

THE NAMES OF GOD IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

In the issue of this REVIEW for October, 1919, there was given an induction of the uses in the Koran of the words for Lord and God. In the number for January, 1920, were collected the various designations of the Deity as they are found in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical literature of the Jews up to 135 A.D. In this article appear the lists and enumerations of the names and designations of the Deity that are found in the Scriptures of the Old Testament. In view of the fact that the discussions about the Hexateuch, the Psalter, Jonah, Daniel, and other books, turn largely about the names of the Deity, it is hoped that these and similar collections of data will serve as an indispensable foundation for future scientific criticism of the Old Testament.

In the first part of this article (A), will be found enumerations of the *times* that the more common simple names for God occur in the Old Testament books. In B, are given the enumerations of the composite titles; first a general summary of the *times* of occurrence as in A, and then detailed lists giving the places where they occur. In C are listed certain terms that are employed at times to designate the Deity, such as Holy One and Heaven. In D are given certain remarks and conclusions based on the lists and meant to serve rather as samples for the use of the lists than as an attempt to exhaust the bearings of the induction of titles upon the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament. Theologians and historians as well as critics should be stimulated by these conclusions to further investigations and combinations of the materials here collected.

In view of the facts collected in these three articles (i.e., in the articles in the last October and January numbers of the REVIEW and in this article), a warning may well be sent out to the rising generation of Old Testament critics, that they should be slow about accepting statements of men, however eminent, when their statements are de-

rogatory to the genuineness and accuracy of the books of the Scriptures. When we consider the absolute lack of foundation for the assertions of the late Prof. Cheyne with regard to the names of God in the Psalter, and of the late Dr. Driver with regard to the designation "God of heaven," we may well pause before accepting their mere statements with regard to many other like matters. Scientific criticism must be based on what we *know*, not on what we wish, the facts to be.

A. SIMPLE NAMES FOR GOD

PENTATEUCH	Jehovah	Adonay	Elohim	Eloah	El	Elyon	Shadday
Genesis	146	7	164	0	3	0	1
Exodus	377	6	63	0	1	0	0
Leviticus	304	0	4	0	0	0	0
Numbers	389	1	9	0	9	1	2
Deuteronomy	527	0	38	1	2	0	0
	1743	14	278	1	15	1	3
HEXATEUCH							
P	785	0	95	0	0	0	0
JE	579	14	157	0	13	0	3
D	600	0	40	2	4	1	0
	1964	14	292	2	17	1	3
HISTORICAL BOOKS							
Joshua	225	1	19	0	0	0	0
Judges	179	2	40	0	0	0	0
Ruth	18	0	0	0	0	0	2
1 Samuel	415	0	52	0	0	0	0
2 Samuel	154	0	32	0	2	0	0
1 Kings	253	2	49	0	0	0	0
2 Kings	278	2	49	1	0	0	0
1 Chronicles	172	0	71	0	0	0	0
2 Chronicles	375	0	86	1	0	0	0
Ezra	37	0	13	0	1	0	0
Nehemiah	17	0	28	0	2	0	0
	2123	7	439	2	5	0	2
PROPHETS							
Isa. I-XXXIX	228	21	6	0	5	1	1
Isa. XL-LXVI	193	1	10	1	13	0	0
Jeremiah	670	0	27	0	1	0	0
Ezekiel	193	4	18	0	3	0	1

	Jeho- vah	Ado- nay	Elo- him	Eloah	El	Elyon	Shad- day
Daniel	7	11	72	2	1	0	0
Hosea	43	0	4	0	2	0	0
Joel	29	0	0	0	0	0	1
Amos	59	4	1	0	0	0	0
Jonah	22	0	12	0	0	0	0
Obadiah	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Micah	37	1	1	0	2	0	0
Nahum	13	0	0	0	0	0	0
Habakkuk	12	0	0	2	0	0	0
Zephaniah	32	0	0	0	0	0	0
Haggai	28	0	0	0	0	0	0
Zechariah	143	1	1	0	1	0	0
Malachi	46	1	1	0	2	0	0
	1762	44	153	5	30	1	3
POETICAL BOOKS							
Psalms I.	271	12	20	1	11	4	0
II.	26	14	155	1	5	3	1
III.	43	14	44	0	14	9	0
IV.	101	1	6	0	4	4	1
V.	223	4	9	1	6	1	0
	664	45	234	3	40	21	2
Job	32	1	16	39	54	0	31
Proverbs	84	0	3	1	1	0	0
Lamentations	31	14	0	0	0	2	0
Ecclesiastes	0	0	40	0	0	0	0
Song	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	811	60	293	43	95	23	33
TOTALS							
Pentateuch	1743	14	278	1	15	1	3
Historical Books ..	2123	8	439	2	5	0	2
Prophets	1762	44	153	5	30	1	3
Poetical Books	811	60	293	43	95	23	33
	6439 ²	126	1163	51	145	25	41

¹ In A and D enumerations are given, also for the alleged divisions of the Hexateuch into J, E, D, H and P: as also for the five books of the Psalter.

² *Jah* occurs twice in the Hexateuch (J E), forty times in the Psalms (once in Book II, twice in Book III, seven times in Book IV, thirty times in Book V). Cf. also Song viii. 6 (*Cheyne, Bampton Lectures*, p. 298).

NAMES OF GOD IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

463

B. COMPOSITE NAMES FOR GOD

	Jeho- vah	Ado- nay	Elo- him	Eloah	El	Sabaoth	
Genesis	19	2	16	0	18	0	0
Exodus	1	0	18	0	4	0	0
Leviticus	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Numbers	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Deuteronomy	0	2	6	1	10	0	0
Joshua	0	1	4	0	2	0	0
Judges	0	2	7	0	0	0	0
Ruth	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1 Samuel	0	0	6	0	1	5	5
2 Samuel	2	6	4	0	1	6	5
1 Kings	0	2	3	0	0	3	1
2 Kings	3	0	3	0	1	2	2
1 Chronicles	4	0	7	0	0	3	3
2 Chronicles	5	0	10	0	0	0	0
Ezra	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
Nehemiah	2	0	3	1	3	0	0
Psalms	1	8	25	1	22	16	7
Job	0	0	5	2	0	0	0
Isa. I-XXXIX	0	11	5	0	4	56	41
Isa. XL-LXVI	0	4	10	0	2	6	4
Jeremiah	1	14	4	0	1	80	34
Lamentations	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Ezekiel	0	217	6	0	4	0	0
Daniel	0	0	1	1	2	0	0
Hosea	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Joel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Amos	0	19	4	0	0	9	0
Jonah	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
Obadiah	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Micah	1	1	3	0	0	1	1
Nahum	0	0	1	0	0	2	2
Habakkuk	0	1	1	0	0	1	1
Zephaniah	0	1	2	0	0	2	1
Haggai	0	0	0	0	0	14	12
Zechariah	0	1	0	0	0	53	50
Malachi	0	0	1	0	1	24	24
Ecclesiastes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Song	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Esther	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Proverbs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	40 ³	293	160	6	79	284 ⁴	193 ⁵

³ *Jah* occurs in combinations twice in the Psalms and three times in Isaiah, cf. p. 466.

⁴ This column includes all titles in which *Sabaoth* (hosts) occurs.

⁵ This column gives only the occurrences of the title, Jehovah of Sabaoth.

	Jeho- vah	Ado- nay	Elo- him	Eloah	El	Sabaoth	
HEXATEUCH							
P	0	0	2	0	6	0	0
JE	20	2	35	0	12	0	0
D	0	3	5	1	12	0	0
	20	5	42	1	30 ⁶	0	0
PSALMS							
Book I.	0	0	6	0	1	1	1
II.	0	4	9	0	7	6	3
III.	1	1	7	0	8	9	3
IV.	0	0	1	0	4	0	0
V.	0	3	2	1	2	0	0
	1	8	25	1	22	16	7

I. COMPOUNDS WITH JEHOVAH

1. *Jehovah, the God who chose Abraham*, Neh. ix. 7.
2. *Jehovah, God of my master Abraham*, Gen. xxiv. 12, 27, 42, 48.
3. *Jehovah, God of Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac*, Gen. xxviii. 13.
4. *Jehovah, God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel*, 2 Chr. xxx. 6.
5. *Jehovah, God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel my father*, 1 Chr. xxix. 18.
6. *Jehovah, God of your father*, Deut. i. 11, 41, vi. 3, xii. 1, xxvi. 7, xxvii. 3, xxix. 24, Josh. xviii. 3, Jud. ii. 12.
7. *Jehovah, God of their (your) fathers*, 1 Chr. xxix. 20, 2 Chr. vii. 22, xi. 16, xiii. 12, 18, xiv. 3, xv. 12, xix. 4, xx. 6, xxi. 10, xxiv. 18, xxviii. 6, 9, 25, xxx. 7, 19, 22, xxxiv. 32, xxxvi. 15.
8. *Jehovah, God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*, Ex. iii. 15, 16, iv. 5.
9. *Jehovah, the great God*, Neh. viii. 6.
10. *Jehovah, the God of the spirits of all flesh*, Num. xxvii. 16.
11. *Jehovah, God of Israel*, Josh. vii. 13, 19, 20, viii. 30, ix. 18, 19, x. 40, 42, xiii. 14, 33, xiv. 14, xxii. 24, xxiv. 2, 23, Jud. iv. 6, v. 3, v. 5, vi. 8, xi. 21, 23, xxi. 3, Ru. ii. 12, 1 Sam. ii. 30, v. 7, 8ter, 10, 11, vi. 3, x. 18, xiv. 14, xx. 12, xxiii. 10, 11, xxv. 32, 34, 2 Sam. xii. 7, 1 Ki. i. 30, 48, viii. 15, 17, 20, 23, 25, 26, xi. 9, 31, xiv. 7, 13, xv. 30, xvi. 13, 26, 33, xvii. 1, 14, xxii. 54, 2 Ki. ix. 6, x. 31, xiv. 25, xviii. 5, xix. 15, 20, xxi. 2, xxii. 15, 18, 1 Chr. xv. 12, 14, xvi. 4, 36, xxiii. 25, xxiv. 19, xxviii. 4, 2 Chr. ii. 11, vi. 4, 7, 10, 14, 16, 17, xi. 16, xiii. 5, xv. 4, xv. 13, xx. 19, xxix. 10, xxx. 1, 5, xxxii. 17, xxxiii. 16, 18, xxxiv. 23, 26, xxxvi. 13, Ezra i. 3, iv. 1, 3, vi. 21, vii. 6, ix. 15, Ps. xli. 14, cvi. 48, Isa. xvii. 6, xxi. 17, xxiv. 15, xxxvii. 21, Jer. 15 times, Mal. ii. 16.
12. *Jehovah, God of my lord the king*, 1 Kings i. 36.
13. *Jehovah, God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel*, 1 Kings xviii. 36.

