

A PHILOLOGICAL AND LITERARY
TREATISE ON
THE OLD TESTAMENT DIVINE NAMES

אל, אלוה, אלהים, and יהוה

BY

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AMICO
CHRISTIANO
USKO NIKKILÄ
IN MEMORIAM

Preface.

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information

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A. MURTONEN

List of Abbreviations.

- AASF = Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae.
ABL = Assyrian and Babylonian Letters ed. by R. F. Harper.
ACIO XIX = Atti del XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti.
ADB = Johns, An Assyrian Doomsday Book . . .
ADD = Johns, Assyrian Deeds and Documents.
AGE = Tallqvist, Akkadische Götterepitheta.
AGG = Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
ALGRM = Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, hrsg. v. W. H. Roscher.
ANG = Stamm, Die akkadische Namengebung.
AntJ = Antiquaries Journal.
AO = Musée du Louvre. Departement des antiquites orientales.
AO_r = Archiv Orientální.
APN = Tallqvist, Assyrian Personal Names.
BE = The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Series A: Cuneiform Texts.
BH = Biblia Hebraica⁴, ed. R. Kittel.
BHT = Beiträge zur historischen Theologie.
BLA = Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Klasse.
BM = British Museum.
BOLZ = Beihäfte zur OLZ (q.v.).
BWANT = Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament.
BZ = Biblische Zeitschrift.
BZAW = Beihäfte zur ZAW (q.v.).
CBM = Catalogue of the Babylonian and General Semitic Section of the Archaeological Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.
CBS = preceding.
CIH = Corpus inscriptionum Hebraicarum, ed. D. Chwolson.
CII = Corpus inscriptionum Iudaicarum I, ed. J.—B. Frey.
CIS = Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum.
CT = Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum.
EBPN = Ranke, Early Babylonian Personal Names . . .

- EncB = Encyclopaedia Biblica, ed. by T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black.
 Ges-B = Gesenius-Buhl, Handwörterbuch . . .
 HZWT = Zeitschrift für die wissenschaftliche Theologie, hrsg. v. A. Hilgenfeld.
 IPNU III = Schneider, Die Ilum-personennamen der Ur III-urkunden.
 JAs = Journal Asiatique.
 JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature.
 JJP = Journal of Juristic Papyrology.
 JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
 JTS = Journal of Theological Studies.
 KAT = Die Keilschrifttexte und das Alte Testament, hrsg. v. E. Schrader u.a.
 MbBA = Monatsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
 MT = the Masoretic Text.
 MVaG = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
 NF = Neue Folge.
 NKZ = Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
 NITT = Nederlands theologish tijdschrift.
 NPN = Gelb *et al.*, Nuzi Personal Names.
 NPSS = Ryckmans, Les noms propres sud-semitiques.
 NS = nova series.
 OLZ = Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung.
 OT = (the) Old Testament.
 OTS = Oudtestamentische Studiën.
 PNC = Stephens, Personal Names . . . of Cappadocia.
 PNCP = Clay, Personal Names . . . of the Cassite Period.
 PUN = Huber, Die Personennamen . . . aus der Zeit der Könige von Ur und Nisin.
 R. = reverse.
 RB = Revue Biblique.
 RE = Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche hrsg. v. A. Hauck.
 REKIA = Real-Enzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft hrsg. v. I. Pauly und C. Wissowa.
 RÉS = Revue des études sémitiques.
 RGG = Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.
 RHPR = Revue d'histoire et philosophie religieuse.
 RHR = Revue d'histoire des religions.
 SbBA = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.

StM	= Studia Mariana.
StO	= Studia Orientalia.
TLZ	= Theologische Literaturzeitung.
TR	= Theologische Rundschau.
TWBB	= A Theological Word Book of the Bible, ed. by A. Richardson.
TZ	= Theologische Zeitschrift.
UHB	= Gordon, Ugaritic Handbook.
VAT	= Vorderasiatische Abteilung der königlichen (staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin.
VS	= Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler.
VT	= Vetus Testamentum.
WO	= Die Welt des Orients.
WZKM	= Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZA	= Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZAW	= Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZDMG	= Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZVpS	= Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft.

The other abbreviations require presumably no explanation.

*

As to the system of transliteration (and transcription), the writer has striven after simplicity and uniformity as far as possible. In Akkadian words, therefore, all the homonyms have been distinguished from one another with numbers. Sumerian signs have been used so far as this has seemed to the writer to assist clarity. The same applies to the use of a straight line above a vowel to show that it is long. The rough pronunciation of the Akkadian \underline{h} is indicated by a curved line under it, in conformity with the usage in the corresponding West Semitic sound. All the other West Semitic spirants have been distinguished from the corresponding explosives with a stright line under them, save that $\underline{p} = f$. The so-called emphatic sounds have been marked with a point under them, save that $\dot{k} = q$, in both East and West Semitic. A circumflex accent ($\overset{\circ}{}$) above a vowel shows that it has been written with a vowel-consonant (y or w). $-iy$ has been written for $-iyy$. $\mathring{S}^e w\grave{a}$ *mobile*, $\dot{h}\grave{a}t\grave{e}f\grave{s}$, and $\dot{p}\grave{a}t\grave{a}h$ *furtivum* have been written with smaller characters above the line: The transcription of the Hebrew vowel signs is the following: $\dot{P}\grave{a}t\grave{a}h$: a , $\dot{Q}\grave{a}m\grave{e}r\grave{s}$: \grave{a} , $\dot{H}\grave{i}r\grave{e}q$: i , $\dot{S}\grave{e}r\grave{e}$: e , $\mathring{S}^e g\grave{o}l$: \grave{e} , $\dot{Q}\grave{i}b\grave{b}\grave{u}s$: u , $\dot{S}\grave{u}r\grave{e}q$: \grave{u} , $\dot{H}\grave{o}l\grave{a}m$: o . In the other languages the transcription of the vowel signs follows the etymological principle (e.g. the Syriac $Z^e q\grave{a}f\grave{a}$ is rendered by \grave{a} , and not by o).

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⁸ Introduction.

Definition of the subject.

The subject of this treatise will be the four names used in the OT about Israel's God, viz. 'El, 'E^llô^h, 'E^llohîm, and *Yhwh*, including their etymological equivalents in other Semitic languages. Because the first three names are derived from the same root, as we shall see later on, the work has been divided into two parts, the first of which deals with these, by their character so-to-speak general names, the second with *Yhwh*, which is usually regarded as the proper name of the God of Israel. No absolutely certain line, however, can be drawn between these two conceptions. The name 'A^dônây has not been included, because it is — at least in general — a substitute for *Yhwh* and originally an epithet.

In dealing with the names account will be taken of all the places, times (B. C.), and other circumstances where they appear. The order of the discussion will be chronological as far as possible.

Names of other deities, and likewise all the epithets, are taken into account only so far as they throw light upon the subject. This is necessary, lest the scope of the treatise should become too wide.

The treatise is based upon the OT, cuneiform texts, inscriptions, and other literary monuments of all the Semitic peoples dating — broadly speaking — until about 500 A. D. Of the literature dealing with the subject only the most important part is referred to, because of its great extent.

The treatise is primarily philological. Theological views are taken into account only in so far as they are relevant to philological questions. The same applies to the general history of religions.

Part I.

'El, its equivalents, and derivatives¹.

1. Occurrence.

The names (i.e., at least one of them) appear in all the Semitic languages. In Ethiopic, however, there are only attestations for the shortest form, as a part of some personal names borrowed from the Bible.² It is possible, however, that Ethiopic also possessed the name before the apparently new plur. mai. 'amlak, which has been attested in no other Semitic language, displaced it³; but because there are no attestations, the matter remains obscure.

In Akkadian only the shortest form written in the forms *el*, *elu*, *il*, *ili*, *ilu*, and *ilum* is known. The forms without the case vowel are the oldest⁴, *ilum* belonging to the Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian periods. To the same period the infrequent *elu* belongs, too.⁵ The form *ili* is infrequent in the meaning »the god», »a god».⁶

In the so-called Amoritic names the form *ila* appears, too.⁷ Whether it is only a graphical variant of the form 'iläh/ [»]lô^h, or the

¹ As a consequence of the definition of the subject, we do not take into account the derivatives of 'El not appearing in the OT.

² E.g. *Samu'el*, *Za-Mika'el*, *Dan'el*, see Littmann, *Sabi., griech. und altab. Inschriften*, p. 43, 66, 79.

³ Baudissin, *Kyrios III*, p. 10.

⁴ Gelb, *AOr* 18: 1-2, p. 197.

⁵ See IPNU III, p. 7 sq., the names *E-lu-DA*, *E-lu-ba-ni*, *E-lu-da-an*.

⁶ It appears with certainty only in the names *I-din-i₃-li₂-šu*, see EBPN, p. 96, *I-li-šu-DA-a*, PNCP, p. 86a, and *I₃-li₂-a-wi-lim- | ra-bi, -GAL*, see ANG, p. 313.

⁷ Th. Bauer, *Ostkanaanäer*, p. 75, etc.

name of an independent deity, cannot be definitely decided. In favor of the first alternative there is at least the great resemblance between these forms, especially considering the fact that West Semitic *h* has often been left unexpressed in cuneiform writings.¹ On the other hand, it is strange that if this is the case the *h* should be regularly unexpressed.²

Coming to Ugaritic we first meet the whole group, written *il*, *ilh*, and *ilhm*.³ The form *ilh*, it is true, does not appear unbroken, but it can be restored from the three passages where the rests appear.⁴

The Hebrew forms, as has been mentioned, are *'el*, *'ēlōh*, and *'ēlohîm*. The shortest form appears independently 230 times in the OT being besides the theophorous element of numerous personal and place names. *'ēlōh* appears only 57 times, and almost entirely in poetry, this variant occurring 41 times in the book of Job. *'ēlohîm* is the most usual word for »deity» in the general sense in the OT, appearing about 2570 times.⁵

Aramaic has the two shorter forms, of which *'l*, however, belongs only to Old Aramaic.⁶ The usual longer form is *'lh/'lâh*, but in some personal names there appears a form without the first sound, too.⁷ The form *-lhy* (*-lhy*) appearing in the Nabataean proper names seems to be a loan from Northern Arabic, especially considering the fact that the majority of Nabataean names are clearly Arabic.⁸ According to Greek transcriptions it may have been pronounced *'allahî*.⁷

¹ Cf., e.g., the transcription of the West Semitic *-yâhû*, *Yehô-* in the names *Haza-qi-ia-u*, *Ia-u-ha-zi*, etc., see Driver, ZAW 46, p. 8.

² Cf., e.g., the variety in the name *Ia-ah-wi-*, *Ia-wi-* | *AN*, p. 44, etc.

³ See, e.g., UHB, p. 129, text 1.

⁴ Viz. 1: 5, 3: 14.30. (Cf. the prec. note). Cf., too, H. Bauer, ZAW 51, p. 81 sqq.

⁵ König, Theologie, p. 144 sq.

⁶ For occurrences see D. H. Müller, WZKM 7, tabl. on p. 38: 22, and tabl. on p. 50: 2.11.18.

⁷ See the appendix, e.g. the names *Bn'l*, *Whb'l*, *Zbd'l*, etc.

⁸ Nöldeke, ZDMG 17, p. 703 sqq.; Blau, ZDMG 16, p. 331, and cf. the appendix.

Whether the Syriac 'allāhā' belongs to this group or not is very uncertain. Some scholars wish to derive it from the name of an Akkadian deity Alla¹ which, however, would seem rather unlikely in face of the rare appearance of this deity, especially in later times.² Brockelmann³ supposes that the form has arisen from *ilah* by means of doubling the *l*, but the analogies given are not wholly adequate.

The appearance of 'l as an independent form in Northern Arabic is very uncertain⁴, but it is frequently used to form theophorous proper names.⁵ The normal form is 'ilāh, with the article 'Allah. In Southern Arabic 'l (= 'il) is more common than 'lh, as is generally known.

In the later Phoenician only 'El is known with certainty.⁶ According to Eusebius⁷, Philo Byblius mentions Ελωειμ (= ^{sp}lohīm), too, but in the absence of any other evidence the matter is quite uncertain.⁸

2. Pronunciation of 'el.

As regards the quality of the vowel, cf. the first section. It is generally agreed that the vowel of the word was originally short.

¹ E.g. Johns, ADB, p. 15; Zimmern KAT³, p. 354, n. 1; Tallqvist, APN, p. 251a.

² It appears only in the names ^lMan-nu-ki-^dAl-la-a (Ass; B. C. 669), *Al-tukla-niše* (Ass; 7th cent.; spec.), *Al-(la-) MAN* (Ass; 7th cent.), *Al-ba-ni-ka* (Ur and Nisin), *Al-Na-aš-hu-mil-ki* (Ass; 7th cent.), *Al-Si-³mil-ki* (Ass; 7th cent.), *Arad-^dAl-la-a-a* (Ass; 8th a. 7th cent.), *Iš-di-A-la-a-a*, (Ass; 8th a. 7th cent.), and in some Sumerian names, see Huber, PUN, p. 167, and Johns, ADB, p. 15. Huber regards the name as a phonetic writing for *alu* »city, town».

³ Syr. Gramm⁶, p. 41, 34.

⁴ It appears only in Vogüé, Syr. centr., tbl. 13: 5, with an epithet formally Arabic (*qsyw*). 'lh *qsyw*, op.cit., tbl. 14: 4. Or is the name in connection with that of the known gnostic »prophet» Ελξαί/Ελκεσαίος?

⁵ See the appendix, e.g. the names *Bn'l*, *Whb'l*, *Zbd'l*, etc.

⁶ Eusebius, Praep. I 10: 16.20; O'Callaghan, Orientalia NS 18, tbl. 23: 18; Alt, TLZ 75: 9, col. 521 with note; etc.

⁷ Praep. I 10: 20.

⁸ Cf. map 1.

As evidence for this opinion it has been proposed, for instance, that the only Hebrew words to which 'el can be compared are *gew* and *se'îm* = *še'îm*.¹ But *še'îm* has probably been derived from the root *šwt*, and the etymology of *gew* is quite uncertain (cf. Ges-B). The fact that the vowel of the Akkadian *il(u)* has never been written *plene* is of more weight, like the fact that the vowel of 'el in the beginning of Hebrew proper names can be reduced to *hâtef s^gôl*. The derivative 'iläh/^{ae}lô^{ah} everywhere shows a short vowel, too. For the opposite view, however, there is also evidence of much weight, viz. 1) that in Northern Arabic proper names (in which the word is very common, cf. the appendix) 'el in early times, when the quantities of the Greek vowels had not yet been confused, was always transcribed in Greek with ηλ², and 2) that, as is generally agreed, in Southern Arabic the vowel of 'il is long, too. Naturally it could be supposed that the prolongation of the vowel in Southern Arabic might have been a consequence of a phonetic law existing only in that language, but it is hard to suppose the existence of such a law, there being no other sign of it, besides the fact that Northern Arabic gives support to the supposition that the vowel had been long already in Proto-Semitic times. It seems to the writer that the only satisfactory explanation of these facts is that the vowel was originally short, but had already become anceps in rather early times, by means of which the word 'el, originally biliteral, was drawn into the triradical category.³

3. Meaning of 'el.

a. Was 'el an appellative before than it was a proper name?

It has been usually held that 'el originally only had the general meaning »a deity».⁴ The principal reason for this opinion is without

¹ Lagarde, Erklärung, p. 8, cf. Uebersicht, p. 164 sqq.

² Nöldeke, SbBA 1882: II, p. 1181 sqq.; and MbBA 1880, p. 760.

³ Nöldeke, SbBA 1882: II, p. 1191; cf., too, Stade, Gesch. I, p. 428, n. 2, and Starcky, AOr 17: 2, p. 385.

⁴ Hehn, Gottesidee, p. 150 sqq.; Kittel, Gesch.⁵⁻⁶ I, p. 167, n. 1; Hoschander, ZA 20, p. 250; Noth, Isr. Pers.-n., p. 92. 94; etc.

doubt the fact that 'el was only with certainty attested as the proper name of a single god relatively late, viz. in the Old Aramaic inscriptions of the 8th century B. C.¹ That an appellative could become a proper name can be explained as follows: if a tribe exercised an exclusive monolatry during which it used the word 'el to mean only its own god so that the proper name of that god fell into oblivion, when the tribe again came into contact with other tribes, its god found a place among those of other tribes, in spite of retaining the name 'El.² Another possible explanation would be that the name of the god was a composite one, one component being 'el. Later on the other component — *brevitatis causa* — was omitted, and so there remained nothing but 'el.³ The only weakness in these theories is that a parallel cannot be found.⁴

Furthermore, many other facts may be advanced against this view. Firstly, in Ugaritic 'Il is without any doubt the proper name of the *supreme* god. Secondly, in Southern Arabia some inscriptions have been found where the name 'l is mentioned along with other names of gods, *always* in the *first* place.⁵ Thirdly, in Akkadian there is also a group of personal names which can be explained most naturally by supposing that the word *il(u)* in them means a certain god, i. e., is a proper name, e. g. *Ilu-itti(i)a* (*Ilu* is with me), *Ilu-abi* (*Ilu* is my father), etc.⁶ These names, however, can be explained by

¹ See the note 6, on p. 25.

² Noth, *Isr. Pers.-n.*, p. 97.

³ Baudissin, *Kyrios III*, p. 15; Cassuto, *Studi e mat.* 8, p. 127.

⁴ Baudissin, *Kyrios III*, p. 14, believes he has found such a parallel, viz. the Arab. 'Allat < 'äl-'ilähät, but in this case it is clear that the change from an appellative to a proper name has taken place by means of the addition of the article, for 'äl-'ilähät has nowhere been attested as an appellative. Neither has it been proved that 'ilähät was originally an appellative, cf. H. Bauer, *ZAW* 51, p. 86; Hvidberg, *Graad og Latter*, p. 42; Nielsen, *Dreiein. Gott I*, p. 119 sqq., *et passim*.

⁵ See, e. g., Hal. 144: 3—4, 150: 4 (*JAs VI/19*). Cf. Nielsen, *Dreiein. Gott II: 1*, p. 79 sq.

⁶ Friedr. Delitzsch, *Bab. u. Bib.*³, p. 72 sq.

supposing that *il(u)* in them means the tutelary god of the owner of the name,¹ which has usually been written *ilī(ia)*, *ilušu* (my god, his god), etc. The name *Šumma-ilu-la-iliia* (»If *Ilu* is not my god . . .») can be read *Šumman-la-iliia*.² The instances where the phonetic writing *il*, *el* has been used for the logogram AN seem to be more certain.³ The name *Ilii*⁴ may be mentioned in this connection, too. It would seem to be most natural to interpret as *Il-ili*, i.e., »*Il* is my god». It can, however, be regarded as belonging to the Proto-Trans-Tigridian names of the type *Šilili*.⁵ Finally, according to Gelb a very important god bearing the name *Il* has been attested at Fara and often in the pre-Sargonic period.⁶

The appearance of 'l as the proper name of a single god in the Old Aramaic inscriptions has already been mentioned (p. 28). In these inscriptions *Hdd* precedes 'l⁷, but in Phoenician the latter is mentioned before the other names of gods⁸, and according to

¹ So, e.g., Hoschander, ZA 20, p. 250.

² Stamm, ANG, p. 136.

³ E.g. *Il-DA*, IPNU III, p. 8, *Il-tap-pa*, APN, p. 96a, and the many Cappadocian names in which the form *-el*, *El-* appears, see Stephens, PNC, Name list, *passim*. The supposition that 'el in Cappadocian names from the very first might have been an appellative is quite impossible, because it in such a case would have been written *ilum*.

⁴ The variants in writing are: *AN-li-li₂*, IPNU III, p. 9, *NI.NI.NI*, *loc. cit.*, *I-li-li₃*, PNC, p. 48a, and *I-li₃-i-li*, Smith, S., AntJ 19, p. 45. The two first forms are from the time of the 3rd dynasty of Ur, the third one from Cappadocia, and the fourth one from Atchana.

⁵ Prof. Salonen orally.

⁶ AOr 18: 1–2, p. 197. The present writer has not been able to verify this report, partly because Gelb gives no reference; possibly the report is based on unpublished texts? Cf., too, Deimel, Pantheon, p. 140b sq.

⁷ Euler, ZAW 56, p. 307, supposes that *Hdd* and 'l mean the same deity, but the supposition seems to be unfounded, at least as far as the inscriptions mentioned are concerned.

⁸ See O'Callaghan, Orientalia NS 18, tbl. 23: 18, and Alt, TLZ 75: 9, col. 521 with note.

Eusebius¹, Philo Byblius identifies 'El with the Greek Kronos, which indicates that he regarded 'El as the former supreme god.²

As we see, 'El appears as the name of the supreme god everywhere in the earliest times, if we may interpret Gelb's expression »very important« in that way. In any case the expression points in that direction. The order of 'l and Hdd in the Old Aramaic inscriptions probably indicates only a secondary alteration. Parallels can be given in abundance.³ From Northern Arabia or Ethiopia we have no old inscriptions. This evidence overthrows the objection that it would be impossible to understand why the particular god 'El should have given his name to the whole class of gods:⁴ what would be more natural than to call the whole class after its most eminent representative? Whether this fact points to a primitive monotheism or not is no longer a philological question, but belongs to the history of religions.

Finally, let us also view the matter from the point of view of history and of psychology. We know that in primitive languages there are no »general conceptions«. On the contrary, every single thing is called by its own, special name. Adjectives and attributes are the product of a long evolution. All the abstract words have been derived from *concrete* roots. Can 'el be derived from such a root? No attempt is made here to do so, because the fact that nobody else⁵ has tried it before would seem satisfactory evidence for the opposite opinion. *Ergo*: 'el was originally a proper name.⁶

b. What is the original meaning of the word 'el?

In order to discover the meaning of an unknown word we can follow two different methods. We can conclude from the form of

¹ Praep. I 10: 16.20.

² As a parallel may be cited the identification of Ζεύς and *Iuppiter* (which was made without knowledge of the etymological identity of the names).

³ We refer only to the relation between *Anu* and *Marduk*, 'El and *Yhwh*, Κρόνος and Ζεύς, *Saturnus* and *Iuppiter*, etc.

⁴ Noth, *Isr. Pers.-n.*, p. 94.

⁵ Cf. p. 34 sqq.

⁶ Cf. Clay, *Hebr. Deluge Story*, p. 29, and map 1.

the word which root it has been derived from, and from this root we can conclude the meaning of the word, if the meaning of the root is known. Or we can conclude the meaning of the word from its attributes and predicatives, or from other words to which it is attached. The former method is uncertain, if there are many roots from which the word can equally well be derived, as is the case with the word 'el.¹ The latter means is the better, the more attributes and predicatives are known, and in this case they are more than sufficient.

Which are the attributes and predicatives of 'el? The epithets seem to demand examination first. First, in Akkadian no epithets of *Il* are known. The same is the case in Amoritic, Aramaic, and in both Northern² and Southern Arabic. As to Ugaritic, we know the following epithets: *mlk* (»king»), *ab šnm* (»father of years»), *tr* (»bull»), *dpid* (»the of mercy»), *ltpn* (»kindly») ³, *ab* (»father»), and *bny bnwt* (»creator of creation»).⁴ Of these *mlk*, *tr*, *dpid*, *ltpn*, and *ab* may represent original characteristics of 'el, *ab šnm* and *bny bnwt* being later theologumena. From the OT we know the epithets 'elyôn (»most high»), *r^áî* (»one who sees me?»), 'ólâm (»eternity»), *šadday* (»the of mountain?»), *qannâ'* (later *qannô'*) (»vehement», »jealous»), *r^ahûm w^ehannûn* (»merciful and compassionate»), and probably *bêl'el* (»house of 'el»). Of these 'ólâm and *šadday* seem to be old divine names.⁵ 'elyôn is a theologumenon (to distinguish between different 'els). *r^áî* seems to be originally a part of the proper name of a spring (cf. Gen. 16: 7—14), while *bêl'el* is a well-known place name, when it does not mean a deity.⁶ *qannâ'* and *r^ahûm w^ehannûn* are used only of *Yhwh*. All of them are thus irrelevant, as regards the present subject. In Phoenician we know the epithet *qn 'rs* (»creator of earth»),⁷ obviously a theologumenon.

¹ Cf. p. 34 sqq.

² As to the name 'l *qsyw*, cf. note 4, on p. 26.

³ H. Bauer, ZAW 51, p. 82 sq.

⁴ Eissfeldt, El, p. 29, 56.

⁵ See Baudissin, Kyrios III, p. 130, and cf. the use of *šadday* as an independent divine name in the OT (e.g. Job 31: 2).

⁶ See Baudissin, BZAW 41, p. 2 sq.

⁷ See the note 6, on p. 26.

As we see, the result is very unsatisfactory. From the epithets we know only that the inhabitants of Ugarit regarded their supreme god as strong, mighty, and merciful.

Another method would be to examine all the contexts in the oriental literature where the word *'el* is mentioned, and draw one's conclusions from them. But because the Semites were (and still are) very religious, regarding all events and matters as acts of the divine power, this method would in practice mean that all the oriental literature would have to be examined, a task for which the lifetime of one man would not suffice. Neither is such an inquiry necessary, if a limited field exists where all the different characteristics of *'el* would equally well appear. It seems to the writer that there really is such a field, viz. the theophorous personal names containing the word *'el*.

It would appear that there is only one objection which can be made against this, viz. that the negative characteristics of *'el* cannot appear in the personal names, because the Semites gave their children only propitious names.¹ It may be answered that the gods of the Semites did not have any negative characteristics, naturally in their own view. If a city was defeated in a war against another, it did not mean that its god (or gods) were weak, but that the god of the other city was still stronger. If plague exterminated the inhabitants of a town, it did not mean that its god had been arbitrary or cruel, but that the inhabitants had not fulfilled their duties towards the deity.

Therefore a list² of those West Semitic *'el*-containing names is given which throw light upon the characteristics of *'el*. The list does not claim to contain all such names, but the majority of them, and all the most used ones. As to the Akkadian names, it is fortunate that the writer can refer to the excellent discussion of them by J. J. Stamm³ with which the author is in perfect accord except

¹ Pedersen, *Israel* I, p. 192.

² See the appendix.

