arose to address God, the translators rendered *κύριε* “even though this vocative did not really exist in Greek.”⁶⁶⁹ Other Jewish-Greek works from the Second Temple period, noted above, use the double vocative “*κύριε κύριε*,” which appears to be characteristic of some

⁶⁶⁶ As noted above, for a helpful presentation of secondary scholarship on the origin of *κύριος* in Jewish usage, see Fitzmyer, “The Semitic Background,” 115–127.

⁶⁶⁷ Dickey, “KYRIE, ΔΕΣΠΟΤΑ, *Domine*: Greek Politeness in the Roman Empire,” *Journal of Hellenistic Studies* 121 (2001): 1–11.

⁶⁶⁸ Dickey, “KYRIE,” 6.

⁶⁶⁹ Dickey, “KYRIE,” 5.

early Jewish prayers, for example, as found in 2 and 3 Macc, and the Greek addition to Esther (C1–2).⁶⁷⁰ Dickey views the Septuagint use of the vocative as an innovation, but its emergence across the Mediterranean world was an independent development related *domine*. With reference to the New Testament, Dickey suggests that the noticeable rise in the use of κύριε between early and late NT books can be explained according to this broader evolution in the Greek language of the first century CE.⁶⁷¹

For all this research on the late emergence of the vocative, Dickey was not aware of the debate over the earliest rendering of the divine name in the Septuagint and assumed that κύριος went back to the third century BCE, as the translation for both יהוה and אֲדֹנָי.⁶⁷² In light of the present study, I do not mention her work to imply that this theory supports a late emergence of κύριος in Greek biblical texts. To fully engage the questions arising out of the grammatical use of the vocative, recourse should be made to the larger question of the Septuagint's use and innovation of the Greek language. My purpose in drawing this comparison is simply to show that from the perspective of the extant evidence, a Jewish use of κύριος beginning in the second or first century BCE would be closer to the accepted grammatical usage of the vocative κύριε. The fact is that the majority of evidence for Dickey's study becomes available in the first century CE; and while this evidence is "considerable" there is still a relative silence from earlier periods that make room for the emergence of the vocative slightly earlier than she proposes.⁶⁷³

⁶⁷⁰ In total, the double vocative is found in the Septuagint (18x), the New Testament (4x), Philo (1x), and Pseudepigrapha (6x).

⁶⁷¹ Dickey, "KYRIE," 6. She situates in this development the use by Philo, in his address of Gaius as κύριε Γάιε, around 40 CE (*Leg.* 356), and the uses of Epictetus.

⁶⁷² (personal correspondence via email).

⁶⁷³ For the scope of the evidence, see Dickey, "KYRIE," 6–7 n. 28.

Another aspect of the accepted Greco-Roman usage of *κύριος* was evolving during the first century BCE/CE: the designation of gods and human rulers as *κύριος*. The title is frequently used in classical literature as a divine appellative as early as the seventh century BCE, and later in the poems of Pindar: “Zeus dispenses both good and bad, Zeus the master of all (Ζεὺς ὁ πάντων κυριος),” which written about 478 BCE.⁶⁷⁴ But the use of this title for god and rulers is rare before first century BCE/CE. Augustus (12 BCE) is called *θεὸς καὶ κύριος Καῖσαρ Αὐτοκράτωρ*.⁶⁷⁵ Herod the Great is called *βασιλεὺς Ἡσώδης κύριος*, and Agrippa I and II are called *κύριος βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας*, and *βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀγρίππας κύριος*.⁶⁷⁶ Nero (54–68 CE) becomes *ο του παντος κοσμου κυριος*.⁶⁷⁷ According to Foerster “[f]rom Nero on a steady increase in the use of *κύριος* may thus be discerned.”⁶⁷⁸

Most scholars agree that the absolute use of *κύριος* takes on new political and religious meanings in the eastern Mediterranean, but the point of contact between this Hellenistic secular usage and its employment in Jewish texts and/or NT texts has been debated. A crucial aspect of the debate has involved the assumption of whether or not *κύριος* was the original Septuagint translation.⁶⁷⁹ Foerster, for example, has stated:

⁶⁷⁴ *Isthmian* 5, 53.

⁶⁷⁵ *BGU* 1197, 1:15.

⁶⁷⁶ *OGI* 415; 418; 423; 426; 425.

⁶⁷⁷ *SIG* 814, 31.

⁶⁷⁸ Foerster, “*κύριος*,” *TDNT*. These uses are probably connected to philosophical trends in the Hellenistic world. For example, Adolf Deissmann considered the use of *κύριος* to result from the cultural environment in which a proper name for God was peculiar against the backdrop of universalizing theological trends. See Deissmann, *Die Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus* (repr. 1903; Analecta Gorgiana 179; Georias Press, 2010), 1–28. Wilkinson summarized this perspective on the emergence of *κύριος* by saying it was “more suggestive of universality and better suited to rival in the current idiom the claims of emperors and gods of the Greco-Roman world.” Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton*, 51.

⁶⁷⁹ This debate has its origins primarily in the work of Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus* (trans. John E. Steely; repr. 1913; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2013), 119–52; see important critique in foreword by Larry Hurtado. Other studies espouse similar views: Rudolf Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (vol. 1; trans. Kendrick Grobel; repr. 1951; Waco: Baylor

There are no instances of Philip of Macedonia, of Alexander the Great, or of any of the early Diadochoi being called *κύριοι*, just as there are no instances of gods being called *κύριοι* in this period. . . The first example of *κύριος* used of deity is to be found in the LXX, and in the light of the above exposition it is most unlikely that this is following an accepted usage.⁶⁸⁰

Charles Dodd also emphasized the peculiar use of *κύριος* in the LXX: “[T]he absolute use of *κύριος* in the LXX differs essentially from such uses as *κύριος Σαρᾶπις*, or *κύριος βασιλεὺς θεός* used of a reigning king.”⁶⁸¹ Conzelmann, drawing on the extant evidence for the use of both *ιαω* and the Tetragrammaton in Jewish-Greek biblical texts, argued against the pre-Christian use of *κύριος* in the LXX: “Christian use of *κύριος* cannot be derived from the LXX. The reverse is in fact the case. Once the title began to be used, it was found again in the Bible.”⁶⁸² The position of Qumran scholars, primarily Stegemann, Skehan, and Tov, has favored the emergence of *κύριος* at a later stage in the Septuagint’s transmission, at least not as early as the Pentateuch’s translation in the mid-third century BCE.

As with the evolving grammatical uses of *κυριε* in the first century CE, more study is needed on the question of how Jewish texts (and for much of twentieth century scholarship, specifically NT texts) use of *κύριος* in light of the comparative developments in the Greco-Roman world. The brief sampling of the use and non-use of *κύριος* in Jewish-literary texts above,

University Press, 2007), 1.124–26; Sigfried Schulz, “Maranatha und Kyrios Jesus,” *ZNW* 53 (1962): 128–31; Hans Conzelmann, *Outline of the Theology of the New Testament* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 82–84.

⁶⁸⁰ Foerster, “*κύριος*,” *TDNT*.

⁶⁸¹ Charles H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (repr. 1935; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1954), 11: “There is no exact parallel to this in earlier or contemporary Greek. The complete disappearance of any personal name for God from the Greek Bible, and the substitution of the title *κύριος*, amounted in itself to a manifesto of monotheism.”

⁶⁸² Conzelmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 83–84.

beginning in the second century BCE, comes much closer to the accepted time period for when the title *κύριος* is attributed to gods and kings in the broader Greco-Roman cultural milieu.⁶⁸³

4.5 Conclusion: Historical Developments in the Use of the Divine Name in Greek Texts

We now have at our disposal a wide range of material to assess how scholars have described the use of the divine name in the textual history of Greek biblical texts. As early as 1929, Baudissin argued in his multi-volume study that *κύριος* was the original translation of the Tetragrammaton in the Septuagint, which then facilitated or influenced the later replacement of the Tetragrammaton with *יהוה*, the formal equivalent of *κύριος*.⁶⁸⁴ Baudissin's work garnered a large following, but his hypothesis was seriously doubted with the flood of new epigraphic, inscriptional, and archaeological evidence in the decades to follow. Beginning with Waddell's announcement of P. Fouad 266b, such new material cast doubt on Baudissin's views, especially the relationship between *יהוה* and *κύριος*. Robert Hanhart summarized the reversal of Baudissin's position:

The replacement of the sacred name with *יהוה*, undoubtedly first transmitted masoretically, but already presumed in the *Damascus Document* [15:1], is the precursor and origin of the translation of the name *יהוה* in the LXX as *κύριος*, not (*contra* Graf Baudissin) the consequence drawn from it by the Masoretes.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸³ The arrival and occupation of the Romans in the Near East under Pompey in 63 BCE provides the background to the first century BCE work, Psalms of Solomon. The sovereignty of an earthly ruler, presumably a direct allusion to Pompey, is brought into direct confrontation with God. Pss. Sol. 2:29: "He said, 'I shall be lord of land and sea (*κύριος γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης*),' and he did not understand that it is God who is great (*ὁ θεὸς μέγας*), powerful in his great strength. He is king over the heavens, judging even kings and rulers... now, official of the earth, see the judgment of the Lord (*τὸ κρίμα τοῦ κυρίου*)..." This text offers a vignette into the process whereby the secular Hellenistic notions of *κύριος* are transferred to God. The process is underway by the mid first century BCE.

⁶⁸⁴ Baudissin, *Kyrios*, 2:1–17, esp. 15: "Aus dem Gebrauch des *κύριος* in unserem Septuagintatext läßt sich nämlich ersehen, daß in der alexandrinischen Übersetzung von Anfang an nicht nur die Aussprache *κύριος* für *jhwh* vorausgesetzt, sondern das *κύριος* auch geschrieben war."

⁶⁸⁵ Robert Hanhart, "Introduction: Problems in the History of the LXX Text from its Beginnings to Origen," in Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon* (trans. Bark E. Biddle; Edinburgh & New York: T & T Clark, 2002), 7–8.

But for Hanhart, the original translation of the Tetragrammaton in the mid-third century BCE was still *κύριος*. For him, this simply moved the time of the spoken replacement of the Tetragrammaton with *יהוה* to the third century BCE. Other scholars took the evidence in a different direction. Modifying the earlier proposals of Bousset and Bultman—and with the new pre-Christian Greek biblical discoveries at their disposal—Kahle, Cerfaux, Schulz, and Conzelmann advanced the view that the use *κύριος* for God in the LXX was a Christian scribal innovation that began in NT writings and later spread to their LXX copies. The result was the consistent replacement of early Jewish terms for God with *κύριος*, as represented in the extant record beginning in the second century CE.⁶⁸⁶ Fitzmyer considered the scarcity of evidence for *κύριος* suggestive for the likelihood that *κύριος* did not go back to the earliest translation, but he also suggested that some uses of *κύριος* in biblical quotations in early Jewish-Greek literature are difficult to explain on the assumption that later Christian scribes introduced *κύριος* in the process of transmission.⁶⁸⁷

The work of Stegemann and Skehan can be contrasted with the conclusions of Hanhart. They drew on the evidence from Qumran to argue that the replacement of the Tetragrammaton with *יהוה* occurred about a century after Hanhart assumed, namely the second century BCE, thus the use of *κύριος* as a spoken replacement likely did not go back to the Old Greek translation.

⁶⁸⁶ Paul Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, 222; Lucien Cerfaux, “Kyrios dans les citations pauliniennes de l’Ancient Testament,” in *Recueil Lucien Cerfaux* (BETL 6; Gembloux: Duculot, 1954), I. 173–88; Schulz, “Maranatha und Kyrios Jesus,” 128–31; Conzelmann, *Theology*, 82–84.

⁶⁸⁷ Fitzmyer, “The Semitic Background,” 122, mentions the use of *κύριος* in a citation of Deut 7:18–19 from the *Letter of Aristeas* 155, but importantly asks, “are we to invoke the habits of Christian scribes in a text-tradition such as this? Similarly, one could here appeal to further pseudepigraphical writings of this period.” He also states that “This evidence for the use of *κύριος* among Jews in pre-Christian times or among Jews contemporary with early Christians in Palestine does not outweigh the evidence for the preservation of the tetragrammaton in most Jewish copies of the Greek OT. But it is evidence that must be considered in the background of the following data that are to be adduced from the Semitic area in the next section of this paper.” Fitzmyer’s focus was elucidating the origin of the NT title for Jesus, but here he shows the importance of a late Second Temple Jewish use.