⁶ The four occurrences in Gen. xiv. make up the total of 34 for the Hexateuch enumerated above.

14. *Jehovah, God of Elijah*, 2 Kings ii. 14.
15. *Jehovah, God of David thy father*, 2 Kings xx. 5, 2 Chr. xxi. 12, xxxiv. 3.
16. *Jehovah, God the God of Israel*, Ps. lxxii. 18.
17. *Jehovah, God of heaven*, Gen. xxiv. 7, Jonah i. 9, 2 Chr. xxxvi. 23, Ezra i. 2.
18. *Jehovah, God (אלהי) of heaven, the great and terrible God (אל)*, Neh. i. 5.
19. *Jehovah, God (אל) Most High, possessor of heaven and earth*, Gen. xiv. 22.
20. *Jehovah, God of heaven and God of earth*, Gen. xxiv. 3.
21. *Jehovah, God*, Gen. ii. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, iii. 1, 8, 9, 13, 14, 21, 22, 23, Ex. ix. 30, 2 Sam. vii. 22, 25, 2 Ki. xix. 19, 1 Chr. xvii. 16, 17, xxviii. 20, xxix. 1, 2 Chr. i. 9, vi. 41bis, 42, xxvi. 18, Jon. iv. 6, Ps. lxxxiv. 12.
22. *Jehovah, Lord (אדני)*, Hab. iii. 19, Ps. lxviii. 21, cxl. 8, cxli. 8.
23. *Jehovah of hosts*, 1 Sam. i. 3, 11, iv. 4, xv. 2, 2 Sam. vi. 2, 18, vii. 8, 1 Ki. xviii. 15, 2 Ki. iii. 14, 19, 31, 1 Chr. xi. 9, xvii. 7, 24, Ps. xxiv. 10, xlv. 8, 12, lxxxiv. 2, 4, 13, Isa. i. 9, ii. 12, iii. 1, v. 7, 9, 16, 24, vi. 3, viii. 13, 18, ix. 6, 12, x. 26, 33, xiii. 4, 13, xiv. 22, 23, 24, 27, xvii. 3, xviii. 7bis, xix. 12, 16, 17, 18, 20, 25, xxii. 14, 25, xxiii. 9, xxiv. 23, xxv. 6, xxviii. 5, 29, xxix. 6, xxxi. 4, 5, xxxvii. 32, xxxix. 5, xlv. 13, xlviii. 2, li. 15, liv. 5, Jer. vi. 6, viii. 3, ix. 16, x. 16, xi. 17, 20, 22, xix. 11, xx. 12, xxiii. 15, 16, xxv. 8, 28, 29, 32, xxvi. 18, xxvii. 18, 19, xxix. 17, xxx. 8, xxxi. 35, xxxiii. 11, 12, xlv. 18, xlviii. 15, xlix. 7, 26, 35, l. 33, 34, li. 5, 19, 57, Mic. iv. 4, Nah. ii. 14, iii. 5, Hab. ii. 13, Zeph. ii. 10, Hag. i. 2, 5, 6, 7, 9, ii. 4, 8, 9bis, 11, 23bis, Zech. i. 3ter, 4, 6, 12, 14, 16, 17, ii. 12, 13, 15, iii. 7, 9, 10, iv. 6, 9, v. 4, vi. 12, 15, vii. 3, 4, 9, 12bis, 13, viii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6bis, 7, 9bis, 11, 14bis, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, ix. 15, x. 3, xiii. 2, 7, xiv. 21bis, Mal. i. 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, ii. 2, 4, 7, 8, 12, 16, iii. 1, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 19, 21.
24. *Jehovah of hosts, (their, your) God*, Hag. i. 14, Zech. xii. 5.
25. *Jehovah of hosts, the God of Israel*, 2 Sam. vii. 27, 1 Chr. xxii. 6, Jer. (31 times), Isa. xxi. 10, Zeph. ii. 9.
26. *Jehovah of hosts, God over Israel*, 2 Sam. vii. 26.
27. *Jehovah, God of hosts*, 2 Sam. v. 10, 1 Ki. xix. 10, 14, Ho. xii. 6, Amos iv. 13, v. 14, 15, 27, vi. 8, 14, Jer. v. 14, xv. 16, Ps. lxix. 7, lxxx. 5, 20, lxxxiv. 9, lxxxix. 9.
28. *Jehovah of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel*, 1 Sam. xvii. 45.
29. *Jehovah of hosts, the Holy One of Israel*, Isa. xlvii. 4.
30. *Jehovah, God of hosts, the Lord*, Am. v. 16.
31. *Jehovah, God of hosts, the God of Israel*, Ps. lix. 6, Jer. xxxv. 17, xlv. 7.
32. *Jehovah, the holy God*, 1 Sam. vi. 20, Isa. x. 20.

33. *Jehovah, thy God the Holy One of Israel, thy Savior*, Isa. xliii. 3.
34. *Jehovah, your redeemer, the Holy One of Israel*, Isa. xliii. 14, xlviii. 17.
35. *Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel and his Maker*, Isa. xlv. 11.
36. *Jehovah, the redeemer of Israel, his Holy One*, Isa. xlix. 7.
37. *Jehovah, your Holy One, the Creator of Israel, your king*, Isa. xliii. 15.
38. *Jehovah, King of Israel*, Isa. xlv. 6.
39. *Jehovah, God of eternity*, Gen. xxi. 33.
40. *Jehovah, God is truth, a living God and an everlasting king*, Jer. x. 10.

Ia. COMPOUNDS WITH JAH

1. *Jah, Elohim*, Ps. lxviii. 9.
2. *Jah, Adonay*, Ps. cxxx. 3 (?).
3. *Jah, Jehovah*, Isa. xii. 2, xxvi. 4.
4. *Jah, Jah*, Isa. xxxviii. 11.

II. COMPOUNDS WITH THE LORD (הַאֲדֹנָי) AND LORD (אֲדֹנִי)

1. *The Lord of lords*, Deut. x. 17, Ps. cxxxvi. 3.
2. *Lord of all the earth*, Jos. iii. 11, 13, Ps. xcvi. 5, Zach. iv. 14, vi. 5, Mic. iv. 13.
3. *The Lord Jehovah*, Ex. xxiii. 17.
4. *The Lord Jehovah, the God of Israel*, Ex. xxxiv. 23.
5. *The Lord, Jehovah of hosts*, Isa. iii. 1, x. 33, xix. 4, Ps. lxi. 7.
6. *The Lord, Jehovah, God of hosts*, Amos iii. 13.
7. *The Lord, Jehovah of hosts, the mighty One (אֲבִיר) of Israel*, Isa. i. 24.
8. *Lord, Jehovah*, 293 times (see Summary, p. 463).
9. *The great and terrible Lord*, Neh. iv. 8.
10. *Lord, the God (הָאֱלֹהִים)*, Dan. ix. 3.
11. *The Lord, the great and terrible God (הָאֵל)*, Dan. ix. 4.
12. *Lord, Jehovah, the holy One of Israel*, Isa. xxx. 15.

IIa. COMPOUNDS WITH LORD (מֶלֶךְ)

1. *Lord of Kings*, Dan. ii. 47.
2. *Lord of heaven*, Dan. v. 23.

III. COMPOUNDS WITH GOD (ELOHIM)

1. *God of Shem*, Gen. ix. 26.
2. *God of Abraham*, Gen. xxvi. 24, xxxi. 13, Ps. xlvii. 10.
3. *God of Abraham and God of Nahor*, Gen. xxxi. 53.
4. *God of Israel*, Ex. xxiv. 10, Num. xvi. 9, Josh. xxii. 16, 1 Sam. i. 17, vi. 3, 5, 2 Sam. xxiii. 3, 1 Chr. iv. 10, v. 26, 2 Chr. xxix. 7, Ezra iii. 2, viii. 35, ix. 4, Isa. xxix. 23, xlv. 3, xlviii. 2, lii. 12, Ezek. viii. 4, ix. 3, x. 19, 20, xi. 22, xliii. 2, xlv. 2, Ps. lix. 6, lxxviii. 9, lxxix. 7.
5. *God of Jacob*, 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, Isa. ii. 3, Mic. iv. 2, Ps. xx. 2, xlviii. 8, 12, lxxv. 10, lxxvi. 7, lxxxi. 2, 5, lxxxiv. 9, xciv. 7.

6. *God of David*, Isa. xxxviii. 5.
7. *God of (my, thy, etc.) father (or fathers)*, Gen. xxxi. 5, 29, xliii. 23, l. 17, Ex. iii. 13, vi. 3, xi. 2, xviii. 4, 1 Chr. v. 25, xii. 17, xxviii. 9, 2 Chr. xvii. 4, xx. 23, xxxiii. 12, Dan. xi. 37.
8. *Elohim, the God of your fathers*, 2 Chr. xxxiv. 32.
9. *Elohim, the God of Israel*, Ezra vi. 22.
10. *God of my father, the God of Abraham, and the Fear (פֶּחַד) of Isaac*, Gen. xxxi. 42.
11. *God of my father Abraham*, Gen. xxxii. 10.
12. *God of my father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*, Ex. iii. 6.
13. *God of Israel my father*, 1 Chr. xxix. 10.
14. *God of the Hebrews*, Ex. v. 3.
15. *God of the mountains*, 1 Kings xx. 23, 28.
16. *God of the valleys*, 1 Kings xx. 28.
17. *God of Hezekiah*, 2 Chr. xxxii. 17.
18. *God of Jerusalem*, 2 Chr. xxxii. 19.
19. *God of heaven*, Neh. i. 4, ii. 4, 20.
20. *God of earth*, Zeph. ii. 11.
21. *God Jehovah, that dwelt between the Cherubim*, 1 Chr. xiii. 6.
22. *God of all the earth*, Isa. v. 45.
23. *God at hand*, Jer. xxiii. 23.
24. *God afar off*, Jer. xxiii. 23.
25. *God of the spirits of all flesh*, Num. xvi. 22.
26. *God of my rock*, 2 Sam. xxii. 3.
27. *God of (my, thy, etc.) salvation (יְשׁוּעָה)*, 2 Sam. xxii. 47, Hab. v. 18, 1 Chr. xvi. 5, Mic. vii. 7, Isa. xvii. 10, Ps. xviii. 47, xxiv. 5, xxv. 5, xxvii. 9, lxxv. 6, lxxix. 9, lxxxv. 5.
28. *God of salvation, (תְּשׁוּעָה)*, Ps. li. 16.
29. *God of judgment*, Isa. xxxvi. 1, Mal. ii. 17.
30. *God of מְרוֹם*, Mic. vi. 6.
31. *God of eternity (קֶדֶם)*, Deut. xxxiii. 27.
32. *God of eternity (עוֹלָם)*, *Jehovah, the Creator of the ends of the earth*, Isa. xl. 28.
33. *God of truth, (אֱמִית)*, Isa. lxv. 16bis, 2 Chr. xv. 3 (אֱמִית), Jer. x. 10.
34. *God of righteousness*, Ps. iv. 2.
35. *God of strength*, Ps. xliii. 2.
36. *God of mercy (חַסֵּד)*, Ps. lix. 11, 18.
37. *God of praise*, Ps. cix. 1.
38. *God of hosts, the God of Israel*, Jer. xxxv. 17, xxxviii. 17, xliv. 7.