³ in his work *Die akkadische Namengebung*.

on one point, viz. that *ili* always meant in Akkadian »my god».¹ That it can mean also »a god», »the god», is proved by the instances where *ilišu* »his god» appears as the subject.² The form, however, appears very rarely with this meaning and must be regarded as secondary. It may have originated from the cases where AN = *ili* appears as a genitive or in the meaning »my god».

These names can be divided into two groups: 1) those confessing that 'el is great, strong, without like; e.g. *Ilu-rabi*³, *Y^ehæzq^e'el*⁴, *Mannu-ki-ili*⁵, even *Mannu-balu-ili*⁶, and 2) those in which man addresses himself to 'el, entrusting himself, giving thanks, or requesting something; e.g. *Ana-iliia-atkal*⁷, *'ln'd*, *Rimanni-ilu*.⁸ The names in which 'el is said to be good, protector, gracious, love, etc., also belong to this class, for they presuppose that the giver of the name had recently received evidence of it, and are thus nothing but thank-names.⁹ No exact line, however, can be drawn between these two groups, for names such as *'lqdm*, *Ilu-ka-ašarid*¹⁰, etc., may be placed in either class.¹¹ Names such as *Adi-mati-ilu*¹², though indications of impatience, signify, nonetheless, that the giver of the name continued to believe that the deity would fulfill his desires

¹ ANG, p. 72.

² Cf. p. 24 with the note 6.

³ ANG, p. 76, *et passim*. (OBa, Ass).

⁴ As to the West Semitic names, see the appendix.

⁵ ANG, p. 237, *et passim*. (OBa, Ass, NBa).

⁶ ANG, p. 238 (appears thrice). (OBa, Cass).

⁷ CBM 10421: 11 (see BE XIV 152). (Cass).

⁸ APN, p. 187b, *et passim*. (Ass; about 8th a. 7th cent.)

⁹ Cf. ANG, p. 237, etc.

¹⁰ APN, p. 97b (four times). (Ass; about 7th cent.)

¹¹ In a certain sense this applies to all the names; e.g. the names containing a petition can be regarded as indications of the conviction that the deity can comply with it if he will, as the names containing a confession of the power of the deity can be regarded as a response to the manifestation of that power. Therefore it must be remarked that, here, the division of the names has been made according to which of these two meanings is more prominent.

¹² ANG, p. 162, *et passim*. (OBa, Cass, NAss).

at some time in the future. Names such as *Ibašši-ilu*¹ must not be interpreted as indicating that the giver of the name had previously doubted the existence of the god(s) — such a dogmatic thought would have been quite strange to the entire ancient Orient — but as a psychological reaction to the recent happy event just happened.² The name *La-a-ba-ši-ilu*, earlier interpreted as *La-baši-ilu* »Does *ilu* not exist?»³ must be interpreted *La-abaši-ilu* »May I not be ashamed, o *ilu*!», in accordance to *La-nibaši-ilu* »May we not be ashamed, o *ilu*!«⁴ The very uncommon »blasphemic» names, such as *La-a-di-ru-AN*⁵, are given only to ill-reputed persons by those around them.⁶ So the answer to the question given in the title of this section is: 'el originally meant a being who is great, strong, without like, and to whom man can, does, and must trust himself.⁷

4. Etymology of 'el.

The most general opinion of the etymology of 'el is that it derives from the root 'wl⁸ or 'lw/y⁹, which would mean »to be strong». As

¹ ANG, p. 135, *et passim*. (OBa, Ass, Cass).

² ANG, p. 135.

³ E.g. Tallqvist, APN, p. 120a (NAss).

⁴ Stamm, ANG, p. 175. (Cass).

⁵ Harper, ABL 1032 (five times). (Ass).

⁶ Stamm, ANG, p. 250, 268.

⁷ Cf. Gemser, Beteekenis, p. 52 sqq., and Noth, Isr. Pers.-n., p. 133, who divides the Israelite personal names into four classes, viz. »in Bekenntnisnamen, Vertrauensnamen, Danknamen und Wunschnamen». The first of these classes is identical with the first given here, the rest corresponding to the present second class. As regards the latter characteristic, cf. Nielsen, Dreiein. Gott I, p. 147, etc. We see that the result agrees with that of the examination of the epithets (see p. 32).

⁸ E.g. Hitzig, HZWT 18, p. 2; Kleinert, BZAW 33, p. 269 sq.; Köhler, Theol. des AT:s², p. 235, n. 41; Marti, Gesch., p. 25; Sellin, Gesch. I, p. 47; Schulz, Alttest. Theol.⁵, p. 405, n. 10; Hvidberg, Isr. Rel. Hist., p. 44 (uncertain); Lods, Israël, p. 296 (or from 'lw/y: d'une racine sign. »être fort»); Mo-winkel, Psalmenstudien II, p. 157 (or from 'lw/y).

⁹ E.g. Kittel, RE³ V, col. 318; Heinisch, Theol. des AT:s, p. 13; Eichrodt, Theol. des AT:s, p. 86 (uncertain).

support for this etymology there has been proposed, for instance, the well-known phrase »yeš l^eel yādî» Gen. 31: 29 etc. in which 'el without doubt means »strength, power».¹ The other evidence, however, is very uncertain, as will be seen later on (p. 37 sq.). Some others² combine it with the root 'w/yl »to be in front, the first», cf. mō'l, mól, mûl, 'ayil III »projecting pilaster, door-post»(?), possibly also 'ayil I »ram» (as the leader of a flock)³, further Northern and Southern Arabic 'äwwäl⁴, and Aramaic 'awwal, 'awlâ' »beginning, the remote antiquity».⁵ A third group⁶ tries to derive it from the root 'ly which has the meaning »goal, direction», cf. the prep. 'el, 'elê, Arabic 'ilâ'. 'El would thus mean the goal to which all the efforts of men are directed. The etymology suggested by O. Procksch⁷ that the word comes from a root 'll »to bind» (which does not appear in the OT) has not acquired wider acceptance. It may be mentioned, too, that the word has been claimed to be an abbreviation from 'elôh, with reference to the use of 'el principally in proper names, the longer form being more independent.⁸ The word has been con-

¹ The objection made by Friedr. Delitzsch, *Bab. u. Bib.*³, p. 45, is quite artificial.

² E.g. Nöldeke, *MbBA* 1880, p. 774 sq.; Hehn, *Gottesidee*, p. 204; Starcky *AOr* 17: 2, p. 383 sq.

³ Nöldeke, *MbBA* 1880, p. 774 sq.

⁴ Jensen, *ZA* 11, p. 351, makes the suggestion that the word possibly comes from the root 'wl ('äwâl > 'äwwäl), cf. 'olâm, 'elâm, but the related languages show that the w in 'olâm does not belong to the root. Moreover, it appears that the ' does not tend to assimilate itself, see Brockelmann, *Grundriss* I, p. 157 sqq., 177 sq., an objection which can also be used against the supposition made by Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 166, that the word comes from the root w'l = Hbr. y'l. As to 'elâm, as a local name it may be very old, possibly from a substrate language.

⁵ See Dalman, *Aram.-neuhebr. Wb.*, p. 9.

⁶ E.g. Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 3 sqq.; Lagrange, *Études*, p. 79 sq.; Friedr. Delitzsch, *Bab. u. Bib.*³, p. 45.

⁷ *Theol. des AT:s*, p. 444.

⁸ Fischer, *ZDMG* 71, p. 445; Ewald, *Lehre der Bibel* II: 1, p. 328 sq.

nected with the pronominal root 'l, 'loo.¹ In this case it should be understood in the sense of a mask (or of a pseudonym).

To begin with the last mentioned hypothesis, it is hard to believe that as early as Proto-Semitic times men would have feared to mention the name of a god so much that the original name would have fallen into oblivion. The first certain example of such a fear dates from the time of the birth of Christ. Moreover, we cannot see any reason for such a fear. The pronunciation of the tetragram was forgotten because of 1) the threat that *Yhwh* »will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain», and 2) the unnaturalness of the circumstance that a god who was regarded as the only god in the whole universe had a proper name. The threat mentioned first would not correspond to the characteristics of 'el given above (p. 33 sq.), and if 'El was regarded as the only god by the Proto-Semitic people, that monotheism could hardly be anything else than so-called primitive monotheism. Accordingly, the word could not have been a proper name, and there was no reason for it to have been forgotten.

Against the statement that the word 'el is an abbreviation of the form ^{ap}lô^{ah}, it would be enough to remark that the Akkadians did not know the longer form, and also among the Canaanites it plays an insignificant role, as is well known. In addition to this, it should be noted that the authors who have suggested or supported this etymology cannot suggest any tenable etymology (or an etymology at all) for the word ^{ap}lô^{ah} either.²

The supposition that 'el comes from the root 'll »to bind» cannot bear closer inspection. No form of 'el shows a doubled l. The plural of 'el is 'elîm, not *^{ap}lâlîm, as would be expected on the ground of the analogy *šel-š^elâlîm*. The form with the suff. 1. pers. sg. is 'elî,

¹ H. Bauer, ZAW 51, p. 84. As a curiosity we may mention the derivation from SAr. 'il »running water» suggested by Stace, Engl.-Arab. Vocabulary, 1893, p. 64a (acc. to Köhler, Theol. des AT:s, p. 234, n. 41). Gen. 32: 23—32, with which it has been supported, does not even mention the word 'el, even if the hard change '>' at so early a time were not included.

² See the note 8, on p. 35.

not **ʿilli*, as it is *šilli* from the word *šel*. The word *ʿlil*, which is given by Procksch as supporting his etymology¹ and translated «Götterlein» (a little god), is most naturally to be derived from the root *ʿll* with the meaning «nothingness» and translated «vain god». In any case the meaning of the word is uncertain, and the etymology, in the absence of any other support, untenable.

All the other etymologies suggested have the common weakness that they can explain only a part of the essential meaning of the word *ʿel* (cf. p. 33 sq.). The etymologies which derive the word from a root meaning «to be strong» or «to be the first» do not pay attention to the instances in which *ʿel* is said to be merciful or even love (cf. p. 34), and the etymologies which declare that the word *ʿel* comes from a root meaning «goal, direction» do not consider the cases where *ʿel* is said to be great, strong, without like. Moreover, as we have seen, it is likely that the vowel of *ʿel* was originally short (p. 27). How would it be possible that from a root containing three unlike radicals a word should have been derived with only two radicals and a short stem vowel? No analogy can be found. Furthermore, if the root from which the word *ʿel* has been derived has a «weak» consonant after *l*, why is there no vestige of it in the word *ʿel* in any Semitic language?² It may be remarked, too, that in the Semitic languages the word stems show the tendency to lengthen, not to get shorter. *ʿab* becomes *ʿabû* in Arabic, *ʿah* > *ʿehwa* in Ethiopic, cf. Arab. *kilä* with Hebr. *kilʿayim* and Akk. *kilali*.³

In addition to this, seen from the psychological point of view, it is difficult to understand how there could have been an original difference between the roots *ʿwl* «to be strong» and *ʿel* «to be the first». Naturally in primitive circumstances the strong one is also the first (and not only in primitive circumstances, cf. the international politics of our own time). The other, still greater, if possible, psychological weakness of these etymologies is that they try to

¹ See the note 7, on p. 35.

² As to the Akkadian *ili*, cf. p. 33.

³ Brockelmann, Grundriss I, p. 331 sqq.

derive 'el, the most primitive word, from a root with an *abstract* meaning. Nobody can deny that the ideas of strength, firstness, and direction are abstract, though strength as a concrete conception is, of course, very old. A primitive man does not say that his king is strong but that he is a lion, a bullock, or a buffalo. That 'el is a very primitive word is proved by 1) its existence in all the Semitic languages with the (possible) exception of Ethiopic (cf. sec. 1), 2) the fact that it was composed of only two radicals (cf. p. 27), and 3) that these radicals are numbered among the most primitive ones.¹

Furthermore, if the meaning »to be strong» were the primary one, why are there *no* verbal stems, *no* adjectives, nor even substantives except 'el which would be in agreement with this meaning and derived from this root? The other words given as support for this meaning are not wholly in keeping with it. 'ayil II, 'elā^h, and 'elôn (big trees) can as well be derived from the ideas of firstness (as being the most prominent) and tendency (upwards) as from the idea of the strength, but best of all from all of them. This would fit very well the fact that big trees have inspired divine worship, possibly throughout the world. The writer refers only to the tall oak appearing as »the tree of god» in the Finnish national epic Kalevala, to the sacred groves of the old Germans, to the tree-deities of the old Cretans, and to the 'āšerā^h:s in the OT.² 'elôn was also a sacred tree, as is well known. 'ayil »ram» can equally well come from 'w/ył »to be the first» (cf. p. 33). The same argument holds regarding 'ayyâl »red deer» to which 'iyâl »buck of the chamois» corresponds in Arabic. 'wîl, 'wîlî »foolish (also of ungodly)», 'iwælæt »foolishness» have only a very remote relationship with the idea of strength. The meaning of the word 'úl in Ps. 73: 4 is uncertain (see Ges-B). The words 'yâl Ps. 88: 5, and 'yâlút in Ps. 22: 20 probably mean »help», not »strength», cf. the Syriac 'iyâlâ' (see Ges-B).

¹ Landsberger, ACIO XIX, p. 452.

² Cf. Holmberg, Baum d. Lebens.

As regards the meaning »to be the first», matters are not much better. The interpretation is admittedly supported by some nouns (cf. p. 35), and by two verbal stems, but the nouns are for the most part abstract, while the meaning of the verbal stems (*y'l caus.* »to address oneself to a task with a certain self-conquest», and arab. *'ālā* »to reign») presupposes the idea of strength, too.

The only support for the meaning »goal, direction», praep. *'el*/*'ilā^y*, contains in itself also the meaning »before» being thus related to the meaning »to be in front, the first».¹

It seems, therefore, that the only possible relationship between *'el* and these roots is that the latter have been derived from the former. *'El* itself can have been derived only from a concrete conception, i.e., from immediate experience.² In other words, the question is philologically unsolvable.

5. Relation of *'el* and *'ēlō^ah*.

It has been claimed that *'ēlō^ah*/*'ilāh* has nothing to do with *'el*, but that it has been derived from a root *'lh/wlh* »*trepidare*» and »*trepide confugere ad alqm*».³ It has been supposed, too, that *'ēlō^ah* is a plural of *'el*.⁴ The statement that *'el* might be an abbreviation from *'ēlō^ah* has already been dealt with (p. 35 sq.). Further, some scholars are of opinion that *'ēlō^ah* is a secondary abbreviation from *'ēlohīm*.⁵ Finally, it has been said that *'ēlō^ah* is a vocative

¹ Cf., e.g., the attributes and epithets of the moon god *Sin* in Tallqvist, AGE, esp. p. 447: »Herr», »Fürst», »Herrscher», »Herr der Götter», »Herr des Alls», »willfährig», »barmherzig», »treu und zuverlässig», »gross», »stark», »hoch», »furchtbar», »ohnegleichen», etc.

² Beth, ZAW 36, p. 130 sqq., comes to the same conclusion, though in a different way. Cf. even Dhorme, Rel. des Hebr. nom., p. 339: *'el* = *virtus* = *δύναμις*.

³ Franz Delitzsch, Neuer Comm. über Gen., p. 48; Schultz, Alttest. Theol.⁵, p. 404 (? or *'ēlohīm* directly?); Fleischer, Kleinere Schriften I, p. 154 sq.; Eichrodt, Theol. des AT:s², p. 89.

⁴ Wellhausen, ZDMG 55, p. 699 sq.; Procksch, Theol. des AT:s, p. 447.

⁵ Eb. Nestle and Kittel, see RE³ V, col. 318; König, Theol. des AT:s, p. 145.

of *'el*, with reference to Arabic vocatives of the nouns of relationship: *'äbäh*, *'ummäh*, etc.¹

Against the first statement it has been pointed out that the root *wlh* is the original one, *'lh* being secondarily derived from *'iläh*.² It would also be hard to suppose that two words formally and semasiologically so closely connected with one another should be derived from quite distinct roots. This may be enough to permit us to regard this etymology as out of the question.

It is impossible to accept the second statement because *'älö^ah* etc. has nowhere been attested as meaning a plurality of gods. We have instances where a word formally plural has a singular meaning besides its plural meaning (e.g. *'älöhîm*), but we have no analogies to support the supposition that a word of so wide a distribution as *'älö^ah* could have lost its original meaning so entirely that no traces of it appear.

The supposition that *'älö^ah* might be formed »backwards» from *'älöhîm* cannot be accepted on account of the much greater distribution of the shorter form (cf. section 1). Moreover, it is impossible to suppose that the Arabic *'iläh* would be loaned from Hebrew, for if such were the case the borrowing must have been happened before the change $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ had taken place in Hebrew, and the disappearance of the *'älif* in the word *'iläh* after the article shows that the word is very old in Arabic, for only one word, and that undoubtedly a very old one, viz. *'inäs* »*homo*», shows the same phenomenon, apart from it, in Arabic.³

So there remains the last suggestion which is reasonable, logical, and easy to understand. As we know, the old Semites were very religious. Consequently, they used the name of god very frequently, about as frequently as the nouns »father» and »mother», and because the name of god was principally used in the vocative, it is not surprising that the original form of the name in some places fell

¹ Vollers, ZA 17, p. 305 sq.; H. Bauer, ZDMG 69, p. 561.

² Nöldeke, ZDMG 40, p. 174; Cheyne, EncB III, col. 3324; Fischer, ZDMG 71, p. 446.

³ Nöldeke, SbBA 1882: II, p. 1188 sq.

into oblivion and the vocative form began to be used in the nominative also. An analogy: *Iuppiter* < *Iū-piter* < **Ioupater* for *(D)ious, cf. the Greek *Ζεύς* / *Ζεῦ πάτερ*. Ergo: ^{ae}lō^{ah} is the vocative of 'el.¹

6. Origin and meaning of ^{ae}lohîm.

As to the derivation of ^{ae}lohîm, there are only two possibilities, viz. 1) that the word is a plural of 'el, and 2) that it is a plural of ^{ae}lō^{ah}.² As support for the former possibility reference has been made to some plurals formed by means of an *h* as a supplement for the third radical, e.g. Arab. 'ummähât, 'äbähât (dial.), and Hebr. 'amâhôt, etc.³ Against this it has been remarked that 1) the forms in question are all feminine as to their formation, or very young; 2) the vowel of the second radical in Hebrew and Arabic formations is primarily always short, 3) the fact that ^{ae}lohîm in Hebrew means a plurality of gods as well as one god explains the rare use of the plural 'elîm in that language⁴, and 4) all the above-mentioned older forms have been formed from words often used in the vocative.⁵ To these arguments a further one can be added here: 5) in Ugaritic the plural *ilhm* is rather unusual, as is *ilh*, too, while the plural *ilm* corresponds better to *il* as regards frequency.⁶ It can be remarked, too, that 6) in later Phoenician there appear neither 'lh nor 'lhm⁷, but, on the other hand, both 'l ('El), and 'lm ('elîm). In addition,

¹ The etymology suggested by Hitzig, HZWT 18, p. 5, viz. that ^{ae}lō^{ah} comes from the root 'hl which is related to the root 'wl, need not be seriously considered.

² The supposition of König, Theol. des AT:s, p. 144, that ^{ae}lohîm might be directly derived from 'älihâ »sich scheuen«, can be ignored as etymologically incorrect (cf. p. 40) and psychologically impossible. A curiosity: Venetianer, ZAW 40, p. 157 sqq., »derives« the word from the cuneiform sign of the god Ramman: *ilu IM*.

³ Eb. Nestle and Kittel. See RE³ V, p. 318; Spöer, AJSL 18, p. 9.

⁴ Nöldeke, SbBA 1882: II, p. 1177 sqq.

⁵ Vollers, ZA 17, p. 306.

⁶ See, e.g., Gordon, UHB, p. 210b.

⁷ As to the form *Ελωειμ* by Eusebius, see p. 26.

since it is much more natural to suppose that a form is regular, though the root-word is little used, than that it is irregular, and the root-word is only a little more used, we can conclude that ^ʔ*lohîm* is the plural of ^ʔ*lô^ah*.

As has been mentioned, ^ʔ*lohîm* can mean both »a god» and »gods». As to the primary meaning there cannot be any doubt, the word being formally a plural, but the singular meaning is also very old, as the Ras Shamra texts prove.¹ The alteration of the meaning may, perhaps, have taken place in that the word has been used to mean a certain, e.g. locally limited, group of deities which can easily be understood as a single totality.² Another, in my opinion less likely explanation is that the word »developed to mean a (single) god as the comprehension of divine powers».³ It seems to the writer that this supposition presupposes a level in metaphysical and theological thinking reached only by Israel's great prophets.

In the OT the word has some special meanings. The commonest is the use of the word as an equivalent of *Yhwh* (esp. in Ps. 42—83), so that the word finally came to have the meaning »the (only) God». In some passages (e.g. Ex. 4: 16, 1 Sam. 28: 13) the word means only a »superman» or a supernatural being.⁴ It can be taken for granted, too, that the word in some passages has been used as a superlative (like other divine names).⁵ There has also been a widespread belief that the word in some passages (e.g. Ex. 21: 6, 22: 27) meant »judges»⁶, but the opinion has been shown to be erroneous.⁷

¹ See H. Bauer, ZAW 51, p. 85. Cf. even Kautzsch, *Bibl. Theol.*, p. 17, Eichrodt, BZAW 31, p. 108, and Balschheit, BZAW 69, p. 70. This fact definitely overthrows Eerdmans's statement that *pl. mai.* is impossible before Persian times (*Alltest. Studien I*, p. 5).

² Mærti, *Gesch.*, p. 26; W. Rob. Smith, *Die Rel. d. Semiten*, p. 101.

³ Koehler, *Lexicon*, p. 52.

⁴ Kautzsch, *Bibl. Theol.*, p. 13.

⁵ See, e.g., Kelso, *AJSL* 19, p. 152 sqq.; Caspari, *ZDMG* 69, p. 393 sqq.; J. M. P. Smith, *AJSL* 45, p. 212 sq. This meaning is attested in Ugaritic too, see H. Bauer, ZAW 51, p. 85.

⁶ E.g. Beth, ZAW 36, p. 46.

⁷ See Gordon, *JBL* 54, p. 139 sqq., and Brongers, *NITT* 3, p. 321 sqq.

Part II.

Yhwh.

1. Occurrence.

The name *Yhwh* is known to us from the OT as the proper name of the God of Israel. It appears there about 6823 times.¹ When attached to a noun or to a verbal form in theophorous proper names it appears regularly in a shorter form, viz. *Y^ehó-*, *Yó-*, *Yē-*, *-yâhû*, *-y^ehû*², or *-yâ^h*, e.g. *Y^ehóšû^a*, *Yónâ^tân*, *Yehû*³, *Yirm^eyâhû*, *Mikây^ehû*, *Mattanyâ^h*. Upon the ostraca found at Samaria it appears in the form *Yw-*, *-yw*, e.g. *Ywyšb*, *Šmryw*.³ The complete form appears, outside the OT, on the Moabite Stone and in the letters from Lachish, as is well known. The shorter form *Yhw* has also been attested independently, apart from the Elephantiné papyri (where another form *Yhh* appears four times as a variant⁴), twice in the letters from Lachish⁵, on a coin⁶, and on some ostraca dating after the exile, where the shortest form *Yh* also appears⁷, which in addition appears in the OT (see *lexica*), and in the Rabbinic literature.⁸

The main Greek transcriptions are *Iaw*, *Iaβε*, *Iaβai*, *Iaove*,

¹ Spoer, *AJSL* 18, p. 31; Koehler, *Lexicon*, p. 368; etc.

² Only in the name *Mikây^ehû*.

³ Reisner, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria I*, p. 239 sqq.

⁴ Cowley, *Aram. Pap.*, p. 1, 37; Dupont-Sommer, *RHR* 129, p. 18, and *Semita* 2, p. 32. In the proper names there appear the forms *Yh-* and *Y-* too.

⁵ Lachish I, p. 90 (V: 10), and p. 132 (IX: R. 1).

⁶ See Cook, *ZAW* 56, p. 269.

⁷ See Driver, *ZAW* 46, p. 7 sqq.

⁸ See Levy, *ZDMG* 9, p. 470, 488. The ending *-yh* in the well-known formula *hllwyh*, however, seems to have been originally an emphatic affirmative, see Jastrow, *ZAW* 16, p. 16, and Nöldeke, *BZAW* 33, p. 378 sq.

Iaova, *Iawe*, and *Ia* (the shortest form).¹ As to the form *Aia*², it is likely that it corresponds to the Hbr. *'ahya*^h Ex. 3: 14.³ In the cuneiform texts dating from the last millennium B.C. the name has been written (in proper names) in the following ways: *A-u*⁴, *Ia-a-hu*-, *Ia-a-hu-u*-, *Ia-hu*-, *Ia-hu-u*-, *Ia-ku-u*⁵, *Ia-'u*-, *Ia-u*-, *-ia-a-u*-, *-ia-u*-, *-ia-u-u*-, *-ia-a-ma*-, *-a-a-ma*-, *-ia-me-e* (?).⁶

In all these cases the OT God may be in question. In some cases, however, there is some doubt whether the facts are actually so, e.g. in the name of ^d*Ia-u₂-bi-'di* (var. *I-lu-bi-'di*), the King of Hamath in Northern Syria in the year 721 B.C.⁷ But before we go on to examine these cases in greater detail, let us see whether in the OT itself passages can be found which would seem to indicate that *Yhwh* was worshipped outside Israel.

In fact⁸, in the OT there are some such passages. In 1 Sam. 6: 14. 18

¹ See Baudissin, *Kyrios II*, p. 193 sqq.; Ganschietz, *REKIA IX*, col. 696 sqq.; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 3, 13 sqq.; Epiphanius, *Pan. haer.* 40, 5; Wutz, *Onom. sacra*, p. 733; Clemens Al., *Strom.* V, 6, 34; Theodoretus, *Opera omnia IV*, p. 299, 393; Lagarde, *Onom. sacra*, p. 210, 217, 226, 228 sq.; Diodorus, *Hist.* I, 94, 2; Lydus, *Liber de mensibus IV*, 53; Origenes, *Contra Celsum VI*, 31, 32; cf. the Latin form *Iao* by Tertullianus, *Adv. omn. haer.* 4. Eusebius, *Praep.* I, 9, mentions a form *Ιεωω* (which, however, probably does not mean the God of Israel, cf. p. 51). The form *Ieû/Ieov* appears only in Coptic and in the magical literature. Baudissin, *op. cit.*, p. 214, regards it as an abbreviation from *Yâhû/ô*. As to other forms appearing in the magical papyri the writer refers to Papp. Graec. mag. I, ed. Preisendanz (e.g. I 226, III 76 sq., IV 398 sq., V 62, 96 sqq., 340).