Stegemann offered a three-stage scenario of development, which Skehan further fleshed out in four stages.

Under the heading “Development in Greek Manuscripts” Skehan argued that the first stage begins with the rendering of the Tetragrammaton as the transliteration of $\iota\omega$, represented by 4Q120. His primary reason 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.⁶⁸⁸

Because $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ is the equivalent of the *qere* דְּנִי , and the use of דְּנִי as a spoken replacement does not emerge until the second century BCE, there was no reason why $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ should be used.

Skehan’s second stage is the square-Aramaic script Tetragrammaton in P. Fouad 266b. This stage is determined by the paleographic date of the manuscript, but also because its textual character is not as strongly revisionary when compared to other Greek biblical texts. This practice is placed after the use of $\iota\omega$ because the square-Aramaic script signals spoken avoidance.⁶⁸⁹ The third stage is the use of paleo-Hebrew for the Tetragrammaton in Greek biblical manuscripts. These manuscripts date on paleographic grounds later than the earlier texts and show clear evidence of the so-called $\kappa\alpha\iota\gamma\epsilon$ revision of the Old Greek towards a Hebrew exemplar. Skehan states that “[f]rom Qumran practice we can see the impetus for a spread of this

⁶⁸⁸ Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 29. Here he cites as further support Diodorus, Origen, and the onomastic uses of $\iota\omega$, for example, in P. Oxy 2745 “which must be archaic... from an earlier period of Jewish practice.” Skehan also mentions that “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 interpretation, are clearly drawn from the text of the LXX, and the whole was meant to be a companion to that version.” See D. Rokeah, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri XXXVI* (ed. R. A. Coles et al.; London: British Academy, 1970), 1–6. For further confirmation and indepth treatment of P. Oxy 2745, see Shaw, *Earliest Non-Mystical*, 15–17.

⁶⁸⁹ Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 32: “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.”

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.”⁶⁹⁰ Skehan here reflects more broadly on the use of paleo-Hebrew for divine names at Qumran and Naḥal Ḥever, positing that the trend to use paleo-Hebrew beginning around 50 BCE characterizes manuscripts from both locations. It is important to keep in mind, though, that there are no Greek manuscripts from Qumran that use paleo-Hebrew. Lastly, the fourth stage of development is the “arrival of Kyrios in at least the Christian copies of LXX as a replacement for ΙΑΩ/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.”⁶⁹¹ I return to this observation in my closing statements below.

Skehan concludes his essay by examining the translation practices of LXX versions of Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Minor Prophets against the background of spoken and written avoidance of the divine name at Qumran and Masada. He first addresses LXX Ezekiel, Papyrus 967, commenting that the use of אדני יהוה in first person speech of the prophet is a “deliberate, comprehensive structure essential to the book.” He states that this “structure makes sense when יהוה אדני is understood as “My Lord, Yahweh,” with “lord” not a title or name, but a personal

⁶⁹⁰ Skehan, 33.

⁶⁹¹ Skehan, 34.

claim by the prophet.”⁶⁹² Importantly, almost all occurrences of יהוה אדני in OG Ezekiel are rendered by the single name κύριος, although a cluster of 15 occurrences use ΚΣ Ο ΘΣ.⁶⁹³

This Christian copy cannot be far from a Jewish prototype... 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 [ΘΣ]⁶⁹⁴ readings evidence of a Jewish source that judged the best reflection of יהוה אדני in a translation to be one that followed the Palestinian *qere* Adonay Elohim. This presupposes that the same source was satisfied that Kyrios in the text was a proper reflection of Hebrew אדני; 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 *qere*.⁶⁹⁵

Skehan equates the early rendering of יהוה אדני with the single κύριος in LXX Ezekiel to be “on par” with the similar patterns of rendering in LXX Isaiah. The first two instances apparently do not reflect an established pattern (7:7; 25:28), but he views the remaining 15 uses all to be in line with Ezekiel. Lastly, Skehan considers the evidence from the LXX Minor Prophets, where there are 23 occurrences of יהוה אדני, and 12 read only κύριος, 9 render κύριος ο θεος, and 2 κύριε κύριε.

For the LXX prophetic corpus, excluding Jeremiah, Skehan suggests that in the background of the earliest stage of the Greek text lies the Jewish *qere* tradition. The spoken אדני

⁶⁹² Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 35. The origin of the compound יהוה אדני has been debated. Some scholars see it as original to the prophetic utterance, such as Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 64–65, and Friedrich Baumgärtel, “Zu den Gottesnamen in den Büchern Jeremia und Ezechiel,” in *Verbanung und Heimkehr. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie Israels im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Festschrift Wilhelm Rudolph* (ed. Arnulf Kuschke; Tübingen: Mohr, 1961), 27, while other have argued that אדני entered the text as a written *qere* to avoid pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton; see Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 217, followed by Ben-Dov, “The Elohist Psalter,” 97–100. Ben-Dov suggests that even if the compound is original to the prophet, other instances outside the book of Ezekiel must be related to scribal activity. In his effort to support the view of Schiffman regarding the secondary insertion of אדני as a gloss that found its way into subsequent editions of prophetic books, Ben-Dov drew on the scribal activity of the IQIsaiah scrolls. But these do not seem to support the hypothesis of the secondary nature of אדני in Ezekiel when viewed in light of the larger situation of divine name variants in the biblical scrolls explored in Chapter 3. Thus I find Skehan’s assessment plausible.

⁶⁹³ The patterns of divine names renderings in Papyrus 967 are extensively debated in the discussion of the origin of *nomina sacra*, which has some relevance for the present discussion, although I find Skehan’s outline sufficient for the present discussion. For recent bibliography, see Ingrid E. Lilly, *Two Books of Ezekiel: Papyrus 967 and the Masoretic Text as Variant Literary Editions* (VTSup 150; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 52–54.

⁶⁹⁴ Skehan wrote ΚΣ Ο ΚΣ, but this is clearly a typo; Cf. Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 36.

⁶⁹⁵ Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 36–37.

stands for both the written יהוה and אדני separately, and parallels the use of κύριος for both terms separately or combined יהוה אדני. The *qere* tradition also influenced the rendering of κύριος ο θεος as אדני יהוה. Skehan concludes that “this cannot have come about as exclusively the work of Christian scribes.”⁶⁹⁶ His view is based on the assumption that Christian scribes would not have implemented the Palestinian *qere*, making the practice Jewish. Overall, Skehan holds that *ιαω* was the original rendering of the Tetragrammaton, but for some books the use of κύριος seems to be have developed among Jewish writers.

Albert Pietersma published a widely influential essay in support of the view that κύριος was the original rendering of the Tetragrammaton in the LXX. He dismissed the arguments of previous scholarship in favor of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton based on the recensional character of pre-Christian Greek biblical manuscripts in which they occur. He notes the evidence for *ιαω*, but does not elaborate on its significance. In support of κύριος he furnished grammatical evidence, internal to the LXX, for the articulation/non-articulation of the title, suggesting that these patterns could not have come about unless κύριος was original.⁶⁹⁷ Several scholars have continued to follow Pietersma’s proposal, with some modifications.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁶ Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 38.

⁶⁹⁷ In short, a simple assessment of the extant material, bearing no witness to the use of κύριος, has led scholars to conclude that translators used some form of the Tetragrammaton in the original manuscripts. But the main critique of this view is its naivety in historical method—the lack of evidence cannot be taken as proof of the absence of something. On the other hand, the grammatical and exegetical arguments in favor of an early use of κύριος appear more methodologically sophisticated, but they often produce a historical picture that marginalizes the extant material

⁶⁹⁸ Most notable are the studies of Wevers, Rösel, Perkins, and Smith. Wevers noted an important qualification to Pietersma’s study. Based on the system of articulation that Pietersma finds in the Greek Pentateuch, Wevers showed that this cannot be universally true. For example, one would expect to find in the Greek Psalter, which is an “isolate type of translation,” the rendering of the proper noun יהוה by an unarticulated κύριος. This is the case for many occurrences, but there are also many exceptions, thus Pietersma’s arguments cannot be applied to the Greek Psalter. See Wevers, “The Rendering of the Tetragram,” 33–34; cf. also Perkins, “ΚΥΡΙΟΣ,” 17–33.

Emanuel Tov, in various studies on textual criticism and early Jewish scribal practices, continues to find the hypothesis of Stegemann and Skehan the most compelling, though he observes that the evidence is not decisive. Recently, there is a trend to push against an either/or solution to the original rendering of the Tetragrammaton in Greek biblical text. For example, this tendency is evident in Shaw, Hong, and Wilkinson, each of whom suggests that diversity was probably characteristic of divine name practices from the earliest attempts at translating the Hebrew scriptures into Greek.⁶⁹⁹

Skehan and Fitzmyer have both given indications that the originality of $\iota\alpha\omega$ has the strongest support, but also that the written use of $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ seems to have some role in early Jewish pre-Christian Greek texts.⁷⁰⁰ For Skehan, this was discerned through the Jewish *qere* tradition in the background of LXX Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Minor Prophets, and Fitzmyer gave the example of the use of $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ in a citation of Deut 7:18–19 from the *Letter of Aristeas* 155, which is unlikely to be explained by the later Christian scribal insertion of $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$. The survey of evidence in the current chapter confirms the intuition of these scholars, but offers a more specific proposal.

The evidence for $\iota\alpha\omega$, from nearly every angle, and given the available options, suggests that this designation is the most plausible rendering of the Tetragrammaton in the mid-third century BCE translation of the Pentateuch. The logical scenarios provide the strongest theoretical backing for this position. Supposing $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ was earlier, as scholars invariably argue is connected to the replacement of the Tetragrammaton with the *qere* יְהוָה , there is no precedent for a scribe to

⁶⁹⁹ See Koog Hong, “The Euphemism for the Ineffable Name of God,” 478–79; Shaw, *The Earliest Non-Mystical Jewish Use of Iaw*. Robert Wilkinson also settles on the position that “different conventions were held by different groups—perhaps at the same time.” See Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton*, 63.

⁷⁰⁰ Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 34; Fitzmyer, “The Semitic Background,” 122.

subsequently replace κύριος with a pronounceable form like ιαω. With our limited evidence, however, it is simply impossible to know what translation choices were followed for each book. Our uncertainty about the earliest rendering of the divine name is underscored by how little we actually know about the origins and purpose of the Septuagint more broadly, and its purpose must have influenced the rendering of the Tetragrammaton. As argued convincingly by Frank Shaw, an either/or answer to the question of the original rendering is likely to be a drastic oversimplification. In this regard, he offers an insightful observation that some passages call for individual explanations, as may be required for Gen 4:26; Exod 3:15; 8:22; 28:32; 32:5; and 33:19. This leads Shaw to suppose that diversity must have been characteristic of the earliest stages of the LXX's translation: "there was no one 'original' form but different translators had different feelings, theological beliefs, motivations, and practices when it came to their handling of the name."⁷⁰¹ The most we can know, empirically, must be drawn from a careful description of the extant sources.

From the analysis of the procedure for writing the divine name in Greek biblical texts, we know that the use of ιαω in 4Q120 is probably not a replacement of an earlier designation. The slight spaces around ιαω, in a manuscript otherwise written in *scriptio continua*, reflect similar spacing conventions to 4Q127 and P. Fouad 266a, c. In P. Fouad 266b, large spaces may have been measured for κύριος, initially, but these spaces were then filled in with the square-Aramaic script Tetragrammaton. This practice suggests that both κύριος and the square script Tetragrammaton, at least in P. Fouad 266b, were probably not original. The purpose of the Tetragrammaton within the Greek text was likely intended to avoid its pronunciation. This means

⁷⁰¹ Shaw, *Earliest*, 262, 271.

that a pronounceable form of the divine name would have a logical warrant for occupying this space previously. The most fitting hypothesis, in light of available options, would be that $\iota\alpha\omega$ was the earliest divine name in manuscript tradition of P. Fouad 266b. In summary, during the first century BCE, we have evidence of contrasting Greek practices: 4Q120 reflects both the spoken and written use of the divine name, while end product of P. Fouad 266b reflects its use in writing, but avoidance in speech.