IV. COMPOUNDS WITH GOD (ELOAH)

1. *God of מְלִיחָה*, Neh. ix. 17.
2. *God, his (my) maker*, Deut. xxxii. 15, Job. xxxv. 10.
3. *God מַעֲוֹנֶה*, Job xi. 6.
4. *God of Jacob*, Ps. cxiv. 7.

5. *God* נֹכַר, Dan. xi. 39.
6. *God* מַעֲוִים, Dan. xi. 3.

IVa. COMPOUNDS WITH GOD (אֱלֹהִים)

Jer. x. 11. Ezra, 15 times. Daniel, 19 times.

V. COMPOUNDS WITH (EL).

1. *God of thy father*, Gen. xlix. 25.
2. *The God, the God (אֱלֹהֵי) of thy father*, Gen. xli. 3.
3. *God, the God of Israel*, Gen. xxxiii. 20.
4. *God, God (אֱלֹהִים), Jehovah*, Josh. xxii. 22bis, Ps. i. 1.
5. *God, the God (אֱלֹהֵי) of Israel*, Gen. xxiii. 20.
6. *God, the God (אֱלֹהֵי) of the spirit of all flesh*, Num. xvi. 22.
7. *God of gods*, Ex. xv. 11.
8. *God of Jacob*, Ps. cxlvi. 5.
9. *God of Jeshurun*, Deut. xxxiii. 26.
10. *God of Israel*, Ps. lxviii. 36.
11. *God of nations*, Ezek. xxxi. 11.
12. *God of the heavens*, Ps. cxxxvi. 26.
13. *God of the earth*, 2 Kings. xxiv. 15, Ezek. xvii. 13.
14. *God in heaven and in earth*, Deut. iii. 24, Lam. iii. 41.
15. *God of Bethel*, Gen. xxxiii. 7.
16. *The God of Bethel*, Gen. xxxi. 13.
17. *God, Most High (בָּלִיָּא) Gen. xiv. 18, 20, Ps. lxviii. 35.*
18. *God, Most High, possessor of heaven and earth*, Gen. xiv. 19.
19. *God, Almighty (שָׂרִי) Gen. xvii. 1, xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, xliii. 14, xlvi. 3, Ex. vi. 3, Ezek. x. 5.*
20. *Mighty God*, Isa. ix. 5, x. 21.
21. *The great, the mighty, and the terrible, God*, Deut. x. 17.
22. *The great and terrible God, keeping the covenant and mercy*, Neh. i. 5.
23. *The great, the mighty, and the terrible, God, keeping the covenant and the mercy*, Neh. ix. 32.
24. *The great, the mighty, God, Jehovah of hosts*, Jer. xxii. 18.
25. *Great and terrible God*, Deut. vii. 21.
26. *Great God*, Ps. lxxvii. 14, xc. 3.
27. *Merciful God*, Deut. iv. 31.
28. *Righteous God*, Isa. xlv. 21.
29. *Jealous God*, Ex. xx. 5, xxxiv. 14, Deut. iv. 24, v. 9, vi. 15, Josh. xxiv. 19.
30. *God, jealous and vengeful*, Nah. i. 2.
31. *Merciful and gracious God*, Ex. xxxiv. 6, Ps. lxxxvi. 15.
32. *Gracious and merciful God*, Neh. ix. 31.
33. *The holy God*, Isa. v. 16.
34. *Other God*, Ex. xxxiv. 14.
35. *Living God*, Josh. iii. 10, Hos. ii. 1, Ps. xlii. 3, lxxxiv. 3.
36. *The trustworthy, covenant-keeping, God*, Deut. vii. 9.

37. *The God of truth* (אֱמֶת), Ps. xxxi. 6.
38. *The God of truth* (אֱמוּנָה), Deut. xxxii. 4.
39. *The God of knowledge*, 1 Sam. ii. 3.
40. *The God of eternity* (עוֹלָם), Gen. xxi. 33.
41. *The God of righteousness*, Isa. lxi. 3.
42. *God of recompenses*, Jer. li. 56.
43. *God of salvation* (יְשׁוּעָה), Isa. xii. 2.
44. *God of salvation* (לְמוֹשָׁעוֹת), Ps. lxxviii. 21.
45. *Savior-God*, Ps. cvi. 21.
46. *God of vengeance*, Ps. xciv. 1.
47. *God, that avengeth me*, Ps. xviii. 48, 2 Sam. xxii. 48.
48. *God, who appeared to me*, Gen. xxxv. 1.
49. *God, whose way is perfect*, Ps. xviii. 31, 2 Sam. xxii. 31.
50. *God, who answered me*, Gen. xxxv. 3.
51. *God, doing wonders*, Ps. lxxvii. 15.
52. *God, who formed thee*, Deut. xxxii. 18.

VI. COMPOUNDS WITH SABAOTH

See especially under *Jehovah of Hosts* (I.24ff.); also under II. 6, 7, III. 38, V. 24.

C. OTHER WORDS SOMETIMES USED FOR, OR WITH, GOD, OR JEHOVAH.

I. SPIRIT

1. *Spirit* (רוּחַ) of God, Gen. i. 2, xli. 38, Ex. xxxi. 3, xxxv. 31, Num. xxiv. 2, 1 Sam. x. 10, xi. 6, xvi. 15, 16, 23, xviii. 10, xix. 20, 2 Chr. xv. 1, xviii. 23, xx. 14.
2. *Spirit of Jehovah*, Jud. iii. 10, vi. 34, xi. 29, xiii. 25, xiv. 6, 19, xv. 14, 1 Sam. x. 6, xvi. 13, 14, xix. 9, 2 Sam. xxiii. 2, 1 Ki. xviii. 20, xxii. 24, Isa. xi. 2, xl. 7, 13, lix. 19, lxiii. 14, Ezek. xi. 5, xxxvii. 1, Hosea xiii. 15, Mi. ii. 7, iii. 8.
3. *Spirit of Lord, Jehovah*, Isa. lxi. 1.
4. *Holy Spirit*, Isa. lxiii. 10, 11.

II. SOUL

1. *Soul* (נֶפֶשׁ), Lev. xxvi. 11, 30, Isa. i. 14, Jer. v. 9, 29, ix. 9, xii. 7, xv. 1, Zech. xi. 8.

III. HOLY ONE

1. *The Holy One*, Job. vi. 10, Isa. x. 17, Hab. i. 12, iii. 3, Prov. xxx. 4 (קִדְּשִׁים).
2. *The Holy One of Israel*, 2 Kings xix. 22, Isa. i. 4, v. 19, 24, xii. 6, xvii. 7, xxix. 19, xxx. 11, 12, xxxi. 1, xxxvii. 23, xli. 16, 20, xlix. 7, liv. 15, lv. 5, lx. 9, 14, Ps. lxxi. 22, lxxviii. 41, lxxxix. 19.
3. *The Holy One of Jacob*, Isa. xxix. 23.
4. *The Holy God* (אֵל), Isa. v. 26.
5. *Jehovah, the Holy God*, 1 Sam. vi. 20.
6. *Lord, Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel*, Isa. xxx. 15.

7. *Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel*, Isa. xli. 4.
See also under "Name" (vi. 4, 15.)

IV. MIGHTY ONE

1. *The mighty One of Jacob*, Gen. xlix. 24, Ps. cxxxii. 2, 5.
2. *The mighty One of Israel*, Isa. i. 24.
3. *Thy Redeemer, the mighty One of Israel*, Isa. xlix. 26, lx. 16.

V. FACE

1. *The face of Jehovah*, Ex. xxxiv. 24, 1 Sam. xiii. 12, xxvi. 20, 2 Sam. xxi. 1, 1 Ki. xiii. 6, 2 Ki. xiii. 4, 2 Chr. xxxiii. 12, Job i. 12, ii. 7, Ps. xxxiv. 17, Jer. xxvi. 19, Dan. ix. 13, Zech. vii. 2, viii. 21, 22.
2. *The face of God*, Ps. xlii. 3 (אלהים), Mal. i. 9 (לא).
3. *The face of the Most High*, Lam. iii. 35.
4. *My (thy) face*, Ex. xx. 3, xxiii. 15, xxxiii. 14, 15, 20, 23, xxxiv. 20, Lev. xvii. 10, xx. 3, 5, 6, xxvi. 17, Deut. v. 7, xxxi. 17, 18, xxxii. 20, 2 Chr. vii. 14, 20, Ps. iv. 7, xiii. 2, xvi. 11, xxvii. 8, Isa. i. 12, l. 6, 7, liv. 8, lxxv. 3, Jer. vii. 15, xv. 1, xxi. 10, xxiii. 39, xxxii. 31, xxxiii. 5, xliv. 11, Ezek. vii. 22, xiv. 8, xv. 7bis, xxxix. 23, 24, 29, Hos. v. 15, vii. 2.