² Theodoretus, *Opera omnia IV*, p. 393.

³ Cf. Lagarde, *Onom. sacra*, p. 192: *Aia qui erat et qui erit*. Walker, *VT* 1, p. 310, supposes it to be *Yâ(h)* with prosthetic aleph.

⁴ See Schiffer, *BOLZ* 1, p. 23, *et passim*.

⁵ See Galling, *Textbuch*, p. 83. Does it mean that *k* was pronounced as a spirant even in Akkadian in the Neo-Babylonian period?

⁶ See Driver, *ZAW* 46, p. 7 sqq., and Eissfeldt, *ZAW* 53, p. 59 sqq., and cf. the prec. note.

⁷ See *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, *Saal II*, 3, 10; X, 3, 33; *Stele I*, 53; *Nimrud 8* (tbl. 1; 31, 47, 48, resp.).

⁸ To the following cf. the writer's article «The Appearance of the Name *Yhwh* outside Israel», *StO XVI*: 3, and map 2.

the given
which of these?

cf. on b'dler-
graphy!

mention is made of a man from Beth-Shemesh, by name *Y^ehōšū^a*, apparently a man whose family had dwelt there some time as he owned a field there, and because he is expressly described as 'from Beth-Shemesh and not as belonging to any one tribe of Israel. It is not wholly beyond the bounds of possibility, however, that he is an Israelite who (or whose father) for some reason had withdrawn from his tribe and settled down at Beth-Shemesh.¹ Another possible instance appears in 2 Sam. 8: 10, citing a Prince of Hamath in Northern Syria, by name *Yôrâm*. This is supported by the name *^dIau/Ilu-bi'di* mentioned above (p. 44). It has been stated that *Yôrâm* could be intentionally written in place of *H^adôrâm*, which appears as the name of the same person in 1 Chron. 18: 10², but it is difficult to understand the intention of the writer of the passage; on the other hand, it is very easy to understand how the Chronicler came to believe that the form *Yôrâm* was erroneous: he knew nothing of the worship of *Yhwh* in Hamath or, if he did, he regarded it as having been started by the Israelite emigrants mentioned in Isa. 11: 11. *Iaubi'di* would be an Israelite who usurped the throne of Hamath.³ Against this it must be stated that 1) according to the cuneiform texts he was »a wicked Hittite»⁴, and 2) the latter part of the name does not seem to be Hebrew. The latter argument, however, is not entirely satisfactory.⁵ It may be pointed out, too, that the first part of the name *H^adôrâm* is irregular (normally *H^adād-*, e.g. *H^adād'æzer*, *H^adādrimmôn*), and phonetically difficult to understand: how can a *d* be turned into a *w*? Moreover, the LXX have in place of it three variants none of which corresponds exactly to the reading of MT, but all of which can easily be understood as slightly altered forms of the name *Yôrâm* (consonants:

*of course not
but cf. Iau
Addit.:*

¹ Noth, *Isr. Pers.-n.*, p. 110.

² Driver, *ZAW* 46, p. 9.

³ See the prec. note.

⁴ Keilschrifttexte Sargons, X, 3, 33. (tbl. 31).

⁵ It is known that there are some personal names in the OT made up from the tetragram, the remaining component of which does not appear in the OT, e.g. that of the King *Y^ehō'āš*.

ywrm), viz. *Ιδούραμ*, *Λουραμ*, and *Ιεδδούραν* (consonants: *ydwrm*, *dwrn*, *ydwrn*, resp.).

The passage Gen. 4: 26 is of more importance. It states that men began to call on the name *Yhwh* for help long before the people of Israel existed. The general argument against this has been the assertion that the passage means that men began to pray to the god at that time, but the passage states that they began to call on *the name Yhwh*.¹ This is supported by the name of the mother of Moses, *Yókæbæd* »*Yhwh* is powerful», and by that of a tribe of Israel, *Yósef*, if interpreted »*Yhwh* is a sword»², an interpretation which receives support from the fact that the name is always written *plene* in the OT, once even *Y'hósef* (Ps. 81: 6), while most of the other well-known old names are quite or almost regularly written *defective*, e.g. *ʾelohím*, *Noʾh*, *Yaʾaqob* (five times *Yaʾaqób*), *Dániʾel* (of the Book of Ezekiel), *Dáwid* (in Eccl. and 1 2 Chron. *Dáwíd*), etc.³

In addition to these the name of *Az-ri-ia-a-u₂*, the King of Yaudi⁴, may be mentioned in this connection. Yaudi is usually held to be identical with *Yʾdy* in Northern Syria, mentioned in the inscriptions from Sengirli, but it might also be = Judæa.⁵

In the cuneiform texts dating from the time of the Cassite period and earlier, certain personal names appear in which the tetragram seems to be one component. In the following, therefore, we give a list of such names, where an intelligible interpretation of each name is possible.

The names are:

A-bi-ia-u₂-ti (Cass), NPN, p. 320b (appears once; BM 3031, 4, see BE XIV, 23) »My father is my *yautu*» or *vice versa*.

¹ Cf., too, Rowley, *Growth of OT*, p. 21.

² Beer, *Exodus*, p. 31.

³ There is no serious argument against the genuineness of the name *Yókæbæd*. Noth, *Isr. Pers.-n.*, p. 111, can only say that it is »sehr unsicher» that the composition of the name includes the tetragram.

⁴ Cf. KAT³, p. 54, 262, 465.

⁵ Noth, *Isr. Pers.-n.*, p. 109 sq.

Ahi(ŠEŠ)-ia-wi₂/mi (Kan), (Sellin-)Hrozný, Tell Ta'anek, Anhang, p. 121 (once; Ta'anek 2, 2) »*Yawi* (*Yami*) is my brother».

A-ḥi-ia-u₂-ti (Cass), ¹*Ah-ti-ia-u₂-tu* (Susa), NPN 320b (thrice) »My brother (sister) is (my) *yautu*» or *vice versa*.

Bir-ia-ma-a (WSem), APN 64b (once; K. 1359, IV, 5, see ADD 857) »Son of *Yama*».

Ḥa-li-ia-um (Amor), NPN 321a (5 times) »*Yaum* be exalted».

Ia-e-a (Cass), PNCP 82a (twice).

Ia-ah-, *Ia-* | *wi-AN*, *Ia-wi-i-la* (Amor), Bauer, Th., Ostkanaanäer, p. 26 (thrice), Jean, StM, p. 95 (twice) »*Ya(h)wi* is god» or »*El (Ila)* is *ya(h)wi*». i.ell. Amorit. ja-hwi-EE

Ia-ma/wa (Kan?), PNCP 82b (twice).

Ia₃-mi-ba-an-da (Kan), Ta'anek 3, 13 (once) »Bound to *Yami(n?)*».

Ia₃-mi-u₂-ta (Kan), APN 91b (once; VAT 1684, 2, see Thontaf. von el-Amarna, tabl. 170) »Protected by *Yami(n?)*».

Ia-u-ba-ni (Cass), PNCP 83a (5 times) »*Yau* is (my?) creator».

I-a-u-i-li₂ (Amor), *Ia-u₂-*, *Ia-wu-/um-AN*, *Ia-a-um-[AN]* (Oba? Amor?), Baqir, Sumer 5: II, p. 137 sqq.; Bauer, Ostkan., p. 31 (1 + 2 + 2 + 1 times, resp.) »*Yau(m)* is (my) god». ja-hwi-ri

Ia-u₂-š_u₂ (Oba), Bauer, Ostkan., p. 31 (once; VAT 901, 23, see VS VIII, tabl. 14) »He is *yaw*».

Ia-wi-dDagan (Amor), Bauer, Ostkan., p. 31 (once; AO 1629, 9, see Thureau-Dangin, Lettres et contrats, no. 158) »*Yawi* is *Dagan*» or *vice versa*.

Ia-wi-um (hypocor.) (Amor, Oba?), Bauer, Ostkan., p. 31 (1: King of Kish; 2: Father of *Ḥali-iaum* Bu. 91-5-9, 2499, 8, see CT VIII, 44a).

Li-pu-uš-i₃-a-um (Oba), Thureau-Dangin, Königsinschriften, p. 167 (once; unverified, but never questioned) »May *yaum* do it».

Nuri-ia-u₂-ti (Cass), NPN 321b (twice) »My *yautu* is my light».

Tukulti(KU-ti)-ia-u₂-ti (Cass), NPN 321a (reads *Ku-ti-*) (once; CBM 6625, 6, see BE XIV, 44) »My *yautu* is my support».

In these names the element *yau(tu)* represents without doubt more than one originally different element. Only the name *Lipuš-iaum* (a granddaughter of *Naram-Sin*) can be regarded as definitely

Lippus-jau
may my (child
breathe)

Akkadian, and even it might be due to foreign influence.¹ Another name probably belonging to this group is *Iaušu* (from the time of *Ammiditana*). In the names from Susa, *yautu* might represent a reputed Heth.-Churr.-Proto-Ind. name of the god *i-á / Yae / Yaya(š)*² — supposing that this name really has existed — as it may in those from the Cassite period in which, however, it might be regarded as West Semitic too. In Amoritic names the element is, of course, West Semitic. For *Yama* and *Yami(n?)* see the last section. It must be mentioned, too, that the name *Habi-iaum* has been stated to be a variant in writing for *Ha-li-u₂-um*.³ How likely this explanation is, can be seen in the fact that the writing *Ha-li-ia-um* appears five times, and *Ha-li-u₂-um* only once.⁴

There is also a list⁵ containing a number of equivalents of the well-known star-logogram which is the most usual sign for *ilu*. Among these equivalents comes, in the first place, the word *ia-'-u*. The most recent copyist failed to understand the meaning of this word, for he «explained» it with the pronoun *yati* which, however, suggests that he was also acquainted with the feminine form.⁶

¹ It is proved that the Amorites were present in Mesopotamia under the Agade dynasty. See Goetze, *Language* 17, p. 137 and n. 85.

² See Jensen, *Hitt. u. Arm.*, p. 26, n. 8; Lewy, *RÉS* 1938, p. 49 sq.; Hrozný, *JJP* 1950, p. 46.

³ Th. Bauer, *Ostkanaanäer*, p. 91, n. 4.

⁴ See Th. Bauer, *Ostkanaanäer*, p. 19.

⁵ BM 93035. See *CT* XII, 4.

⁶ Sayce, *Exp. Times* 19, p. 525; Burney, *Book of Judges*, p. 247. That this explanation really is secondary, can be seen from the fact that the sign AN has been used nowhere with the meaning «me». Also the words in lines 3—5 can be intended only to explain the word *ia-'-u*, being more recent guess-work. Hehn, *Gottesidee*, p. 250, claims that «bei den folgenden Gleichungen . . . handelt es sich . . . nicht um Gottesbezeichnungen». This is incorrect. The first equation (AN = *ia-'-u*) is made in the first line, the second one (AN = *i-lum*) not until line 6. That the words in lines 2—5 have not been equated with AN, but are intended to explain *ia-'-u* as a kind of parallel, can be seen from the fact that in lines 7 sqq. explaining parallels or details have also been given to the equation AN = *i-lum* in line 6 (and no further equations before line 11). That the words in lines 2—5 are later guess-work, and not real parallels,

In the Ugaritic pantheon there is a god by name *Yw*. Albright's doubts¹ concerning the reading of the word are groundless. The *w* is exactly like all the other *w*:s in the same column, and clearly distinguishable from all the *r*:s.² Since Albright's main reason for expressing uncertainty is that the reading *yw* does not fit the context, we give here the text in question³, and a translation of it, to enable the reader himself to discover why the reading *yw* does not fit the context. The present writer sees no cause for question.

'nt pl. x. IV.

(1) — — — — —	— — — — —
<i>gm. šh. lq[</i>	aloud he cries to
<i>lrḥqm. lp[</i>	to those being distant, to
<i>šh. il. ytb. b[</i>	'Il called sitting in
— — <i>t. 'lmmn.[</i>	— — — — —
<i>ilm. bt. b'lk[</i>	gods, the house of your lord
<i>dl. ylkn. ḥš. ba[rš(?)</i>	which verily go hurrying in [the earth?
<i>b'pr. ḥblttm.[</i>	in the dust, destruction(?)
<i>šgy. rta. tnmv. ytn [ks byd</i>	drinking — — Give water! He puts [a cup in the hand,
(10) <i>krpn. bklat yd.[</i>	a goblet in both hand(s)
<i>kml. kḥš. tus[</i>	— — — — —
<i>tgr. il. bnh. tr[</i>	'Il — — his son, <i>Tor</i>
<i>wy'n. l(p)n. il. dp[id</i>	And <i>Ltpn</i> , god of mercy, replies:
<i>šm. bny. yw. il[</i>	»The name of my son is <i>Yw</i> 'Il(m?)» ⁴

is proved by the fact that they have no common meaning from which the special meanings could be derived. The idea of »highness», proposed by Hehn, does not fit the pronoun *yati* »me» in line 2, besides which it is very vague and far-fetched in the other lines, too. The lack of imitation also points to a name, cf. Gelb, AOr 18: 1—2, p. 197.

¹ Von d. Steinzeit . . . , p. 436, n. 99.

² See AO 16643. Photograph in Virolleaud, Déesse 'Anat, tbl. XIII.

³ Acc. to Gordon, UHB, p. 190.

⁴ A horizontal stroke remains after the last letter in the line; it seems to

<i>wp</i> 'r. <i>šm</i> . <i>ym</i>[	and he gives the name <i>Ym</i> [to him?
<i>t</i> 'nyn. <i>lzn</i> tn[	They answer:
<i>at</i> . <i>adn</i> . <i>tp</i> 'r[	thou art called »Lord» . . .
<i>ank</i> . <i>ltpn</i> . <i>il</i> [<i>dpid</i>	I am <i>Ltpn</i> , god [of mercy
'l. <i>ydm</i> . <i>p</i> 'rt(?)[	on the hands, thou art called
(20) <i>šmk</i> . <i>mdd</i> . <i>i</i> [l	thy name is »Darling of 'I[l
<i>bt</i> <i>kspy</i> . <i>d</i>[	my house of silver which
<i>bd</i> . <i>aliyn</i> b['l	in the hands of 'Aliyn Ba[al
<i>kd</i> . <i>ynašn</i> (Gordon: <i>yn ašn</i>)[	thus he despises me
<i>gršnn</i> . <i>lk</i> [<i>si mlkh lnht lkht</i>	drive him out from the se[at of his kingship, from the dais, the throne
<i>drkth</i> . <i>š</i>[	of his sovereignty
<i>whm</i> . <i>ap</i> . <i>l</i>[	and they, even
<i>ymhšk</i> . <i>k</i>[	he will smite thee as
<i>il</i> . <i>dbh</i>. [	'Il, sacrifice
<i>p</i> 'r. <i>b</i>[	to name
(30) <i>tbh</i> . <i>alp</i> [<i>m ap šin šql</i>	slaughter ox[en and small cattle, kill
<i>trm</i> . <i>w</i> [<i>mri ilm 'glm dt šnt</i>	oxen and [fatlings of rams, yearling bullocks,
<i>imr</i> . [<i>qmš llim</i>	little lambs, [kids

The words in the 23rd line do not appear elsewhere in the Ugaritic texts. This may be the basis on which Gordon issued his emendation. *kd*, however, when interpreted as »thus», receives support from Hebrew (*kāzce^h* in the combination *kāzo^h w^ekāzce^h*, and *kāzo'ṭ*), Aramaic (*kiḏnā'*), Arabic (*kāḏū'*), etc. *naš* »to despise» has isoglosses in Akkadian and in Hebrew. The pers. pron. suff. sg. 1. acc., which Gordon has reconstructed¹, receives its first confirmation in this passage. In addition to this, considering the fact that our translation fits the context very well while Gordon's (»a pitcher of wine» leaving

be the remnant of an *m*. The *ts* in the column are regularly a little longer (cf. note 2, on p. 49.). Cf. Baumgartner, TR NF 13, p. 159.

¹ UHB, p. 117.

the three last letters untranslated)¹ wholly confuses the sense, there is little doubt as to which of the two is better.

In addition to these it may be mentioned that the name appears as a part of two personal names in a Northern Arabic inscription², but it is likely that the two persons mentioned are Jews. Again, in a well-known oracle of *Apollo Clarius Iaw* appears as the name of the supreme god. It is hard to imagine that it means the OT God, for the oracle presupposes that *Iaw* is a vegetation god who dies in the autumn and rises in the spring, ascending the throne of the supreme god³, and the OT *Yhwh* has never been conceived of as belonging to these gods⁴, least of all in the times the oracle was given (ca. the times of the birth of Christ or a little later.⁵) The reputed appearance of the tetragram in the Old Sinaitic inscriptions⁶ is quite uncertain.⁷ On the other hand, it might be the latter component in the place name *Ba-ti-y-a* »House of *Ya*» in the Palestine list of Thutmosis III.⁸ Finally, Euseb, mentions that a god *Iewo* was worshipped at Gebal ca. 1000 B.C.⁹

How can we explain these names? *-yau(m)* and *-yautu(m)* are usually regarded as hypocoristic terminations.¹⁰ In the Akkadian names this is doubtless usually the case, but the name *Lipuš-iaum*, at all events, remains outside the time the termination appears¹¹, besides which this explanation does not account for cases where

check!

¹ Ug. Literature, p. 26.

² Jaussen et Savignac, Mission archéol. II, p. 462.

³ Macrobius, Saturnalia I, 18. The oracle runs as follows: *Φράζο τὸν πάντων ἑπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν Ιαω. χεῖματι μὲν τ' Ἀἰδὸν, Δία δ' εἶαρος ἀρχεμένοιο, Ἡελίον τε θέρεος, μετοπώρου δ' ἄβρον Ιαω.* (Reconstructed from an edition published 1585).

? who?

⁴ See Hvidberg, Graad og Latter, p. 118.

⁵ Baudissin, Kyrios II, p. 214.

⁶ Grimme, Altsin. Buchst.-inschr., No. 356, etc.

⁷ See e.g. Sprengling, Alphabet, p. 25 sqq.

⁸ W. M. Müller, MVaG 12: 1, p. 26.

⁹ Praep. I, 9. Cf. Langdon, Sem. [Mythol.], p. 44.

¹⁰ Cf., e.g., Tallqvist, APN, the name list, *passim*.

¹¹ See Gelb *et al.*, NPN, p. 321 b sq.

yau(m) stands at the beginning of the name. It has been said that *yau(m)* is a pronoun meaning »mine». *Yaum-ilu*, then, would mean »the god is mine». ¹ Where in all the Semitic languages can we find a parallel for such a name? The nearest parallels are *Išu-ila* and *Raši-ilī* (reading uncertain) ² which mean »he has (got) god» and »one who has (got) god», resp., and are thus of very unlike sense. ³ For if we say that we have god, it does not mean that the god is ours, that he is one of our possessions. Moreover, the name *I-a-u-i-li₂*, though very old (from the time of *Sumu-la-el*), shows the word *yau(m)* without mimation, which points to a proper name ⁴, being in addition Amoritic ⁵ — and what would be the sense of a name meaning »my god is mine»?! But let us suppose that this explanation is correct. It still does not explain the names *Yahwi-ilu* and *Yawi-ilu*. It has been stated that *yahwi* / *yawi* is a verbal form from the root *hwy* »to be», either a causative ⁶ or a ground stem form. ⁷ Against this it must be pointed out that the so-called Amoritic, if not identical ⁸, is in

¹ Landsberger, ZA 35, p. 24, n. 2, and following him Th. Bauer, Ostkanaanäer, p. 56; Schleiff, ZDMG 90, p. 691, n. 2; Albright, Von d. Steinzeit . . ., p. 260; etc. Schleiff applies this interpretation to the name *Yawi-ilu*, too, leaving *Yahwi-ilu* unexplained, and even unmentioned.

² See Stamm, ANG, p. 252.

³ Stamm, ANG, p. 211.252, makes use of the German word »Besitzer», which has two significations, viz. »one who has (got)» and »owner, possessor», in order to make the names parallel.

⁴ Gelb, AOr 18: 1—2, p. 197.

⁵ Baqir, Sumer 5: II, p. 137 sqq.

⁶ Th. Bauer, Ostkanaanäer, p. 61. 74. As a reason he gives: »Eine Übersetzung »Gott ist» wäre für das Ostkanaanäische mit seinen konkreten Nameninhalten zu farblos».

⁷ H. Bauer, ZAW 51, p. 93 with note 7: a causative form is impossible, because no such stem from the root *hwy* exists, and if it did exist, it would have been *yhhwy* at that time. Clay, Light on the OT³, p. 237; Noth, Isr. Pers.-n., p. 109, says generally: »In den ostprotoaramäischen Namen . . . ist das erste Element nach *zahllosen* (italics by the present writer) Analogien ohne allen Zweifel verbal, und nicht ein Gottesname». No analogies, however, are given. One would satisfy the present writer. Cf. even Daiches, ZA 22, p. 125 sqq.

⁸ Naturally considering the differences caused by the development of the language in the meantime.

all cases very closely connected with Ugaritic,¹ and neither Ugaritic nor the later Phoenician contains the root *hwy*. In Akkadian a verbal form such as *ya(h)wi* is impossible. If we presume that *yahwi* comes from *hwy* »to live«, the form *yawi* still remains unexplained, for there is absolutely no evidence or analogy to support the supposition that this verb could be inflected in the same way as verbs formed by means of the *u*-augment.² In addition, considering that in the Ugaritic pantheon there is a god *Yw*, that a god *Ieww* was worshipped at Gebal ca. 1000 B. C., that a god *Yau* was worshipped at Hamath during the first centuries of the last millennium B. C. (*Yôrâm*, *Iaubi'di*), and perhaps also elsewhere in Northern Syria (*Azri-iau*), nothing is more likely than that the first element of these names is a divine name.³ The same must be said of the element *yau(m)* in the Amoritic and Old Babylonian names *Iau(m)-ilu*, *-ili*, *Li-puš-iaum*, *Hali-iaum*, etc., considering the equation $AN = ia- 'u$ in addition to the facts established above. It is interesting to notice,

¹ Baumgartner, TZ 2, p. 56, proposes the following evidence against the supposed identity of Amoritic with Ugaritic: »... das Amoritische .. hat ursemitisches *š* als *š* (ug. *s*), und *d* als *z* (ug. *d*); dem Ugaritischen fehlen auch die im Amoritischen vorhandenen Verbalstämme *'mn*, *hšn* (für *hsn*) und *qlb*. As regards the first two statements, they are too positive. Firstly, in Amoritic we do not know the exact pronunciation of the sibilants, see Th. Bauer, Ostkanaanäer, p. 64, and cf. the known fact that in Akkadian also one and the same sound is written sometimes *s*, sometimes *š*, sometimes even *z*, owing to the fact that the characters were originally intended to represent the sounds of a language not Semitic. The same may be the reason for writing the *d* as *z* — as is well-known, Akkadian has no sign for the sound *d*. As to Ugaritic, it is uncertain whether the sound indicated by *d* is *d* or *d*, see Gordon, UHB, p. 20 sq., and also the Proto-Semitic *š* was possibly written sometimes *š*, and not *s* (op. cit., p. 21 sq.). As to the verbal stems, it seems to the present writer that they are not of much weight, especially considering the fact that we do not know all the vocabulary of the Ugaritic language. Gordon, UHB III, records only 2238 numbers, many of which are in addition repetitions.

² Clay, Light on the OT³, p. 237, however, suggests this interpretation, too. The same argument is in force against the supposition made by Schorr, Urkunden, p. 294, that the word belongs to the root *hwy* »to declare«.

³ Cf. Burney, Book of Judges, p. 245.

86 auch im Hebr.

cf. Goetze & Albright

too, that the Old Babylonian name *Yaušu* is equivalent to that of the King of Israel *Yēhū*' (dissimilated from *Yōhū*', cf. *Yēšū*' < *Yōšū*'¹)².

2. Pronunciation.

It may be unnecessary to explain why the name *Yhwh* must not be pronounced *Y^ehowā^h*. The writer refers, however, to the well-known hybrids *la^yhowā^h*, *ba^yhowā^h*, etc., which are explicable only when it is supposed that the vowels of the word *^adonāy* have been supplied to the consonants *yhwh*, and to the form *y^{se}ehowī^h* after *^adonāy*.

¹ Philippi, ZVpS 14, p. 178; H. Bauer, ZAW 51, p. 93.

² Procksch, Genesis, p. 520, supposes that *Yēhūdā^h* could also contain the name *Yhw(h)*, having originally been **Yahū-wadā*, but the form *Yahu* cannot arise in such a connection. The probable evolution in this case would have been: **Yahwā-wada* > **Yahw-wada* > **Yahaw-wada* > **Yehawwādā^h*. Jacob, RHPR 27, p. 256, is of the opinion that the Ugaritic *Yw* might be quite independent of *Yhwh* and identical with the deity *Yau/Iaw* which appears in the name *Iaubīdī* and in the magical papyri, cf. Böhl, Kan. u. Hebr., p. 29 sq., and Puukko, Isr. usk. hist., p. 50. This is untenable. One need refer only to the fact that the usual Akkadian transcription of the name *Yhwh* in Israelitic personal names is *Ia-u-*, *-ia-u* (cf. p. 44), and in the magical literature *Iaw* means clearly the OT God in many passages, e.g. Pap. Gr. m. g., I, p. 36: *Iaw Σαβαωθ Αδωρατ*, p. 56: *Iaw aww iwa' [π]ιτι* (πιτι = *Yhwh*, see Nestle, ZDMG 32, p. 467 etc.). On various grounds, for instance, the following authors also regard the name *Yhwh* / *Yhw* / *Yw* as definitely or probably pre-Mosaic: Barton, Sem. and Ham. Origins, p. 338 sq.; Chaine, Gen., p. 83; Dussaud, Découvertes de Ras Sh., p. 107; Elmslie, How Came our Faith, p. 120; Ewald, Gesch. II, p. 147; Grether, BZAW 64, p. 3, n. 5; Hölscher, Gesch. Rel., p. 67, n. 1; Horst, RHPR 1932, p. 384; Hrozný in Sellin, Ta'annek, p. 116; Hvidberg, Isr. Rel. Hist., p. 56; A. Jeremias, AT im Lichte des alt. Or.⁴, p. 309 sq.; Fr. Jeremias in Chantepie de la Saussaye, Lehrb. I, p. 621; Jirku, Altor. Komm. z. AT, p. 28; Lods, Rel. d'Isr., p. 61; Matthews, Rel. Pilgr. of Isr., p. 55; Oesterley and Robinson, Hebr. Rel., p. 153 sq.; Pedersen, Israel III—IV, p. 539; Wellhausen, Prolegomena, p. 344; Winckler, Ex Oriente Lux II, p. 44. Cf. Baudissin, Kyrios II, p. 231; Puukko, Isr. usk. hist., p. 51; Wardle, Isr. and Bab., p. 242 sqq.

