

“AND HE INVOKED THERE THE NAME”: A SOURCE-CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF
DIVINE DESIGNATIONS IN THE TORAH

by

SARAH COOK

(Under the Direction of Baruch Halpern)

ABSTRACT

The use of divine designations to delineate sources in the Torah is often recognized as a foundational marker of the Documentary Hypothesis. Recently, source-critical scholars advocate for caution in using divine designations to argue for which ancient author might be responsible for a particular text. In this study, I catalogue all occurrences of divine designations including the divine name Yahweh and designations like *’ēlōhîm*, *’ēl*, and epithets. I categorize these according to the most likely documentary source attribution and analyze their use in each source. This exhaustive presentation allows patterns of usage to emerge – not just which author uses which designations, but a pattern of when they use them that contributes to a better understanding of the theology of each author and increased confidence in identifying texts with certain authors.

In chapter 2, I consider the history of the use of divine designations in source-critical scholarship. From Jean Astruc’s divisions to contemporary interpretations of the Documentary Hypothesis, these designations have always been an important piece of the source-critical puzzle. In chapters 3 through 6, I break down the use of divine

designations by the authors of the J source, the E source, the P source, and the D source. In chapter 7, I consider passages like Genesis 14 and 15, the Song of Miriam, and the Covenant Code. These passages have often defied attempts to assign them to a particular source, and so I consider them in their own right and compare them with evidence from sources in which scholars are more confident. In the conclusion, I present the findings of my analysis and make some suggestions regarding fruitful ground for further research.

INDEX WORDS: Hebrew Bible, Documentary Hypothesis, Torah, Ancient Israel, Divine Name, Yahweh, Divine Designations

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Lane Harvey Smith (1992-2020), a true friend and a brilliant scholar of Sufism.

'innā li-llāhi wa-'innā 'ilayhi rāji'ūn

“we belong to god and we will return to him”

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 NAMES AND DESIGNATIONS	4
3 DIVINE DESIGNATIONS IN THE J SOURCE MATERIAL	24
4 DIVINE DESIGNATIONS IN THE E SOURCE MATERIAL	47
5 DIVINE DESIGNATIONS IN THE P SOURCE MATERIAL	84
6 DIVINE DESIGNATIONS IN THE D SOURCE MATERIAL	124
7 ACCOUNTING FOR OUTLIERS	163
8 CONCLUSION	173
REFERENCES	184

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1: Yahweh: Occurrences in J-Genesis	27
Table 2: Characters Who Speak the Name in J-Genesis	30
Table 3: <i>'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in J-Genesis.....	32
Table 4: <i>'ēlōhê</i> : Occurrences in J-Genesis.....	32
Table 5: <i>hā'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in J-Genesis.....	33
Table 6: Yahweh: Occurrences in J-Exodus	38
Table 7: <i>'ēlōhê</i> : Occurrences in J-Exodus.....	40
Table 8: <i>'ēl</i> : Occurrences in J-Exodus.....	41
Table 9: Yahweh: Occurrences in J-Numbers.....	44
Table 10: <i>'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in E-Genesis	49
Table 11: <i>'ēlōhê</i> : Occurrences in E-Genesis	50
Table 12: <i>hā'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in E-Genesis	51
Table 13: <i>'ēl</i> : Occurrences in E-Genesis	54
Table 14: <i>hā'ēl</i> : Occurrences in E-Genesis	54
Table 15: Yahweh: Occurrences in E-Genesis.....	56
Table 16: Yahweh: Occurrences in E-Genesis.....	59
Table 17: <i>'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in E-Exodus	65
Table 18: <i>'ēlōhê</i> : Occurrences in E-Exodus	66
Table 19: <i>hā'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in E-Exodus	68