VI. NAME

1. *Name of Jehovah*, Gen. xvi. 13, Deut. xxviii. 10, xxxii. 3, Job i. 21, Joel ii. 26, Mi. v. 3, Pro. xviii. 10, Isa. xxx. 27, lvi. 6, lix. 19, Ps. cii. 16, 22, cxiii. 1, 2, 3, cxxxv. 1, cxlviii. 5, 13.
2. *Name of Jehovah, thy God*, Ex. xx. 7, Lev. xxiv. 16, Deut. v. 11.
3. *Name of thy (your, etc.) God*, Lev. xviii. 21, xix. 12, xxi. 6, Ps. xlv. 11, Pro. xxx. 9.
4. *Holy Name*, Lev. xx. 3, xxii. 2, 32, Ps. ciii. 1, cxlv. 21, Ezek. xx. 39, xxxvi. 20, 21, xxxix. 7bis, xliii. 8, Amos ii. 7.
5. *The name, my name, etc.*, Gen. xxxii. 30, Lev. xxiv. 11, 16, Jud. xiii. 18, 2 Sam. vii. 13, 1 Kings v. 19, viii. 18, 19, ix. 7, 1 Chr. xxii. 8, 10, xxviii. 3, 2 Chr. vi. 8, 9, vii. 20, Mal. i. 11, ii. 2.
6. *The name, the name of Jehovah*, 1 Sa. vi. 2.
7. *The glorious name*, Neh. ix. 5, Ps. lxxii. 19, Deut. xxviii. 58.
8. *The name of Jehovah, Most High*, Ps. vii. 18.
9. *The name of Jehovah of hosts*, Isa. xviii. 7.
10. *The name of Jehovah, God of Israel*, Isa. xxiv. 15.
11. *The name of the God of Jacob*, Ps. xx. 2. (Cf. *The name of other gods*, Ex. xxiii. 13.
12. *In the name of Jehovah*, Gen. iv. 26, xii. 8, xiii. 4, xxi. 23, xxvi. 25, Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 5, Deut. xviii. 5, 22, xxi. 5, 1 Sam. xvii. 45, xx. 42, 2 Sam. vi. 18, 1 Ki. xviii. 24, 32, xxii. 16, 2 Ki. ii. 24, 1 Chr. xvi. 2, xxi. 19, 2 Chr. xviii. 15, Ps. cxvi. 4, 13, 17, cxviii. 10, 11, 12, 26, cxxiv. 8, cxxix. 8, Isa. xlviii. 1, l. 10, Jer. xi. 21, xxvi. 9, 20, xlv. 16, Joel iii. 5, Am. vi. 10, Mi. iv. 5, Zeph. iii. 9, 12, Zech. xiii. 4.
13. *In the name of Jehovah, (his) God*, Deut. xviii. 7, Jer. xxvi. 16, Josh. xxiii. 7, Ex. vi. 3 (?), 2 Kings v. 11, Ps. xx. 8.
14. *In the name of (your) God*, 1 Ki. xviii. 24, 25, Mi. iv. 5, Ps. xx.

6. (*Cf. In the name of other gods*, Deut. xviii. 20. *In the name of Baal*, 1 Ki. xviii. 26.)

15. *In his holy name*, 1 Chr. xvi. 10, Ps. xxxiii. 21, cv. 3.

16. *In the name of Jehovah, God of Israel*, 2 Chr. xxxiii. 18.

17. *In (my) name Jehovah liveth*, Jer. xii. 16.

18. *To the name of Jehovah*, 1 Ki. iii. 2, v. 17, 19, x. 1, 1 Chr. xxii. 7, 19, 2 Chr. i. 18, Ps. cxxii. 4, Jer. iii. 17.

19. *To the name of Jehovah, God of Israel*, 1 Ki. viii. 17, 20, 2 Chr. vi. 7, 10.

20. *To the name of Jehovah, (my) God*, 2 Chr. ii. 3, Isa. lx. 9.

21. *To (thy) holy name*, 1 Chr. xvi. 35, xxix. 16, Ps. xvi. 47, Ezek. xxxvi. 22, xxxix. 25.

22. *In (my, thy) name*, Ex. v. 23, Lev. xix. 12, Deut. xviii. 19, 20, Isa. xli. 25, xliii. 7, lxiv. 6, lxxv. 1, Jer. xii. 16 (?), xiv. 14, xv. 23, 25, xxvii. 15, xxix. 9, 21, 23, x. 25, Zech. v. 4, xiii. 9, Dan. ix. 6, Ps. lxxxix. 25, lxxx. 19, xlvi. 11, 2 Chr. xiv. 10.

23. *By my great name*, Jer. xlv. 26.

24. *To (my, thy) name*, Gen. xxxii. 20, Jud. xiii. 18, 2 Sam. vii. 13, xxii. 50, 1 Ki. v. 19, viii. 18, 19, 44, 48, ix. 7, 1 Chr. xxii. 8, 10, xxviii. 3, 2 Chr. vi. 8, 9, 34, 38, vii. 20, ix. 7, xx. 8, Mal. i. 11, ii. 2, Ps. xviii. 50, lxxxvi. 9, cxv. 1, cxl. 14.

25. *To thy great name*, Josh. vii. 9.

26. *To thy name, Most High*, Ps. xcii. 2.

27. *As thy name, O God*, Ps. xlviii. 11.

VII. ANGEL

1. *Angel of Jehovah*, Gen. xvi. 7, 9, 10, 11, xxii. 11, 15, Ex. iii. 2, Num. xxii. 22, 23, 24, 26, 31, 32, 34, 35, xxv. 27, Jud. ii. 1, 4, v. 23, vi. 11, 12, 20, 21bis, 22bis, xiii. 3, 13, 15, 16bis, 17, 18, 20, 21, 1 Ki. xix. 7, 2 Ki. i. 15, xix. 35, 1 Chr. xxi. 16, xxi. 30, Ps. liv. 8, Isa. xxxvii. 36, Hag. i. 13, Zach. i. 11, 12, iii. 1, 6, xii. 8.

2. *Angel of Jehovah of hosts*, Mal. ii. 7.

3. *My (his) angel*, Gen. xiv. 7, 40, Ex. xxiii. 23, 32, 34, Mal. iii. 1.

VIII. HEAVEN⁷

1. *Heaven* (used as title of God), Dan. iv. 31(?), Syb. Or. 247, 1 Macc. iii. 18, 19, iv. 24(?), xiii. 3, 2 Macc. vii. 11, ix. 20, Sus. 9, Pirke Ab. i. 3, iv. 14bis, v. 20ter, Matt. xxi. 25, Mk. viii. 11, xi. 30, Lk. xi. 16, xv. 18, 21, xx. 4, 5, Jn. iii. 27, vi. 31, 32bis, Acts ix. 3, Rom. i. 18, 2 Thess. i. 7.

2. *God of Heaven*, Ps. cxxxvi. 26 (78), Neh. i. 4, ii. 4, 20, Ezra v. 11, 12, vi. 9, 10, vii. 12, 21, 23bis, Dan. ii. 18, 19, 37, 44, Ahikar (Arabic recension), vi. 26. Tobit vii. 12 (LXX.), viii. 15 (8), x. 11 (B). Book of Noah cvi. 5, Sib. Or. 174, 286, Jub. xii. 4, xx. 7, xxii. 19, Jud. v. 8, xi. 17, XII. Pat. Reuben 1, 3 Macc. vii. 6, Assump. Mos. ii. 4, Rev. xi. 13, xvi. 11.

⁷ In the case of this title the occurrences in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and in the New Testament are included for convenience.

3. *Heavenly God*, Sib Or. 19, 3, Bar. xi. 9.
4. *Heavenly Sovereign*, 2 Macc. xv. 23.
5. *God of heaven and earth*, XII Pat. Iss. 1.
6. *Jehovah, God Most High, possessor of heaven and earth*, Gen. xiv. 22.
7. *Lord of heaven*, Dan. v. 23, Book of Noah cvi. 2, 1 En. xiii. 4, Assump. Mos. iv. 4.
8. *Lord of heaven and earth*, Matt. xi. 25, Acts xvii. 18.
9. *The Lord, which made heaven and earth*, 1 Esd. vi. 13.
10. *Lord, King of heaven*, 3 Macc. ii. 2.
11. *Lord, God of heaven*, Judith vii. 19.
12. *Lord, God of heaven and earth*, XII Pat. Benj. 1, Gen. xxiv. 3, (Jehovah for Lord).
13. *Jehovah, the God of the heavens*, Gen. xxiv. 7, Jon. i. 9, (*which hath made the sea and the dry land*) 2 Chr. xxxvi. 23, Ezra i. 2, Neh. i. 5.
14. *King of heaven*, Dan. iv. 34, Tob. xiii. 7, 11, 16, 1 Esd. iv. 46, 58, XII Pat. Benj. 1.
15. *Heavenly One*, Assump. Mos. x. 3.
16. *Creator of Heaven and earth*, Ahikar (Arabic recension) i. 5, Syb. Or. 786.
17. *Name of heaven*, Pirke Aboth i. 11, ii. 2, 16, iv. 5.
18. *Father, who is in heaven*, Pirke Aboth v. 23.
19. *Kingdom of heaven*, Matt. *passim*.

D. REMARKS AND CONCLUSIONS

In the lists which have been published above and in the number of the Review for October and January last have been assembled and enumerated all the designations of the Deity occurring in Jewish and Christian literature (excepting the New Testament, Philo, and Josephus) down to the year 135 A.D. and also the words for Lord and God in the Koran, making altogether about 15,000 instances. We shall give at this time but a few of the many uses which may be made of these lists in determining the age and authorship, the genuineness and composition of the documents in which the designations occur. Other discussions are left for a future occasion.

I. ELOHIM IN THE PSALMS

Dr. Driver says that "the exceptional preponderance of Elohim over Jehovah in Book II [of the Psalter] (Ps. xlii.-lxxii.) and in Ps. lxxiii.-lxxxiii., cannot be attributed to a

preference of the authors of these Psalms for the former name; not only is such a supposition improbable in itself, but it is precluded by the occurrence of the *same two* Psalms, in the double recension just spoken of, once with *Jehovah* (Ps. xiv., xl. 13-17) and once with *Elohim* (Ps. liii., lxx.): it must be due to the fact that Book II and Ps. lxxiii. to lxxxiii. have passed through the hands of a compiler who *changed* 'Jehovah' of the original author to 'Elohim.' The reason of this change probably is that at the time when this compiler lived there was a current preference for the latter name (compare the exclusive use of the same name in Ecclesiastes and the preference shown for it by the Chronicler)."⁸

In view of the fact that the author of Ecclesiastes uses Elohim 40 times and Jehovah never, that the author of Gen. i-ii. 3 uses Elohim 20 times and Jehovah never; that the author of the Letter of Aristaeus uses God 105 times and Lord but once; that 4 Maccabees uses God 40 times and Lord never; that the third Book of the Sibylline Oracles uses God 41 times and Lord never; and that Tobit, Esdras, Judith, 1, 2 and 3 Maccabees, and 4 Enoch, never use Jehovah, and especially in view of the fact that E (according to the critics) always uses Elohim and P always up to Ex. vi. 3, it is strange that a critic should say that a preference for Elohim over Jehovah cannot be attributed to the author of the Elohist psalms or that such a preference "is improbable in itself." Anyone who claims that the E document of the Hexateuch used only Elohim and the J document only Jehovah must admit that there may have been psalmists living in the same time as the author of J and E who used only Elohim or Jehovah.