It has been stated that the correct pronunciation is *Yâhôh*.¹ As supporting this there have been proposed the main Greek transcription *Iao*, the form *Yhw/h* found on the Elephantiné papyri etc.² (cf. p. 43), the supposition that the *h* at the end of the words on the Moabite Stone is *mater lectionis* for *o*³, and the form *Iaho* mentioned by Hieronymus.⁴ As to the first and the last argument, they seem really to bear witness of the correctness of this hypothesis, but the fact mentioned second, far from supporting it, in reality proves that the hypothesis is false as far as concerns the pronunciation of the *whole* tetragram (*Yhwh*). For, as we know, the transcription *Iao* has been attested nearly exclusively in Egypt (or in writings based on Egyptian material), where it is almost the only pronunciation.⁵ The Elephantiné papyri show that the word in question was never written *Yhwh*, but usually *Yhw*, and sometimes *Yhh*.⁶ As to the Moabite Stone, the statement mentioned is incorrect, and even if it were correct, it would prove nothing about the pronunciation of a *Hebrew* name.⁷

The main opinion on the pronunciation of the tetragram is that it should be pronounced *Yahwæ^h* (often written inexactly *-we(h)*, *-ve(h)*, *-vé*). That this opinion is correct, is proved by the following evidence: 1) Ex. 3: 14. The matter is quite independent of the question of whether the passage is original or not, for in any case it is old enough to insure that its writer knew how the tetragram was to be pronounced, and the passage shows that he thought that it must be pronounced as the 3rd m. sg. yqtl of the verb *hwh/hyh*.⁸ 2) The

¹ Williams, JTS 28, p. 282, and ZAW 54, p. 262 sqq.; Burkitt, JTS 28, p. 407 sqq.

² Eerdmans, OTS 5, p. 13.

³ Luckenbill, AJSL 40, p. 280. Cf. Waterman, AJSL 43, p. 3.

⁴ See Thierry, OTS 5, p. 34.

⁵ Cf. Baudissin, Kyrios II, p. 197, and the other works mentioned in the note 1, on p. 44, esp. the magical literature.

⁶ Cf. Baudissin, Kyrios II, p. 193 sqq., Ganschinetz, REKIA IX, col. 699, and Eichrodt, Theol. d. AT:s I, p. 91, n. 3.

⁷ Noth, Isr. Pers.-n., p. 102, n. 5.

⁸ Noth, Isr. Pers.-n., p. 103; Thierry, OTS 5, p. 38. As regards the first vowel, cf. Hommel, Altisr. Überl., p. 102.

Greek transcriptions *Iaβε*, *Iaβαι*, *Iaδνε*, *Iaovai*, etc. (cf. p. 43 sq.). As to the form *Iave*, its *ypsilon* corresponds to the Hebrew *wāw* exactly as in the usual Greek transcription of the name *Dāwid*: *Δαβιδ*. 3) The forms *Yahwi* and *Yawi* in the names *Ya(h)wi-ilu*, etc. (cf. p. 47). 4) In some Samaritan poems the name *Yhwh* accords with words ending in *-æ*.¹ 5) In a letter sent by the High Priest of the Samaritans Shalmah b. Tabyah to Silvester de Sacy in 1820, there is in a formula of benediction the vocalized form *Yāhwāh* (with Arabic characters.)² 6) Prof. Schmidt had heard from a son of the High Priest of the Samaritans in Jerusalem in the winter 1904–05 that the Samaritans pronounced the name either *Yahwe* or *Yahu*.³ 7) The Ethiopic transcriptions *Yahwē*, *Yāwē*, and *Yāwī*. The writings where they appear are magical, it is true, and probably date from the 14th century at earliest, the manuscripts being 1–3 centuries younger, but it would be hard to explain how the forms, if young, came to be incorporated into these writings, and according to E. Littmann a Greek-Hebrew-Arabic tradition has been preserved in the Ethiopic magical prayers.⁴ 8) (Perhaps) the Neo-Bab. forms *-ia-a-ma*, *-a-a-ma*, *-ia-me-e* (cf. p. 44), and the personal name *Brkyhbyh*.⁵ *-(i)a-a-ma* can, however, also be a rendering of *y(h)w*, and *yhbyh* has probably to be read *yāh-b^e-yāh*, in analogy with *'hb'h*, and *yhwbyhw*.⁶ For *-ia-me-e* see the last section.

The reading *Yahwæ^h* (*-e^h*) was probably first suggested by Genebrardus, *Chronologia* (1567), ed. in Paris 1600, p. 79 sq.⁷ The other

¹ Marti, *Gesch.*, p. 60 sq.; Kautzsch, *Bibl. Theol.*, p. 43, n. 1.

² Eissfeldt, *ZAW* 53, p. 76.

³ Montgomery, *JBL* 25, p. 49 sq.

⁴ Eissfeldt, *ZAW* 53, p. 75 sq.

⁵ CBS 3997: 4 (see Montgomery, *Aram. Inc. Texts*, p. 209), etc. Eissfeldt, *ZAW* 53, p. 59 sq., 67 sqq.

⁶ Eerdmans, *OTS* 5, p. 8; cf. Hyatt, *Final Vowels*, p. 3 sqq., 56. Also the equation *Iaη = Ya(hw)e*, suggested by Schultz, *Alttest. Theol.*⁵, p. 409, and Thierry, *OTS* 5, p. 34, seems too uncertain to the present writer.

⁷ Moore, *AJSL* 25, p. 316.

readings suggested are: 1) *Yehô*¹, 2) *Yahû*², 3) *Yahô*³, 4) *Yahwô*⁴, 5) *Yahwâ*⁵, 6) *Yah^awæ^h*⁶, 7) *Yâhwæ^h*⁷, 8) *Yâk^ewæ^h*⁸, 9) *Y^ehawwæ^h*⁹, 10) *Yaho* (only for *Yhw/h*)¹⁰, and 11) *Ya'u* (only for *Yhw*)¹¹. None of these readings is in accordance with Ex. 3:14. Eerdmans's attempt¹² to prove that »the passage is irrelevant to the present subject as not dealing (*sic*) the tetragrammaton», saying that the 3rd m. sg. yqtl of *hwh* was *y^ehû'*, is based upon an error, for this form appears in a very young passage (Ecc. 11:3), and is probably an aramaism as the ' at the end shows. Eerdmans's other statements — that Ex. 3:14 is a marginal note, or a play upon words, or that there is a gap in the context, etc. — are wholly subjective suppositions without any factual grounds. As to the other »evidence» given by Eerdmans for the forms *Yehô* and *Yahû*, thanks to Thierry¹³ we can ignore it. Neither are the readings, except No. 7), in accordance with the Greek transcriptions given above (p. 43 sq.), for *š^ewâ'* was transcribed into Greek usually with *α*, e.g. *N^etan'el* = *Ναθαναηλ*¹⁴. The readings 1) — 3) do not account for the *h* at the end, for there

¹ Luckenbill, AJSL 40, p. 277 sqq.; Eerdmans, OTS 5, p. 13.

² See the prec. note.

³ Luckenbill, AJSL 40, p. 277 sqq.; Leander, OLZ 15, col. 151 sqq. (only for *Yhw/h*).

⁴ Waterman, AJSL 43, p. 1 sqq., and common in the 17th century (like the following one, too), see Moore, AJSL 25, p. 313.

⁵ Taylor, Hebraica 8, p. 103.

⁶ Brown, Hebraica 4, p. 54.

⁷ See the prec. note.

⁸ Elmslie, How Came our Faith, p. 119.

⁹ Perles, OLZ 21, col. 129, and acc. to him Güdemann, Freie jüd. Lehrerstimme, 1917, 3/4, col. 37 sqq.

¹⁰ Grimme, OLZ 15, col. 11 sqq., and BZ 17, p. 39.

¹¹ Cowley, Aram. Pap., p. xviii sq. Vincent, Rel. Éléph., p. 52 sq., supposes the pronunciation *Yahwah*, besides *Yahwæ^h*. His evidence, however, is inadequate (viz. *-ia-a-ma*, *ιαβας* in the mag. pap., and the Samaritan vocalized form *yâhuwâh* [*sic!*]).

¹² OTS 5, p. 11 sqq.

¹³ OTS 5, p. 30 sqq.

¹⁴ Cf. Kuhn, Or. Stud. E. Littmann, p. 38.

is no support for the supposition that the letter was only a mark of a strong accentuation¹ or of a strong breath after the prolonged *o*.² Not *Yâhôh*, but *Yâhô^ah* would be in analogy with the Arab. *wâ'* *Muḥämmädâh* (cf. *ilâh* / *lô^ah*). The reading 4) is based upon the erroneous supposition that the letter *h* at the end of the words on the Moabite Stone was *mater lectionis* for *o* (cf. note 7, on p. 55.). A weakness common to the readings 4) — 8) is that it is difficult, in part impossible, to derive shorter forms from them. There is no analogy or support for the supposition that an *o* or an *â* could be dropped out from the end of a word in Hebrew. The same argument applies to the supposition that a vowel originally long could be reduced to a *šewâ'*. From *Yah^awæ^h* -*yâhô* would be more natural than -*yâhû*, though the accent can cause the change of colour of the vowel. Against *Y^ehawwæ^h* it must be pointed out that it is hard to suppose that a *šewâ'* could be lengthened into a long vowel, besides what has been said on *Yah^awæ^h*. Against *Yaho* (with two short vowels) it may be enough to remark that Hebrew knows no short vowels at the ends of the words, and it is — in my opinion — a little naive to suppose that the Israelites pronounced the name of their god »unhebräisch», even supposing that the name was not originally Hebrew.³ The author refers only to English »*Dži:zos*» for Hebrew »*Yēšû^a'*». The same argument can be used against the reading *Ya'u* which in addition to this has two great weaknesses, viz. 1) it does not account for the form *Yhh*, regarding it as an error in writing⁴ and 2) it regards the *h* of the form *Yhw* as a *fäthä*⁵, which has no analogy in Hebrew.

According to the Hebrew phonetic laws, the form *Yahwi* became first **Yahwe* and then *Yahwæ^(h)*, from which the forms *Y^ehó-* and -*yâhû* have evolved, viz. in the beginning of the names: **Yahwæ-*

¹ Eerdmans, OTS 5, p. 22.

² Williams, JTS 28, p. 282; Burkitt, *op. cit.*, p. 407 sqq.

³ Cf. even König, OLZ 16, col. 113.

⁴ Cowley, Aram. Pap., p. 40.

⁵ Cowley, Aram. Pap., p. xviii.

> **Yahw-* > **Yahu-* > *Y^ehó-*¹, and in the end: **-yahwce* > **-yahw* > **-yahu* > *-yâhû* (> *-yâ^h*).² The exceptional form *-y^ehû* in the name *Mîkây^ehû* is due to the length of the vowel in the first syllable. In the spoken language (especially in that of the common people)³ the shorter form *Yâhû/ô* (the varying of colour of the vowel probably dialectal, or due to some difference in accentuation⁴) became also the commonest independent form in many places because of the frequent use of the name, especially in Egypt, as we have seen. This evolution was probably supported by an older form *Yau(m)*. The form *Yô-* at the beginning of proper names is without doubt partly due to the same form, coming in part from the form *Y^ehó-*. The same must be said of the form *Yw-*, *-yw*. *Yawi* is a mixed form, from *Yahwi* and *Yau(m)*. The form *Yâh* appears independently very late and first in poetry (cf. *lexica*). So we must regard it as the latest phase of the evolution of the name *Yhwh*.⁵ The whole tetragram, however, continued to be used also among the people, as is shown by the Moabite Stone and by the letters from Lachish, possibly under the influence of the priesthood and of the folk-etymology presented in Ex. 3: 14.

Attempts have been made to prove that the shortest form is

¹ König, OLZ 16, col. 108. The evolution *Yahwæ^h* > **Yehaw-* supposed by Kittel, RE³ VIII, col. 533, has no analogy, because the *w* at the end of the word after another consonant became *u* in Hebrew. The objection made by König, *op. cit.*, col. 110, that the theory **Yahw-* > **Yehaw-* > *Yehô* does not account for the transcriptions *Iaho* and *iaw* does not hold good, because the usual transcription of *š^ewâ²* was *a / a* (cf. note 14, on p. 57).

² König, OLZ 16, col. 108. The attempt made by Knudtson, OLZ 15, col. 491 sq., to derive the variant forms of the name *Yhwh* from an original form **yahaw* is made unlikely by the form *-yâhû* at the end (*-yâhó* would be expected), and wholly impossible by the long form *Yahwæ^h*. **yahaw* + *ay* would become **yah^awæ^h*, cf. **ta^aawat* > *ta^awâ^h*.

³ König, ZAW 35, p. 52; Baudissin, *Kyrios* II, p. 193 sqq.

⁴ Cf. Eichrodt, *Theol. d. AT's*, p. 91, n. 3, and Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil* VIII, p. 129.

⁵ As to the form *-yô* appearing in the personal name *'Ahyô*, it would seem best to regard the form as a hypocoristic ending (especially considering the form *ʾ^Ahiyâhû*), and the forms *-ay*, *-î*, and *-â^h*, too.

the original one, the whole tetragram representing the latest phase of evolution. Friedr. Delitzsch¹ believed that the original form was a mere \bar{i} which was made into *Iau* by means of adding the nominative ending after it. This Babylonian form was then borrowed by the Hebrews and transformed into *Yahu* from which the longest form *Yahwē^h* was artificially(!) formed. It is possible to imagine that the first phases may have taken place as Delitzsch thought, but the latest phase in the evolution supposed by him shows that the reconstruction itself is artificial. We have no reason to suppose Moses to have been a grammarian of that kind. *Yhwh* was to him »a jealous God», not an artificial construction.² The same argument also holds against the hypothesis of Hubert Grimme³ and others that *Yhwh* would have been formed from the »triagram» *Yhw* by means of an abstract- and plural ending *-ay / -e / -ē^h*.

The evolution supposed by K. G. Kuhn⁴, when more exactly examined, is also found to be a miscalculation. The supposition that *Yaw* was the oldest form of the name is proved to be wrong by the older forms *Yahwi* and *Yawi*. Incidentally, it is not impossible that the Ugaritic form is also to be pronounced *Yawi*. The analogies given by Kuhn⁵ to support the supposed expansion of the word stem: *Yaw* > *Yahu* are inadequate. Most of them have taken place only in the plural. The only instance where such an expansion has taken place in the singular (*ilāh / ^{ae}lō^{ah}*) is a vocative. The corresponding form of *Yaw* would not be *Yahu*, but **Yawāh* > **Yewō^{ah}*. The greatest difficulties, however, are presented again by the last phase, the expansion of the stem *Yah* to *Yahwe*. A widening of the word stem in the forming of a plural is foreign to the Hebrew language — the only exception, *amāhōt*, is explicable as a formation from the vocative (*amāh*), cf. p. 40. If we suppose that *Yah* was used as the vocative, the corresponding form would be **Yāhīm* or **Yāhōt*, cf.

¹ Wo lag das Paradies? p. 159 sqq.

² Cf. Rankin, TWBB, p. 96 b.

³ OLZ 15, col. 11 sqq., and BZ 17, p. 39.

⁴ Or. Stud. E. Littmann, p. 34 sqq.

⁵ Or. Stud. E. Littmann, p. 35.

'aḥīm, 'ābôt, 'amāhôt. From the use of the plur. ending *-ay/-e* in *status absolutus* in Hebrew we have no traces, still less, if possible, from the use of a *wāw* to widen the word stem before the plur. ending. The supposition that a plural form could from the very first have been a *pluralis maiestatis* can only be regarded as childish. No analogies can be found to support it.

It would be possible to extend the list¹, but this may be enough to show that all the attempts to derive the tetragram from a shorter form are unsuccessful.

3. Etymology and meaning.

Firstly, the name has been stated to be a participle formed by means of the prefix *ya-* from the root *hwy* »to be» in the causative sense »to sustain» meaning thus »sustainer».² Against this it must be remarked 1) that participles formed by means of this prefix do not exist in any Semitic languages with the *possible* exception of Phoenician, 2) that their existence even in Phoenician is very uncertain, especially considering the fact that its nearest related languages, viz. Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Akkadian, have no vestige of their possible existence in earlier times. The only apparent exception, Hebrew *yāsūr, in Jer. 17: 13 *k' tîb*, is quite uncertain.³ 3) It may be borne in mind, too, that a causative stem from the root *hwy* does not exist. On these grounds the suggestion may be regarded as out of the question.

Secondly, the name has been regarded as a kind of *nomen agentis*(?) from the root *hwv* »to fall»⁴, in the causative sense = »destroyer», cf. the nouns *hawwâh*, *howâh*. The arguments 1) and 2) used

¹ E.g. Leander, OLZ 15, col. 151 sqq.: *Ywh* is the plur. of *Yhw*; Knudtzon, *op. cit.*, col. 491 sq.

² Obermann, JBL 68, p. 301 sqq.

³ Cf. even Koehler, WO [5], p. 405. The forms *yāfi^ah* and *yabri^ah* (Obermann, JBL 70, p. 204) may better be regarded as adjectives, if they really are not verbal forms, cf. *yîrâf* Gen. 49: 27.

⁴ Holzinger, Einl. in. d. Hexat., p. 204.

against the preceding supposition are in force against this also. It may be remarked, too, that the supposition does not take into consideration the final vowel of the name: the expected form from the root *hwu* would be **Yahwaw* > **Yahwō*, in analogy with *Yidlāf* (< **yadlap*) from *dlp*.¹

A third group derives the name also from the root *hwu* »to fall» regarding it as a verbal form, either causative² or from the ground stem.³ I. Engnell⁴ supposes that the original form of the name would have been **Yahwæ^h-El*. The etymology seems to receive support from an Amoritic name of the god *Ikrub-El*⁵ in which the first element has been regarded as a verbal form.⁶ The supposition, however, seems to the present writer to be uncertain. Verbal forms formed by means of the preformative *i-* appear very seldom and only in later times in Amoritic⁷, whereas the name dates from the time of Hammurabi and before.⁸ Moreover, as we know, religious customs and rites are very conservative: Can it be supposed that a divine name would be »hypermodern»? Even supposing that the name is originally Akkadian, the first part cannot be regarded as a verbal form, because *karabu* was not constructed with the accusative until Neo-Assyrian times.⁹ The expected form would

¹ The names of the type *yaqtil*, such as *Yaflet* from *plt*, cannot be used as parallels in this case, for they presuppose that the final *a* of the causative had already been transformed into *i* (and further into *e*), and consequently are relatively young (supposing that they are analogous to *Yhwh*).

² Lagarde, *Erklärung*, p. 29 (or ground stem: »für keine der beiden ansichten haben wir eine empfehlung»); Stade, *Gesch.* I, p. 429, n. 1 (»Doch lege ich auf diese Vermuthung keinen Werth»); Schwally, *ZDMG* 52, p. 136; Engnell, see note 4.

³ Lagarde (cf. the prec. note).

⁴ *Gamla test.* I, p. 262 sq.

⁵ Mari II, 86: 5, 87: 5, 90: 5, and probably 84: 5, see *Archives royales du Mari.* II.

⁶ Jean, *StM*, p. 71.

⁷ Cf. Jean, *StM*, p. 71, and Th. Bauer, *Ostkanaanäer*, p. 9 sqq.

⁸ As is known, Mari was destroyed during the reign of Hammurabi.

⁹ v. Soden, *ZA* 45, p. 53.

be *Ikrub-ana-AN*. Supposing *ʿel* to be the subject, the name would have no sense as a divine name. It would seem more natural to suppose that the name is a genitive construction with a noun related to the Akkadian *ikribu* as the first element, cf. the Aram. divine name *Rkb-ʿl*¹, etc., or, most probably, as the name of a deified person. In neither case is the name analogous to *Yhwh*, for there is no reason to suppose that *Yhwh* was originally such a person. As to the first element of the name ^d*Itur-Mer* in Mari, cf. Hbr. *y^etūr* and *y^eqūm* (and the personal names *Y^etūr* = *Ἰτροφαῖοι*, *Y^eʿûš*, and *Y^eʿûš*). Thus the form supposed by Engnell remains without analogies. As to the suppositions that the form might be a bare verbal form which required a relative pronoun² or a subject³ to make it possible to understand its meaning, suffice it to say that no parallel can be found. In addition to these, the last argument against the preceding supposition also holds against these. As we know, the *yqtl* caus. in Hebrew has originally been **yaqṭal*, the form *yaqṭîl* being a younger formation, in addition to which it must be borne in mind that the name was firstly attested in Amoritic, where the latter form has not been attested at all, and, moreover, the Israelites knew the name before they appropriated the Hebrew language. Further see below (p. 67 sqq.).

A fourth etymology suggested would derive the name from the root *hwy* »to blow»⁴, a fifth one from a root similar to it in its radicals, but with the meaning »to love passionately».⁵ Against these the arguments made against the preceding etymology can be presented (except the last), as against the supposition that *Yhwh* is a verbal form from a root *h/hwy* »to speak»⁶, too, besides which

¹ See the note 6, on p. 25.

² Hitzig, HZWT 18, p. 7.

³ Engnell, Gamla test. I, p. 263.

⁴ Wellhausen, Gesch.³, p. 25, n. 1; Smend, Lehrb.³, p. 24; Oesterley and Robinson, Hebr. Rel., p. 153. Duhm, Isr. Propheten, p. 34, seems also to derive the name from this root, because he gives »Geist» as the meaning of the name.

⁵ Barton, Sem. a. Ham. Origins, p. 338.

⁶ Bowman, JNES 3, p. 1 sqq.

it must be pointed out that such verbal stems do not exist in Amoritic, nor in Ugaritic, nor even in Hebrew except the last mentioned, and even it appears there in the form *hwh* with the meaning »to declare».

Further, some scholars are of the opinion that the name has its origin in an exclamation¹, according to others² supplied with the 3rd p. pron. m. sg. The derivation from an invocation »*Ya hveh immanu*»³ may belong to the same class. As to these suppositions, it must be stated that no parallels exist, for neither is *Βακχος / Ιακχος* (< **Ἰακχος*) a mere exclamation, and especially the last-named derivation is a contradiction in itself. For if we suppose, as Elmslie does⁴, that *Ya* is a mere vocative particle, consequently without meaning, how could Moses have taught the Israelites to cry to it for help? And if we were to suppose it possible, the shorter forms could not be derived from it (cf. p. 58). It may be remarked, too, that the final vowel of the imperative of the verb *hwh* is *šeré*, while in the name *Yhwh* it is *s^egól*.

Further, the name has been regarded as an abbreviation from a formula »*yahveh 'el 'immanu*».⁵ The arguments made against the suggestion of Engnell (see p. 62 sq.) may also be made against this, apart from the fact that in the OT there is no vestige of such a formula.

The name has been derived from two Babylonian names of gods, too, viz. from *Ea*⁶ by the supposed evolution *Ea* > **Eau* > **Iau* > *Iau*, and from *Ya / Ai / Î*.⁷ These suppositions are proved to be wrong by the fact that the long form cannot be derived from the shorter ones, except artificially (cf. p. 59 sqq.). As to the derivation from

¹ Driver, ZAW 46, p. 24 sq.; Torczyner, Bundeslade,² p. 75; Eerdmans, OTS 5, p. 16; Schleiff, ZDMG 90, p. 695 sqq.; etc. Torczyner is of the opinion that the name means — »Getöse» (!).

² Balschheit, BZAW 69, p. 45; Buber, Moses,² p. 50; etc.

³ Elmslie, How Came our Faith, p. 214.

⁴ See the prec. note.

⁵ Spoer, AJSL 18, p. 33 sqq.

⁶ Weitz in Roscher, ALGRM IV, col. 340 sqq.

⁷ Hommel, Altisr. Überl., p. 111 sqq.

the Egyptian *izwt* »cattle»¹, we do not know the vowels of the word; moreover, the final vowel of the name *Yhwh* cannot have arisen from the disappearance of a *t*. Also the semantical relationship is too far-fetched. Some other etymologies suggested — viz. that *Yhwh* might be identical with the Indian Agnis/Yama², or with the Egyptian moon god Io/Eo³, or with IHW (pronounced *Ii-hi-wēi*), the god of Lao-tse⁴, or that it would be a translation (!) of the Avest. *Astvat*, as *'El šadday* that of Ahura Mazda⁵ — are too fanciful to be dealt with here.

about ?
why not ?

The name has also been supposed to be connected with the Indo-European divine name **dyēus* (*Dyaus*, *Zeús*, *Iū-piter*, *Ziu?*), as also with the reputed Cretan *Yaya* = Proto-Indian *Yayaš*, *Yaš*, *Yae*⁶, and with the Heth.-Churr. *i-á*, *ia*.⁷ Philologically there seems to be nothing which would absolutely exclude the possibility of such a combination, but too little is known about the relation between these and the Semitic languages to say anything definite on the subject.

Lastly, it has been stated that the name *Yhwh* could have been derived from the root *hwy* »to be» being either 1) 3rd m. sg. *yql* caus.⁸, or 2) the corresponding ground stem form⁹, or 3) a verbal noun meaning »being, existence»¹⁰. Purely grammatically there is

¹ Spiegelberg, ZDMG 53, p. 633 sqq.