The purpose of the paleo-Hebrew script Tetragrammaton in 8HevXIIgr, P. Oxy 3522, and P. Oxy 5101 was also to avoid pronunciation of the divine name. These manuscripts are dated from the mid first century BCE to the end of the first century CE. The interpretation of the Tetragrammaton as a sign of Hebraization or revision towards a Hebrew exemplar is based on other features involving revision that are found in these manuscripts; the same explanation need hardly apply to the use of the Tetragrammaton. The procedure for writing the divine name is more difficult to understand. The paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton, at least in 8HevXIIgr and P. Oxy 3522, is written left-to-right in sequence with the Greek text, apparently by the same scribe. The paleo-Hebrew *yod* in P. Oxy 5101 seems to be inaccurately assimilated with the shape of the *heh*, which may suggest the scribe did not have genuine knowledge of the Tetragrammaton. In these cases, the scribes would not be spelling the divine name, but instead drawing it, as a symbol they encountered in the texts they were copying. If this is correct, the basic implication of the procedure would mean that the scribe is copying from a *Vorlage* that also contained the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew, which was simply replicated in the extant copies.

Overall, the extant Second Temple Greek biblical manuscripts show the avoidance of the divine name in speech, but not in writing, the latter continued well into the first century CE, until Christian scribes largely took over the transmission of Jewish Greek biblical texts and worked to

standardize terms for God with *κύριος* in the *nomina sacra*, a convention which seems to have been in force since earliest Christian transmission. Yet, it is improbable that *κύριος* entered Greek biblical manuscripts only in the first century CE. Apart from the widely held view that *κύριος* was used in reading Greek biblical texts that show evidence for avoiding the Tetragrammaton, Jewish religious uses of *κύριος*, as indicated by epigraphic and literary sources that are implausible to explain as the result of later Christian scribal habits—Greek additions to Esther, 2–3 Macc, Ach 70 and 71, 4Q126 (?), P. Fouad 203, and others—show that Jews began using *κύριος* in writing around the second century BCE. I would tentatively submit that the emergence of *κύριος* happened among Jewish-Greek writers of original Greek compositions as they experimented with the Greek language in effort to articulate the most fitting terms for God in light of their literary goals and audiences. At some later point, these rendering began to work their way into pre-Christian Greek biblical texts. That some divine name translation patterns are best explained as having the *qere* system in the background, suggested by Skehan through the rendering of אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה as the singular *κύριος* in LXX Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Minor Prophets, likely shows that *κύριος* somehow made its way into Jewish scribal circles before the first century CE, but this probably does not go back to the translation of the Pentateuch. At the same time, the use of *κύριος* among Jews never became standard to the same extent that we find in Christian copies of the LXX. This much is suggested by the avoidance of *κύριος* in Josephus and 4 Macc writing at the end of the first century CE. Finally, in order to judge how accurately the notion of development represents the extant evidence, we need now to integrate the evidence for the use and non-use of the divine name from the Greek biblical texts with the Aramaic and Hebrew evidence of the previous chapters.

5 CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The current study has brought together for the first time a complete collection of extant evidence for the use and non-use of the divine name in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek sources from the Second Temple period. This provides scholars and students with an accessible reference work on the Tetragrammaton during the formative stages of early Judaism. In my presentation of the evidence, I have aimed to strike balance between offering enough description, intended to acquaint the reader with the historical context and key issues of interpretation, without getting lost in the extensive debates on various aspects of the divine name. In addition, with the available sources now at hand, we are in a better position to describe the divine name's history during the Second Temple period.

In the following section, I briefly review the traditional perspective on divine name avoidance in the second century BCE. I then offer a modified chronology for the divine name's history based on the current collection of evidence. In the end, this study sheds light on the origin and reasons for avoidance practices in the Persian period, raises important questions about the representative value of the most often cited sources, and lastly, shows that overlap in both the use and non-use of the divine name is more characteristic of the Second Temple period than previous scholarship has suggested.

5.1 Avoidance in the Second Century BCE and the Paradigm of Linear Development: From Use to Non-Use

Scholars have generally depicted the second century BCE as a time of transformation in divine name practices. But only a handful of sources, mostly references in antiquity to various restrictions on the use of the Tetragrammaton, are quoted in support of this notion. Traced back to Geiger and affirmed by most scholars since, the death of the high priest "Simon the Just" (ca.

200 BCE) marked the beginning of changes in the Temple liturgy. This led to a reticence in the use of the divine name. Urbach and Stegemann have qualified the significance of this event. Importantly, without the commentary of t. Sotah 13.8, a much later rabbinic passage, we would only know that Simon the Just “raised his hands over the whole congregation of Israelites, to pronounce the blessing of the Lord with his lips, and to glory in his name” (Sir 50:20). The later rabbinic passage associates the death of Simon with the cessation of the divine name in Israel. Skehan’s suggestion that Sir 50:20 “seems to make not only the blessing, but also the pronouncing of the Name, a special privilege of the high priest” is inferred from later Qumran and rabbinic sources. This view cannot be derived from the evidence of Sirach itself. It has been demonstrated, moreover, especially by Marmorstein, that rabbinic literature attests to a range of views on the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton; these result from diverging halakhic positions and theological perspectives.

In addition to the famous remark on Simon the Just in t. Sotah 13.8 (=b. Menah 109b; b. Yoma 39b), rabbinic sources contain evidence not only for prohibitions in speech⁷⁰² and hints at prohibition in writing,⁷⁰³ but also continued use in speech⁷⁰⁴ alongside various restrictions or concealment.⁷⁰⁵ The rabbinic sources are clearly important to keep in mind, but given their late date and concerns with the social and political worlds of Tannaitic and Amoraic periods, the extant sources from the Second Temple period should now take precedence in our understanding of the Tetragrammaton’s early history.⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰² Infringement of this regulation results in the death penalty, or worse, no share in the world to come; m. Sanh. 10:1; b. Sanh. 55b.

⁷⁰³ MegTa’an; b. Roš Haš 18b.

⁷⁰⁴ m. Ber. 9:5; m. Tamid 7:2 (= m. Sotah 7:6); m. Yoma 3:8, 4:2, 6:2; Sifre (Num 6:27).

⁷⁰⁵ y. Yoma 3:7 [40d–41a]; b. Qidd. 71a; m. Sukkah 4:5; t. Yad. 2:20; Exod. Rab. 3:7; b. Pes. 50a.

⁷⁰⁶ The extreme prohibitions we find in Talmudic literature probably reflect the staunch rabbinic positions against Babylonian magical practices. Becker, “The Magic of the Name,” 403–407.

Apart from Ben Sira and the rabbinic sources, the traditional view that the divine name was avoided by the end of the second century BCE has been supported by reference to Qumran literature, most frequently 1QS 6.27–7.2, CD 15:1–4, and 1QIsa^a. This evidence is typically dated beginning around 100 BCE. According to 1QS, a member is expelled from the *yahad* if he pronounces the holy name, and in CD it is prohibited in oaths. Spoken avoidance lies behind the copy of the biblical scroll 1QIsa^a, which is often cited along with the Qumran evidence. The evidence of 1QIsa^a, in particular, is often assumed to be broadly representative.

Jumping forward to the first century CE, the next major sources for the traditional view are Philo and Josephus. In describing the divine name on the head plate of the high priest, Philo writes that “only those whose ears and tongues are purified may hear or speak [it] in the holy place, and no other person, nor in any other place at all” (*Mos.* 2.114–15). Josephus describes the revelation of the divine name at the burning bush (*Ant.* 2.275–276) and claims that it is not lawful for him to say (*περὶ ἧς οὐ μοι θεμιτὸν εἰπεῖν*). In summary, this skeleton of sources—Sir 50:20 (200 BCE), Qumran/Masada material (100–50 BCE), and Philo and Josephus (first century CE)—has been taken to represent a decisive linear development, from use to non-use, beginning in the second century BCE. Scholars have filled in some gaps with rabbinic sources, but disagree on where and how these sources affect the larger picture.

5.2 *The Representative Value of Frequently Cited Evidence?*

In the earliest stage of Qumran scholarship, Trevor assumed that divine name avoidance in the sectarian scrolls reflected “a trend of the times.”⁷⁰⁷ Stegemann also considered the sectarian avoidance of the Tetragrammaton to be “repräsentativ...für das damalige lokale

⁷⁰⁷ John C. Trevor, “A Paleographic Study of the Jerusalem Scrolls,” *BASOR* 113 (1949): 15.

Judentum” of the Second Temple period.⁷⁰⁸ In light of the current study, as well as the growing appreciation in recent decades for the complexity of Judaism(s) in antiquity, such views need to be reevaluated. I do not consider the sources outlined above to be as representative as often implied. The view that Qumran practices reflect a trend of the times was espoused before all the currently known evidence was available; this was also the time when the rabbinic accounts were leaned on more heavily. In fact, most of the evidence for divine name avoidance comes from the scribes of Qumran. This includes their practice of transmission by dictation (1QIsa^a), consistent avoidance in original sectarian compositions, and marks of avoidance in copies of works that are non-sectarian in origin. In addition, Qumran scribes employed Tetrapuncta and the use of paleo-Hebrew script for divine designations in some manuscripts from each group of the Dead Sea Scrolls (Aramaic, biblical, sectarian, and scrolls of non-sectarian origin). Furthermore, assuming that the sectarian prohibition on using the divine name was relevant, the fact that a prohibition itself existed underscores the likelihood that some people were accustomed to using the divine name, or at least had the potential to use it. A similar principle lies behind Marmorstein’s suggestion that if b. Sanh. 55b could issue the death penalty for pronouncing the Tetragrammaton, then some knew the pronunciation and used it.

In addition to the Qumran evidence, there is a need to reevaluate the representative value of the evidence from Philo and Josephus as it pertains to the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton in the Jewish world of the first century CE. This topic cannot be sufficiently addressed here, but I briefly discuss a few examples that illustrate the particularity of their views. A close reading of these sources, as well as greater attention to the socio-literary environments of

⁷⁰⁸ Stegemann, “Gottesbezeichnungen,” 195.

Philo and Josephus, suggests that the evidence they contain is best understood as idealistic and tied to their respective social standings.

Philo of Alexandria (25 BCE–50 CE) interprets the Greek version of the revelation of the divine name to Moses (Exod 3:14) according to the principle that God does not have a name.

This is a philosophical position. While similar views can be found among contemporary writers, it seems unlikely to have been prevalent among the majority Jewish population of the first century CE. Philo recounts Moses' question to God, and writes:

God replied: First tell them that I am He Who is (ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν), that they may learn the difference between what is and what is not, and also the further lesson that no name at all can properly be used of Me (οὐδὲν ὄνομα τὸ παράπαν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ κυριολογεῖται), to whom all existence belongs.⁷⁰⁹

This reflects Philo's specific interpretation of the passage according to philosophical principles.

His description of the high-priest's vestments in *Migr.* 103 can be understood in a similar way:

The other parts of that vesture call for a longer treatment than the present occasion allows, and must be deferred. Let us however examine the parts by the extremities, head and feet. On the head, then, there is “a plate of pure gold, bearing as an engraving of a signet, ‘a holy thing to the Lord’ (πέταλον χρυσοῦν καθαρὸν, ἔχον ἐκτύπωμα σφραγίδος, ἅγιασμα κυρίῳ)” (Exod 28:36) and at the feet on the end of the skirt, bells and flower patterns. The signet spoken of is the original principle behind all principles, after which God shaped or formed the universe, incorporeal, we know, and discerned by the intellect alone; whereas the flower patterns and bells are symbols of qualities recognized by the senses and tested by sight and hearing.⁷¹⁰

⁷⁰⁹ Philo, *Mos.*, 1.75 (trans. Colson, LCL 261). McDonough suggests that, “[t]he closest one can get to an accurate designation for God in Philo's thinking is ὁ ὢν (and its counterpart τὸ ὄν). This is indicated by his frequent use of these terms, and also by his statement in *Abr.* 121 that ὁ ὢν is God's “proper name” (κυρίῳ ὀνόματι καλεῖται),” with the term κύριος used here as an adjective “fitting, proper.” Still, the use of ὁ ὢν is not technically a name; this passage is anyhow kept in tension with *Mut.* 12 and *Mos.* 1.75, where God cannot have a name. For discussion and bibliography, see McDonough, *YHWH at Patmos*, 79–84.