As far as Psalms xiv. and liii. are concerned there is more evidence in the Mss. and versions that Elohim was changed by scribes to Jehovah than contrariwise.⁹ That late writers

⁸ LOT, p. 371 f.

⁹ Thus, for the four Jehovahs in Ps. xiv. two Mss. give Elohim in vs. 4 and one in vs. 7, whereas for the Elohim in Ps. liii. thirteen Mss. give Jehovah in vs. 5, one in vs. 6a and one in 6b, and eight

may have preferred Lord to God is abundantly shown by the following table:

	Esd.	Sira (LXX)	Azariah	5 Enoch	Odes of Sol	Baruch (LXX)
<i>Lord</i>	95	194	43	37	93	32
<i>God</i>	16	11	2	1	11	3

That other late writers preferred God to Lord we have shown above. That others may have preferred to use both is clear from the following table:

		XII	Susannah	Psalms	Assump.		
	Jub.	Patr.	(LXX) (Theod.)	of Sol.	1 Bar. of Moses		
<i>Lord</i>	184	229	98	83	105	25	19
<i>God</i>	73	124	77	99	112	29	15

That some writers used neither Elohim nor Jehovah is shown by Esther, the Song of Songs, Judith, 1, 2, 3 Mac-cabees and the Zadokite Fragments. Any "current preference" for either name from the earliest literary period of the critics own devising (850-700 B.C.) down to 135 A.D. is, therefore, ruled out of the evidence. *Individual* preferences there were, but *current* not. The Chronicler does not show such a preference as Dr. Driver claimed that he did. We shall discuss elsewhere in this article the passages in Chronicles which are parallel to Samuel-Kings. A comparison between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings in both the parallel and non-parallel passages gives the following results. In the parallel passages Elohim occurs in Chronicles 80 times and Jehovah 220, whereas in Samuel-Kings Elohim occurs 31 times and Jehovah 302 times; but in the non-parallel passages of Chronicles, Elohim occurs 6 times and Jehovah 327 times, whereas in Samuel-Kings, Elohim occurs 97 times and Jehovah 383 times. When we remember that nearly all (all but 4 or 6) of the changes from the Jehovah of Samuel-Kings are not into Elohim but into

Mss. in vs. 7. The Targum to xiv. gives "not merely for Jehovah but also for the Elohim of vs. 5 and in lxii. for the Elohim of vss. 3, 5, 6b. and 7. The Syriac always has Lord in xiv. and also in liii. 7. The LXX agrees with the Hebrew *textus receptus* except in liii. 7 where it has Lord for God. The Latin always has *Dominus* in xiv. and also in liii. 5, 6b. and 7.

Ha-Elohim the assumption of numerous, or consistent, preferential changes on the part of the compiler of Chronicles (or even of a copier) is rendered the more absurd.

In view, then, of all the above evidence it would seem best to postpone an attempt to account on subjective grounds for the alleged wholesale changes in Books II and III of the Psalter from Jehovah to Elohim until it shall be proven by sufficient objective evidence such as manuscripts and versions that such changes were made.

II. ELOHIM IN CHRONICLES

Dr. Driver says¹⁰ that "the compiler of Chronicles in the non-parallel parts evinces a preference for Elohim as over against Jehovah."¹¹ An enumeration of the times that each occurs shows that in the non-parallel parts of 1 Chronicles Jehovah is found 115 times to 34 times for Elohim and in 2 Chronicles, Jehovah 212 times to 35 for Elohim, or in both together Jehovah 327 times to 69 times for Elohim. That this shows no preference on the part of the Chronicler for the use of Elohim is manifest when we note that the proportions in the non-parallel parts of 2 Samuel are 87 to 17, of 1 Kings 148 to 40 and of 2 Kings 148 to 42; or in all three books together, of 383 to 99. That is the percentage of the occurrences of Jehovah in the non-parallel passages of 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings is 79.3 as against 82.6 in Chronicles and of Elohim 20.7 to 17.3.

In the passages of Chronicles that are parallel to passages in Samuel and Kings, there are only four cases where Elohim is used in Chronicles where Jehovah appears in Samuel-Kings, to wit: 1 Chr. xvii. 3=2 Sam. vii. 4, 2 Chr. i. 7=1 Ki. iii. 5, 2 Chr. xxxiii. 7=2 Ki. xxi. 7, and 2 Chr. xxxiv. 27=2 Ki. xxii. 19.¹² In fifteen other cases

¹⁰ LOT p. 21, Note.

¹¹ So also Cheyne (*Bampton Lectures* p. 298): "The compiler of Chronicles, though he frequently uses Jehovah, shows a tendency to prefer Elohim."

¹² In 1 Chr. xiv. 9, 13=2 Sa. v. 19, 23, Chronicles has כְּאֱלֹהִים for Jehovah. If the preposition is read as *bē* there would be two more cases of change to Elohim: if *ba*, as in Ps. lxxxvi. 8, there would be two more cases of change to Hā-Elohim.

Chronicles has "the God" (האלהים) for Jehovah¹³ and twice Chronicles has Jehovah where Samuel-Kings has "the God."¹⁴

Now, Jehovah is frequently said to be "the God," "the only God" as in Deut. iv. 35, 39, vii. 9, Jos. xxii. 34, 2 Sam. vii. 28, 1 Ki. viii. 60, xviii. 21, 37, 39*bis*, 2 Ki. xix. 15, Isa. xxxvii. 16, xlv. 18, 1 Chr. xvii. 26. Except the last of these places, these instances are all in documents written before 550 B.C.; and the last is from the Chronicler himself. Are the critics going to maintain that there is no distinction between *Elohim* and *Hā-Elohim*? Should they not at least have informed their readers that in fifteen cases the Chronicler uses *Hā-Elohim* instead of the Jehovah of Samuel-Kings; whereas in only four cases has he *Elohim*? Jehovah is an *Elohim* and is frequently so called; but he alone is *the Elohim*, and the only *Elohim* is Jehovah.

That from their conclusions the critics can take no refuge in the Mss. and versions will appear from the following collation.¹⁵

For האלהים we find the following variations:

	Greek.	Syriac.	Latin.	Hebrew Mss.
1 Chr. xvii. 2	θεος	—	Deus.	Elohim, 1 Ms.
1 Chr. xiii. 8	ο θεος	כריא	"	Jehovah, 1 Ms.
xiii. 12a	" "	"	"	" 1 Ms.
12b	" "	"	"	No variants
14	" "	"	"	" "
xiv. 11	—	"	"	Elohim, 2 Ms.
14	ο θεος	—	"	No variants
15	" "	כריא	"	" "
16	" "	"	"	Elohim, 1 Ms.
xxi. 8	" "	"	"	No variants
15	" "	"	—	{ Elohim, 1 Ms. Jehovah, 1 Ms.
17a	" "	"	Deus.	No variants

¹³ To wit, 1 Chr. xiii. 8=2 Sam. vi. 5, 1 Chr. xiii. 12*bis*. 14=2 Sam. vi. 9*bis*, 10, 1 Chr. xiv. 11, 14, 15=2 Sam. v. 20, 24, 25, 1 Chr. xvii. 2=2 Sa. vii. 3, 1 Chr. xxi. 8, 15, 17a=2 Sam. xxiv. 10a, 15, 17a, 2 Chr. x. 15=1 Ki. xii. 15, 2 Chr. xxii. 12=2 Ki. xi. 2, 2 Chr. xxiii. 9=2 Ki. xi. 10, 2 Chr. xxv. 24=2 Ki. xiv. 14.

¹⁴ In 1 Chr. xvii. 1=2 Sam. vii. 2, and 2 Chr. xi. 2=1 Ki. xii. 22.

¹⁵ The Hebrew collations are from Kennicott, the Greek from Swete, the others from Walton.

2 Chr. x.	15	ὁ θεός	טריא	Deus.	No variants
xxii.	12	" "	"	"	Jehovah, the God, 1 Ms.
xxiii.	9	" "	"	Dominus	No variants
xxv.	24	κύριος	"	Deus	Jehovah, 1 Ms.

For אלהים we find the following variations:

1 Chr. xvii.	3	κύριος	—	Deus	Hā-Elohim, 1 Ms.
2 Chr. i.	7	ὁ θεός	טריא	Dominus	Hā-Elohim, 1 Ms.
xxxiii.	7	" "	"	"	{ Hā-Elohim, 1 Ms. Omits entirely, 1 Ms.
xxxiv.	27	μου	"	"	{ Hā-Elohim, 3 Ms. Omits entirely, 1 Ms.

III. "THE GOD OF THE PSALTER"

A large part of Prof. Cheyne's Bampton Lectures for 1889 on the *Origin and Growth of the Psalter*, is taken up with a discussion of the names and titles of the deity. Lecture six is on the subject: *Who is the God of the Psalter?* He states it as his opinion that the "Elohistic phraseology" (*sic!*) of the psalms of Books II and III is often due to the editors of these books,¹⁶ and that it is our duty to enter into the feelings of those who in certain passages changed 'Jahveh' (Jehovah) into 'Elohim' (God) and of those who afterwards by degrees substituted 'Adonai' (the Lord) for 'Yahveh.'¹⁷ He calls attention to "the fact that certain books (Job, Koheleth, Esther, Daniel) almost or altogether avoid the word Jehovah,"¹⁸ and speaks of the frequent change of Jahveh into Elohim in the Levitical psalms.