² Obry, *Jehova et Agnis* (acc. to Spoer, AJSL 18, p. 14).

³ Twosten, *Ideen I*, p. 576.

⁴ Rémusat, *Memoire sur Lao-tseu* (acc. to Spoer, see n. 2).

⁵ Hitzig, HZWT 18, p. 9.

⁶ Littmann, see Kuhn, *Or. Stud. E. Littmann*, p. 42; Beer, *Exodus*, p. 31; Bendixon, *Isr. hist. I*, p. 56; Hrozný, JJP 4, p. 46.

⁷ Jensen, *Hitt. u. Arm.*, p. 26, n. 8; Lewy, RÉS 1938: 2, p. 58 sqq.

⁸ Lagarde, *Erklärung*, p. 27 sqq.; Haupt, *OLZ* 12, col. 214; Albright, *JBL* 43, p. 374 sqq., and acc. to him first *Le Clerc* (Clericus) in 1700; etc.

⁹ Grether, *BZAW* 64, p. 9; Hehn, *Gottesidee*, p. 214; Hitzig, HZWT 18, p. 7 sqq.; Kautzsch, *Bibl. Theol.*, p. 44 sq.; Kittel, *RE*³ VIII, col. 534 sqq.; König, *Gesch. d. Alt. Rel.*², p. 213; etc.

¹⁰ Koehler, *Lexicon*, p. 368 sq.; cf. Taylor, *Hebraica* 8, p. 103, who also regards the name as not verbal, but suggests no meaning; Bauer u. Leander,

nothing against these etymologies. Against the first derivation the general argument is that a causative from the root *hwy* does not exist.¹ Against this it has been said that possibly it is the divine name itself which has been responsible for the absence of the causative of *hwy*², or that the name is a theologumenon³, consequently a more or less artificial construction. Against the second derivation it has been said that the idea of being is too abstract to have been the basis of a divine name at so early a time.⁴ Against this it has been stated that the root *hwy* »to be» has been derived from the root *hwy* »to fall» and, consequently, its primary meaning is not »to be» but »to happen, occur».⁵ All these arguments are of the kind against which there is no conclusive argument, but neither are they of any decisive significance, for they are all more or less subjective. The only more serious argument among them is that a causative of *hwy* does not exist, but this also is only an *argumentum ex silentio*.

A few further objections can be added here: the early form *Yau(m)*, the appearance of the name in languages where the root *hwy* does not exist, and the fact that it would be without parallel to suppose that a divine name could exist which required a relative pronoun or a subject (cf. p. 63 with the notes 2 sq.) to make it possible to understand its meaning. It should be borne in mind, too, that the original form of the root meaning »to fall» is not *hwy*, but *hww* (Arab. *hw*'), the form *hwy* being probably due to some confusion. This may be enough to prove the first two suppositions impossible.

The third one is more serious. The early form *Yau(m)*, it is

Hist. Gramm. I, p. 488: a noun, originally meaning probably »im Sturm einherfahrend»; Autran, Tarkondemos, p. 13, n. 4: »*yhw*, *yhw*, *yw* . . . cf. le védique *yah-vá*, variante morphologique de *yahú* = jeune»; etc.

¹ E.g. Kautzsch, *Bibl. Theol.*, p. 45.

² Lagarde, *Erklärung*, p. 28.

³ Lagarde, *Erklärung*, p. 29.

⁴ Acc. to Kittel, *RE*³ VIII, p. 536.

⁵ Kittel, see the prec. note; Kautzsch, *Bibl. Theol.*, p. 44; etc.

true, seems to bear witness against it also, but the form can be derived from Akkadian *awû* »to be» which corresponds to the West Semitic *hwy*. The verb *appears* in Akkadian rarely, but neither is *Yau(m)* very frequently attested. The Ugaritic *Yw* would be more difficult to explain, but it could be supposed that the form is due to the Babylonian influence transferred by Amoritic (cf. the Amoritic forms *Yahwi* / *Yawi*, p. 47). This derivation can also get some support from an Akkadian indefinite pronoun *yan* meaning »someone, being».¹ It would seem that there is no conclusive evidence against it from extra-biblical sources. So we must turn to the OT, from which we shall take the points which seem to throw light on the name *Yhwh*.

?
awû m
wessen
V. Soden § 10
zwe, ecowe
hardly exist
being

a. *Yhwh* [»]*lohîm*.

The combination appears very rarely in the OT, viz. 38 times in all. Even of these, four instances are not relevant here, for in them the combination is a part of a larger construction *Yhwh* [»]*lohîm* *š'êhâ'ôl*, viz. in the passages Ps. 59: 6, 80: 5.20, and 84: 9. There remain the following 34 instances:

- Gen. 2: 4.5.7.8.9.15.16.18.19.21.22, 3: 1.8(twice).9.13.14.21.22.23.
- Ex. 9: 30.
- 2 Sam. 7: 22.25.
- Jon. 4: 6.
- Ps. 72: 18, 84: 12.
- 1 Chron. 17: 16.17, 28: 20, 29: 1.
- 2 Chron. 1: 9, 6: 41(twice).42.

The commentators pay great attention only to Gen. 2.3. Ex. 9: 30 is generally either ignored² or it is mentioned in passing that it is the only other passage in the Pentateuch where the combination appears apart from Gen. 2.3.³ 2 Sam. 7: 22.25 are usually regarded

¹ Cf. Hehn, *Gottesidee*, p. 243 sq.; and König, *ZAW* 35, p. 46 sq.
² E.g. Holzinger, *Exodus*, and Kautzsch, *Heil. Schrift I*.
³ E.g. Beer, *Exodus*, *ad loc*.

as being due to 1 Chron. 17¹, or ignored with reference to the reading of the LXX², while the passages in Psalms, in Jonah, and in 1 2 Chronicles are generally held to be later additions or imitations of Gen. 2.3 or (in Chronicles) of Psalms.³ Again, the attempt to explain Ex. 9: 30 made by Baentsch⁴ by the supposition that »*Yhwh* is expressly described as a deity, for it is just the acknowledgement of this that is wanted from Pharaoh, in spite of the confession in v. 27 which broke out only from a momentary state of mind» is artificial and clumsy. The supposition that »the confession in v. 27 . . . broke out only from a momentary state of mind» is subjective and ungrounded. We must bear in mind that the Pharaoh's conception of god was not our's. He himself was held to be a god, would he much have feared the statement that there was another god against him? Moreover, as we know, in the ancient Orient there was a general opinion that the god of a people was subordinated to the god(s) of another people in case of the subjection of the former people by the latter. The people of Israel was subjected to the Egyptians, and consequently its god was to be regarded as subordinated to those of the Egyptians, among which the Pharaoh was numbered, too.

As to Gen. 2.3, the commentators are almost agreed in supposing that either *Yhwh* or ^{ae}*lohîm* is a later addition to the original text, most of them⁵ being of the opinion that ^{ae}*lohîm* has been added

¹ E.g. Thenius und Löhr, Bücher Samuels³, *ad loc.*; cf. Budde, Bücher Samuel, *ad* 7: 22.

² H. P. Smith, Books of Samuel, *ad loc.*; Gressmann, Schriften d. AT:s I, p. 142 (translation); Budde, Bücher Samuel, *ad* 7: 25.

³ Bentzen, Salmer, *ad* 84: 12; Weiser, Psalmen II, p. 371, n. 4; Schmidt, Psalmen, *ad* 72: 18, 84: 12; Nowack, Kl. Proph. *ad* Jon. 4: 6; Baethgen, Psalmen, *ad* 72: 18; Benzinger, Chronik, *ad* I 28: 20, II 6: 41.42.

⁴ Exodus-Leviticus, *ad loc.*, cf. Dillmann-Ryssel, Ex. u. Lev.³, *ad loc.*

⁵ E.g. Holzinger, Gen., *ad loc.*; König, Gen., *ad loc.*; Rad, Gen., *ad loc.* (cf., however, n. 4, on p. 69). Simpson, Early Traditions, p. 60, is of the opinion that Yahwist in Gen. 2.3 originally had only ^{ae}*lohîm* to avoid contradiction with 4: 26. Later on, however, *Yhwh* was added except in the speeches. In 4: 1, however, *Yhwh* also appears in the speech. Is it not in contradiction to 4: 26?

in order to identify *Yhwh* with ^{ʿE}*lohîm* of the first chapter. This supposition is grammatically impossible and without any sense. For if the editor had wanted to identify *Yhwh* with ^{ʿE}*lohîm*, he would have written *Yhwh hû* ^{ʿE}*lohîm*, in accordance with ‘*Ešâw hû*’ ^{ʿE}*dôm* in Gen. 36: 1.8 etc. Further: for whom was such an identification needed? Perhaps for some commentators of the twentieth century after Christ? At least not for the first readers of the last editor of the Pentateuch. Moreover, in order to identify one person with another there is no need to do so more than once or twice. In Gen. 2.3 *Yhwh* ^{ʿE}*lohîm* occurs twenty times. A. Dillmann¹ supposes that it has been written throughout the chapters in order that »the coherent character» of the story should not be injured. H. Gunkel’s² supposition that Gen. 2.3 is composed of two parallel stories may be compared with the preceding one. What is the result? It would seem that Gunkel is correct in supposing that in the chapters there are two stories. The one appears in 2: 4b—7.18—22, 3: 20.21, the other in 2: 8.9(*).16.17, 3: 1—19.(22).23.(24). But his supposition that the doubled name represents a composition of the divine names in both stories has no parallel in the OT. On the other hand, Franz Delitzsch³ is of the opinion that the doubled name has been used possibly by Yahwist himself, but he cannot say, for what purpose.

The only grammatically acceptable explanation is that *Yhwh* ^{ʿE}*lohîm* is a status constructus-construction.⁴ In that case, how

¹ Gen.⁶, *ad loc.*

² Gen.⁵, *ad loc.*

³ Neuer Comm. über Gen., *ad loc.*

⁴ Rad, Gen., *ad loc.*, Torczyner, Bundeslade², p. 74, and Jirku, NKZ 27, p. 464 sq., also suggest that the name is a genitive construction, Jirku, however, supposing that the original form of the name is *Yhwh* ^{ʿE}*lohê* ^{ʿE}*lohîm*. Against it it must be asked why not also the names *Yhwh* ^{ʿE}*lohê* *Yîsrâ’el*, *Yhwh* ^{ʿE}*lohê* ^{ʿA}*bo’lêkâ*, etc., have been shortened in an analogous way, and why just *Yhwh* would be the only exception of the rule that in the ancient Orient there were no »pure proper names»? The Sumerian doubled divine names, such as *En-lil* »Master Tempest», *Nin-Šun* »Mistress Cow», etc., cannot be used as parallels. Firstly, their first part is a much used appellative, secondly, their

according
to Köhler,
Jahwe never
appears
in st. constr.

Šun

should the word ^{sp}lohîm be understood? Has it the singular or plural meaning in this case? The answer is given by 3: 22: »And *Yhwh* ^{sp}lohîm said, Behold, the man is become as *one of us* . . .» Consequently, ^{sp}lohîm must be translated »gods». ¹ If we now suppose that *Yhwh* would mean »being», *Yhwh* ^{sp}lohîm would mean »being of (the) gods». What would be the sense of such a name? If we suppose that it would mean »the only really existing among the gods», it would be in contradiction to the passage 3: 22 cited above, except that it would presuppose a comparatively high degree in metaphysical thinking. No better interpretation can be suggested on these grounds.

All the etymologies suggested have now been examined and all found untenable. Let us see if a better meaning can be discovered. A hint is given by the LXX which translate *Yhwh* ² by κύριος

latter part is in the singular, and thirdly, they appear in a language not Semitic. As to the Ugaritic *Aliyn B'l, B'l Špn, Zbl Ym*, their first or latter component is an epithet standing also in the singular.

¹ In spite of what has been stated by Kaufmann, JBL 70, p. 179 sqq., where, by the way, Gen. 3: 22 has not been mentioned.

² and not ^Adonây. See Baudissin, Kyrios II, p. 12 sqq. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the OT², p. 94 with n. 17, claims that B.'s theory is false and supposes that ^Adonây was read in place of *Yhwh* as early as the middle of the third century B. C., finding support for his supposition in the fact that the Chronicler never makes use of the word ^Adonây in his own writings and that the connection ^αdonây *Yhwh* in 2 Sam. 7: 18 sq. is rendered by *Yhwh* ^{sp}lohîm in 1 Chr. 17: 16 sq. As regards the latter fact, it must be remarked that the rendering of the divine names by the Chronicler in this chapter is very irregular. The above-mentioned connection is rendered by the mere ^{sp}lohîm in 1 Chr. 17: 17, and by the mere *Yhwh* in 1 Chr. 17: 19.26.27. *Yhwh* alone represents also the original *Yhwh* ^{sp}lohîm in 1 Chr. 17: 20.23, while *Yhwh* ^{sp}lohê *Yisrâ'el* is rendered by the mere ^{sp}lohay in 1 Chr. 17: 25. Moreover, if *Yhwh* was pronounced ^αdonây at the time the Pentateuch was translated into Greek, we might expect that the words would be rendered in the same way, which is not always the case. Of the 13 instances where ^αdonây appears in the Pentateuch, it has been translated twice *δέσποτα* (Gen. 15: 2.8), once *ὁ κύριός μου* (Ex. 34: 9 II), once it has been left untranslated (Ex. 34: 9 I), and once the connection ^αdonây *Yhwh* has been rendered by *κύριε κύριε*

»the Lord». The translation is supported by the equation of *ilu* with *yau(m)* in the Old Babylonian list and in some personal names mentioned above (p. 46 sq.), as by the varying of *Iau* and *Ilu* in the name *Iaubi'di*, too (cf. p. 44), and by the oracle of *Apollon Clavius* (cf. p. 51) in which *Iaω* is declared the supreme god. Also the

βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν (Dt. 9: 26). Moreover, nobody would say that the avoiding of ^a*donây* in the Pentateuch — the 13 exceptions are probably later iterations, for they occur regularly in the prayers or questions, except Ex. 15: 17 where, however, 86 manuscripts and the Samaritan Pentateuch read *Yhwh* — indicates that in the times it was written *Yhwh* was pronounced ^a*donây*. Furthermore, according to Pfeiffer, *op.cit.*, p. 637, 13 so-called Elohistic psalms were written in the second century B. C. Accordingly the alteration of the name *Yhwh* into ^E*lohîm* must have happened in the whole group afterwards (and that it really has happened very late can be seen from the fact that the connection *Yhwh* *šēqā'ôt* has been altered into ^E*lohîm* (*sic*) *šēbā'ôt*) which is explicable only supposing that at that time there was still uncertainty about the way to avoid the pronunciation of the name *Yhwh*. As to the supposition of Schæder, *Esra der Schreiber*, p. 53 sq., that the term *šem ham'forâš* means »the interpreted name» and indicates that already in the times of Ezra the name *Yhwh* was pronounced ^a*donây*, it contains a contradiction in itself. The verb *prš* means »interpret» only in the sense »to explain the meaning or contents of . . .» If *šem ham'forâš* means »the interpreted name» in that sense and Schæder's supposition is correct, it indicates that *Yhwh* has the same meaning as ^a*donây* thus supporting the theory of the present writer, but by no means that the name was pronounced otherwise than it was written. Moreover, the fact that the word *κύριος* has been written by the LXX in place of *Yhwh* shows clearly that the former is the translation of the latter, because the fact that the name of Baal has been supplied with the feminine article indicates that the name, although written *Baal*, was pronounced *αισχύνη* by the translators. If the word *κύριος* were the translation of a substitute, they would have written *Yhwh* — as later translators actually did — and only pronounced *κύριος*. This fact also overthrews the supposition of Buhl, *Kanon u. Text des AT*, p. 203 sq., that in early times the name really was written in the manuscripts of the Greek Bible in Hebrew characters, and even in the quadrate ones, though he himself some lines farther down cites a passage of Origen stating that in his time the name was still written in some manuscripts in Hebrew characters *ὁ τῶις νῦν, ἀλλὰ τῶις ἀρχαιοτάτοις*, a custom which must have been borrowed from the later translators.

substitution of *Yhwh* by ^a*donây* among the Rabbis later on may be mentioned in this connexion. The meaning would also explain the existence of a feminine form (see p. 48) and its appearance supplied with the possessive suffix (cf. the name list p. 46 sq.), and the fact that the name has only very rarely and in later times been supplied with the semantical indicator.¹ The meaning would fit also the construction *Yhwh* ^{el}*lohîm* very well: it would mean »the Lord of (the) gods», cf. Ps. 50: 1 *'el* ^{el}*lohîm Yhwh* »the god of (the) gods, *Yhwh*», Ps. 86: 8 »among the gods there is none like unto thee, ^a*donây*», Ps. 89: 7 »for who in the heaven can be compared unto *Yhwh*, who among the sons of the gods can be likened unto *Yhwh*?» Ps. 95: 3 »for *Yhwh* is a great god, and a great king above all gods», Ps. 96: 4 »for *Yhwh* is great, and greatly to be praised: he is to be feared above all gods», Ps. 97: 9 »for thou, *Yhwh*, art high above all the earth: thou art exalted far above all gods», Ex. 15: 11 »who is like unto thee among the gods, *Yhwh*?» It would be possible to prolong the list, but these may be enough to show that the translation also fits very well the conception of god appearing elsewhere in the OT.

Let us see, then, how the translation fits the passages in which the combination *Yhwh* ^{el}*lohîm* appears. First, it must be pointed out that all the passages are very old (except the three passages in Jonah and in Psalms, which we may regard as an imitation of Gen. 2.3 and leave out of account). The youngest of them tells us about the consecration of the first temple (2 Chron. 6: 41.42). We know that Solomon was no monotheist, nor even a monolater (cf. 1 Kings 11: 4 sqq.), and David also speaks of the gods of the nations (e.g. 2 Sam. 7: 23). Consequently, it is possible that they have made use of a name meaning »the Lord of (the) gods».

In Gen. 2.3 we are told that *Yhwh* ^{el}*lohîm* formed man of the dust of the ground, planted a garden eastward in Eden, and put the man there, but the man sinned against the orders given by *Yhwh* ^{el}*lohîm* and was driven out of the garden. The serpent appears as the tempter.

¹ First in the name ^dIau-bi'di (721 B.C.).

So much is clear. Now we have to ask: Why does *Yhwh* ^{ʾē}*lohîm* appear in this story as the name of the god? Why is it not sufficient to use the name *Yhwh* or ^{ʾē}*lohîm* only? In the story of the creation and of the garden of Eden in 2: 4b—25 there seems to be no absolute necessity. It is a fact, however, that in the creation stories everywhere in the world there appears generally only one creator, e.g. Prajapati in India, Marduk in Babylon, Ilmatar or Luonnotar in the Finnish Kalevala, etc., and the same is true of the Bible. This is the more natural, because the people of Israel very early became exclusively monolatric (at least in theory), and later on the first monotheistic people in the world. The name of the creator was naturally that of their national god, *Yhwh* ^{ʾē}*lohîm*, which later on, when the meaning of *Yhwh* had partly fallen into oblivion and monotheistic tendencies began to appear among the children of Israel, and probably also *brevitatis causa*, was abbreviated into *Yhwh* or ^{ʾē}*lohîm*. In face of the equation of *Yhwh* with 'el (cf. p. 47 sq.), of the position of 'El as the head of the West Semitic (and possibly also East Semitic) pantheon (cf. p. 30), and of the fact that 'El in Genesis and in Ex. 6: 3 appears as the name of the god of the patriarchs of Israel, it would seem possible that the original name of this god was 'El *yhwh* ^{ʾē}*lohîm* »'El, the Lord of (the) gods», cf. Gen. 14: 22 *Yhwh* 'el 'alyôn qone^h šamayim wâ'āreṣ »*Yhwh*, the most high god, the creator of heaven and earth», and the Phoen. 'l qn rṣ »'El, the creator of the earth».¹

The main reason for which the doubled name is used in the story of the creation and of the garden of Eden, however, may be its close connection with the story of the fall of man in which the doubled name is necessary. The prohibition »Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden» was not accepted by all the ^{ʾē}*lohîm*. The serpent was one of them, too, cf. Numb. 21: 9, 2 Kings 18: 4, and the known fact that serpent was regarded as a deity or at least as a holy animal in all the ancient Orient from Crete to India. In order to indicate that the orders of *Yhwh* are above those of the

¹ O'Callaghan, *Orientalia* NS 18, tbl. 23: 18.

other gods, it was necessary to emphasize that *Yhwh* was, not only the Lord of Israel, but also the Lord of (all the) gods.

The meaning also fits very well the passage Ex. 9: 30. Because the Pharaoh himself was god, it was necessary to indicate that the god of Israel was the Lord of (all the) gods.

As to the passages 2 Sam. 7: 22.25, there is no especial reason why the name should have been used, but, on the other hand, neither is there anything which would make the translation »the Lord of (the) gods» impossible. The passages are included in David's prayer 2 Sam. 7: 18—29 which seems to be based on an old liturgical prayer.¹ If that is so, it is probable that the prayer has been written relatively early, when the old name *Yhwh* [»]*lohîm* was still used. The same explanation also fits the passages 1 Chron. 17: 16.17, 2 Chron. 1: 9, 6: 41.42, especially considering the fact that in the unanimous opinion of scholars the Chronicler was a Levite. As such he might have made use of old texts used in the divine service which the writer of the Books of Kings had no opportunity to use. 1 Chron. 28: 20 seems to be derived from the passages in 2 Sam. 7, and 1 Chron. 17. 1 Chron. 29: 1 may also be due to these passages, and it is intended to emphasize the great difference between man and *Yhwh* [»]*lohîm*, although it is possible that the writer of the passage no longer knew the exact meaning of the name. (As to the passages Ps. 72: 18, 84: 12, Jon. 4: 6, see p. 72).

b. *Yhwh* [»]*bâ'ôl*.

The combination appears in the OT 281 times in all. Its distribution among the different books is very unequal. It is lacking in Gen., Ex., Lev., Numb., Deut., Josh., Judg., Ez., Jo., Ob., Jon., Job, Prov., Song, Ruth, Lam., Eccl., Esth., Dan., Ezr., Neh., and 2 Chron. In the other books, the distribution is as follows:

1 2 Sam. 9 times, 1 2 Kings 4 times, Isa. 63 times, Jer. 81 times, Hos. once, Am. 9 times, Mic. once, Nah. twice, Hab. once, Zeph.

¹ Cf. Gressmann, Schriften d. AT:s I, p. 143.

twice, Hagg. 14 times, Zech. 52 times, Mal. 24 times, Psalms 15 times, 1 Chron. thrice.

The commonest form of the combination is that given in the title, *Yhwh š^ebâ'ôt*. It appears 257 times in all. The occurrences are distributed among the various books in the following way:

1 2 Sam. 8 times, 1 2 Kings twice, Isa. 63 times, Jer. 76 times, Am. once (*Yhwh haš-š*), Mic. once, Nah. twice, Hab. once, Zeph. twice, Hagg. 14 times, Zech. 52 times, Mal. 24 times, Psalms 8 times, 1 Chron. thrice.

The other variants and their distribution are:

Yhwh ^{sp}lohê š^ebâ'ôt 18 times: 2 Sam. 5: 10, 1 Kings 19: 10.14, Jer. 5: 14, 15: 16, 35: 17, 38: 17, 44: 7, Hos. 12: 6 (*haš-š*), Am. 3: 13 (*haš-š*), 4: 13, 5: 14.15.16.27, 6: 8.14 (*haš-š*), Ps. 89: 9.

Yhwh ^{xl}lohîm Š^ebâ'ôt 4 times: Psalms 59: 6, 80: 5.20, 84: 9.

^{xl}lohîm Š^ebâ'ôt twice: Ps. 80: 8.15.

The first question is: which form is the original one? Köhler¹ can see but two possibilities: either the longer form *Yhwh ^{sp}lohê š^ebâ'ôt* is the original one, or the shorter form *Yhwh š^ebâ'ôt* must be taken in the sense: the god *Yhwh*, whose name is also *Š^ebâ'ôt*. Because the longer form makes the latter alternative impossible, he cannot but conclude that the longer form is the original one. He makes, however, a presupposition which causes difficulties and prevents him from drawing conclusions freely: he believes that *Yhwh* is never in the *status constructus*.² Most of the other commentators are of the same opinion.³

According to *Šemôt Rabbâ'*, par. 3, *š^ebâ'ôt* must be taken in the sense of an apposition: *Yhwh* who represents the armies in himself.⁴ This explanation is too metaphysical to be correct. Gunkel⁵ is of the opinion that the combination is a genitive construction.

¹ Theol. d. AT:s², p. 32.

² Lexicon, p. 368 sq.

³ See Wambacq, *Jahvé Š^eba'ôt*, p. 99.

⁴ See Wambacq, *Jahvé Š^eba'ôt*, p. 98.

⁵ RGG² V, col. 2085 sq.

Ṣᵉḃā'ôṭ distinguishes between different *Yhwchs*.¹ In view of the fact that the name was used principally by the prophets, for whom *Yhwch* *ṣᵉḃā'ôṭ* meant not only the only *Yhwch*, but mostly also the only God, the supposition is quite untenable. Obermann² regards *Yhwch* as a participle meaning »sustainer», and translates the name: »Sustainer of the armies». Since his etymology of the name *Yhwch* is found untenable (see p. 61), this interpretation also must be regarded as out of the question. Torczyner³ also regards the name as a genitive construction, translating it in accordance with his interpretation of the name *Yhwch* (p. 64 with n. 1): »Getöse der Heerscharen.» The argument used against the preceding interpretation holds against this, also. Finally, Wambacq⁴ regards the name as a *constructio ad sensum*: »*Yhwch* contains in itself the idea of 'God, ^ᵛ*lohîm*'. On the ground of this fact the word can be constructed with the genitive». This opinion comes nearest to the present writer's. We shall definitely deal with it later on (p. 80). At present it is enough to establish that, presuming that *Yhwch* = »the Lord», there is no difficulty in the way of the supposition that the name is a genitive construction, and accordingly the shorter form the original one.⁵

Secondly: what is the meaning of the word *ṣᵉḃā'ôṭ*? The question has been answered in many very different ways. We can divide the suggestions into the following groups: 1) The epithet describes

¹ Steuernagel, BZAW 27, p. 344, regards the name also as originally a genitive construction, viz. ^ᵛ*el ṣᵉḃā'ôṭ*, but cannot produce any evidence. The same holds against Albright's supposition (orally to the writer) that the original form was *Ba'al ṣᵉḃā'ôṭ*. No trace of such a name is found anywhere.