⁷¹⁰ *Migr.* 103. Philo apparently quotes the Septuagint, albeit in paraphrase. He smooths its close equivalency to the Hebrew text by rendering “καὶ ἐκτυπώσεις ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτύπωμα” with “ἔχον ἐκτύπωμα.” The rest of the quotation is verbatim.

Philo appears to reference the Tetragrammaton as the “signet” (σφραγιῶδος) and describes this as the “principle behind all principles.” In other passages, too, even when the namelessness of God is not in the background, Philo advances his interests in allegorical interpretation. In *Mos.* 2.114–116, 132, for example, he gives a more extensive discussion of the priestly vestments. His description differs from the account given in *Migr.* 103, but a tendency to explain the divine name allegorically or symbolically is evident:

A piece of gold plate, too, was wrought into the form of a crown with four incisions, showing a name which only those whose ears and tongues are purified may hear or speak in the holy place, and no other person, nor in any other place at all. That name has four letters, so says that master learned in divine verities (τετραγράμματος δὲ τοῦνομά φησιν ὁ θεολόγος εἶναι), who, it may be, gives them as symbols of the first numbers, one, two, three and four; since the geometrical categories under which all things fall, point, line, superficies, solid, are all embraced in four. So, too, with the best harmonies in music, the fourth, fifth, octave and double octave intervals, where the ratios are respectively four to three, three to two, two to one and four to one. Four, too, has countless other virtues, most of which I have set forth in detail in my treatise on numbers. Under the crown, to prevent the plate touching the head, was a headband.⁷¹¹

...Above the turban is the golden plate on which the graven shapes of four letters, indicating, as we are told, the name of the Self-Existent (ὄν ὄνομα τοῦ ὄντος), are impressed, meaning that it is impossible for anything that is to subsist without invocation of Him.

The four-letter name can be none other than the Tetragrammaton. According to this passage, the divine name alone occurred on the πέταλον/רַיִצ (“plate”), incised with four letters. But this cannot be drawn directly from the wording of scripture itself, which uses either יהוה or Ἁγίασμα κυρίου (Exod 28:36), and so diverges even from Philo’s earlier account in *Migr.* 103.⁷¹² Yet, another important difference can be discerned in *Moses*. The information Philo gives here appears to have been transmitted to him by another source. The line “so says that master learned

⁷¹¹ *Mos.* 2.114–116.

⁷¹² For discussion of how the quotations of Josephus and Philo relate to the biblical passages, see R. P. Gordon, “Inscribed Pots and Zechariah XIV 20–21,” *VT* 42 (1992): 120–23.

in divine verities (ὁ θεολόγος)...who, it may be, gives them as symbols....” and in the continued quotation “as we are told” seem to point in this direction. After reporting on the divine name, we see Philo’s primary interest. He elaborates on the geometric exegesis of the four letters, an interpretation that is more important to him than a historical-critical investigation of divine name practices in the Temple. Philo presents, not a complete objective picture, but what he considers to be an ideal view of the divine name. It is holy, in keeping with his particular philosophical thoughts about the otherness of God, a deity inexpressible and incomprehensible,⁷¹³ but equally important is the symbolic value of the Tetragrammaton’s letters. It is difficult to see how the exegetical concerns of Philo would be representative of Judaism more broadly. There are, no doubt, Jewish sources that corroborate Philo’s claim regarding the drastic *spoken* restriction of the divine name—only used by priests with purified ears and tongues and only in the Temple—but it leaves much to be filled in regarding the use and non-use of the divine name in Jewish society at large.

That Philo promoted an idealized view of the divine name is also suggested, ironically, by another work of Philo himself, *Embassy to Gaius*. Philo and others journey to Rome in order to represent the Jews who became the victims of violent outbursts in Alexandria, Egypt (40 CE). The Roman emperor Gaius Caligula appears to have knowledge of the divine name, which indirectly shows that the tradition about its restricted use and concealment, to some extent, must be idealistic. In *Embassy* 353, Caligula responds to the Jewish delegation, and mocks the Jewish God. Philo reports:

In a sneering, snarling way he said, “Are you the god-haters who do not believe me to be a god, a god acknowledged among all the other nations but not to be named by you? (οἱ

⁷¹³ Francesca Calabi, “Conoscibilità e inconoscibilità di Dio in Filone di Alessandria,” in *Arrhetos Theos*, 35–54.

θεὸν μὴ νομίζοντες εἶναί με, τὸν ἤδη παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνωμολογημένον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀκατονόμαστον ὑμῖν).” And stretching out his hands towards heaven he gave utterance to an invocatory address which it was a sin even to listen to, much more to reproduce in the actual words.⁷¹⁴

Philo writes that Caligula utters a sinful “invocatory address.” This could be a blasphemous use of the divine name, as many understand it, or more generally mocking slander; the same applies to Philo’s last phrase that it would be a sin to reproduce the “actual words.” The point is that knowledge of the divine name appears to be more wide-spread than conveyed by the other works of Philo. If Caligula does in fact have knowledge of the divine name, perhaps the form *ιαω* as Frank Shaw suggests,⁷¹⁵ then the view that only the high priest, in the most holy place, used the divine name is patently an ideal.

Near the end of the first century CE, Josephus wrote a detailed account of the Jewish war with Rome (66–73/4 CE), and later a comprehensive history of the Jewish people. In these works, he discusses the burning bush episode and the priestly vestments. In *War* 5.235, he mentions that the high priest wore the golden crown inscribed with the divine name, bearing the sacred four-vowels (ἦν στέφανος ἔκτυπα φέρων τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα ταῦτα δ’ ἐστὶ φωνήεντα τέσσαρα). In *Ant.* 3.178, Josephus’ description is similar: ὁς ἱεροῖς γράμμασι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπιτετμημένος ἐστὶ. Both passages underscore that for Josephus the divine name was sacred (*ἱερός*). This description is natural given that before Josephus reinvented himself as a historian, he was a priest.⁷¹⁶ In *Ant.* 2.275–276, Josephus recounts the burning bush episode.

⁷¹⁴ Josephus describes the delegation in *Ant.* 18.257–60.

⁷¹⁵ Shaw, *Earliest*, 93–94, considers it likely that Gaius used *ιαω* on this occasion, rather than the Hebrew Tetragrammaton.

⁷¹⁶ An even earlier reference to the divine name on the high priest’s tiara goes back to the legendary encounter between high priest Yaddua and Alexander of Macedon. After the siege of Tyre, Alexander continues his campaign south towards Jerusalem. He approaches the high priest and to everyone’s amazement bows before the priest and adores the divine name: “For Alexander, when he saw the multitude at a distance, in white garments, while the priests stood clothed with fine linen, and the high priest in purple and scarlet clothing, with his mitre on his

Here, he claims that he is not permitted to say the divine name (περὶ ἧς οὐ μοι θεμιτὸν εἰπεῖν). In summary, it appears that Josephus' views are rather conventional. The divine name is sacred and he is not allowed to say or disclose it. But it is also the case that Josephus focuses almost entirely on the *spoken* avoidance of the divine name. The lack of attention in Josephus to the actual writing of the divine name is apparent when he discusses the bitter water ritual for the trial of a woman caught in adultery (*Ant* 3.270–73 // Num 5). The written-ness of the divine name is a major element of the ritual, but Josephus shows no interest in this aspect. Instead, he focuses on the consequences of taking oaths falsely.⁷¹⁷ As shown throughout this study, spoken avoidance of the divine is only one part of the story. This shows Josephus' selective focus in his discussion of the divine name. In this regard, Philo too focuses primarily on spoken avoidance, and this is in fact characteristic of most ancient writers—from Ben Sira to the *yahad*, through Philo and Josephus, and into the rabbis—all tended to focus on the *spoken* avoidance in their explicit statements about the divine name. Taking the bitter water ritual again as an example, this time from the perspective of the rabbis, m. Sot. 9:9 states that the ritual was brought to an end in the

head, having the golden plate whereon the name of God was engraved, he approached by himself, and adored that name, and first saluted the high priest." (*Ant*. 11.331) This passage probably tells us much more about Josephus' view of the divine name, during the first century CE, than the dubious encounter in which Alexander adores the name. In fact, Josephus felt the need to justify this claim by having Parmenio question Alexander's show of obeisance, Alexander says that he is, in fact, not honoring the priest, but the god who appointed the priest. Josephus then quotes Alexander giving Parmenio this explanation based on a dream that he had while in Dios, a place-name derived, of course, from the name Zeus. Josephus gives the reader a little maze of warrants to justify his claim about the divine name. For the Greco-Roman audience, this could easily be read with Zeus in the background, while on the face of it, Josephus enhances the prestige of the Jewish tradition through an encounter with Alexander.

⁷¹⁷ According to Josephus, in the ritual the woman is required to swear an oath of her innocence: "Now when these oaths were over, the priest wiped the name of God out of the parchment (τῆς διφθέρας ἀπαλείψας τοῦνομα εἰς φιάλην), and wrung the water into a vial. He also took some dust out of the temple if any happened to be there, and put a little of it into the vial, and gave it her to drink." (*Ant*. 3.272) If the woman was innocence, she would have a healthy birth. Otherwise the bitter water would cause her belly to swell "that she might die." The divine name, and the dirt of the Temple, function here as an ancient polygraph test. Writing and consuming the divine name is significant to the ritual, and the specifics of these writing practices are later discussed in the *Bavli*, but in the first century this emphasis is missing.

first century CE “when adulterers became many.”⁷¹⁸ The discussion of this ritual would provide a convenient occasion for commenting on the divine name, but the issue does not arise. That these sources represent idealized views of the divine name and its avoidance is underscored by the continued and pervasive use of the divine name, at times in speech, but especially in writing throughout the Second Temple period.

To this discussion of the representative value of the most frequently cited sources, the recent study by Nathanael Andrade is helpful to consider.⁷¹⁹ He discusses the motivations behind the use and non-use of Tetragrammaton among the Jewish literary elite of the first century CE. Andrade suggests that Jewish writers like Josephus and Philo benefited from the way that “Jews could treat their divinity as especially preeminent and his name as sacred.”⁷²⁰ In Andrade’s view, the internal phenomenon of Jewish divine name avoidance “became one among the complex and diverse forms of cultural negotiation that characterized Jews of the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods.”⁷²¹ He summarizes the dynamics of this cultural negotiation as follows:

Josephus ushers his foreign readers into an examination of his society’s history and sacred traditions, but he does not disclose his divinity’s name. By concealing it, he clarifies to foreign readers that he will not communicate it to them and thereby augments the prestige that knowing it confers.⁷²²

Andrade concludes that Josephus and Philo “represent two articulate expressions of the Tetragrammaton’s status as a secret name that only certain Jews knew or should know...by

⁷¹⁸ m. Sot. 9:9: “When adulterers became many [the rite of] the bitter water ceased; and R. Johanan b. Zakkai brought it to an end, for it is written, ‘I will not punish your daughters... (Hos 4:14).’” Johanan ben Zakkai was a tanna of the first century CE. The rabbinic parallels in b. Sot. 7a, b, are discussed by Feldman, “Introduction,” in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, 37–42; and David M. Goldenberg, “Antiquities IV: 277 and 288 Compared with Early Rabbinic Law,” in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity*, 198–211.

⁷¹⁹ Nathaniel Andrade, “The Jewish Tetragrammaton: Secrecy, Community, and Prestige among Greek-Writing Jews of the Early Roman Empire,” *JSJ* 46 (2015): 1–26.

⁷²⁰ Andrade, “Jewish Tetragrammaton,” 205.

⁷²¹ *Ibid.*, 205.

⁷²² *Ibid.*, 203.

doing so, such Jews sought to enhance the importance of knowing the name and, thereby, their own prestige,” and furthermore, “Jews like Philo and Josephus did not merely preserve the secrecy of the Tetragrammaton, but they sometimes amplified its reputation for secrecy and engaged in ‘the active milling, polishing, and promotion of the reputation’ of their secret.”⁷²³ Andrade’s study offers a compelling description of another way in which the treatment of the divine name in Philo and Josephus is tied to their specific socio-literary contexts. Their discussions of the divine name cannot be taken as broadly representative. The views espoused by Philo and Josephus clearly resonate with practices of avoidance during the first century CE, namely the sacredness of the name and its restriction among priestly groups, but to extrapolate from these writers that the divine name was unanimously avoided is inaccurate.