Since Profs. Cheyne, Driver, *et al*, claim that this use of Elohim instead of Jehovah is a proof of the lateness of the psalms in which Elohim occurs, what becomes of their theory that E (the Elohistic document) is the earliest part of the Hexateuch and probably of the whole Old Testament? Again, if the editors of the second and third Books of the Psalms changed Jehovah to Elohim for subjective reasons, why may not the author, or editor, of P have changed Jehovah to Elohim in Gen. i. and elsewhere?

¹⁶ P. 90.

¹⁷ P. 287.

¹⁸ *Id.*

Again, why does Haggai have Jehovah 28 times and never Elohim? Why does Zechariah have Jehovah 143 times and Elohim only once? Why does Malachi have Jehovah 46 times and Elohim but once? Why does he appeal to Job as evidence, a book that has Jehovah 32 times and Elohim only 16? Why does Chronicles have Jehovah 547 times and Elohim only 120 times, or Ezra Jehovah 57 times and Elohim but 13? And why does the Greek of Ecclesiasticus written in 180 B.C. have Lord 214 times and God only 11 and the Hebrew "י" (i.e. Jehovah) 53 times and Elohim only 22? And why does Pirke Aboth use Jehovah 8 times and Elohim but 4?

IV. ADONAY FOR JEHOVAH

Prof. Cheyne says not merely that *Jehovah* was changed into *Elohim*, but that afterwards *Adonay* was substituted for Jehovah (p. 287). If by this substitution he meant merely that the Jews of post-prophetic times came to *read* Adonay for a *written* Jehovah, he is right. But, if he means that the scribes wilfully changed a *written* Jehovah into a *written* Adonay, where are his proofs? He gives none, and there are none to give. That Prof. Cheyne thought that the presence of Adonay in a document was a proof of lateness is manifest from the fact that he says that "Ps. ii. is post-Davidic because of אֲדֹנָי which belongs to the prophetic literature";¹⁹ and that if אֲדֹנָי in Ps. xvi. "means 'the Lord' (absolutely),"²⁰ as Delitzsch assumes, the Psalm is post-Davidic, if not post-exilic."²¹

אֲדֹנָי is found eight times in J, twice in E, four times in JE, twice in Judges, four times in Kings, once in Job, twenty times in Isa. I, once in Isa. II, four times in Ezek., twelve times in Daniel, four times in Amos, twice in Micah, and once each in Zech. and Mal., fourteen times in Lam.; and in the Psalms 12 times in Book I, 14 in Book II, 14 in

¹⁹ *Bampton Lectures*, p. 463.

²⁰ By "absolutely," Prof. Cheyne means "the Lord" rather than "my Lord."

²¹ *Id.*, p. 465.

Book III (9 of them in Ps. lxxxvi.) once in Book IV, and four times in Book V, *i.e.*, 80 times outside the Psalter and 45 times in it.

In Num. xiv. 17 (JE), Gen. xviii. 27 (J), Exodus xxxiv. 9 (JE), 1 Ki. iii. 10, xiii. 4, 2 Ki. vii. 6, xix. 23, Job xxviii. 28, Isa. iii. 17, 18, iv. 4, vi. 1, 8, vii. 14, 20, ix. 7, 16, x. 12, xi. 11, xxi. 6, 16, xxviii. 2, xxix. 13, xxx. 20, xxxvii. 24, xlix. 14, Lam. i. 14, 15 *bis*, ii. 1, 2, 5, 7, 18, 19, 20, iii. 31, 36, 37, 58, Am. vii. 7, 8, ix. 1, Mi. i. 2, Zech. ix. 4, Mal. i. 14 and Dan. i. 2 it is used to denote *the* Lord.²² Since Job and Lamentations are said by the critics to have been written in the sixth century B.C., JE, Isaiah, Amos, Micah, and Kings from 850 to 550 B.C., there remain only Zech. ix. 4 and Mal. i. 14 (without counting the one or two cases in the allegedly late book of Daniel) as post-exilic passages, the critics themselves being witness.²³

If no part of the Hexateuch, nor of Judges, Samuel or Kings, nor of Isaiah, Amos, or Micah, was written before 850 B.C., it is obvious that these works can not witness directly to the use of this term in a document alleged to have been written about 1000 B.C. On the other hand, it is equally obvious that a term that never occurs in *Ecclesiasticus*, the *Pirke Aboth*, nor the *Zadokite Fragments* and but twice in other post-exilic documents cannot be used as evidence for the post-exilic, or even the Maccabean date, of Daniel and of the Psalms in which it occurs. Since JE, Amos, Micah, and Isaiah, all use Jehovah, Elohim, and Adonay, it is probable that David may have used any one or all of these names, or letters, to denote the deity.

What becomes, then, of the implication that the presence of *Adonay* indicates the lateness of a psalm? For while it is true that many of the Hebrew Mss. give the reading Jehovah instead of Adonay, it is not true that Elohim as a variant of Adonay is often found in them; and the argument of Prof. Cheyne is that the psalms of the second

²² The only possible exceptions to this statement are Gen. xviii. 27 and Ex. xxxiv. 9.

²³ LOT, pp. 350, 357, 432, 465, 123, 316, 328, 198, and 206-246.

and third books are post-exilic *because* they contain Elohim and other terms instead of Jehovah. By as much, therefore, as you increase the proportion of Jehovah in the original copies by so much do you weaken any possible argument for their lateness based on the use of other terms.

V. SHADDAI

Mr. Carpenter says²⁴ that "the real key to the Pentateuch may be said to be in Ex. vi. 2-8. In revealing himself as the Lord [Jehovah], God affirms that he had not been known *by that name* to the forefathers of Israel; but he had appeared to them as El Shaddai. On the basis of these words it would be reasonable to look for traces in Genesis of divine manifestations to the patriarchs under the *title* El Shaddai, and their discovery would afford a presumption that they belonged to the same document [*i.e.*, that Ex. vi. 3 and the parts of Genesis containing divine manifestations under the title El Shaddai belonged to the same document]. On the other hand the occurrence of similar manifestations *in the character* of the Lord would directly contradict the express words of the text, and could not be ascribed to the same author. The distinction which Astruc adopted has thus the direct sanction of the Pentateuch itself."²⁵

1. Inasmuch as Astruc's distinction was based on Jehovah and Elohim, how would this distinction be sanctioned if it could be shown that some of the manifestations of Genesis are "under the title El Shaddai" and some "in the character of Jehovah"? In Genesis, there are only three passages referring to manifestations of the deity in which El Shaddai occurs. In the first, xvii. 1, it is *Jehovah* who appeared unto Abraham and said: "I am *El Shaddai* and I will do" so and so. In the second, xxxv. 7-11, *Elohim* appeared unto Abraham and said: "I am *El Shaddai* and I will do" so and so. In the third, xlviii. 3, Jacob says, *El Shaddai* appeared unto me and blessed me and said unto me I will do so and so. In Ex. vi. 2, 3, "*Elohim* spake

²⁴ In the *Oxford Hexateuch*, p. 33.

²⁵ See also Cheyne in *Bampton Lectures*, p. 84.

unto Moses and said unto him: I am *Jehovah* and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob as *El Shaddai* and as *Shemi Jehovah* I was not made known unto them."

2. If from the above evidence it appears that Elohim is *El Shaddai*, does it not appear, also, that *Jehovah* is *El Shaddai* and that Elohim is *Jehovah*? And does not P in Ex. vi. 2, 3 say expressly that Elohim said that he was *Jehovah* and that he, Elohim *Jehovah*, appeared unto the patriarchs as *El Shaddai*, a mighty God, thus asserting that Elohim, *Jehovah*, and *El Shaddai* were, in the opinion of the author of P, but the names, or titles, of the same person, or of the different attributes, or aspects,²⁶ or relations, of the same God? Again, if the author of P had meant to state in Ex. vi. 2, 3 that God appeared to the patriarchs under the name *El Shaddai*, how does it come that in one of the texts of P where *El Shaddai* is mentioned (Gen. xvii. 1) it is said that *Jehovah* appeared, in another (Gen. xviii. 1) that Elohim appeared, and in only one (Gen. xlvi. 3) that *El Shaddai* appeared? If the critics answer by asserting that *Jehovah* of Gen. xvii. 1 and xxxv. 11 should be changed to *El Shaddai*, the response is that there is just as much evidence for changing the *El Shaddai* of Gen. xlvi. 3 to Elohim or *Jehovah*, or for changing the Elohim of Gen. xxxv. 11 and the *El Shaddai* of xlvi. 3 to *Jehovah*,—that is, no evidence whatever. Further, if the author of P meant that *El Shaddai* was the appellation of the deity known to the patriarchs and that the name of *Jehovah* was first made known to Moses, why does the name *El Shaddai* appear only five times in P up to Ex. vi. 3?

3. If *El Shaddai* was considered by him to be the name of God known to the patriarchs, why does the author of P use Elohim 85 times before Ex. vi. 3, and *El Shaddai* only five times?

4. By what principle, or analogy, of syntax, or language, do the critics render the preposition *beth* by "as" in the

²⁶ LOT, p. 13.

first part of Ex. vi. 3 and supply a "by" in the second part of the same verse? Or, if they tacitly supply שם in the first part of the verse in order to get "under the title El Shaddai," why do they not keep this phrase "under the title" before Jehovah in the second part of the verse, instead of changing it to "in the character of"?

5. Why does Mr. Carpenter not state that he has changed שמי to שם (or at least, used them as equivalents) when he speaks of "the character of the Lord"?²⁷

6. And why in such an important text does he not make a suggestion at least that the primary versions, the Greek, the Syriac, and the Targum of Jonathan, all favor a different text from that presented by our Hebrew textus receptus? The Septuagint has "I am *Kurios*, and I appeared to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob as their God and my name *Kurios* (Lord) I manifested not to them." The Latin Vulgate has "I am Dominus (Lord) who appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as (in) God omnipotent: and my name Adonai I did not make known (*indicavi*) to them." The Targum of Onkelos reads: "I am Jehovah (יהוה) and I was revealed to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, as El Shaddai; and my name (שמי) I did not make known to them." The Syriac renders: "I am the Lord (*Moryo'*) and I was revealed to Abraham and to Isaac and Jacob as (*b'*) *il Shaddai Aloho'* and the name of the Lord (*Moryo'*) I showed them not." The Arabic of Saadya has: "I am the God who has named myself to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob as (*b*) the Mighty, the Sufficient, and my name *Allahu*." The Samaritan text and version and Kennicott's

²⁷ One might maintain that שמי was a form of the construct of שם with the paragogic Yodh appended as in בני and numerous other examples (*Ges. Heb. Gram.* Cowley's translation) or even that the original writing had been שמי which had afterwards been written out as שמי יהוה instead of the more proper שם יהוה . Or, the whole sentence "my name is Jehovah" might be treated as a genitival nominal sentence (i.e., a sentence used as a noun in the genitive) after the supplied preposition "beth." In this case, Mr. Carpenter would at least be justified in his translations by syntax, and analogously by textual criticism, provided that he rendered *beth* in both clauses by the same word or phrase.