² JBL 68, p. 310.

³ Bundeslade², p. 75.

⁴ Jahvé *Sᵉḃā'ôṭ*, p. 100. Prof. Puukko is of the same opinion (orally to the writer).

⁵ Also other supposed original forms have been suggested, e.g. *Yhwch* ^ᵛ*lohê ṣibᵉôṭ haš-šamayim* (Ewald, Lehre der Bibel II: 1, p. 340). They have not received any wider acceptance. Here it is enough to establish that none of them has a sufficient basis in the OT. As to details, see Wambacq, Jahvé *Sᵉḃā'ôṭ*, *passim*.

Yhwh as a god of war. Sometimes it has been interpreted generally as »the warrior»¹, sometimes more exactly, but also more abstractly as an indication of the military power acquired in the times of Samuel², sometimes locally limited to the ark of the covenant.³

2) The epithet describes *Yhwh* as related to the heavenly or supernatural armies, viz. either as a god of the stars⁴, or as a god of the angels⁵, or as a god of the demons.⁶ 3) The epithet describes *Yhwh* as a master of the forces of nature, viz. either as a god of the tempest⁷, or of the pestilence⁸, or of a locally limited part of nature, i.e., of a tribe⁹, or of all the forces of nature.¹⁰ 4) The epithet has been interpreted as pointing to more than one of these meanings¹¹, or to them all.¹² The last alternative means absolute omnipotence.

Against the first group it has been remarked that the epithet does not appear in Gen. — Judges where so many of Israel's military feats are recorded, but it is preponderantly used in the oracles of the prophets where *Yhwh* is invoked as the Judge of Israel and of the (heathen) nations.¹³ It must, however, be admitted that in some passages the title is clearly related to military enterprises, e.g. 1 Sam. 4: 4, 17: 45, cf. the use of the term *šib^eôl^t Yhwh* of the people of Israel in Ex. 7: 4, 12: 41.

¹ Meinhold, Studien I: 1, p. 59.

² König, Theol. d. AT:s¹⁻², p. 161 sq.

³ Kautzsch, Bibl. Theol., p. 81; Hempel, Gott und Mensch, p. 28.

⁴ Köhler, Theol. d. AT:s², p. 33. Prof. Puukko regards also this meaning as the primary one (orally to the writer).

⁵ Ewald, Lehre der Bibel II: 1, p. 340 with n. 3 (or of the stars).

⁶ Schwally, Sem. Kriegsaltertümer I, p. 5 (war demons); Hölscher, Gesch. Rel., p. 68, n. 2.

⁷ Marti, Gesch. Rel.⁵, p. 157 sqq.

⁸ Gressmann, Ursprung der Eschat., p. 72 sqq.

⁹ Beer, Ält. Rel. Israels, p. 15.

¹⁰ Smend, Lehrb.², p. 202.

¹¹ Meyer, SbBA 1911, p. 1047: *š^eb^aô^t* = »Heer» abhängiger göttlicher Wesen; Procksch, Jesaja I, p. 54: *š^eb^aô^t* = Himmlische Heere.

¹² Vincent, Rel. d'Éléph., p. 69. For further literature on the epithet, see Wambacq, Jahvé S^eba'ô^t.

¹³ Rankin, TWBB, p. 95a.

As regards the second group, it has been remarked that the stars and angels are always defined as $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{b}^{\text{a}}'$ (*haš-šamayim*), not $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{b}^{\text{a}}'\text{ó}\text{t}$.¹ Therefore it would seem that they cannot be identified with the epithet, at least not alone. As to the demons, they do not appear in the OT in groups, so that the term used of them cannot be discovered, but one might point to the fact that many angels were originally demons.² (Cf., too, 1 Kings 19: 10–12).

The third group has received surprisingly many adherents in face of the fact that it has no basis in the primary meaning of the root $\text{šb}'/\text{db}'$, nor among the secondary meanings the root has received in Hebrew. Moreover, the OT passages with which it has been supported are questionable, e.g. 1 Kings 19: 10; it is very uncertain whether the name is related to the phenomena described in v. 11³, apart from the fact that the phenomena can be explained in another way, too.⁴

So we are left with the fourth group. We have seen that $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{b}^{\text{a}}'\text{ó}\text{t}$ can have the meaning »armies». This is supported by the fact that the primary meaning of the root $\text{šb}'/\text{db}'$ seems to be »to war» (so Akk., Hbr., SAR., Eth., acc. to Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen*, p. 39, occasionally also NAr.). We have also seen that this meaning cannot explain all the cases where the name *Yhwh š^eb^a'ó^t* appears. So we must suppose that the word $\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{b}^{\text{a}}'\text{ó}\text{t}$ has a composite meaning.

What are the elements of this compound? According to what has been said, the armies of Israel are one of them. In view of Isa. 6: 2 sqq., and 1 Kings 22: 19 sqq. the angels and other spirits (or demons) also belong to them. On the basis of Gen. 2: 1 it would seem that the whole world belongs to the same sphere. This is supported by Isa. 24: 21 sqq., according to which »the host of the height, the kings of the earth, the moon, and the sun» belong to the jurisdiction of *Yhwh š^eb^a'ó^t*, and by Isa. 34: 2, which indicates that all the nations of the world and their armies ($\text{š}^{\text{e}}\text{b}^{\text{a}}'\text{ám}$) are dependent on

¹ Eichrodt, *Theol. d. AT:s*², p. 94 with note 11.

² See, e.g., *Ges-B*, p. 794b, art. *šárâj* I.

³ See Kittel, *Bücher der Könige*, ad I 19: 11b. 12.

⁴ E.g. Benzinger, *Bücher der Könige*, ad I 19: 11b. 12.

the decisions of *Yhwh*. According to Isa. 34: 4 »all the host of heaven» are in the same position (cf. Rev. 6: 12 sqq.), cf. 40: 26, 45: 12, etc.

When we arrange these passages in chronological order, we see that all the oldest occurrences have the meaning »army, armies, war». The »captain of the host of *Yhwh*» Josh. 5: 14 sq. may also belong to this sphere. The first exception — we leave the Pentateuch out of account, because of the great differences between the various opinions concerning the age of its various parts — seems to be the angels or spirits mentioned in 1 Kings 22: 19, in the time of Isaiah's public activity — we remember that Isaiah was the first who used the name *Yhwh* *š^eḥā'ôl* frequently (cf. p. 75). The worship of the stars started in Northern Israel some time before the activity of Amos (see Am. 5: 26) — Amos also made considerable use of the name *Yhwh* *š^eḥā'ôl*. The worship of the stars was brought into Judæa under the reign of Manasseh (see 2 Kings 21: 3.5), i.e., some time before the activity of Jeremiah — we have in mind that Jeremiah made more use of the name *Yhwh* *š^eḥā'ôl* than anyone else. In Babylon the children of Israel without doubt made the acquaintance not only of Babylonian astrology, but also of zoroastrism with its angels and demons — Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi used the name *Yhwh* *š^eḥā'ôl* very frequently, especially considering the small size of their books.

In view of all this, it would seem that the original meaning of the epithet *š^eḥā'ôl* was »the armies of Israel» or perhaps, more exactly, »the people of Israel in its function as *Yhwh*'s army upon the earth» (cf. Ex. 7: 4). But at a very early date the corresponding idea of *Yhwh*'s heavenly army arose among the people, as Josh. 5: 14 sq. shows. Later on, when the prophets were fighting against the worship of other, strange gods, they were led to emphasize the power of *Yhwh* over all the world. The story of the creation and of the fall of Adam was without doubt circulating among the people long before Amos — its many primitive characteristics, e.g. expressly revealed polytheism in Gen. 1: 26, 3: 22, reveal its great age. In this story the word *š^eḥā'* was employed to mean the contents of heaven and earth. It was very easy to bring it into connection with the old epithet *Yhwh*

שֶׁבַח'ֹֿלַי which was thus made to contain the idea of the creator also. Afterwards it was easy to interpret »the host of heaven» to contain also the stars, angels, spirits, etc. The first step towards an exclusive monotheism was taken, and a continuation was to follow.¹

If that be so, the name *Yhwh* שֶׁבַח'ֹֿלַי must be translated at the beginning of its evolution as »the Lord of (the armies of) Israel», and at the end »the Lord of the universe», an idea which is actually contained in the translation of LXX and Revelation: κύριος παντοκράτωρ.

One question is still left: whence come the variant forms? If we were to suppose, like Wambacq², that the name *Yhwh* contains in itself the idea of »god», we could not explain them. If the name *Yhwh* contains the idea of »^Elohîm», why has the latter been added in many places? Moreover: if the name *Yhwh* contains the idea of »^Elohîm», why has it not been constructed with any other genitives than שֶׁבַח'ֹֿלַי and ^Wlohîm?

It seems likely to the present writer that the meaning of the name *Yhwh* had fallen into oblivion, at least in large circles among the people of Israel (more exactly see p. 83), already very early. This is supported by the fact that according to the OT the name *Yhwh* ^Wlohîm was not used after the time of Solomon (cf. p. 72), and by the folk etymology of the name *Yhwh* in Ex. 3: 14. In any case the exact meaning was unknown to Amos, since he uses the form *Yhwh* ^Wlohê שֶׁבַח'ֹֿלַי. Another point suggesting this is the early (e.g. by Amos) use of the word ^Adonây along with, or in place of, the name *Yhwh*. The use of ^Adonây was probably originated just in order to keep in mind the meaning of the name *Yhwh*, or perhaps in order to avoid employing the name *Yhwh* in vain. In the latter case the word ^Adonây would be a gloss in the passages where it has been used along with *Yhwh*. We cannot certainly decide whether the meaning

¹ Also a.o. the following authors are of the opinion that the epithet has undergone a similar or comparable evolution: Marti, *Jesaja*, p. 8 sq., and *Gesch. Rel.* 5, p. 140; König, *Theol. d. AT's*, p. 161 sqq.; Kautzsch, *Bibl. Theol.*, p. 81 sq.; Cheyne, *EncB III*, col. 3329.

² See the note 4, on p. 76.

of the name *Yhwh* had finally fallen wholly into oblivion or not, but the fact that the prophets Haggai, Zechariah (with two exceptions, which may be regarded as mistakes of an early copyist), and Malachi¹, who have used the name *Yhwh* $\text{ṣ}^{\text{e}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{a}}\text{'ō}^{\text{t}}$ very frequently (cf. p. 75), have not made use of $\text{'}^{\text{a}}\text{ḏon}^{\text{āy}}$, and, first of all, the translation of LXX, seem to bear witness against this supposition. On the other hand, the fact that many books which do not use the name *Yhwh* $\text{ṣ}^{\text{e}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{a}}\text{'ō}^{\text{t}}$ make a frequent use of $\text{'}^{\text{a}}\text{ḏon}^{\text{āy}}$, viz. Ezekiel, Lamentations, the Hebrew part of Daniel, (Obadiah,) etc., also seems to corroborate this conclusion.

There are also, however, books in which the name *Yhwh* $\text{ṣ}^{\text{e}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{a}}\text{'ō}^{\text{t}}$ has been used frequently along with $\text{'}^{\text{a}}\text{ḏon}^{\text{āy}}$, especially Isaiah and Jeremiah, and others in which neither *Yhwh* $\text{ṣ}^{\text{e}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{a}}\text{'ō}^{\text{t}}$ nor $\text{'}^{\text{a}}\text{ḏon}^{\text{āy}}$ appears, or in which they appear relatively rarely, e.g. Hosea, Joel, Jonah, Micah, and above all the Hexateuch. As to the latter group, the avoiding of the word $\text{'}^{\text{a}}\text{ḏon}^{\text{āy}}$ seems to indicate that the writers still knew the meaning of the name *Yhwh*, whereas the avoiding of the name *Yhwh* $\text{ṣ}^{\text{e}}\text{ḥ}^{\text{a}}\text{'ō}^{\text{t}}$ seems to point in the opposite direction, but it is not necessary to suppose the latter alternative. As we have seen (p. 79), the epithet has been used most frequently after great critical periods, when a great danger had threatened the national religion of Israel. Another reason may have been that the writers knew only the primitive meaning of the epithet, and regarded it as too limited in the light of their conception of God. As to the first group, it must be borne in mind that in the times of the OT there were no »pure proper names«. All the names meant something, consequently also *Yhwh*. Because the real meaning of the name had fallen into oblivion, its employers took the conception which most nearly corresponded to the use of the name, i.e., that of the deity.² This conception would not have enabled the name to be constructed with a genitive, but an already existing construction was accepted.³ The name *Yhwh*

¹ Except in 1:14 where, however, many manuscripts have *Yhwh* (see BH). The word can thus be regarded as a mistake of an early copyist.

² Cf. Wambacq, *Jahvé S^eḥa'ōt*, p. 100.

³ Torczyner, *Bundeslade*, p. 74.

^{ae}lohîm was abandoned because of the expressed hint of polytheism contained in it; *Yhwh* ṣ^eḥâ'ôṭ was accepted because of its monotheistic interpretation. It is also possible that the popularity which such an epithet must have enjoyed among such a bellicose people as the ancient Israelites had some influence on its acceptance.

As to the forms *Yhwh* ^{ae}lohîm ṣ^eḥâ'ôṭ, and ^{ae}lohîm ṣ^eḥâ'ôṭ, they must have originated at a time when not only *Yhwh*, but also ^{ae}lohîm and ṣ^eḥâ'ôṭ were regarded as proper names of the God of Israel.

c. ^{anî} *Yhwh*.

The formula appears in the OT 132 times in such a context that it is most natural to suppose that it refers to the meaning of the name.¹ The distribution of the formula among the various books of the OT is very unequal. In some passages the form of the formula is a little different, in many others there appears as an introduction the clause »ye (they) shall know that (I am *Yhwh*)».

The passages are:

Ex. 6: 6.8, 7: 5.17, 8: 18, 10: 2, 14: 4.18.

Lev. 18: 2.4.5.6.21.30, 19: 3.10.12.14.16.18.25.28.30.31.32.34.36.37, 20: 7.8.24, 21: 12.15.23, 22: 2.4.8.9.16.30.31.32.33, 23: 22.43, 24: 22, 25: 17.38.55, 26: 1.2.13.44.45.

¹ Cf. Cheyne, EncB III, col. 3264.3268, Hempel, Gott u. Mensch, p. 16 with n. 2, and Giesebrecht, Schätzung des Gottesnamens, p. 27.29 sqq. In some passages, e.g. Lev. 19: 3.10.25.31.34, there appears an addition after the formula, usually (as in these cases) ^{ae}lohêkæm »your god». The adding of these words must have taken place when the meaning of the name had fallen into oblivion, probably by the last redactor(s). It would, of course, also be possible to regard the longer form as original, but only theoretically. For 1) the longer formula »and they will know that I am *Yhwh*» has been used also of the heathens (in Ex. and Ez.). In such cases the addition would be without any sense, for how much would the heathens have feared the knowledge that *Yhwh* is the God of Israel? Moreover, they knew it very well, as the Israelites knew that *Marduk* was a god of the Babylonians. Consequently, the additions are lacking, except in two instances (Ez. 37: 28, 39: 7). 2) The additions are of different kinds, while the short form shows no variety.

Numb. 3: 13.45, 10:10, 14:35, 15:41 (twice).

1 Sam. 3: 18.

1 Kings 20: 13.28.

Isa. 42: 8, 43: 11, 45: 5.6.18, 49: 23.

Jer. 16: 21, 24: 7.

Ez. 6: 7.10.13.14, 7: 4.27, 11: 10.12, 12: 15.16.20, 13: 9.14.21.23, 14: 8, 15: 7, 16: 62, 17: 24, 20: 26.38.42.44, 22: 16, 23: 49, 24: 24.27, 25: 5.7.11.17, 26: 6, 28: 22.23.24.26, 29: 6.9.16.21, 30: 8.19.25.26, 32: 15, 33: 29, 34: 27, 35: 4.9.12.15, 36: 11.23.38, 37: 6.13.28, 38: 23, 39: 6.7.

Jo. 4: 17.

Ps. 83: 19 (cf., too, Ps. 138: 2).

If we examine the distribution of the formula from a certain point of view, we shall find that more than 90 per cent of the passages are taken from writings certainly or probably having their origin in priestly circles. All the Pentateuch passages (with the exception of Ex. 8: 18, 10: 2) are included in the so-called Priestly Code the contents of which in any case likely have received their final form in priestly circles, whatever may be the composition and origin of the Pentateuch. As we know, Ezekiel was a priest, and also Psam 83 seems to have been intended to be used in the divine service from the very first. The passage 1 Sam. 3: 18 is an utterance of the High Priest Eli, and Jeremiah was also a priest's son, i.e. a priest.

On these grounds, it seems to the writer that the meaning of the name *Yhwh* was known in priestly circles long after it had fallen into oblivion among the common people. The reason for this circumstance was without doubt their daily work. The use of the name *Yhwh* ^{we}*lohîm* by the Chronicler seems to corroborate the supposition (cf. p. 74).

In the following we shall examine the passages more exactly comparing them with some *'el*-containing proper names.

Ex. 6: 6—8. In these passages *Yhwh* appears 1) as a redeemer, 2) as a judge and avenger, 3) as a god, 4) as a giver, and 5) as faithful to his promises, *hâsîd*.¹ The only argument given is the name *Yhwh*.

¹ See Koehler, *Lexicon*, p. 318 (art. *hæsæd* II).

Cf. the names *Ilu-šallim*¹ »O 'el, keep safe», *Dn'l*, »^Elî'el, *Ilu-iddin*² »'El has given», *Š^ealtî'el*³, etc.

Ex. 7: 5. In the passage *Yhwh* appears as a punisher and as a liberator. Cf. the names *Yšdq'l*, *M^eš^ezab'el*, etc.

Ex. 7: 17 sq., 8: 18, 10: 2. The passages present some details of the activity of *Yhwh* as the punisher of the Egyptians. They show that *Yhwh* has power over the forces of nature — on the ground of the meaning of his name. Cf. the name »'l', etc.

Ex. 14: 4.18. Another detail of *Yhwh*'s punishing activity, showing that *Yhwh* rules over the nations. Cf. the name *Ymlk'l*, etc.

Lev. 18: 2.4.5. *Yhwh* appears commanding and promising. Cf. the names *Ilu-igbi*⁴ »'El has commanded», *Hyd'l*, etc.

Lev. 18: 6. A detail of the preceding one, indicating that sexual immorality is against *Yhwh*'s nature which appears in his name. Cf. the name *Hbr'l*, etc.

Lev. 18: 21. The passage forbids the profanation of the name of God with idolatry. Cf. the name *Ward-ilišu*⁵ »Servant of his 'el», etc.

Lev. 18: 30. See the comments on Lev. 18: 6.21.

Lev. 19: 3. The parents are coordinated with *Yhwh*. Cf. the names »b'l, »'b, etc.

Lev. 19: 10. The passage orders that a farm-owner must have mercy upon the poor and strangers. Cf. the name *Ili-ummati*⁶ »My 'el is (compensation for) my family», etc.

Lev. 19: 12. The passage forbids a false oath in the name of *Yhwh*. Cf. the name *Bsm'l*, etc.

Lev. 19: 14. See the comment on Lev. 19: 10.

Lev. 19: 16.18. Slandering and hatred are forbidden; love of one's neighbour is commanded. Cf. the name »lhb, etc.

Lev. 19: 23—25. Avidity is forbidden. A double reward is pro-

¹ APN, p. 99a (appears 5 times). (OBa, NAss).

² ANG, p. 138, *et passim*. (OBa, Ass, NBa).

³ See the appendix, as also the other West Semitic names.

⁴ APN, p. 97b (thrice). (NAss).

⁵ ANG, p. 76, *et passim*. (Oakk, OBa, Ass, Cass, Nuzi, NBa).

⁶ ANG, p. 299, *et passim*. (OBa).

mised to the man who consecrates the first fruits of his garden to *Yhwh*. Cf. the name *'hwfd*, etc.

Lev. 19: 28. The worship of the dead¹ is forbidden. Cf. the comment on Lev. 18: 21.

Lev. 19: 30—37. Cf. the comments on Lev. 18: 2.4.5.21, 19: 3.10.

Lev. 20: 7.8. If the Israelites keep *Yhwh*'s statutes, he will sanctify them. Cf. the names *Adaggal-pan-ili*² »I (look upon the face=) obey the will, of *'el*», *Damiq-ilišu*³ »Graciously received by his *'el*», etc.

Lev. 20: 24. Cf. the comment on Lev. 18: 5.

Lev. 21: 12.15.23. It is forbidden to profane the holiness of *Yhwh*. Cf. the name *'lbg*l, etc.

Lev. 22: 2.3.8.9.14—16.30—33. Cf. the comments on Lev. 20: 7.8, 21: 12.15.23.

Lev. 23: 22. See the comment on Lev. 19: 10.

Lev. 23: 43. The memory of *Yhwh*'s great deeds shall be kept in mind. Cf. the names *Raba-ša-ili*⁴ »The (deeds) of *'el* are great», *'lp'l*, etc.

Lev. 24: 22. »Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for one of your own country: for I am *Yhwh*». The principle of equality is prescribed in this passage — nearly three millenniums before the French Revolution. Cf. the name *Idinanni-ihu*⁵ »Help me to my rights, o *'el*», etc.

Lev. 25: 17. Cf. the comments on Lev. 19: 18, 24: 22.

Lev. 25: 38.55. Cf. the comment on Ex. 7: 5.

Lev. 26: 1.2. Cf. the comments on Lev. 18: 21, 21: 12.15.23.

Lev. 26: 13. Cf. the comment on Ex. 7: 5.

Lev. 26: 44.45. Cf. the comment on Ex. 6: 6—8, point 5).

Numb. 3: 13.45. The Levites shall belong to *Yhwh* instead of the firstborn, because of a command from *Yhwh*. Cf. the names *Hrmlh*, *Wgh'l*, etc.

¹ See the commentaries, *ad loc.*

² ANG, p. 195 (thrice). (OAKk, OBa, Cass).

³ APN, p. 69a, *et passim*. (OBa).

⁴ ANG, p. 106, *et passim*. (Cass).

⁵ ANG, p. 191 (thrice). (Cass).

Numb. 10: 10. Cf. the comment on Lev. 23: 43.

Numb. 14: 35, 15: 41. Cf. the comment on Ex. 6: 6—8, points 2) and 3).

1 Sam. 3: 18. »He is *Yhwh*: let him do what seemeth him good». Cf. the names *Yehû'* (p. 54: »He is *Yhwh*»), *Gabbu-ina-gate-ili*¹ »All is in the hands of 'el», etc.

1 Kings 20: 13.28. *Yhwh* is mightier than multitudes of men — because he is *Yhwh*. Cf. the name *Mannu-dan-ana-ili*² »Who is strong enough against 'el?», etc.

Isa. 42: 8. »I am *Yhwh*: that is my name: and my glory will I not give to another, neither my fame to graven images.» The parallelism shows that the words *Yhwh*, *š^emâ*, *k^ebôdî*, and *t^ehillâ^{tî}* are used as synonyms, and consequently the word *t^ehillâ^{tî}* must be translated »my fame, celebrity», not »my praise». Cf. the name *Ili-ma-ilu*³ »Truly, my 'el is 'el», etc.

Isa. 43: 11. »I, even I, am *Yhwh*; and beside me there is no saviour». In this passage *Yhwh* means = saviour. Cf. the comment on Ex. 6: 6—8, point 1).

Isa. 45: 5.6.18. »I am *Yhwh*, and there is none else, there is no God beside me I am *Yhwh*, and there is none else.» *Yhwh* is equated with God on the ground of his name. Cf. the comment on Isa. 42: 8.

Isa. 49: 23. Cf. the comment on 1 Kings 20: 13.28.

Jer. 16: 21. In the passage the name *Yhwh* is interpreted = The Mighty One. Cf. the name *Danni-ilu*⁴ »'El is mighty», etc.

Jer. 24: 7. »And I will give them an heart to know me, that I am *Yhwh*». A duplicate to the passage 1 Sam. 3: 18, except that a man speaks there, but *Yhwh* himself here.

Ez. 6: 7.10.13.14. *Yhwh* will punish the Israelites for their idolatry, so that they will know that he is *Yhwh*. Cf. the comment on Lev. 18: 21.

¹ ANG, p. 231 (thrice). (Ass; about 7th cent.).

² The Ass. List of Eponyms in 893—666 B.C., I, 44, see ANG, p. 238 (once). (Ass; B.C. 866).

³ ANG, p. 222, n. 3, *et passim*. (OBa, Atchana).

⁴ PNC, p. 32b, *et passim*. (Ass, NBa).

Ez. 7: 4.27. *Yhwh* will give Israelites their deserts. Cf. the name *Yšdq'l*, etc.

Ez. 11: 10.12. Cf. the comment on Ex. 6: 6—8, point 2), and Lev. 18: 2.4.5.

Ez. 12: 15.16.20. *Yhwh* will punish the Israelites and make their punishment known to all the nations, so that they, too, will know that he is *Yhwh*. Cf. the comment on Lev. 18: 21, and the name *Hyd'l*, etc.

Ez. 13: 9.14.21.23, 14: 8, 15: 7. Cf. the comment on Lev. 18: 21.

Ez. 16: 62. Cf. the comment on Ex. 6: 6—8, point 5).

Ez. 17: 24. Cf. the comment on 1 Sam. 3: 18.

Ez. 20: 26. Cf. the comment on Ez. 7: 4.27.

Ez. 20: 38. Cf. the comment on Lev. 18: 21.

Ez. 20: 42. Cf. the comment on Ex. 6: 6—8, point 5).

Ez. 20: 44. *Yhwh* will spare the Israelites for his name's sake. Cf. the name *Y'rahm'e'el*, etc.

Ez. 22: 16, 23: 49. Cf. the comment on Ez. 7: 4.27.