5.3 *Modified Chronology: The Spoken and Written Evidence for the Divine Name from the Fifth Century BCE to the First Century CE*

The value of the extant evidence, presented in previous chapters, should now be evident. It provides hard evidence of primary texts and epigraphic material from the very centuries under discussion. This allows for a more concrete and specific description of the divine name’s Second Temple history. In what follows, I offer a step by step walk through of the evidence, beginning in the Persian period and concluding in the late first century CE.

5.3.1 Fifth to Fourth Centuries BCE

In the post-exilic period, two streams of tradition appear in the evidence. The first shows continuity from the Iron Age: the use of the Tetragrammaton in speech and writing. The

⁷²³ Ibid., 203, 218. Andrade here quotes Paul C. Johnson on his theory of “secretism” in *Secrets, Gossip, and Gods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 3, where the idea of secretism is not just about knowing something secret, but “involves actively disclosing to outsiders that a secret exists and that it is being concealed from them.”

Elephantine papyri and ostraca share commonalities with the evidence from the pre-exilic military posts at Lachish and Arad. Both use the divine name and have military histories. The major difference is the linguistic identity of the communities, the former Aramaic, and the latter Hebrew. We may draw another distinction in the theological outlook of the communities as the Lachish and Arad ostraca are not overtly syncretistic, whereas multiple deities are invoked at Elephantine. A second tradition is discernible in the early post-exilic period of the eastern diaspora in Babylon: the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton. Stegemann proposed that אלהים became the technical replacement for the Tetragrammaton in Babylonian scripture reading, where the Priestly source and Ezekiel reflect the “Kraft und Heiligkeit, also ein Sanktum” of the Tetragrammaton. To this tradition, one could add the trend towards avoidance in the Elohist Psalter.⁷²⁴

Stegemann considered the use of אלהים in Babylon to have motivated the standard use of אלה in Jewish Aramaic.⁷²⁵ אל would not have been used “Denn diese bezeichnung ist allzu nahe verwandt mit dem akkadischen ilu(m),” under the assumption that writers in Babylon would not associate the God of Israel too closely with the Babylonian pantheon. In other contexts, however, scholars have identified a desire to link the God of Israel with other deities. For example, Jewish authors appear to have intentionally forged links, not with the Babylonian deities, but with the Persian/Zoroastrian god of the sky, Ahura Mazda. This was achieved through the use of the epithet “God of Heaven.” On the surface, this might seem to contradict the principle behind Stegemann’s explanation for why אל was not used in Babylonian Judaism, but

⁷²⁴ Ben-Dov, “Elohistic Psalter,” 82, 88.

⁷²⁵ Stegemann, “Gottesbezeichnungen,” 209: “Wenn man diesen ins Aramäische übertrug, sprach man wahrscheinlich an diesen Stellen אלה.”

there are important differences between the Babylonians and the Persians. In terms of the historical context, Cyrus and the Persians are given an extraordinarily positive appraisal in the post-exilic literature of the Hebrew Bible, especially Second Isaiah. Key figures among the returnees, namely Ezra and Nehemiah, are deeply connected to the administrative apparatus that restored the Judeans to their ancestral land and funded the rebuilding of the Temple. In contrast, the Babylonians were hated for their ruthless devastation of Jerusalem and the Temple's destruction (e.g., Ps 137:8–9). The preference for אלהים may also be related to the fact that אל was often construed as a proper name, whereas שמיא was used as compound epithet or title. The latter does not make explicit claims about the deity's identity. Furthermore, "God of Heaven" may have been especially welcomed among Jews because Ahura Mazda is not technically named "God of Heaven" in the Avestan literature, even though conceptually this was Ahura Mazda's domain.

What seems to develop in the Aramaic literature of Ezra and Daniel is the confluence of multiple trends. On the one hand, the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton and its replacement with אלהים in some Hebrew literature sponsored the use of אלהא in Aramaic. This could explain, for example, the avoidance of the divine name in Ezra. The Aramaic literature of Ezra was influenced by the tradition that developed in the eastern diaspora. On the other hand, the Tetragrammaton seems to become increasingly irrelevant in the Achaemenid context. As shown in Chapter 2, the title "God of Heaven" had political and diplomatic dimensions.⁷²⁶ The use of divine titles and epithets in Persian period Aramaic literature contributed to an environment that further fostered the non-use of the divine name in Jewish Aramaic literature. Importantly, the

⁷²⁶ This explains why even the Elephantine community, so accustomed to using the divine name, also needed to employ שמיא in the Jedaniah archive.

impetus or mechanism for the non-use seems to be unrelated to the belief in the sacredness of the Tetragrammaton, and instead non-use was initially a response to the new political environment of the Achaemenid administration. In summary, an inherited tradition of divine name avoidance was set in stone by the political circumstances under which some Jewish Aramaic endeavored to tell their stories.⁷²⁷

In comparing the use and non-use of the divine name, we see that all Jewish Aramaic writers used אלהא, but distinct practices developed in different regions. The Aramaic authors at Elephantine introduced vernacular forms of the divine name, יהו and יהה, which continued in later documentary and liturgical sources. A tradition of avoidance began with the Babylonian diaspora's replacement of the Tetragrammaton with אלהים, but for convenient political and diplomatic reasons Ezra and Daniel maintained the custom of divine name avoidance. The Persian and early Hellenistic periods, then, must be understood as a time of overlap in both the use and avoidance of the divine name. There are developments in the use of certain titles and epithets, but a linear development towards avoidance is not attested. The fact that both Ezra and Daniel use the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew passages, but consistently avoid it in Aramaic, also shows that linear development is not characteristic of the divine name's history.⁷²⁸

5.3.2 Third to Second Centuries BCE

In diaspora communal readings of scripture, there must have been some Jews who struggled to understand Hebrew. To make the Jewish scriptures relevant required translation.

⁷²⁷ The non-use of the divine name in Aramaic could be explained according to the same principle that Martin Hengel famously described for its avoidance among Hellenistic Jews, who made “a virtue of a necessity.” The Greek philosophical tradition required that God was nameless, and Jewish writers appropriated this view theologically in their divine name practices. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:266–7.

⁷²⁸ I mentioned earlier that Dan 9 is a late Second-Temple penitential prayer that uses the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew, while the Aramaic tales are much earlier. This depicts the inverse of a linear development towards avoidance.

This is the most likely background for the emergence of the Septuagint. Pertaining to the divine name, Stegemann reasoned that it would have been rendered in the regional language. But for the Greek-speaking diaspora, the question arises of what options for the divine name were available during the mid-third century BCE? Based on comparative evidence from the Greco-Roman sources, the use of *κύριος* for God would have been an innovation in the expected use of the title at the time.⁷²⁹ It is also helpful to ask what stream of tradition from the Persian period may have been most influential for the translators in Egypt? How far would Jews in Egypt have observed the tradition of avoidance that began in the eastern diaspora? The most immediate evidence to answer this question would be the Aramaic literature of Egypt. In these sources, we find the continued use the divine name יהו. The Greek translators are apparently more conservative than the communities who used יהו, but they are mostly bound to translate an underlying Hebrew tradition in which syncretistic practices are prohibited. Given the lack of evidence for the avoidance of the divine name in the Egyptian diaspora of the early Hellenistic period, the most natural rendering of the Tetragrammaton would seem to be the transliteration *ιαω*, reflecting the precedent set by the Aramaic divine name יהו.

Whether or not *κύριος* influenced the use of אדני as a replacement for the Tetragrammaton in Palestine in the second century BCE is difficult to ascertain.⁷³⁰ There is, at least, very little extant *written* evidence for this scenario. The Greek literary and epigraphic sources, datable on

⁷²⁹ Hengel believed that *theos hypsistos* was the common designation of God in Greek, as found in synagogue inscriptions, which in turn was related to the Greek-Jewish “interpretation of “God of Heaven.” He also shared the idea that *κύριος* was the spoken substitute for the Tetragrammaton in Jewish worship, and that this would have been “quite incomprehensible to the Greeks as a designation for God.” See Hengel, *Jews Greeks, and Barbarians*, 95; *ibid.*, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 297.

⁷³⁰ Stegemann considered *κύριος* to have this role; cf. “Gottesbezeichnungen,” 198. As mentioned previously, this position was also held by Baudissin and others; cf. *Kyrios*, 2:1–17.

paleographic grounds to the Second Temple period, namely Ach 70, 71, 4Q126 (?), and P. Fouad 203, show that *κύριος* enters the extant record in the first century BCE, but admittedly these are not identified as Greek biblical texts. At the minimum, they show that some Jews were using *κύριος*, even if this usage was not in Greek biblical texts. At any rate, if *ιαω* was pronounced as *κύριος* then one could still see how *κύριος* may have encouraged the use of *אדני*. But supposing that *κύριος* preceded *אדני*, or vice versa, does not challenge the proposal that *ιαω* came before both. As I suggested in Chapter 4, it seems unlikely that a *qere* would have been given for *ιαω*, because the name itself occurs with vowels.

Considering the inscriptions from Mt. Gerizim (200–168 BCE), we find evidence for a priestly use of the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew, but its avoidance in Aramaic. While the Tetragrammaton occurs in paleo-Hebrew, the entire inscription is written in paleo-Hebrew. In addition, there are two Hebrew inscriptions that use *אדני* in the square-Aramaic script. Language is one factor for determining the use of divine designations, but the priestly or sacred context appears to determine the use of the Tetragrammaton. This supports the view that the divine name was given distinct treatment by Samaritan/Samaritan priests, perhaps connected to ritual purity concerns by this time. As Magen and others have suggested, the evidence from Mt. Gerizim presents a hierarchy of divine name practices in the early second century BCE: *אדני* and *אלהא* in common use, and the Tetragrammaton in sacral use. It is difficult to know, however, how far to push this evidence, because we also find the Tetragrammaton in the square-Aramaic script on a silver ring, which disrupts the hierarchy of practices.⁷³¹

⁷³¹ It is possible that the ring comes from a later time period, but this is not certain.

Many Hebrew works found among the Dead Sea Scrolls that are non-sectarian in origin likely originated in the third and second centuries BCE. These scrolls provide extensive testimony to the use of the Tetragrammaton. It occurs about 253 times, mostly in the square-Aramaic script, with the exception of 11QPs^a, which contains the paleo-Hebrew script. Fine tuning the compositional date of these works is needed before pressing the evidence further, but we can be confident that some of these works were composed in the Hellenistic period.⁷³² The extant copies, most of which date to the first century BCE/CE, show that the Qumran scribes, even as they avoided the divine name in their own works, continued to copy the divine name in the scrolls of non-sectarian origin.

In summary, the consistent avoidance of the divine name in Aramaic, whether at Gerizim or Qumran, is underscored in comparison to its widespread use in Hebrew. For example, it is striking that an Aramaic “rewritten biblical” text, like the *Genesis Apocryphon*, avoids the divine name, while a very similar work in Hebrew, such as *Jubilees* uses the Tetragrammaton, even in new material. An even closer comparison might be the use of the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew apocryphon-type text of Genesis from Masada (Mas 1m), although the evidence is fragmentary.⁷³³ In these cases, the genre of literature is not decisive for the use or avoidance of the Tetragrammaton, but rather language. For the third and second centuries BCE, overall, especially given the Hebrew literature that shows extensive use of the Tetragrammaton, it must be concluded that alongside practices of avoidance, many Jewish writers continued to use the

⁷³² Skehan gives one example in his description of 11Q5 as “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 priest, 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.” Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 42.

⁷³³ Talmon, *Masada VI*, 98.

divine name. As with the Persian period, overlap in the use and non-use of the divine name is also characteristic of the Hellenistic period.

5.3.3 First Century BCE

All original sectarian works avoid the Tetragrammaton, often replacing it with אל , and related compound epithets. Stegemann considered אל as the “technische Ersetzung” for the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew compositions, even in scripture reading. As mentioned above, he suggested that אל was indebted to the use of אלהא in Jewish Aramaic, which in turn developed from the earlier Babylonian substitution of the Tetragrammaton with אלהים .⁷³⁴ Sectarian scribes, particularly the scribe of 1QS, used the Tetrapuncta for the divine name in copies of biblical, sectarian, and non-sectarian scrolls. The highest concentration of Tetrapuncta occur between 100–50 CE, although a few manuscripts date earlier than the first century BCE (4QTS and 4QpapPseudEzek^c), while a few date later (4QHistText A and XHev/Se6). The use of Tetrapuncta gives strong indication that Qumran scribes copied a wide range of works, both biblical and non-sectarian in origin.