Hebrew Mss. agree substantially with the Hebrew. The Greek uncials all have the same text. It will be seen that all the versions except the Samaritan agree with the Greek LXX in having read *הוֹדַעְתִּי* instead of *נִוְדַעְתִּי*; and that the Syriac took *שְׁמִי* to be a noun in the construct, or else read simply *שֵׁם*.

VI. ELYON

Speaking of Psalms xci. and xcii., Prof. Cheyne says²⁸ of the *עֲלִיּוֹן* (Most High) that is found in the first verse of each, that it is a mark of the late date of the Psalms. Outside of the Psalms, it occurs in Gen. xiv. 18, 19, 20, 22, Num. xxiv. 16, Deut. xxxii. 8, 2 Sam. xxii. 14, Isa. xiv. 14, Lam. iii. 35, 38. In the Psalms it occurs in vii. 18, ix. 3, xviii. 14, and xxi. 8 of Book I; xlv. 5, xlvii. 3, lvii. 3 of Book II; lxxvii. 11, lxxviii. 17, 35, 56, lxxxii. 6, lxxxv. 19, lxxxvii. 5, lxxxix. 28 of Book III; xci. 1, xcii. 2, xcvi. 9 of Book IV; and in cvii. 11 of Book V. In the Aramaic portion of Daniel its equivalent is found fourteen times. In the Apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature²⁹ it occurs as follows:

	Tobit.	1 Esd.	Noah	Sir.	2 En.	Sib.	Jub.	Jud. XII	Pat.
<i>Most High</i>	2	0	3	19	2	2	2	0	18
<i>Most High God</i> . 1*		3	0	9	0	1	21	1	1

	3 En.	2 Mac.	Add. to Est.	6 En.	3 Mac.	Wisd.	Assump. Moses	Zad.
<i>Most High</i>	1	1	0	9	1	1	1	1
<i>Most High God</i> . 0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0

	Odes Sol.	2 Bar.	Sal. Ap.	Ezra Ap.	Eagle Vis.	S. of M. Vis.	Ezra Piece	Tot'l
<i>Most High</i>	23	25	46	7	9	6	2	181
<i>Most High God</i> . 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40

* Syriac version.

²⁸ *Bampton Lectures*, p. 73.

²⁹ In the New Testament "The Most High God" occurs only in Mark v. 7, Heb. vii. 7 (a citation from Gen. xiv. 18) and in Luke viii. 28 and Acts xvi. 17. "The Most High" is found only in Luke's works. Luke i. 32, 35, 36, vi. 35, Acts vii. 48.

It will be observed that whereas **עליא** is employed ten times in the Aramaic portion of Daniel, the Hebrew word **עליין** is not found at all in the Hebrew portion. It should be observed, further, that in iii. 26, 32, iv. 14, 21, 22, 29, 31, v. 18, 21, (that is, in all cases except vii. 25 where **עליא** occurs) it is used either by, to, or of, Nebuchadnezzar. This is especially significant in view of the fact that Nebuchadnezzar uses the corresponding Babylonian word *širu* of Ninmena, Ninkanak, Ninmak, Gula, Shamash, and Marduk. He uses also *šaku* "High" of Marduk as does Nabunaid.³⁰ These gods all were *high* but the God of Daniel was *The High*, or (since an adjective in the Aramaic is made superlative by the article)³¹ "the Most High."

The word **עליינין** of Dan. vii. 18, 22, 25, 27 is found nowhere else either in Aramaic, nor (in its plural form) in Hebrew. The phrase "saints of the Most High" does not occur in the Apocryphal or Pseudepigraphical literature except in the Zad. Frag. ix. 33,³² written about 40 A.D.; nor is it found in either Old Testament or New Testament.

The use, therefore, of **עליינין** by Daniel is unique and that of **עליא** is appropriate to his surroundings at Babylon.³³

But, aside from these convincing facts, one may be pardoned for asking the critics what titles for God a writer of Aramaic in the sixth century B.C. might have used that would be more appropriate than **עליא**. *Jehovah* is never found in any Aramaic dialect nor is *El* nor *Adonay* nor *Elohim* nor *Shaddai* though Daniel employs all of these, except the last, in the Hebrew portions of the book. His

³⁰Zehnpfund-Langdon: *Neubab. Königsinschriften*, pp. 67, 77, 84, 102, 108, 112, 156, 234.

³¹See Duval: *Grammaire Syriacque*, p. 346.

³²Page 20, line 8 of the Hebrew text of Schechter, the Hebrew is **קדשי עליין**.

³³That **עליין** was used for God among the Phoenicians and Carthaginians appear from the use of **Ἐλιοῦν** by Philo Byblus (see Eusebius: *Praef.*, evang. 1:10) and of *Alonim Velonuth* by Plautus in the *Poen.* v. 1, 1; and also in the proper name Abdalonimus. (See Gesenius under **עליין**).

failure to use **יהוה** of God except in ii.47 (where Nebuchadnezzar uses it) and v. 23 (in addressing Belshazzar) probably shows that the use of Lord for Jehovah had not yet become the fashion, and argues in favor of the earlier date for the book.³⁴

VII. JAH

Prof. Cheyne states³⁵ that besides Ps. lxxviii. 5, 19 and Ex. xv. 2, xvii. 16, and Cant. viii. 6 **יה** occurs "forty-two times in Biblical passages which on various grounds are all most probably (I speak within bounds) either Exilic or post-Exilic. I base no argument on the infrequency of **יהוה** in Ps. lxxviii. (only vss. 17, 21) as compared with **אדני** (six times), as such phenomena may be due, or partly due, to the editor and the scribes."

That Adonay *may* have been inserted in the text instead of Jehovah for which it was read must be granted, just as it is granted in the case of any Kre; but this is very different from granting that the Kres *were* thus written into the text. It is a mere conjecture, or opinion, of Prof. Cheyne's; for there is no sufficient evidence in manuscripts to show that such an insertion of Adonay instead of Jehovah was ever made. Ecclesiasticus never has Adonay at all. Jehovah occurs alone in the Old Testament about 6500 times and Adonay only 126 times. Adonay occurs in 17 out of 39 books and Jehovah in 37. The following table shows the relative number of times in the 17 books in which both occur:

	Gen.	Ex.	Nu.	Josh.	Ju.	1 Ki.	2 Ki.	Isa.	Lam.
<i>Jehovah</i>	146	377	389	225	179	253	278	421	31
<i>Adonay</i>	7	6	1	1	2	2	2	22	14

	Ezek.	Dan.	Am.	Mi.	Zech.	Mal.	Ps.	Job.
<i>Jehovah</i>	193	7	59	37	143	46	664	32
<i>Adonay</i>	4	11	4	1	1	1	45	1

³⁴ The appropriateness of the use of Lord in connection with the kings of Babylon will be recognized by all who read the Babylonian inscriptions, where *Bel*, "Lord," frequently occurs.

³⁵ BL, p. 124.

That the presence of Adonay in a document does not argue for its lateness is evident from the fact that it occurs 14 times in JE and never in either D, H, or P; 21 times in the part of Isaiah admitted by Dr. Driver to be authentic and only once in the other parts of Isaiah; never in Jeremiah and only four times in Ezekiel; four times in Amos, once in Micah, and only once each in Zechariah and Malachi; twice each in Judges, 1 Kings and 2 Kings and never in Chronicles, Ezra, or Nehemiah; in the Psalter 12 times in Book I, 14 times in Book II, 14 times in Book III, and only 5 times in Books IV. and V. together.

VIII. THE NAME

Prof. Cheyne asserts³⁶ that in Lev. xxiv. 11 "a later scribe (surely not the original writer) sought by substituting יהוה for השם to avoid an unpleasant collocation. Possibly, too, he is responsible for the insertion of שם before יהוה in v. 16." He says, also, on the same page that "the Name" was used in the time of Sirach as a substitute for Jehovah, "since it was doubtless inexpedient to 'name the Holy One' frequently in conversation."

Are not these rather extravagant statements in view of the fact that the use of "the Name" to designate the deity is found only once out of nearly 4000 designations occurring in the twenty-nine books of Jewish literature outside the Old Testament?³⁷ This single example is met with in Pirke Aboth v. 11 and cannot be shown to be earlier than the second century A.D.

Besides, Pirke Aboth uses " eight times, Elohim four times, and El once, "the Name" being found but once out of forty-three designations of the deity. Sirach uses "" fifty-three times and "the Name" never.

IX. THE HOLY ONE

Prof. Cheyne tells us³⁸ that the Holy One was a common substitute for Jehovah in the time of Sirach and after.

³⁶ BL, p. 300.

³⁷ See the lists of titles of God in this REVIEW for January, 1920.

³⁸ BL, P. 300.

That קדוש might have been used frequently for the deity is admitted. It is thus used in Isa. x. 17, Hab. i. 12, iii. 3, Prov. xxx. 4, and Job vi. 10. In the Apocryphal and Pseudo-epigraphical literature it occurs twice in Ecclesiasticus, once each in 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6 Enoch, twice in Book III of the Sibylline Oracles, two or three times in 1 Baruch, and four times in Pirke Aboth, *i.e.*, 15 or 16 times out of nearly four thousand. In the Targum of Onkelos it is never used for God. In the New Testament it occurs only in 1 John ii. 20. So that, while it must be admitted that it might have been used commonly to designate the deity in place of Jehovah, the evidence for its ever having been so used would be restricted to Pirke Aboth where it occurs 4 times out of 43 designations of the deity, to wit, in iii. 1, 4, v. 6, 7. Not one of these verses can be shown to be earlier than the second century A.D.

X. HEAVEN

Prof. Cheyne says³⁹ that "heaven" as a substitute for Jehovah is "frequent in 1 Maccabees." This statement is made in a note illustrative of his argument that the psalms are post-exilic and many of them come from Maccabean times. He asserts that Yahweh was changed into Elohim and afterwards into Adonay⁴⁰ and that in Sirach's time (*i.e.* in the 2nd century B.C.) "substitutes like 'heaven,' or 'the name,' or 'the Holy One,' would generally meet every need" implied "in the name Jahweh."