Ez. 24: 24.27. Ezekiel is made into a sign by *Yhwh*. Cf. the names *Hyd'l*, *Raba-ša-ili*¹ »The (deeds) of 'el are great», etc.

Ez. 25: 5.7.11.17, 26: 6, 28: 22.23.24.26, 29: 6.9.16. *Yhwh* will execute judgment upon the heathens, also. Cf. the comment on Ex. 6: 6—8, point 2).

Ez. 29: 21. Cf. the comment on Ez. 24: 24.27.

Ez. 30: 8.19.25.26, 32: 15. See the comment on Ez. 25: 5 etc.

Ez. 33: 29, 34: 27. Cf. the comments on Lev. 18: 21, Ex. 6: 6—8, point 1).

Ez. 35: 4.9.12.15. See the comment on Ez. 25: 5 etc.

Ez. 36: 11.23.38, 37: 6.13.28. Cf. the comment on Ex. 6: 6—8, points 1), 4), and 5).

Ez. 38: 23, 39: 6.7. See the comment on Ez. 25: 5 etc.

Jo 4: 17. *Yhwh* is the protection of Israel. Cf. the name *Yhm'l*, etc.

Ps. 83: 19. Cf. the comment on Ex. 14: 4, and Ps. 138: 2.

*

¹ See the note 4, on p. 85.

We have seen (p. 34) that 'el originally meant a being who is great, strong, without like, and to whom man can, does, and must trust himself. In the preceding we have seen that every passage in which reference has been made to the meaning of the name *Yhwh* has its counterpart among 'el-containing names as regards their content, at least partly. But this is not to say that the names *Yhwh* and 'El are equivalents. It only means that the meaning of the name *Yhwh* is (at least partly) contained in that of the name 'El. We must, therefore, examine the content of the passages and compare them with the whole meaning of 'el.

In the passages from the Book of Isaiah (p. 86) *Yhwh* is equated with God on the ground of his name.¹ Consequently, we have the right to suppose that the so-called second Isaiah regarded the name as equivalent to that of god. But the word employed in Isa. 45: 5 for god is not 'el, but ^ʾlohîm, and, as we have seen, (p. 81 sq.), the equation may be regarded as secondary.

In the greater part of the passages the name *Yhwh* has been interpreted as »the Mighty One, the Strong One»; i.e. in all the passages from Exodus, in nearly all from Ezekiel, in 1 Kings 20: 13.28, Jer. 16: 21, etc. The group is equivalent to the group of 'el-containing names in which 'el is said to be great, strong, without like. Another great group is formed by the passages in which *Yhwh* is interpreted as »the Holy One», i.e. principally in the passages from Leviticus. This group has no clear correspondance among the 'el-containing names, though names such as *Adaggal-pan-ili*², *Ward-ilišu*³, etc. contain a hint in that direction. We must, therefore, regard this group as chiefly peculiar to *Yhwh*, and contained only latently in the meaning of the word 'el. The reason for this is quite natural: the passages indicating *Yhwh*'s holiness are directed against the worship of other gods, either directly or indirectly, or against the effects of this worship, such as, e.g., sexual immorality.

In the rest of the passages the name *Yhwh* is interpreted in a

¹ Cf. Cheyne, EncB III, col. 3264; Pedersen, Israel I, p. 186 sqq.

² See the note 2, on p. 85.

³ See the note 5, on p. 84.

way which makes it possible to group them so that they correspond to the class of 'el-containing names in which 'el appears as a being to whom man can trust himself. The passages are: Ex. 6: 6—8, points 4) and 5), partly Ex. 7: 5, partly Lev. 18: 5, Lev. 19: 10 (indirectly), similarly also Lev. 19: 14—25, etc. We see, however, that this side of the nature of *Yhwh* is less prominent than that of might and strength. Most of the passages point only indirectly to it, by means of divine commands to other men, i.e., at the same time pointing at the power of the deity. So the result of the examination of the formula 'anî *Yhwh* may be given as follows: it refers in the first place to *Yhwh*'s power and strength, in the second place to his holiness, and in the third place to his fidelity and mercy.

d. Conclusion.

To summarize the results of this examination of the meaning of the name *Yhwh*: 1) the name *Yhwh* ^{ms}*lohîm* is most easily explained by supposing that *Yhwh* means »the Lord«, 2) the same must be said of the name *Yhwh* š**ē**hâ'ô**t**, 3) the use of the formula 'anî *Yhwh* helps us to define the meaning of the name more exactly, leading to the conclusion that the principal meaning of the name is »the Mighty One«, but that the other aspect of the meaning of the word 'el is also contained in it. In other words, the meaning of the name is exactly what we are accustomed to understand by the word »lord, master«, while the meaning »father« is less prominent. In addition to these the interpretation is supported by the equation of 'el and *yau(m)* in the Old Babylonian list and in some personal names mentioned above (p. 46 sq.), by the fact that *Yhwh*¹ was translated by the LXX into Greek with *κύριος*, and substituted by 'adonây in part already in the OT (p. 80) and wholly among the Rabbis later on, and by the oracle of *Apollō Clarius* in which *Iaw* is described as the supreme god (p. 51), besides that it would also explain the existence of a feminine form and its appearance connected with the

¹ See the note 2, on p. 70.

possessive suffix (cf. the name list on p. 46 sq., and p. 48), and the fact that the name only very rarely and in later times has been supplied with the semantical indicator.

Let us see, then, if we can find a suitable etymology. A hint is given by Bowman¹, who derives the name from the root *h/hwy* »to speak». We saw above (p. 63 sq.) that Bowman is wrong in supposing that the name is a verbal form from such a root. But we need not suppose that the name is a verbal form, for it is quite possible that it is a noun formed by means of the *y*-prefix. In Ugaritic we have a noun from this root, viz. *hwt* »word». On the other hand, we know that words meaning »to speak» or »to declare» etc., very often also have the meaning »to command», e.g. the Hebrew *'mr*, the Akkadian *qibū*, the Greek *λέγειν*, the Finnish »sanoa», etc. Consequently, we have good grounds for supposing that the name *Yhwh* is an ordinary *y*-prefixed noun from the root *hwy* with the original meaning »the Commander», a meaning which is included in the later meaning »the Lord» arrived at above. It is quite natural to suppose that the meaning of God's name was widened along with the widening of the conception of God, because name = essence according to the ancient Oriental conception. As to the particular meaning of the name (as a kind of *nomen agentis*), cf. *yārīḥ* »adversary, contender» from the root *ryb* »to contend». The fact that the etymology is not based upon Hebrew must not be viewed suspiciously, for *Yhwh* was worshipped by the Israelites even before they entered the land of Canaan and appropriated the Hebrew dialect while, on the other hand, the appearance of the name (originally) only among the North-Western Semites prevents us from seeking its origin and etymology elsewhere.

4. Relation to *Ym*.

The name *Yhwh* has been confused with another divine name (or perhaps two²), viz. *Ym* (*-yām*, *Ia-mā*, *Ia-mī*? *-ia-me-e* [cf. p. 44]?)

¹ JNES 3, p. 1 sqq.

² See O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim*, p. 61a, 63.

Y^emû-?). In the Ugaritic poem on p. 49 sq. a son of 'Il is mentioned first by the name of *Yw 'il(m?)* and on the second occasion by the name *Ym*. The poem is fragmentary, it is true, but we can at least deduce from it that 'Il in the poem urges his son *Yw/Ym* to take revenge on *Ba'al*¹ for the disrespect he has shown towards 'Il. If we presume that *Yw* and *Ym* are names of separate gods, the poem would fall into two parts entirely unconnected with each other. The lines 6 (*bt.b'lk* »the house of your lord»), and 21 (*bt kspy* »my house of silver») show, however, that the poem must be regarded as a coherent narrative of the usurpation of 'Il's temple and throne by (*'Aliyn*) *Ba'al*. The names *Yw* and *Ym* appear on successive lines (14 and 15) which in addition seem to be in parallelism with one another. This is supported by the fact that a like parallelism appears in the lines 9—10:

He puts a cup in the hand,
a goblet in both hand(s),

in the lines 19—20:

on the hands, thou art called . . .
thy name is »Darling of 'Il» . . .,

and in the lines 24—25:

drive him out from the seat of his kingship,
from the dais, the throne of his sovereignty . . .,

even if the argument cannot be regarded as decisive on account of the brokenness of the poem. Probably *Yw 'il(m?)* »the Lord of the gods» is here an epithet of *zbl Ym* »the Prince (of the) Sea», — we refer to the text 137: 17.33.34.45² where this deity is said to be *b'l ilm* »the Master of the gods», and *adn ilm* »the Lord of the gods».

The same variety appears in an OT personal name *'A^bbyâhû* = *'A^bbyâ^h* = *'A^bbyâm* 1 Kings 14: 31, 1 Chron. 3: 10, 2 Chron. 13: 20, etc. This would seem to show that among the Israelites also there

¹ *Aliyn Ba'al* = *Ba'al*. See, e.g., Baumgartner, TZ 3, p. 87. It may be remarked, too, that 'Il always supports *Ym* against *Ba'al*, see Eissfeldt, El, p. 54 sq.

² Gordon, UHB, p. 167b sq.

were people who regarded these two deities as identical.¹ It is difficult to understand, too, how the two deities *Yami*(*n?*²) and *Yawi* in the names *Yami-banda*, *Yami-uta*, and *Ahi-yawi* (being clearly Semitic probably read thus, cf. the name list on p. 46 sq.) can always have been distinguished in times when the pronunciation of *m* and *w* was probably confused even in Palestine (cf., e.g., 'argāmān > 'arg^ewān).³ The confusion is probably due to Babylonian influence — as we know, the Canaanites, among them *Habiri* = Hebrews⁴, were in close contact with the Babylonians during the first half of the second millennium B. C., and afterwards.

¹ Also Kuhn, *Or. Stud.* E. Littmann, p. 30, n. 1, and Driver, *JTS* 47, p. 156 sq., combine this *-yām* with the Ugaritic *Ym*. Jirku, *ZDMG* 89, p. 381, compares the name *Yemūʔel* with the latter.

² See the note 2, on p. 90.

³ Cf. even König, *ZAW* 35, p. 50.

⁴ This equation can now be regarded as certain. See Rowley, *From Joseph . . .*, p. 49 sqq., with the notes. Cf. Baumgartner, *TZ* 3, p. 84 sq., and König, *ZAW* 46, p. 199 sqq.

The appendix.

West Semitic personal names containing the element 'el.¹

- 'b'l (Şaf), 'Abî'el, 'Abîmâ'el (Bi), *A-bi-hi-el* (Amor), *Αβαηλιου* (gen.), *Αβηηλος* (Şaf), Ges-B 3b *et passim*. »'El is (my) father».
- 'bdlh (Palm), ZDMG 38, p. 589, tbl. right down, 5 (once). »'Elh has destroyed» (probably a slip for 'bd'lh, *q.v.*).
- 'db'l (Sab), 'Adb'el (Bi), Ges-B 9a (thrice). »'El has ordained».
- 'ws'l (Min), 's'l (Sab), 'wsl, 'sl, 'slh (Şaf), 'sh'l (Tham), 'wšw'l, 'wšwl'l, 'šwl'l, 'wš'lh, 'wš'lh, 'wš'hy, 'wš'hy (slip?), *Αυσαλα* (gen.), *Αυσαλλας*, *Αυσαλλου* (gen.) (Nab), NPSS 218a-b *et passim*. »Gift of 'el(h)».

¹ The abbreviations denoting the nations and tribes among which the names appear is made according to the principles generally used. The group *Hbr* includes *Bi*, and *Kan* both of them. The general usage of marking the Biblical Hebrew names with the mark *Bi* has been followed, where other Hebrew forms do not appear, but where the same name appears both in the Bible and outside it in Hebrew, it has seemed superfluous to separate them. All the names marked with the sign *Kan* may be Hebrew, being — besides the group *Hbr* — from inscriptions found in Palestine (chiefly from the ostraca found at Samaria), but it is not absolutely certain. The names have been collected from the following works: Th. Bauer, *Ostkan*(aanäer); Chwolson, *CIH*; *CIS* I—II; *Eut*(ing,)Nab(atäische Inschriften); *Eut*(ing,)Sin(aitische Inschriften); Frey, *CII* I; *Ges*(enius)—*B*(uhl, *Handwörterbuch*); Gordon, *UHB* III; Harris, *Gramm*(ar of Phoenician); Jausse(en)—*Sav*(ignac, *Mission archéologique*); Lidzbarski, *Altsem. Texte* I; *Orientalia* NS V, p. 1—34, 278—93, 349—57, VI, p. 83—100, 222—33, 305—16, VII, p. 95—99, 233—38, 343—54; Reisner, *Excavations at Samaria* I; Ryckmans, NPSS; *StM*, p. 92—97; Vogüé, *Syr*(ie centrale); Wuthnow, *Sem. Menschennamen*; *WZKM* 42, p. 31—92, 47, p. 50—60; *ZAW* 47, p. 250 sq.; *ZDMG* 14, p. 363—484, 18, p. 65—117, 36, p. 142—67, 38, p. 535—42, 584—89.

- 'Úrî'el (Bi), Ges-B 19a (4 times). »'El is (my?) light».
- 'l'b (Sab), 'lh'b (Lih), 'ly'b (Tham), 'Ælî'âb (Bi), Ges-B 41b *et passim*.
 »(My) 'el(h) is father».
- 'l'cs (Min, Sab), 'l's (Sab), 'l'wšw (Nab), NPSS 218b (5). »'El has given» etc.
- 'l'mn (Sab, Phoen), NPSS 219b (thrice). »'El has been trusty».
- 'l'agl (Tham), NPSS 220b (once; Jauss-Sav 478 tam). »'El be honoured».
- *'lgn: 'lgn (Ug), UHB 211a (once; Ug. 321: I: 34). »'El has protected».
- 'l'dhr (Qat, Min or Sab), NPSS 222^{bis}b (twice). »'El has preserved».
- 'l'dr' (Qat, Min, Sab), NPSS 223a (4) »'El has sown».
- 'l'hbl, *Ελαβηλος, Ελαβηλον* (gen.) (Palm), CIS II: 3, p. 362b *et passim*. »'Elh is master».
- 'l'hš', *Ελασσα* (nom. a. gen.) (Palm), CIS II: 3, p. 249 *et passim*. »'Elh has supported».
- 'l'htb' (Sab), NPSS 252a (once; ZDMG 39, p. 227, tbl. II, No. 4).
 »'Elh is tubba' (i.e., king)».
- 'l'whb (Qat, Min, Sab, Šaf), 'lyhb (Aram), NPSS 224b *et passim*.
 »'El has presented».
- 'l'wfd (Sab), NPSS 402b (twice). »'El has produced overflowingly».
- 'Æl'zâbâd (Bi), Ges-B 41a (twice). »'El has presented».
- 'l'hbb (Tham), 'l'hbn (Ug) NPSS 227b (twice). »'El has loved (me)».
- 'l'hnn (Phoen), 'Æl'hânân (Bi), Ges-B 41b (5). »'El has been merciful».
- 'l'hbš (Tham), NPSS 230a (once; Jauss-Sav 521 tam) »'El has spent».
- 'Ælî'el (Bi), *I-la-AN, AN-ma-^dI-la, -i₃-la* (Āmor), Ges-B 41b *et passim*. »(Truly) 'El/Ila is (my?) 'el».
- 'Ælî'âîâh, 'Ælîyâîâh (Bi), Ges-B 41b (twice). »(My?) 'el has brought».
- 'lyd' (Sab), 'lmyd' (Min), 'Ælyâdâ' (Bi), Ges-B 41b *et passim*. »'El has known (knows)».
- 'lysp, 'Ælyâsâf (Hbr), Ges-B 42a *et passim*. »'El has given again».
- 'Ælîfâl (Bi), Ges-B 42a (once; 1 Chron. 11: 35). »'El has (examined or) decided». — 'Ælîf'elêhû? (Bi).
- 'Ælîf'elêt, 'Ælîfâlêt, 'Ælpâlêt (Bi), Ges-B 42 a-b *et passim*. »(My?) 'el is rescue».

- 'lyf' (Min), NPSS 232a *et passim*. »'El is exalted».
- 'Elišūr (Bi), Ges-B 42b (5). »(My?) 'el is a rock (= protection)».
- 'lyqym, 'lyqm, 'Elyāqīm (Kan), Ges-B 42b *et passim*. »'El strengthens».
- 'lyš', 'Elišú^a (Kan), Ges-B 42b (5). »(My?) 'el is salvation».
- 'Elyāšīb (Bi), Ges-B 42b *et passim*. »'El has given back».
- 'Elišāfāt (Bi), Ges-B 42b (once; 2 Chron. 23:1). »(My?) 'el has judged».
- 'lksy (Nab), Jauss-Sav 8: 2nab (once). »'El has covered (= forgiven?)».
- 'lkrb (Min, Sab), NPSS 233b *et passim*. »'El is near».
- 'lmlk (Qat, Amor), Ilmlk (Ug), 'Eli^Emælæk (Bi), I₃-li₂-ma-lik (Amor),
 Ελµαλαχος (Hbr), Ges-B 42a *et passim*. »(My) 'el is king».
- 'lmbt (Sab), NPSS 236a (twice). »'El looks on (me)».
- 'ln'd (Qat, Sab), NPSS 236a (4). »'El be praised».
- 'ln'm (Tham), 'Elna'am (Bi), Ges-B 43b (thrice). »'El is (lovely or) good».
- 'Elnātān (Bi), Ges-B 43b *et passim*. »'El has given».
- 'lsm' (Qat, Min, Sab, Hadr), 'lsm', 'Elišāmā' (Kan), Ges-B 42b *et passim*. »(My?) 'el has heard».
- 'ls'd (Qat, Sab), NPSS 239b sq. *et passim*. »'El has made happy».
- 'Eli'ādā^h (Bi), Ges-B 44a (once; 1 Chron. 7: 20). »'El has adorned».
- 'l'z (Min, Sab), NPSS 242b *et passim*. »'El is strength». — 'Eli'ūzay? (Bi).
- 'l'zr, 'Eli'āzær, 'Eli'āzār, Ελαζαρος, Ελεαζαρος, Ελιαζερ, Ελιεζρος,
 Λαζαρος (Hbr), Ges-B 44a *et passim*. »(My?) 'el has helped (is help)».
- 'l' (Tham), NPSS 243a (once; Jauss-Sav 542 tam). »'El is exalted».
- 'l'md (Min, Sab), NPSS 244a (twice) »'El has established».
- 'lfdy (Sab), NPSS 245b (once; CIS IV, 309: 1). »'El has given back».
- 'lpr' (Phoen), 'Eli'pa'al (Bi), Ges-B 44b (4). »'El has made».
- 'lpr (Nab), Jauss-Sav 390nab (once). »'El is a bull (= strong)»
- 'lqdm (Sab), NPSS 247a (twice). »'El has been the first».
- 'Eliqānā^h (Bi), Ges-B 45a *et passim*. »'El has created».
- 'lrb (Qat, Sab), NPSS 247b (5). »'El has ordered».
- 'lrb (Min, Sab), Ilrb (Ug), NPSS 248a *et passim*. »'El is great».
- 'lrm (Qat, Sab), NPSS 249a *et passim*. »'El is exalted».

- '*lrf*' (Sab), NPSS 249a (twice). »*El* has cured».
- '*lšgb*' (Kan), Lidzbarski, *Altsem. Texte* I, p. 11, r. (once). »*El* has protected».
- '*lšrh*' (Qat, Min, Sab, Ḥaḍr, Liḥ), NPSS 251b *et passim*. »*El* has increased».
- *'*lthm*': *lthm* (Ug), UHB 212a (once; Ug. 321: II: 5). »*El* has spoken».
- *'*ltm*': *ltm* (Ug), UHB 212a (once; Ug. 314: 16). »*El* is perfect».
- *'*ltmr*': *ltmr* (Ug), UHB 280a (once; Ug. 300: 11). »O '*el*, be fruitful».
- '*mr*'l (Ṣaf), '*mr*'*lhy*, *Αμβριλιος*, *Αμβριλιον* (gen.), *Αμειρηλος*, *Αμρειλιος*. *Αμριλις* (Nab), *Αμριλιος*, *Αμριλιον* (gen.) (Ṣaf), NPSS 219 b *et passim*. »*El* is commander», etc.
- '*mt*'*lhy* (Nab), EutSin tbl. 33, XII, 602 (once). »Handmaid of '*elh*'».
— *Μαθελη?* (Nab).
- '*tl*' (Ṣaf), NPSS 242b (once; Duss-Macl Ṣaf 255). »*El* is the most high».
- Byd*'l (Aram), *Bdīl* (Ug), CIS II: 1, 82 (thrice). »In the hand of '*el*'».
- Bn*'l (Sab, Ḥaḍr, Ṣaf, Tham?), *Bn*'*lh* (Qat, Ṣaf, Nab), *Bnīl* (Ug), *Βαρεαλας*, *Βαρλαας* (Aram), NPSS 221b *et passim*. »Son of '*el(h)*'».
- *'*Bn*'*m*'l: *Bi-na-ah-me-el* (Amor), Th. Bauer, *Ostkan.*, p. 15 (once; AO 1647: 31). »By the goodness of '*el*'».
- Bsm*'l (Ṣaf), NPSS 239a (once; Dussaud, Rees 108). »In the name of '*el*'».
- B'd*'l (Ṣaf), NPSS 221b (twice). »Behind (= under the protection of) '*el*'».
- B'šal*'*el* (Bi), Ges-B 109b *et passim*. »In the shadow (= under the protection) of '*el*'».
- G^eū*'*el* (Bi), Ges-B 123a (once; Numb. 13: 15) »*El* is exalted».
- *'*Gbr(y)*'l: *Γαβριηλ*, *Γαβριηλιος* (Hbr), Wuthnow, *Sem. Menschennamen*, p. 38 (thrice). »*El* is my strength».
- Gml*'l, *Gamlī*'*el* (Bi), Ges-B 144b *et passim*. »*El* has been beneficial to me».
- Gn*'l (Ṣaf), NPSS 222^{bis}a *et passim*. »Covering (= protection) of '*el*'».

Grm'l (Şaf), *Grm'lh*, *Grm'lh'y*, *Grmlhy*, *Grm'hy* (slip?), *Γαραμηλον* (gen.), *Γαρηλον* (gen.) (Nab), *Γαραμηλος* (Şaf), NPSS 222^{bis}a *et passim*. »*El*(h) is strong», etc.

Dbl (Palm), ZDMG 38, p. 535, tbl. 3^c, 3 (once). »*El* is a bear (= strong)».

Dd'l (Sab, Tham), NPSS 222^{bis}a (twice). »Darling of 'el».

Dn'l (Palm), *Dni l*(Ug), *Dny'l*, *Dâni'el*, *Dâni'el*, *Δανηηλ*, *Δανηηλ*, *Δανηηλιος*, *Δανηηλις*, *Δανηηλος*, *Δανηηλον* (gen.), *Δανιλ* (Hbr), Ges-B 166a-b *et passim*. »*El* is (my) judge».

Dr'l (Şaf), NPSS 222^{bis}a *et passim*. »*El* has known».

Dmr'l (Sab), NPSS 222b sq. (thrice). »*El* is strong».

Hbrr'l (Sab), NPSS 222a (once; Hal. 148: 2, see JAs VI/19). »*El* has purified».

Hwf'l (Qat, Min, Sab), NPSS 223b *et passim*. »Slave of 'el».

Hyd'l, *Hd'l* (Sab), NPSS 231b *et passim*. »*El* has made known».

Hys'l (Ḥaḍr), *Hyt'l* (Min, Sab), NPSS 232a-b *et passim*. »*El* has saved».

H'd'l (Şaf), NPSS 241b (once; Duss-Macl Şaf 254b). »*El* has become friendly».

Hqm'l (Sab), NPSS 247a (thrice). »*El* has strengthened».

Wd'l (Qat, Şaf), *Wdd'l* (Min, Sab, Tham), *Οναδδηλος*, *Οναδδηλον* (gen.) (Nab), NPSS 224a *et passim*. »*El* has loved», etc.

Whb'l (Qat, Min, Sab, Şaf), *Whbl* (Şaf), *Whbhl* (slip) (Tham), *Whb'lh* (Aram), *Whblh* (Şaf, Lih), *Whb'lh'y*, *Whblhy*, *Οναβαλας*, *Οναβαλλας*, *Οναβαλλος*, *Οναβαλλον* (gen.), *Οναβαλον* (gen.), *Οναβελον* (gen.), *Οναβηλος*, *Οναβηλον* (gen.) (Nab), NPSS 224b sq. *et passim*. »*El*(h) has given», etc.

Ws'l (Şaf), NPSS 226a (once; Jauss-Sav 170, 1 şaf) »*El* has appeased».

Ws'l (Tham), NPSS 226a (once; Huber, Voyage, p. 501, 16). »*El* is great».

Wqh'l (Min, Sab), *Wq'l* (Tham, Lih?), NPSS 226a *et passim*. »*El* has commanded».

Wrw'l (Qat, Sab), *Wr'l* (Lih, Tham?), NPSS 226b *et passim*. »*El* has cast lots (= determined the fate)».

Zbd'l (Şaf), *Zabd'i'el* (Bi), *Zbdlh*, *Zbd'l*, *Ζαβδελα* (gen.) *Ζαβδιλα*

(gen.), *Zαβδιλαν* (acc.) (Palm), *Zαββδηλον* (gen.), (Şaf), *Zαβδαλλα* (Nab), *Zαβδιηλ* (Hbr?), Ges-B 191b *et passim*. »Gift of 'el(h)». *Zyd'l* (Qat, Min, Sab, Lih), *Zd'l* (Şaf), *Zydl* (Min), *Zdlh* (Lih), *Zyd'lyh*, *Zaidηλον* (gen.), *Zeδαλας* (Nab), NPSS 227a-b *et passim*. »Increase of (= caused by) 'el(h)».

**Zmr'l*: *Zi-im-ri* | -i-lu, -AN (Amor), StM, p. 93b (twice). »My song is 'el».

Hb'l (Şaf), *Hbb'l* (Tham), *Hb'lyh* (Nab), NPSS 228a (4). »'El(h) has loved», etc.

Hbr'l (Nab), ZDMG 14, p. 368 (once). »'El is a companion».