Around the same time that the early sectarian works were composed or copied, the Masada copy of Ben Sira was produced. The copyist used אדני as the standard designation for God, replacing the earlier use of the Tetragrammaton in the original, as shown by the more accurate readings in the Cairo Geniza MS B. That the Qumran scribes were responsible for the

⁷³⁴ If one required a social milieu for the type of linguistic transfer that takes place between אלהא , אלהים , and אל , apart from the literary connection of the Aramaic and Hebrew writings at Qumran, then the most immediate connection between Judea and Babylon is Damascus. In Ben-Dov’s monograph, *Head of All Years*, he describes how the “Aramaic-speaking Syrian milieu mediated the transfer of Mesopotamian lore – both scientific and mythological – to Judea and to Jewish scholars at the time.” See Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2008). The connection with the Qumran literature is explicit, though not without some debate, in the *Damascus Document*, so named after the “New Covenanters in the Land of Damascus,” and “The Well is the Law, and its ‘diggers’ are the captives of Israel who went out of the land of Judah and dwelt in the land of Damascus,” (CD 6:4–5 and 4QD^a 3 ii); cf Ben-Dov, “Divine Assembly,” 17.

revision of this text is also suggested by the fact that **אלהים** is replaced, a characteristic feature of sectarian scrolls. The use of **אדני** as the *qere* for the Tetragrammaton is evident in the transmission of 1QIsa^a, but this copy was clearly produced by Qumran scribes as well. All of the evidence for divine name avoidance in Hebrew from the first century BCE, whether in copies of biblical scrolls or those of non-sectarian origin, is tied to the Qumran context of transmission. Moreover, regarding the scrolls of non-sectarian origin, most of the copies of these works date to the first century BCE. This does not necessarily point to the active use of the Tetragrammaton in new compositions. It still shows, however, that many scribes did not have a problem copying texts that regularly used the Tetragrammaton, even as such texts were not viewed with the same status by the Qumran scribes as the biblical texts. The following table shows the date range and occurrences of the Tetragrammaton in scrolls of non-sectarian origin during the first century BCE/CE.

5.2.3 Paleographic Date of Scrolls that are Non-Sectarian in Origin

<i>Date Range</i>	<i>Number of Documents</i>	<i>Occurrences</i>
100 BCE or before	8	25x
100–50 BCE	5	21x
50–1 BCE	12	36x
40–1 BCE	5	56x
30–1 BCE	7	17x
30 BCE–68 BCE	4	47x
20–50 CE	4	14x
50–70 CE	1	9x

The highest concentration of the Tetragrammaton is found in the early to mid-Herodian period (40 BCE–30 CE), but generally spans the first century BCE/CE. It is important to stress that these are copies of manuscripts, and not original compositions. In total, the non-sectarian scrolls

that contain the Tetragrammaton comprise roughly 10% of all readable Hebrew scrolls.⁷³⁵ This material is in need of further research; the use of the Tetragrammaton cannot be explained according to a unified principle. The reasons for its use and non-use differ between compositions. The occasional non-use of the Tetragrammaton in the *Temple scroll*, for example, cannot be considered avoidance, since it is regularly used elsewhere. Also, the author's compositional strategy to use the first person divine voice requires the non-use. In *Jubilees*, the Tetragrammaton occurs in new material, such as Rebekah's blessing (4QJub⁸). The evidence for divine name avoidance in some of these scrolls, as we saw in 4Q408 3, or the use of לַאֱלֹהִים where the Tetragrammaton might be expected, as in Mas 11, is further evidence that Qumran scribes are primarily responsible for the avoidance practices of the current copies. These do not provide strong evidence for broader practices of avoidance.

The Greek biblical texts, with evidence for the divine name, enter the extant record in the first century BCE. P. Fouad 266b provides evidence for the continued use of the Tetragrammaton in writing, but given the contrastive scripts, the reader probably avoided the pronunciation. We do not know the *qere*, but by this time it was likely κύριος. This view is supported, not just with reference to the use of κύριος in Jewish-Greek literature that originates in the late Second Temple period, but through hints in the extant epigraphic and literary record that κύριος was used by the first century BCE among Jews (or "Israelites"), as indicated by the epitaphs Ach70 and Ach71 from Rheneia, and possibly 4Q126, though some aspects of these sources are unclear.

While P. Fouad 266b shows evidence for divine name avoidance in speech beyond the confines of Qumran, the evidence should not be pressed too far. This is one manuscript from one

⁷³⁵ I refer to Emanuel Tov's count of "some 600 texts, of which 400–500 are large enough for analysis." See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 262–63. I divided the 54 documents by 550 to arrive at the estimate of 10%.

location. Also dated to the first century BCE is 4Q120 with the use of $\alpha\omega$. It is intriguing that the only Greek manuscript with a pronounceable form of the divine name comes from the Qumran caves, while all other Greek evidence comes from elsewhere. As discussed above, however, it seems unlikely that the Greek texts were read at Qumran, even if the reasons for their presence in the caves is unclear. The Greek biblical manuscripts at least point to the use and non-use of the divine name in the first century BCE. It is not possible to know for sure what practices were followed in the mid-third century BCE translation of the Pentateuch into Greek, but $\alpha\omega$ seems to be the least problematic and requires the least amount of justification or explanation. If this is true, then the copy of Leviticus (4Q120) from the first century BCE would show continuity in the use of the divine name, in writing and perhaps also in reading, for the first two hundred years of the Septuagint's transmission.

The first century BCE witnesses many types of divine name avoidance, especially in speech, including the reading of biblical scrolls at Qumran, as well as the Greek biblical scroll from Egypt (P. Fouad 266b). But this material is paralleled by practices that cannot be interpreted at face value as avoidance, such as the use of $\alpha\omega$ in 4Q120, and the use of the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew, even if only in copying texts. I suggested in Chapter 4 that $\alpha\omega$ is likely attested at least once in the fragment 4QpapparaExod gr (4Q127).⁷³⁶ This text has not been identified as “biblical,” and as far as the reading is accurate, it provides an additional point of analogy with the use of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton in works of non-sectarian origin. This would suggest that the Greek and Hebrew forms of the divine name, $\alpha\omega$ and יהוה, during the third to first centuries BCE, were employed in biblical copies of manuscripts, but also used in a

⁷³⁶ See §4.2.1.

range of compositions that continue to develop themes of earlier literature. Such uses, even if only in writing, show that the divine name was wide-spread, occurring in copies of scrolls of non-sectarian origin, Hebrew biblical texts, Greek biblical, and perhaps also Greek parabiblical texts. In summary of the first century BCE, overlap is the most accurate description for divine name practices.

5.3.4 First Century CE

The Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek, sources of the first century CE continue to provide evidence for both the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton. The Qumran scribes maintain their consistent avoidance of the divine name. Philo and Josephus enter the stage, emphasizing the divine name's sacredness and ineffability. As suggested above, however, their views are most likely idealistic, tied to their respective philosophical and literary worlds, in which most Jews did not participate. That the divine name continued in written and spoken use is suggested by the apotropaic prayers and exorcistic texts. In 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11) and 8QHymn, the Tetragrammaton is integral to the function and efficacy of these prayers to guard against evil forces and expel demons. These prayers represent a broader cultural phenomenon, which is illustrated by two different types of texts: the individual songs of 11Q11 that are of non-sectarian origin, which generally cohere with the appended Ps 91, but also the Greek-Jewish apotropaic prayer of P. Fouad 203. Moreover, the compilation of previously individual songs 11Q11 may suggest that priests of the *yahad*, during the mid-first century CE, wrote the Tetragrammaton, but perhaps even pronounced it in the special context of ritual exorcism.

In Aramaic, the divine name continued to be avoided. For some writers, as may be indicated by the priestly themes of the *New Jerusalem* text, the divine name was avoided because the author believed that it was sacred, but for others the reasons are not clear. 11QAramaic Job,

for example, uses אלהא, not just to replace the Tetragrammaton, but every Hebrew term for God in Job. This shows that the translator was not avoiding the Tetragrammaton *per se*, but simply aimed for a readable and consistent text. Nevertheless, these positions are not mutually exclusive. The author of 11QAramaic Job may have believed in the divine name's sanctity while also replacing other terms for God. What I have attempted to describe in this study are the specific indicators that result from a close reading of these texts, which could then be used to better understand the use and non-use of the Tetragrammaton.

The use of paleo-Hebrew for the Tetragrammaton and other divine titles and epithets increases in the first century CE, but this does not preclude the continued use of the square-Aramaic script for the Tetragrammaton in many other copies of works. Skehan proposed a linear development in which 4QpPs^a (4Q171) and 1QpHab “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.”⁷³⁷ The full collection of evidence shows little development or spreading of the paleo-Hebrew script, apart from the general observation that some of the early *pesharim* use the square-Aramaic script, while some of the later ones use paleo-Hebrew. In short, chronology is not a decisive factor in the use of paleo-Hebrew, but rather scribal preference, or perhaps as Brooke suggests, the function of various manuscripts.⁷³⁸ According to paleographic date, the highest concentration of texts that contain the Tetragrammaton in the square-Aramaic script (30 BCE–30 CE) overlap with texts

⁷³⁷ Skehan, “The Divine Name,” 22.

⁷³⁸ Brooke, “Aspects,” 48–49. Miller also stated that “the use of paleo-Hebrew was indeed a late development in the history of the community but it did not precede or follow the tradition of writing texts in square script and texts wholly in paleo-Hebrew, but developed alongside of these traditions.” Miller, “Use of Paleo-Hebrew for the Divine Name,” (MA Thesis; McMaster University), 63. Tov observed the chronological overlap between paleo-Hebrew and square script practices, and suggested that “different scribal habits rather than a different chronological background must be assumed.” See Tov, “The Paleo-Hebrew Biblical Texts Found at Qumran,” 356. Stegemann also noted the overlapping practices, “Gottesbezeichnungen,” 206.

that contain the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew.

Beyond Qumran, we also find evidence for the use of the paleo-Hebrew script for the Tetragrammaton, namely in three Greek biblical texts from the first century CE: *Greek Twelve Minor Prophets Scroll* (8HevXIIgr), a fragment from Job (P. Oxy 3522), and some parts of Psalms (P. Oxy 5101). Each of these contains the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew, which suggests that it was avoided in reading. *κύριος* seems to be the *qere*. Lastly, the diversity of divine name practices during the first century CE is well illustrated by the fact that 11Q11, a Hebrew apotropaic prayer that uses the Tetragrammaton, dates to around the same time as the Greek-Jewish prayer, P. Fouad 203, which uses *κύριος*, for presumably the same purposes.

5.4 Conclusion: Overlap in the Use and Non-Use of the Tetragrammaton During the Second Temple Period

The discoveries of the Judean desert in the mid-twentieth century have provided much evidence for the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton in antiquity. This has confirmed the accounts of the rabbis and early Jewish writers such as Philo and Josephus. However, a careful evaluation of all extant evidence for the use and non-use of the divine name in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek shows that the striking claims of avoidance, even from antiquity, have overshadowed the basic fact that the Tetragrammaton continued to be written in many texts, and probably read aloud in the reading of some. The evidence also shows that the story of the Tetragrammaton is not just about its continued use in the first century CE, but also about its earlier avoidance in the Aramaic literature of Achaemenid Judaism. Instead of a linear development from the use to avoidance of the Tetragrammaton during the second century BCE, the extant evidence points towards overlap throughout the Second Temple period.