It is certainly an exaggeration to say that "heaven" is a frequent designation of God in 1 Maccabees inasmuch as it is found in § A V and the Syriac only in iii. 19 and xvi. 3. In iii. 18 the Syriac reads "the inhabitant of heaven" and § V "the God of heaven."

Further, there is no more reason for saying that "heaven" is used for Jehovah than for Elohim or Eloah or Adonay, since neither Lord nor God occurs in 1 Maccabees. In xiv. 28 the Saramel (or Asaramel of § V) may possibly be

³⁹ BL, p. 300, Note.

⁴⁰ *Id.*, p. 287.

שַׂרְעִמְעָאֵל the prince of the people of God. In this case אֵל will have occurred once in the original Hebrew. It is worthy of note, however, that the Syriac renders this by Israel. Only one other designation of the deity is found in 1 Maccabees, *i.e.*, in iv. 30 where we find "the Savior of Israel."

"Heaven" is found twice in 2 Maccabees (written possibly about 100 B.C.), vii. 11 and ix. 20. In vii. 11, the Syriac has "inhabitant of the heavens" and in ix. 20 "God who is in heaven." Besides, the name occurs in Susannah vi. 9 and in the 3rd Sibylline Book, l. 247, and once in a pre-Christian saying of the Pirke Aboth.

That is, counting all cases, "heaven" occurs from four to nine times out of about 3000 designations of God occurring in the pre-Christian apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature of the Jews. In the Old Testament it occurs only in the Aramaic of Daniel in his address to Nebuchadnezzar in iv. 23, making one instance out of 94 to 98 designations of God in the Aramaic of Daniel, and one out of about 190 in the whole of Daniel, of which 123 are *Eloah* or *Elohim*.

Obviously, as a substitute, "heaven" did not often serve. Is it not extraordinary, to say the least, that it was never thus substituted in "P" or Ecclesiastes, or Joel, or Jonah, or especially in the Maccabean psalms? Is it not remarkable, also, that it is not substituted in the LXX., or in the Targums, or in the Peshitto and Latin Vulgate? And finally, what proof is there that the writers who employed it used it for Jehovah rather than for Elohim or Adonay? In 1 Maccabees and 2 Maccabees, the Syriac puts for it "the God of heaven." It is true that neither book ever uses Lord, but this is equally true as to Elohim. Susannah uses "heaven" once, Lord 98 times and God 79 times.

The Sibylline Oracles almost certainly mean "heaven" as a "substitute" or synonym for God. My own conjecture is that it was used instead of the fuller "God of heaven" just as we use Marlborough and Wellington for the dukes of those places.

XI. GOD OF HEAVEN

Dr. Driver claimed that the title "God of heaven" is post-exilic and that its alleged occurrence in Jonah i. 9 is a proof that the book of Jonah is post-exilic.⁴¹

The lists published in the January number of this REVIEW show that in pre-Christian writings this title occurs as follows:

	Tobit	1 Esd.	Noah	Sib.	Jub.	Jud. XII	Pat.	3 Mac.
<i>God of Heaven</i> ...	2 or 3	3	1	2	3	2	1	1
<i>All Titles for God.</i>	42	144	42	127	356	24	392	34

That is, the title "God of heaven" counts up but 16 out of the 1161 designations of God found in these books and only 19 out of the 2968 in the 29 books where titles are listed. Since 1 Esdras is based on the biblical Ezra where this title occurs 8 times, and both Jubilees and the XII. Patriarchs on Genesis where the phrase occurs four times in composition, seven of the total of 15 should be eliminated as imitations or citations. 3 Mac. was written at the earliest in the 1st. century B.C. The discovery of the Aramaic of Ahikar renders it probable that Tobit was written in the Persian period. So that there are left only five examples of the use of the phrase in documents written at a time approximating the date ascribed to Daniel by the critics, *i.e.*, the 2nd century B.C.

If, however, we put Tobit in the Persian period, we shall have to add 2 cases of its use in that period to the 8 found in Ezra and the 3 in Nehemiah, making 14 cases of its use in Persian times, without counting Daniel, or the composite titles in Genesis, Jonah, Chronicles and Ezra i. 2.

Next, it is proper to inquire what evidence there is that the title "God of heaven" was used by nations outside the Jews. The critics have produced no examples of its use in Greek documents and I have been unable thus far to discover any. Turning to the Babylonian, Persian, and Phoenician, however, we find similar titles among all three.

⁴¹ LOT, p. 322.

Already in the Code of Hammurabi we read⁴² of "Bel lord of heaven and earth"⁴³ and in the epilogue, of "Sin, the lord of heaven" and of "Shamash, the great judge of heaven and earth."⁴⁴ Tiglath-Pileser I (1100 B.C.) also uses this last title.⁴⁵ Nebuchadnezzar speaks of "Marduk king of heaven and earth."

Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes III., have all left inscriptions referring to Ahuramazda as the great God who made heaven and earth.⁴⁶

The Phoenician inscriptions refer to a Baal-shamen, (בלשמן) or lord of heaven.

It will be noted that in all cases (except Ps. cxxxvi.) the phrase is used in the Old Testament only in portions which have to do with foreigners. Jonah is addressing mariners, probably Phoenicians, when he speaks of Jehovah as the God of heaven who made the sea and the dry-land. Abraham in Gen. xxiv. is about to send Eliazer of Damascus to Laban over in Mesopotamia. Besides he had come out of Ur Kasdim, at the time, and almost from the capital city, of Hammurabi (Gen. xiv.)

That Daniel living at Babylon from 600 to 530 B.C. may have used the title in matters concerning the kings of Babylon is evident from both the Babylonian and Persian inscriptions.

Whenever the 136th psalm may have been written, it is sure that the title "God of heaven" argues, so far as monumental evidence is concerned, for a period earlier than the Greek conquest. It contains the only instance known of the use of אלה God before the word for heaven.

⁴² In the prologue to the Code.

⁴³ *ilu En-lil be-el ša-me-e u ir-ši-tim.*

⁴⁴ *ilu Sin be-el ša-me-e and ilu šamaš da-a-a-nu-um ra-bi-um ša ša-me-e u ir-ši-tim.*

⁴⁵ Col. i. 7.

⁴⁶ So Darius Persepolis g, Naksh-i-Rustam a, Suez e; Xerxes, Persepolis a, b, c, d, Elwend, Van; and Artaxerxes, Persepolis. There are slight variations in these inscriptions, but none affecting the points indicated.

XII. JEHOVAH ELOHIM

Gen. ii.4-iii. is attributed by the critics to J. Jehovah Elohim occurs in this passage 19 times, Elohim 3 times and Jehovah alone never. Jehovah-Elohim occurs besides, according to the critics, in no pre-exilic passage except Ex. ix. 30 (J), and 2 Sam. vii. 22, 26; but it is found 8 times in Chronicles, once in Jonah and in the Korahite psalm lxxxiv. Why, then, should Gen. ii. 4-iii. not be late because the combination is found in Chronicles; or Jonah and Psalm lxxxiv. not be early because it is found in J?

XIII. JEHOVAH OF HOSTS

Jehovah of hosts is found ten times in 1 Sam.; forty-one times in Isa. I, and nine times in Amos. Why is it never found in J or E? It occurs thirty-four times in Jeremiah, why never in D? It occurs 86 times in Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, why never in H or P? Why only in three psalms, one in Book I (xxiv. 10), one in Book II (xlv. 8, 12), and one in Book III (lxxxiv. 2, 4, 13)?

XIV. ADONAY JEHOVAH

Why do the critics, who are so cock-sure about Shaddai, Elyon, Jehovah, and Elohim, not explain how Ezekiel came to use Adonay Jehovah 217 times out of the 293 instances in the Old Testament? Why especially is it found in none of the prophets later than Ezekiel (except once in Zechariah), nor in Jonah or Joel, which the critics allege to be later? Why is it never found in H or P which were influenced by Ezekiel, if not actually based upon it?

Many other questions and conclusions will be suggested by an examination of the lists; not merely of those for the Old Testament, but also of those for the Koran, and the other Jewish books. Thus, while it is remarkable that Ecclesiastes uses Elohim alone, it is little less remarkable that Proverbs uses Jehovah 84 times, Elohim 3 times, and all other designations but twice. It is noteworthy, also, that outside the Psalms, no compound titles are found in

any poetical work except seven in Job, five with *Elohim* and two with *Eloah*. Furthermore, that an author should use a multiplicity of different forms of the designations for the deity is not a proof of a late age as is presumed by Prof. Cheyne in his remarks on Ps. lxxviii. For Isa. I uses 30 forms, Isa. II, 24 forms, Jer., 21 forms, and Ezekiel only 12. Micah has 13 forms and Amos 10 while Haggai has only 3 and Zechariah 8. Proverbs has 6 and Ecclesiastes only one. In the Psalms, Book I has 16, II, 28, III, 21, IV, 15, and V, 12 forms. In works probably from the 2nd century B.C., Ecclesiasticus has 22, Book III of the Sib. Oracles 38, Jubilees 32, Judith 12, the XII Pat. 20, 1 Mac. 3, 2 Mac. 24. Judging from titles would not the author of Ecclesiastes have felt rather lonesome among this much titled galaxy?

That the use of different designations for the deity in different parts of a book may afford a strong argument for or against the unity of authorship is illustrated in many books. Thus 2 Macc. has 9 titles in the first eight chapters that are not found in the last seven, 11 titles in the last seven not found in the first eight, and only 3 common to both parts; and 1 Baruch has 5 titles in the first three chapters and different ones in the last two and only the title God in common. On the other hand, Ecclesiasticus, whose unity has not been doubted, has 16 titles occurring only in chapters xxx-li. and only 6 in i-xxix, of which all occur also in xxx-li.

Hoping that the lists of designations of the Deity that have now been published may serve in part as a sure objective foundation of fact upon which to construct a really scientific history of the literature of the ancient Israelites, I bid adieu for the time being to my arduous task. Future textual criticism and the correction of oversights and mistakes may cause slight changes in some of the enumerations and conclusions; but let the reader, whoever he be, take notice that this vast mass of testimony cannot be overthrown by innuendoes and subjective considerations.

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