H^azâ'el, *H^azâ'el* (Aram), *H^azî'el* (Bi), Ges-B 220a-b sq. *et passim*. »'El has seen».

Hyl (Hbr, Sab, Şaf), *Hylw'l* (Tham), *Hylh* (Şaf) *Hî'el*, (Bi), Ges-B 226a *et passim*. »'El is living (and acting)».

Hlp'lyh, *Alαφαλλον* (gen.), *Alαφαλος* (Nab), EutNab 9, 10 *et passim*. »'Elh has left over».

Hmy'l (Min, Sab, Ḥadr), NPSS 229b (thrice). »'El has protected».

Hnn'l (Şaf), *Hnw'l* (Phoen), *Hannî'el* (Bi), *Hn'l*, *Αννηλος*, *Αννηλον* (gen.) (Şaf, Nab), Ges-B 244b *et passim*. »Grace of 'el», etc.

Hrmlh (Lih), NPSS 230a (once; Jauss-Sav 202lih). »Separated (= consecrated) for 'elh».

Hl'l (Şaf, Tham), NPSS 230a *et passim*. »'El is an uncle».

Hr'l, *Αιρηλος* (Tham), NPSS 230a-b (twice). »Goodness of 'el».

Tâb'el (Bab?), Ges-B 270a (once; Ezr. 4: 7). »'El is good».

Thr'l (Şaf), NPSS 231a (twice). »'El has helped».

Tn'l, *Tnn'l*, *Tαναηλον* (gen.), *Tανηλος*, *Tανηλον* (gen.), *Tανιαλη*, *Tαννηλος* (Şaf), NPSS 231a *et passim*. »'El has thought so».

Yws'l (Min, Sab, Lih), *Ywsl*, *Ywsl* (Tham), NPSS 219a *et passim*. »'El presents».

Yr's'l (Tham), NPSS 220a (twice). »'El causes a quarrel».

Ybhr'l (Sab, Aram, Min?), NPSS 221a (4). »'El makes experiments.»

Yddl'l (Nab), Jauss-Sav 148nab (once). »Darling of 'el».

Yd'l (Qat, Min, Sab, Ḥadr, Tham), *Y^edî'el* (Bi), *Wd'l* (Şaf), *Wd'lh* (Lih), *Ia-dah-*, *Ia-di-ih-* | AN (Amor), Ges-B 286b *et passim*. »'El(h) has known (knows)».

- Ydkr'l* (Min, Sab, Tham), NPSS 222^{ter}a *et passim*. »'El remembers».
- Y^ehallæl'el* (Bi), Ges-B 292a (twice). »He praises 'el».
- Yhr'l* (Min), NPSS 232a (twice). »'El is exalted».
- **Ywš'l*: *Ia-wu-ši-AN* (Amor), StM, p. 94b (once; Mari II, 105: 13).
»'El has produced».
- Yaḥdî'el* (Bi), Ges-B 297a (once; 1 Chron. 5: 24). »'El is with me».
- Yaḥ^azî'el* (Bi), Ges-B 297a *et passim*. »'El causes to see».
- Yḥzq'l*, *Y^eḥæzq^e'el*, *Iεζεκιηλ*, *Iεζικιηλ*, *Eζεκιηλ*, *Ζεκιηλ*, *Ζηκιηλιος*,
Iehezqel, *Ezihiel* (Hbr), Ges-B 297a *et passim*. »'El is strong».
- Y^eḥî'el* (Bi), Ges-B 297a *et passim*. »'El lives (and acts)».
- Yahl^e'el* (Bi), Ges-B 297b (twice). »Trust of (= in) 'el».
- Yḥm'l* (Min, Sab, Ḥadr, Lih), NPSS 229b *et passim*. »'El protects».
- Yahš^e'el*, *Yahšî'el* (Bi), Ges-B 298a (4). »'El halves (= decides?)».
- Yḥrm'l* (Min), NPSS 230a (thrice). »'El prevents (= protects)».
- **Ykn'l*: *Yknîl* (Ug), *Ia-ki-in-AN* (Phoen), Harris, Gramm., p. 110 (4).
»'El establishes».
- **Ymlk'l*: *Ia-am-li-ik-*, *Ia-am-lik-*, *Ia-im-lik-* | *AN* (Amor), Th. Bauer,
Ostkan., p. 28 *et passim*. »'El is king».
- **Ymrš'l*: *Ia-am-ru* | *-iṣ-îl*, *-uṣ-AN*, *Yu-um-ra-aṣ-AN* (Amor), StM,
p. 94b (4). »'El is sick(?)».
- Ysm'l* (Min, Sab), *Ysm'l* (Ṣaf), *Yšm'l*, *Yišmâ'el*, *'sm'yl* (Kan),
Ia-aš-ma-ah-i₃-el (Amor), *Εσµαηλος* (Ṣaf), Ges-B 324b sq.
et passim. »'El hears».
- **Y'zr'l*: *Ia-ah-za-ar* | *-AN*, *-i-îl*, *Ia-ah-zi-ir-AN* (Amor), Th. Bauer,
Ostkan., p. 26 (4). »'El helps».
- Ya^ašî'el* (Bi), Ges-B 309a (twice). »'El makes».
- Yfth'l* (Ṣaf), NPSS 245b (once; Hal. 148: 1, see JAs VI/19). »'El
opens (= inspires?)».
- Yšdq'l* (Qat, Sab), NPSS 246a *et passim*. »'El is righteous».
- Yšr'l* (Qat), NPSS 246b (once; Jaussen, RB 35, No. 86: 1) »'El has
protected».
- Yqdm'l* (Sab, Ḥadr), NPSS 247a (4). »'El is the first».
- Yqm'l* (Sab), NPSS 247b (once; Fresnel, JAs IV/6, No. 52). »'El
is (or makes) firm».
- Yqn'l* (Ṣaf), NPSS 247b (twice). »'El makes rich».

- Y^erahm^eel* (Bi), Ges-B 319a *et passim*. »*El* is merciful».
- Yrp^l* (Aram), CIS II: 1, 83 (twice). »*El* heals».
- Y^ešimⁱel* (Bi), *Ia-si-im-AN* (Amor), Ges-B 321b *et passim*. »*El* sets (= ordains?)».
- **Yš(w)b^l*: *Ia-šu-*, *Ia-šu₂-|ub-AN* (Amor), Th. Bauer, Ostkan., p. 30 (4). »*El* returns».
- Yš^ol* (Sab), NPSS 250b (once; Glaser 265). »*El* has helped».
- Yšrh^l* (Qat, Min, Sab, Ḥaḏr), NPSS 251b *et passim*. »*El* increases.»
- Yt^l* (Min), NPSS 232b *et passim*. »*El* has saved».
- Kbr^l* (Lih), NPSS 232b (once; Jauss-Sav 138liḥ). »*El* is great».
- Kfr^l* (Tham), NPSS 233b (once; Jauss-Sav 521tam). »*El* has forgiven».
- Krb^l* (Sab), NPSS 233b *et passim*. »*El* has blessed».
- Lâ^{el}*, *Λαηλ* (Hbr), Ges-B 374 b (twice). »Belonging to 'el».
- M^ehêtab^{el}* (Bi), Ges-B 402b (thrice). »*El* is benefactor».
- M^yk^l*, *Mîkâ^{el}*, *Μιχαηλ*, *Μιχαηλιος* (Hbr), Ges-B 419b *et passim*.
»Who is like 'el?»
- Myr^l* (Nab), Jauss-Sav 278nab (once). »*El* supplies with provisions».
- Mkbr^l* (Tham), NPSS 232b (once; Jauss-Sav 329tam). »*El* makes great things».
- Mlk^l* (Şaf, Palm), *Malkî^{el}* (Bi), Ges-B 430a *et passim*. »*El* is (my?) king».
- Mn^l* (Şaf, Nab), *Μεγαλλα* (Nab), NPSS 235a (thrice). »Gift of 'el(h)».
- Msk^l* (Şaf), *Μασαχηλω* (dat.) (Nab), NPSS 235a *et passim*. »*El* holds out».
- M^dl* (Qat, Sab? Şaf?), NPSS 235a *et passim*. »Promised by 'el.»
- Mⁿl* (Sab, Şaf, Min?), *Mⁿlh* (Aram), *Mⁿlh*, *Mⁿlhy*, *Mⁿlhy* (Nab), NPSS 235b *et passim*. »*El(h)* has increased.»
- Mqm^l* (Şaf), *Mqym^l*, *Mqm^lhy* (Nab), NPSS 247b (4). »*El(h)* is a supporter».
- Mr^l* (Tham), *Mr^lh* (Lih), NPSS 235b (5). »*El* is lord».
- Mrb^l* (Nab), Jauss-Sav 99:1nab (once). »*El* does great things».
- M^ešezab^{el}* (Aram), Ges-B 468a (thrice). »*El* sets free».

- Mtn'l*, *Mtn'lm*, *Methunilim*, *Mutthunilim* (Phoen), Harris, Gramm., p. 108 *et passim*. »Gift of 'el(m)».
- Mt'l* (Min, Lih), NPSS 235b sq. (twice). »El has protected».
- Nbt'l* (Qat, Min, Sab), *Nbtl* (Sab), NPSS 236a *et passim*. »El has looked at (me)».
- Ndr'l* (Şaf), NPSS 236b (once; Duss-Macl Şaf 293a). »Consecrated to 'el».
- Ntr'l* (Şaf), *Ntr'l* (Nab), *Ναταρηλος* (Nab?), NPSS 237a *et passim*. »El has helped».
- Nsr'l* (Sab, Şaf), NPSS 238a *et passim*. »El has helped».
- Nsl'l* (Şaf), NPSS 238a (once; Dussaud, Rees, 40c). »El has bereft.»
- Ns'l* (Şaf), *Νασαηλον* (gen.) (Nab), NPSS 238 a *et passim*. »El has given rise».
- Ntn'l*, *N^etan'el*, *Ναθαναηλ*, *Θαναηλ* (Hbr), Ges-B 531a *et passim*. »El has given».
- Sb'l*, *Sb'l* (Şaf), NPSS 238b (4). »El is a lion (= strong)».
- Shm'lh* (Lih), NPSS 238b (twice). »Lot of (=determined by) 'elh».
- Shy'l* (Palm), Vogüé, Syr. 99, 3 (once). »El has swept away».
- Shr'l* (Şaf), NPSS 238b (once; Duss-Macl Syr 496). »El has made submissive».
- Slmlh* (Şaf), NPSS 239b (once; Duss-Macl Şaf 398). »Peace of 'elh».
- Smd'l* (Şaf), NPSS 239a (twice). »El has been (or made) proud».
- Smr'l* (Şaf), NPSS 239b (thrice). »El has clinched (= determined)».
- S'd'l* (Qat, Min, Sab, Şaf, Tham), *S'dl* (Şaf, Tham), *S'dm'l* (Şaf), *S'dlh* (Sab, Şaf, Lih, Tham), *Š'd'th*, *Š'dlh*, *Š'd'thy*, *Š'dlhy*, *Šd'thy*, *Šyd'thy* (? slip), *Σαδαλας*, *Σαδαλλου* (gen.), *Σαδαλον* (gen.), *Σαδδηλου* (gen.), *Σαδειλος*, *Σαδελος* (Nab), NPSS 240a-b *et passim*. »Happiness of (= given by) 'el(h)».
- 'bd'l* (Qat, Sab, Şaf, Tham), *'bdyl* (Palm?), *'Abd^eel*, *'Abdi'el* (Bi), *'bdil*, *'bdilm* (Ug), *'bdl*, *'bd'l'ly*, *'bdlh*, *'bd'th*, *'bd'thy*, *'bdlhy* (Nab), *'bd'th* (Min), *'bd'lm*, *'bdlm*, *Bbd'lm* (slip) (Phoen), *Ab-*, *Ha-ab-* | *di-AN* (Amor), *Αβδαλα* (gen.), *Αβδαλλας*, *Αβδαλον* (gen.) (Nab), *Αβδηλιμος*, *Abdilius*, *Abdilia* (fem.) (Phoen), Ges-B 557a *et passim*. »Servant of 'el(h/m)».
- 'dr'l* (Şaf, Lih, Tham), NPSS 242a *et passim*. »El has forgiven».

- 'wd'l (Şaf, Palm), NPSS 242a (4). »El has doubled».
- 'wd'l, 'ydl (Şaf), NPSS 242a-b (twice). »Protection of 'el.»
- 'z'l (Sab, Lih), 'zl (?Tham), 'Uzzî'el (Bi), Ges-B 577b sq. *et passim*.
 »Strength of 'el», etc.
- 'Azar'el, 'Azrî'el (Bi), 'zrn'l (Aram), Αζαρηλος (Hbr?), Ges-B 579a
et passim. »El has helped (me)», etc.
- 'yn'l, 'ynl, E-ni-AN, Ενυλος (Phoen), Harris, Gramm., p. 132 (5).
 »Eye of 'el».
- 'ly'l (Min, Sab, Lih, Tham, Nab), 'l (Lih, Tham, Şaf?), Ha-li-AN
 (Amor), NPSS 243b *et passim*. »El is exalted».
- 'k'l (Tham), NPSS 243b (twice). »El is ruler».
- *'mnw'l: Εμανουηλ, Εμμανωηλ (Hbr), Wuthnow, Sem. Menschen-
 namen, p. 46 (4). »El will be with us».
- 'mr'l (Nab), Jauss-Sav 265nab (once). »El has constructed».
- 'Asá^h'el, 'Asî'el (Bi), Ges-B 624b *et passim*. »El has made».
- Gw'l (Qat, Min), G'l (Şaf), G'lhy (Tham), Gw's'l (Ḥadr), 'wt'l,
 'wtlhy, Αυθαλλου (gen.), Οαιθελου (gen.) (Nab), NPSS 245a
et passim. »El(h) has come to assistance», etc.
- Gyr'l, Gr'l, Γαιρηλος, Γαιρηλου (gen.), Γαρηλου (gen.), Γεαρηλου
 (gen.) (Şaf), NPSS 245a-b *et passim*. »El has changed».
- Pag'el (Bi), Ges-B 633a (5). »Destiny of (= determined by) 'el».
- Fd'l (Şaf), P'dah'el (Bi), Φαδαιελου (gen.) (Şaf?), Ges-B 633b *et
 passim*. »El has saved».
- Ft'l (Şaf), Palt'el (Bi), Ges-B 643a *et passim*. »El is (my?) rescue».
- Pşy'l (Palm), Pş'l (Nab), Φασαηλου (gen.), Φασαιαλος, Φασαιαλου
 (gen.), Φασαιελη, Φασεελη, Φασεελου (gen.), Φασηελη, Φασηηλη
 Φασηηλ (Nab? Palm?), CIS II: 3, p. 456b *et passim*. »El has saved».
- *Sb'l: Si-ba-ḤAL (< AN) (Amor), StM, p. 96b (once; Mari II,
 36: 10). »A warrior of 'el».
- Sdq'l (Sab, Ḥadr, Min?), NPSS 246a *et passim*. »El is righteous».
- Súr'el (Bi), Ges-B 680a (once; Numb. 3: 35). »El is (my?) rock
 (= protection)».
- S'd'l (Şaf, Nab), NPSS 246a (thrice). »El is exalted».
- Qdm'l (Şaf), Qadm'el (Bi), Ges-B 702a *et passim*. »El is (my?) origin».
- Qn'l (Şaf), NPSS 247b *et passim*. »Slave of 'el».

Qsm'l (Lih), NPSS 247b (once; Jauss-Sav 287lih). »*El* has decided».
R'b'l (Min), NPSS 248a (twice). »*El* has determined».

Rb'l (Min, Sab, Şaf, Nab, Palm), *Rbyb'l* (Nab), *Ραβαυλα* (gen.) (Palm),
Ραββηλος, *Ραββηλον* (gen.), *Ραβηλον* (gen.), *Ραβιβηλος* (Nab?
 Palm?), NPSS 248a *et passim*. »*El* is great (or lord)».

Rm'l (Nab), EutSin tbl. 23, XII, 414: 1 *et passim*. »*El* is exalted».

R'e'û'el (Bi), Ges-B 767a *et passim*. »*El* is shepherd».

Rp'ul (Palm), *Rf'ul*, *Rf'l* (Şaf), *R'e'fâ'el* (Bi), *Ρεφαελον* (gen.) (Şaf, Nab),
 Ges-B 770a *et passim*. »*El* has healed».

Rđw'l (Qat, Min), *Rđlh* (Tham), NPSS 249b (4). »*El(h)* has become
 kind (again?)».

Rqyb'l (Nab), EutNab 27, 7 (once). »*El* is a protector».

R'l'l (Şaf), NPSS 248b (twice). »*El* has appeased».

Rld'l (Min, Sab), NPSS 250a *et passim*. »*El* has given protection».

Š'e'altî'el, *Šaltî'el* (Bi), Ges-B 798a *et passim*. »I have begged 'el (and
 he has heard me)».

**S(w)bn'l*: *Šu₂-ub-na / -AN, -hi-lu, Šu₂-ub(?) -na-il* (Amor), Th. Bauer,
 Ostkan., p. 40 (4 or 5). »Do turn, o 'el».

Šy'lh'y (Nab), *Š'el* (Şaf), *Σαιηλον* (gen.), *Σηαλλας* (Nab), NPSS 250b
et passim. »Adherent of 'el(h)».

Škr'l, *Σαχρηλος* (Şaf), NPSS 251a *et passim*. »*El* has rewarded».

Š'elumî'el (Bi), Ges-B 838a (5). »*El* is (my?) peace».

Šm'l (Lih, Tham), *Šm'lh* (Nab), NPSS 251a (4). »*El* is exalted».

Šrh'l (Min, Sab), *Σαραηλος* (Sab, Palm?), NPSS 251b sq. *et passim*.
 »*El* has increased».

Tb'l (Sab), NPSS 252a (4). »*El* is *tubba'* (i.e., king)».

Tym'lh, *Tym'lh'y*, *Tym'lh'y* (Nab), *Tm'l* (Şaf), *Tmlh* (Lih), *Θαιμαλος*,
Θαιμαλλον (gen.), *Θειμαλλον* (gen.), *Θεμαλλον* (gen.), *Θεμελλας*
 (Nab), *Θαιμηλον* (gen.) (Şaf), NPSS 252a-b *et passim*. »Servant
 of 'el(h)».

Twb'l (Qat, Min, Sab), *Tb'l* (Sab), *Tbil* (Ug), NPSS 252b *et pas-*
sim. »*El* has given back».

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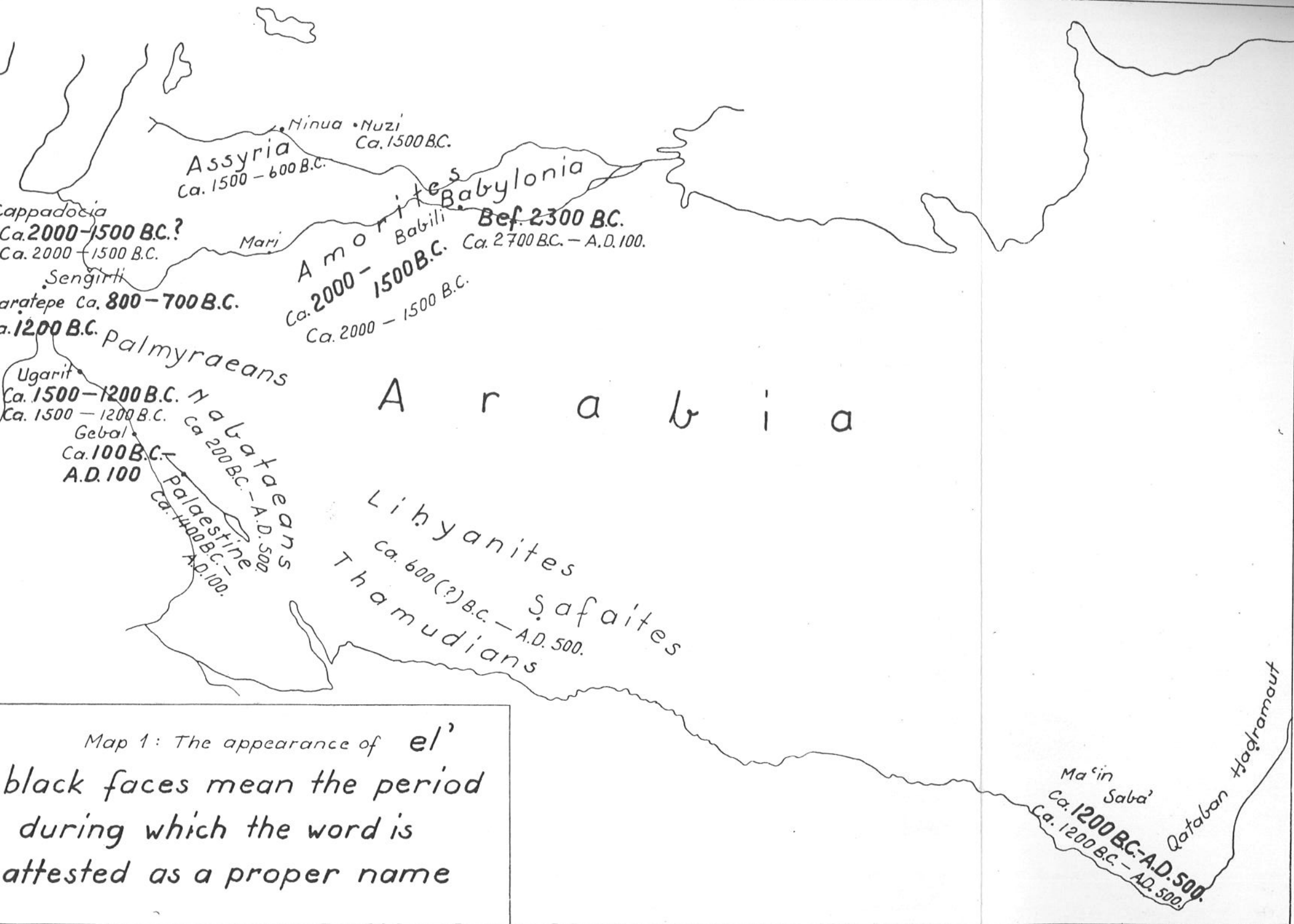
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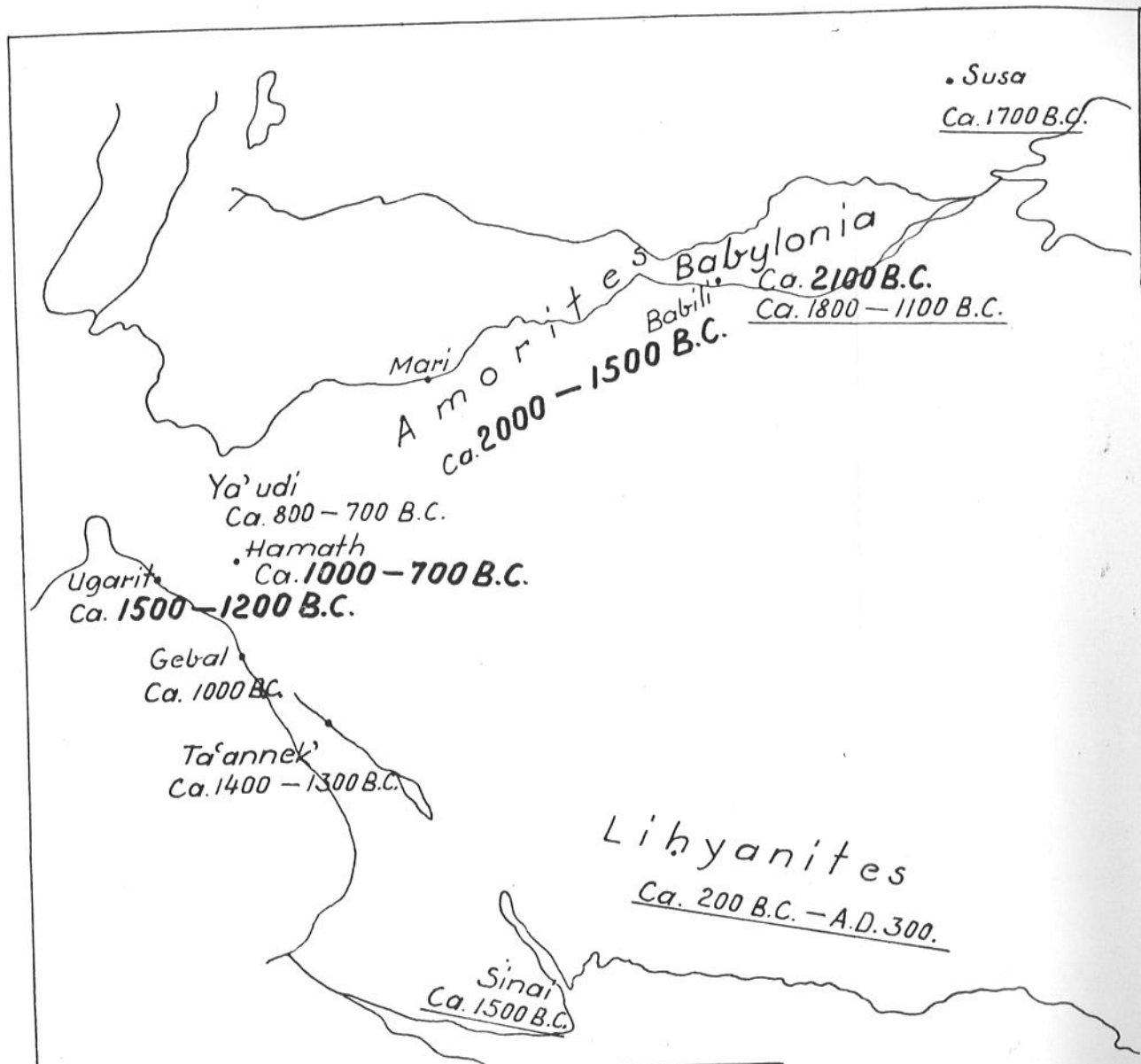
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Maps.	



Map 1: The appearance of **el'**
 black faces mean the period
 during which the word is
 attested as a proper name



Map 2: The appearance of *Yhwh* outside
Israel. Proved cases are marked
with black faces, quite uncertain ones
have been underlined