6 APPENDICES FOR EVIDENCE OF USE AND NON-USE OF THE TETRAGRAMMATON

6.1 Hebrew Evidence

The data set for the sectarian scrolls comprises 122 documents drawn from works listed as “sectarian nature” by Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices*, Appendix 1:

1Q14, 1QpHab, 1Q15, 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSB, 1QM, CD, 1QH^a, 1Q35, 1Q36, 4Q159, 4Q161, 4Q162, 4Q163, 4Q164, 4Q165, 4Q166, 4Q167, 4Q168, 4Q169, 4Q170, 4Q171, 4Q172, 4Q173, 4Q174, 4Q177, 4Q180, 4Q181, 4Q186, 4Q252, 4Q254, 4Q255, 4Q256, 4Q257, 4Q258, 4Q259, 4Q260, 4Q261, 4Q262, 4Q263, 4Q264, 4Q264a, 4Q265, 4Q266, 4Q267, 4Q268, 4Q269, 4Q270, 4Q271, 4Q272, 4Q273, 4Q280, 4Q285, 4Q286, 4Q287, 4Q289, 4Q290, 4Q291, 4Q292, 4Q293, 4Q298, 4Q301, 4Q319, 4Q320, 4Q321, 4Q321a, 4Q322, 4Q326, 4Q394, 4Q395, 4Q396, 4Q397, 4Q398, 4Q399, 4Q410, 4Q420, 4Q421, 4Q427, 4Q428, 4Q429, 4Q430, 4Q431, 4Q432, 4Q433a, 4Q434, 4Q435, 4Q436, 4Q437, 4Q438, 4Q439, 4Q440, 4Q440a, 4Q464, 4Q471, 4Q471, 4Q473, 4Q477, 4Q491, 4Q492, 4Q493, 4Q494, 4Q495, 4Q496, 4Q497, 4Q501, 4Q502, 4Q503, 4Q507, 4Q508, 4Q509, 4Q512, 4Q513, 4Q514, 5Q11, 5Q12, 5Q13, 6Q15, 6Q18, 11Q13, 11Q14, 11Q16.

Some documented listed in his appendix are not considered sectarian here. I exclude the following from Tov’s list:

4QTest (4Q175), 4QTanh (4Q176), 4QHistWork (4Q183), 4QCommunal Confession (4Q393), 4QShirShabb^{a-h} (4Q400–407), 4QDibHam^{a-b} (4Q504–506), and 4QShir^{a-b} (4Q510–511). The evidence from these scrolls is collected in the “non-sectarian” section.

6.1.1 The Tetragrammaton in Sectarian Biblical Quotations: 46x (15 documents)

<i>Scroll and References</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
1QpHab 6.14; 10.7, 14; 11.10	4
1QpMic (1Q14) 1–5 1, 2	2
1QpZech (1Q15) 1 3, 4	2
4QpIsa ^a (4Q161) 8–10 13	1
4QpIsa ^b (4Q162) 2 3, 7, 8	3
4Qpap pIsa ^c (4Q163) 4–7 ii 19, 21; 8–10 6; 15–16 1; 21 9; 23 ii 3, 9; 24 1; 25 7	9
4QpMic? (4Q168) 1 4	1
4QpNah (4Q169) 3–4 ii 10	1
4QpZeph (4Q170) 1–2 1	1

4QpPsa ^a (4Q171) 1–2 ii 4, 12, 24; 1+3–4 iii 5, 14, 15; 3–10 iv 7, 10	8
4QpPsa ^b (4Q173) 4 2	1
4QMidr Eschat ^b (4Q174) 1–2 i 3, 10, 18, 8 3, 21 1	5
4QMidr Eschat ^b (4Q177) 5–6 7; 10–11 2, 8; 12–13 i 2, 3	5
4QMidr Eschat ^{c?} (4Q183) 2 1; 3 1	2
4QHodayot ^c (4Q429) 6 2	1

6.1.2 Divine Name Variants and Replacements

This document contains divine name variations in biblical, sectarian, and non-sectarian scrolls. The variations in the biblical manuscripts are drawn from comparison of the Qumran biblical scrolls with the Massoretic version of the Hebrew Bible. The sectarian and non-sectarian variations derive from occasions where these scrolls quote, paraphrase, or allude to biblical passages. The referencing system to the Dead Sea Scroll manuscripts are provided in the format given by the QUMRAN module of Accordance Bible Software.

6.1.3 Divine Name Variant Patterns in Qumran Biblical Manuscripts

null for יהוה

4Q22 37:7	Exod 31:13
4Q24 f9i+10_17:38	Lev 22:31
4Q27 f12:3	Num 18:26
4Q134 f1:8	Deut 5:2
4Q134 f1:11	Deut 5:5
8Q3 f17_25:7	Deut 10:15
4Q47 f9i_12:5–6	Josh 7:14
4Q83 f19ii_20:34	Ps 69:17
11Q5 fEiii:10–11	Ps 105:3
4Q88 7:6	Ps 109:27
11Q5 3:4	Ps 121:5
11Q5 3:6	Ps 121:8
11Q5 14:10	Ps 135:3

11Q5 14:11	Ps 135:4 ⁷³⁹
4Q87 f26i:8	Ps 126:2
4Q98 1:8	Ps 33:12 ⁷⁴⁰
1QIsa ^a 2:10	Isa 2:3
1QIsa ^a 38:14	Isa 45:8
1QIsa ^a 43:19	Isa 52:5
1QIsa ^a 46:18	Isa 56:6
1QIsa ^a 49:5	Isa 59:21
1Q8 26:29	Isa 60:20
1QIsa ^a 54:4	Isa 66:16 ⁷⁴¹

יהוה for null

4Q27 f1_4:12	Num 12:6
4Q30 f9:3	Deut 10:2
1QIsa ^a 24:31	Isa 30:19
1QIsa ^a 32:12–13	Isa 38:20
1QIsa ^a 43:19	Isa 52:5
1QIsa ^a 49:25	Isa 60:21
11Q5 21:2	Ps 138:1
8Q4 f1:18	Deut 11:4
4Q44 f2_5i:1	Deut 32:37
4Q51 6a_b:10	1 Sam 6:3
11Q5 16:8–17:17	Ps 145 (16x) ⁷⁴²
1QIsa ^a 46:18	Isa 56:6
4Q111 3:8	Lam 1:17

יהוה אלהים for יהוה

4Q16 f1:5	Exod 13:5
4Q37 10:12	Exod 13:5
4Q140 f1:11	Exod 13:5
4Q145 f1:5	Exod 13:5
4Q134 f1:27	Exod 13:11
4Q40 f1_3:3	Deut 3:20
4Q41 2:10-11	Deut 5:5
4Q30 f4:2	Deut 7:4
4Q128 f1:21	Deut 10:13
4Q138 f1:2	Deut 10:13
8Q3 f17_25:5	Deut 10:13

⁷³⁹ Scroll reads לו, MT reads יה לו.

⁷⁴⁰ Perhaps visual confusion was at play: Scroll reads והיה אלוהו, while MT reads, יהוה אלהיו.

⁷⁴¹ Scroll reads חלליו, MT reads חללי יהוה.

⁷⁴² 11Q5 contains the formula ברוך יהוה...sixteen times where it is missing in MT.

8Q4 f1:3	Deut 10:13
XQ1 1:20	Deut 10:13
1QIsa ^a 30:26	Isa 37:20
11Q5 5:9	Ps 129:8
4Q134 f1:27	Exod 13:11

יהוה אלהים for יהוה

4Q51 7a:1	1 Sam 6:20
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יהוה אלהים for יהוה

4Q1 f1:1	Gen 22:14
4Q27 f23_26:12	Num 23:3
4Q134 f1:10	Deut 5:5
4Q51 f100_101:2	2 Sam 12:15
4Q51 f147_148:1	2 Sam 20:19
1QIsa ^a 35:14	Isa 42:5
11Q5 23:14	Ps 144:3
11Q5 23:15	Ps 144:5
4Q76 2:8	Mal 2:17
4Q49 f1:8	Judg 6:13

אלהים for יהוה

4Q41 5:6	Deut 5:24
4Q135 f1:3	Deut 5:24
4Q137 f1:28	Deut 5:24
4Q11 f20:7	Exod 18:21
4Q51 3a_e:18	1 Sam 2:25
4Q51 10a:4	1 Sam 10:26
4Q52 f10_23:6	1 Sam 23:14

אדני for יהוה

4Q14 6:41	Exod 15:17
1QIsa ^a 6:6	Isa 6:11
1QIsa ^a 6:28	Isa 7:14
1QIsa ^a 8:27	Isa 9:7
1QIsa ^a 17:1	Isa 21:16
1QIsa ^a 21:31	Isa 28:2
4Q82f52b_54b+56b+59_64:2	Amos 7:8
4Q111 3:6	Lam 1:14
4Q111 3:7	Lam 1:15

4Q98a f2ii:1	Ps 30:9
1Q8 16:3	Is 38:14

יהוה for אדני

1Q5 f16_19:9	Deut 32:27
1QIsa ^a 3:24	Isa 3:17
4Q57 f9ii+11+12i+52:27	Isa 24:1
4Q56f16ii+17_20+20a:4	Isa 26:4
11Q5 5:1	Ps 128:5
11Q5 5:10	Ps 130:1
4Q111 3:10	Lam 1:18
4Q111 3:10	Lam 1:17
11Q5 5:6	Ps 129:4

אלהים for יהוה אלהים

4Q135 f1:4	Deut 5:26
4Q128 f1:25	Deut 10:21
4Q138 f1:7	Deut 10:21
1QIsa ^a 20:7	Isa 25:9
1QIsa ^a 45:3	Isa 54:6

אדני יהוה for יהוה

1QIsa ^a 22:30	Isa 28:22
1QIsa ^a 41:22	Isa 49:22
1QIsa ^a 43:17	Isa 52:4
1QIsa ^a 49:26	Isa 61:1

יהוה for אדני יהוה

1QIsa ^a 41:5	Isa 49:7
1Q8 21:17	Isa 49:7
4Q82 f52b_54b+56b+59_64:1	Amos 7:8
4Q82 f52b_54b+56b+59_64:14	Amos 7:17

יהוה for יהוה צבאות

4Q56 f10_13:27	Isa 19:19
4Q78 f18_20:2	Joel 4:8
4Q72 f4_5:8	Jer 9:2
4Q56 f3ii:11	Isa 5:25

יהוה צבאות for יהוה

1QIsa^a 15:2 Isa 18:7

יהוה אלהים צבאות for יהוה צבאות

4Q51 f61ii+63_64a_b+65_67:21 2 Sam 5:10

יהוה צבאות for אדני יהוה צבאות

4Q60 f18:1 Isa 22:25

יהוה אלהים for אדני יהוה

4Q14 2:39 Exod 9:30
4Q82 f88_91i:2 Jonah 4:6

אדני יהוה for יהוה אלהים

1Q8 26:33 Isa 61:1
1QIsa^a 50:10 Isa 61:11

יהוה אלהים for null

4Q134 f1:5–7 Deut 5:1
4Q134 f1:24 Deut 5:16

יהוה אלהים for null

4Q134 f1:18 Deut 5:12
8Q3 f17_25:24 Deut 5:12
4Q137 f1:23 Deut 5:16
4Q137 f1:59 Deut 6:2
XHev/Se5 f1:8 Deut 6:4

יהוה אלהים for null

4Q44 f5ii:6–7 Deut 32:43
11Q5 5:9 Ps 129:8⁷⁴³

⁷⁴³ Text-critical, 11Q5 mistake for אליכם for אלוהים.

