

Table of Contents

Abstract	IX
Acknowledgments	XI

PART I
Introduction

1	The Name of God	3
1.1	Sources and Method	12
1.2	Names and Epithets	13
2	YHWH Adrift and the Quest of Modern Scholars	17
2.1	Summary of Modern Scholarship	49

PART II
Naming God in Aramaic

3	From Elephantine to the British Museum Drachm	55
3.1	The Elephantine Papyri and Ostraca	56
3.2	Ostraca	57
3.3	Mibtahiah Archive	58
3.4	Anani Archive	60
3.5	Jedaniah Archive	61
3.6	Papyrus Amherst 63	64
3.7	Idumean 'House of YHW' Ostrakon	67
3.8	British Museum Drachm	68
3.9	Conclusion	71
4	Mount Gerizim, Ezra, and Daniel	73
4.1	Mount Gerizim Inscriptions	73
4.2	Ezra	78
4.3	Daniel	84

5	Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls	90
5.1	Enoch	91
5.2	The Book of Giants	92
5.3	Birth of Noah (or: Elect of God)	94
5.4	Genesis Apocryphon	95
5.5	Tobit	98
5.6	The Aramaic Levi Document	102
5.7	Testament of Qahat	103
5.8	Visions of Amram	105
5.9	Words of Michael	106
5.10	4QTestament of Judah?	107
5.11	Son of God Text (or: Aramaic Apocalypse)	108
5.12	Four Kingdoms and other Visionary Texts	109
5.13	Prayer of Nabonidus	109
5.14	Pseudo–Daniel Texts	110
5.15	Jews at the Persian Court	112
5.16	New Jerusalem	113
5.17	Other Aramaic Texts	114
5.18	Aramaic Translations: Job, Leviticus, and Isaiah	115
5.19	Summary of Divine Titles and Epithets in Aramaic	118

PART III

Naming God in Hebrew

6	Qumran “Biblical” Scrolls	133
6.1	The Divine Name and the Tripartite Division of Hebrew Scrolls	135
6.2	The Qumran Biblical Scrolls	138
6.3	Text-Critical Observations on Divine Name Transmission	140
6.4	Divine Name Variant Patterns	142
6.5	Scribal Changes and Corrections to the Divine Name	147
6.6	Paleo-Hebrew Script in Qumran Biblical Scrolls	151
7	Qumran Yahad Scrolls	160
7.1	Use and Avoidance of the Divine Name	160
7.2	The title אֱל replaces the Tetragrammaton	162
7.3	The titles אֱדִנִי and אֱלֹהִים replace the Tetragrammaton	164

7.4	The Paleo-Hebrew Script for Divine Names in Qumran Yahad Scrolls	170
8	Qumran Scrolls of Non-Yahad Origin	175
8.1	<i>Temple Scroll</i> (11Q19–21, 4Q524)	181
8.2	<i>Apocryphon of Moses</i> (1Q29, 4Q376, 4Q408)	183
8.3	Jubilees	185
8.4	4QProphecy of Joshua (4Q522)	187
8.5	8QHymn (8Q5) and 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11)	188
8.6	Summary: Naming God in Hebrew	205

PART IV

Naming God in Greek

9	Earliest Jewish-Greek Scriptures	211
9.1	The Divine Name $\alpha\omega$	221
9.2	YHWH in the Square Aramaic Script	226
9.3	YHWH in the Paleo-Hebrew Script	228
10	KYPIOΣ in the Second Temple Period	236
10.1	K(YPIO)C in Septuagint Manuscripts of the Common Era ..	237
10.2	The Earliest Evidence for κύριος	240
10.3	The Literary Use of Κύριος	249
10.4	Κύριος in the Graeco-Roman World: Comparative Backdrop ...	257
11	The Original Rendering	261
11.1	Stages of Development in Greek Manuscripts	262
11.2	Critique of the Divine Name as Original in the LXX	265
11.3	The Originality of $\alpha\omega$	266

PART V

The Name “YHWH” in Early Judaism

12	A Linear Paradigm?	271
13	Speech and Text in the Second Temple Period	279

**Appendices for Evidence of Use and Non-use of
the Tetragrammaton** 289

 The Tetragrammaton in Biblical Quotations of
 Yahad Works 289

 Divine Name Variants and Replacements 290

Bibliography 306