אדוני for null

11Q5 9:10 Ps 119:68

אדני for null

1QIsa^a 41:22 Isa 49:22
1QIsa^a 49:26 Isa 61:1

אדני יהוה for אלהים

1QIsa^a 42:6 Isa 50:5

אדני for אלהים

11Q5 14:12 Ps 135:5

יה for יהוה

11Q5 14:10 Ps 135:3

יהוה אלהים for אדני אלהים

1Q5 f5:1 Deut 15:14

מהומת מות for מהמת יהוה

4Q51 6a_b:4 1 Sam 5:11

ירושלם for יהוה

4Q111 2:2 Lam 1:7

6.1.4 Replacements and Substitutions in Sectarian Scrolls

יהוה for אל

CD 3:8 Exod 4:14
CD 20:4 Isa 54:13
CD 20:19 Mal 3:16
1QS 2:15 Deut 29:19
1QS 2:16 Deut 29:20
1QS 11:15 Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10

1QSb 5:25	Isa 11:2
1QM 4:6	Deut 33:21
1QM 4:7 (2x)	Hab 2:16, Zech 14:13
1QM 15:3	1 Chr 21:12
1QM 19:11	1 Chr 21:12
1QH ^a 14:32	Ps 119:12, 1 Chr 29:10
1QH ^a 19:32	1 Chr 21:12
1QH ^a 22:34	Ps 119:12, 1 Chr 29:10
4Q173 f5:4	Ps 118:20
4Q492 f1:10	1 Chr 21:12
11Q13 2:4	Deut 15:2
11Q13 2:11	Ps 7:9

אלהים for אל

CD 20:21	Mal 3:18
1QS 3:24	allusion (אל ישראל // אלהי ישראל) ⁷⁴⁴

יהוה אל ישראל

1QM 6:6	Obad 2:1
1QM 10:8	Exod 15:11

יהוה אל אלים

1QM 14:16	Ps 21:14
4Q491 f8_10i:13	Ps 21:14

יהוה אל עליון

4Q285 f8:4	Num 6:24
11Q14 f1ii:7	Num 6:24

יהוה צבאות אל

CD 19:8	Zech 13:7
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אדני יהוה אל הצדק

1QM 18:8	Jer 14:7
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⁷⁴⁴ The phrase אל ישראל is extant 50 times at Qumran (mostly sectarian scrolls), while it occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible (Ps 68:36). This contrasts with the 198 occurrences of אלהי ישראל the Hebrew Bible, while the same phrase is found only twice in the Qumran scrolls (4Q379 22 ii 5 and 4Q387 3 5).

יהוה אלהים for אל חי

4Q504 f1_2Rv:9 Lev 26:44

י for אל

4Q266 f11:5 Joel 2:12 (שבו עדן בכל...)

יהוה for צבאות יהוה

4Q162 2:7 Isa 5:24
4Q177 f10_11:2 Zech 3:9

יהוה אלהים for אלהים

1QM 10:4 Deut 20:4
1QM 10:7 Num 10:9

יהוה for אלהים

4Q252 1 1 Gen 6:3

אדני יהוה for יהוה אדני

1Q14 f1_5:1 Mic 1:2⁷⁴⁵

אדני יהוה for יהוה

4Q163 f23ii:3 Isa 30:15

אדני for יהוה

4Q171 f1_2ii:12 Ps 37:13

יהוה for אדני

1QSb 3:1 Num 6:26
1QH^a 5:15 Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10
1QH^a 6:19 Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10
1QH^a 8:26 Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10
1QH^a 13:22 Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10

⁷⁴⁵ In 1Q14 אדני יהוה is reconstructed, but probable given the spacing of the Tetragrammaton.

1QH ^a 15:31	Exod 15:11
1QH ^a 18:16	Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10
1QH ^a 19:35	Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10
1QM 12:8	Ps 24:6-9; 99:9
4Q163 f23ii:8	Isa 30:18
4Q428 f12i:4	Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10

יהוה for null

CD 7:11	Isa 7:17
CD 9:1	Lev 27:28
1QS 2:2	Num 6:24
1QS 2:3	Num 6:24
1QS 2:4	Num 6:25
1QS 5:11	Zeph 1:6 (2x)
1QM 13:7	allusion
11Q14 f1ii:7	Num 6:25

יהוה for ו

CD 8:15	Deut 7:8
CD 19:28	Deut 7:8
1QM 3:9	Zeph 2:2–3 (?)

יהוה for הוא

CD 9:5	Nah 1:2
4Q270 f6iii:19	Nah 1:2
1QS 8:13	Isa 40:3

יהוה אלהים for אתה

1QM 10:1	Deut 7:21
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יהוה for בה

1QM 11:1	1 Sam 17:47b
1QM 11:2	1 Sam 17:47b
1QM 11:4	1 Sam 17:47b

יהוה for האמת

4Q259 3:4	Isa 40:3
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יהוה for מלכי צדק

11Q13 2:9 Isa 61:2

יהוה for אונ הו

4Q266 f11:9 Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10

יהוה for הואהא

1QS 8:13 Isa 40:3 (allusion)

•••• for יהוה

1QS 8:14 Isa 40:3

יהוה for שם

1QH^a 10:32 Ps 26:12

6.1.5 Variants in Scrolls of Non-Sectarian Origin

Tetrapuncta for יהוה

4Q175 1:1	Exod 20:18 (SP?)
4Q175 1:19	Deut 33:11
4Q176 f1_2i:6	Isa 40:2
4Q176 f1_2i:7	Isa 40:3
4Q176 f1_2i:9	Isa 40:5
4Q176 f1_2ii:3	Isa 49:14
4Q176 f8_11:6	Isa 54:5
4Q176 f8_11:8 (2x)	Isa 54:6 (אלהים for יי אלהים)
4Q176 f8_11:10	Isa 54:8
4Q248 f1:5	frg.
4Q306 f3:5	frg.
4Q382 f9:5	2 Kgs 2:3
4Q382 f78:2	frg.
4Q391 f36:1	frg.
4Q391 f36:3	frg.
4Q391 f36:4	frg.
4Q391 f52:5	frg.
4Q391 f55:2	frg.
4Q391 f58:3	frg.
4Q391 f65:5	frg.
4Q462 f1:7	frg.
4Q462 f1:12	frg.

4Q524 f6_13:4	Deut 18:1
4Q524 f6_13:5	Deut 18:2

יהוה for יהוה :

4Q364 f14:3	Exod 24:12
4Q364 f23ii:15	Num 14:20
4Q364 f24a_c:3	Deut 2:31
4Q364 f24a_c:13	Deut 3:20
4Q364 f25a_c:8	Deut 3:21
4Q364 f26ai:4	Deut 9:12
4Q364 f26aii:2	Deut 9:22
4Q364 f26aii:5	Deut 9:24
4Q364 f26bii+e:2	Deut 9:25
4Q364 f26bii+e:3	Deut 10:1
4Q364 f26bii+e:9	Deut 10:4
4Q364 f28a_b:3	Deut 10:11
4Q364 f28a_b:7	Deut 10:13
4Q364 fK:2	frg.
4Q364 fR:2	frg.
4Q364 fT:1	frg.

יהוה for (unparalleled)

4Q158 f1_2:7	+ Gen 32:30 (Jacob blessing)
4Q158 f4:8	+ between Gen 24:6–12

יהוה for יוד

4Q511 f10:12	Isa 24:18; Jer 31:37; Mic 6:2
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יהוה for אדני

4Q408 f3+3a:6	Ps 45:17
Mas11 a 8	Josh 23–24 (allusion)

אדני יהוה for אדני

4Q225 2 i 3	Gen 15:2
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יהוה for אל

MasapocrJosh (Mas 11)	Josh 23–24 (allusion)
4Q422 2 5	Gen 7:16
4Q422 3 11	Exod 11:9–10 (stock expression)

יהוה for עליון

4Q422 2 9 Hab 2:14 (?)

יהוה for אלהים

4Q176 f1_2ii:2 Isa 49:13
4Q381 f15:3 Ps 86:17
4Q381 f15:6 Ps 89:7
4Q381 f17:3 Ps 21:10
4Q381 f79:6 Ps 38:22 (?)⁷⁴⁶

יהוה אלהים for אלהים

4Q375 f1i:3 Deut 13:18
4Q375 f1i:8 Deut 12:5

יהוה אלהי for אלהים

1Q22 f1ii:1 Deut 27:9
1Q22 f1ii:6 Deut 27:9
1Q22 f1iii:6 Deut 27:9

יהוה for יהוה אלהים

11Q5 28:10 1 Sam 16:9–10
11Q19 63:8 Deut 21:9

יהוה for אלהים יהוה

11Q19 17:16 Deut 16:8

אלהים for יהוה

4Q375 f1i:8 Deut 12:14
4Q158 f10_12:10 Exod 22:8⁷⁴⁷

יהוה for null

11Q19 48.9 Lev 19:28

⁷⁴⁶ Possible variant if syntax is inverted.

⁷⁴⁷ M G האלהים] 4Q158 SP יהוה

11Q19 52.8-9	Deut 15:20
11Q19 53.4a	Deut 12:21a
11Q19 53.9-10	Deut 12:26
11Q19 53.11-12a	Deut 23:22; 2x
11Q19 53.13-14a	Deut 23:24
11Q19 54.15-18a	Deut 13:6
11Q19 55.10b-12	Deut 13:18
11Q19 56.3-8a	Deut 17:10-11
11Q19 56.14-15	Deut 17:15
11Q19 60.10b-11	Deut 18:5
11Q19 60.12-14	Deut 18:6-7
11Q19 61.2b-5a	Deut 18:21-22
11Q19 62.14b-16	Deut 20:17
11Q19 63.3-4a	Deut 21:5

יהוה for ו

4Q434 f1i:12	Ps 34:8
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יהוה for הוא

4Q299 f3aii_b:12	Exod 15:3
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יהוה for אנכי

11Q19 51.15-16b	Deut 16:20
11Q19 53.20	Num 30:6
11Q19 54.3	Num 30:13b
11Q19 54.12	Deut 13:4
11Q19 55.2	Deut 13:13
11Q19 55.13	Deut 13:19
11Q19 56.12-13	Deut 17:14
11Q19 56.15c-18a	Deut 17:16
11Q19 60.16-17b	Deut 18:9
11Q19 60.19b-20	Deut 18:12
11Q19 61.12c-14a	Deut 20:1
11Q19 62.10-11	Deut 20:14
11Q19 62.11b-14a	Deut 20:15-16

יהוה for י (often with preposition לפני)

11Q19 52.10	Deut 15:21
11Q19 52.3b-5	Deut 17:1, 2x
11Q19 52.7b-8a	Deut 15:19
11Q19 53.14	Num. 30:3

11Q19 53.16-17a	Num 30.4
11Q19 55.15	Deut 17:2
11Q19 56.8-10	Deut 17:12
11Q19 60.10b-11	Deut 18:5
11Q19 60.12-14	Deut 18:6-7, 2x
11Q19 60.19b-20	Deut 18:12
11Q19 61.8-9a	Deut 19:17
11Q19 63.3-4a	Deut 21:5

יהוה שמך ישעי

4Q381 f24a+b:7 Ps 18:3

2ms verb for יהוה

4Q504 f1_2Riii:5 (stock phrase)

4Q504 f1_2Riv:3 (stock phrase)

4Q504 f1_2Rv:14 (stock phrase)

6.1.6 Use of Tetrapuncta

35x (14 documents) (**bold** = mss w/ multiple writing practices)

Sectarian Scrolls

1QS 100-50 BCE) 1

Scrolls of Non-Sectarian Origin

4QTestimonia (4Q175; 125–75 BCE) 2

4QHistorical Text A (4Q248; 30–1 BCE) 1

4QMen of People Who Err (4Q306; 150–50 BCE) 1

4QPersonal Prayer (4Q443; 100–75 BCE) 1

4QNarrative C (4Q462; 50–25 BCE) 2

Eschatological Hymn (XHev/Se6; 30 BCE–68 CE) 1

4QTanhumim (4Q176; 150–30 BCE (hand A), 30 BCE–68 CE (hand B) 8

4QParaphrase of Kings (4Q382; 75 BCE) 2

4QPseudo Ezekiel^e (4Q391; 150–100 BCE) 7

4QTemple Scroll (4Q524; 150–125 BCE) 2

Aramaic Scrolls

4QpapTob^a (4Q196; 50 BCE) 2

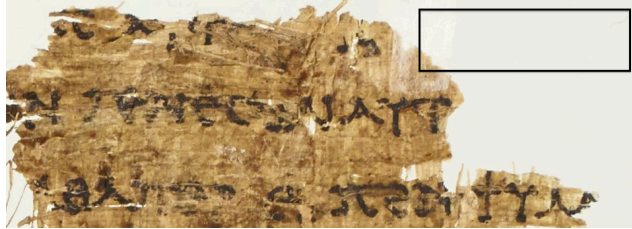
Biblical Scrolls

1QIsa^a (100–75 BCE; supralinear insertions) 2

4QSam^c (4Q53; 100–75 BCE, main text) 3

6.2 *Greek Evidence*

P. Rylands 458 contains eight fragments in total that span parts of Deut 23–28. The debated “gap” where a divine name would occur is found at frg. D lines 27-28 (Deut 26:18):



[της φων]ης αυτο[υ] κα[ι κυριος ειλατο
[σε σημερ]ον γενεσθαι αυτ[ω λαον περι-]

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