Table 20: Divine Designations in Exodus 18	69
Table 21: Yahweh: Occurrences in E-Numbers	72
Table 22: <i>'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in E-Numbers.....	74
Table 23: <i>'ēlōhé</i> : Occurrences in E-Numbers.....	75
Table 24: <i>hā'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in E-Numbers.....	75
Table 25: <i>'ēl</i> : Occurrences in E-Numbers.....	76
Table 26: <i>'elyôn</i> : Occurrences in E-Numbers	76
Table 27: <i>šadday</i> : Occurrences in E-Numbers.....	76
Table 28: Divine Designations in the Balaam Material (Num 22:2-24:25)	77
Table 29: Divine Designations in Num 22:2-24:25: Narration versus Speech	79
Table 30: <i>'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in P-Genesis	86
Table 31: <i>hā'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in P-Genesis	88
Table 32: <i>'ēl šadday</i> : Occurrences in P-Genesis	89
Table 33: Yahweh: Occurrences in P-Genesis.....	89
Table 34: Yahweh: Occurrences in P-Exodus.....	91
Table 35: <i>'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in P-Exodus	96
Table 36: <i>'ēlōhé</i> : Occurrences in P-Exodus	97
Table 37: <i>hā'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in P-Exodus	98
Table 38: <i>'ēl šadday</i> : Occurrences in P-Exodus.....	98
Table 39: Yahweh: Occurrences in P-Leviticus.....	102
Table 40: <i>'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in P-Leviticus	109
Table 41: <i>'ēlōhé</i> : Occurrences in P-Leviticus	110
Table 42: Yahweh: Occurrences in P-Numbers	114

Table 43: <i>'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in P-Numbers.....	120
Table 44: <i>'ēlōhé</i> : Occurrences in P-Numbers.....	120
Table 45: <i>'ēl</i> : Occurrences in P-Numbers.....	121
Table 46: Yahweh: Occurrences in Dtr ¹ -Deuteronomy.....	127
Table 47: <i>'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in Dtr ¹ -Deuteronomy	135
Table 48: <i>hā'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in Dtr ¹ -Deuteronomy	137
Table 49: <i>'ēlōhé</i> : Occurrences in Dtr ¹ -Deuteronomy	139
Table 50: <i>'ēl</i> : Occurrences in Dtr ¹ -Deuteronomy	143
Table 51: <i>hā'ēl</i> : Occurrences in Dtr ¹ -Deuteronomy	145
Table 52: Yahweh: Occurrences in Dtr ² -Deuteronomy.....	146
Table 53: <i>'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in Dtr ² -Deuteronomy	148
Table 54: <i>'ēlōhé</i> : Occurrences in Dtr ² -Deuteronomy	149
Table 55: Yahweh: Occurrences in Dtn-Deuteronomy	152
Table 56: <i>'ēlōhîm</i> : Occurrences in Dtn-Deuteronomy	156
Table 57: <i>'ēlōhé</i> : Occurrences in Dtn-Deuteronomy	157
Table 58: Divine Designations in Genesis 14.....	164
Table 59: Divine Designations in Genesis 15.....	165
Table 60: Divine Designations in Genesis 49.....	166
Table 61: Divine Designations in the Song of Miriam	167
Table 62: Divine Designations in the Covenant Code	168
Table 63: Divine Designations in the Song of Moses	170
Table 64: Divine Designations in the Blessing of Moses	171
Table 65: Divine Designations in the J Source	174

Table 66: Divine Designations in the E Source	174
Table 67: Divine Designations in the P Source	176
Table 68: Divine Designations in Dtr ¹	177
Table 69: Divine Designations in Dtr ²	178
Table 70: Divine Designations in Dtn	179

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: J Source Divine Designations in Genesis (proportional)	25
Figure 2: J Source Divine Designations in Genesis (numerical).....	26
Figure 3: J Source Divine Designations in Exodus (proportional)	37
Figure 4: J Source Divine Designations in Exodus (numerical).....	38
Figure 5: J Source Divine Designations in Numbers (proportional).....	43
Figure 6: J Source Divine Designations in Numbers (numerical)	43
Figure 7: E Source Divine Designations in Genesis (proportional).....	48
Figure 8: E Source Divine Designations in Genesis (numerical)	48
Figure 9: E Source Divine Designations in Exodus (proportional).....	58
Figure 10: E Source Divine Designations in Exodus (numerical)	58
Figure 11: E Source Divine Designations in Numbers (proportional)	72
Figure 12: E Source Divine Designations in Numbers (numerical).....	72
Figure 13: Divine Designations in Num 22:2-24:25	77
Figure 14: Divine Designations in E-Exod 3:15 – E-Num 21:8	80
Figure 15: Divine Designations in the Balaam Narrative	81
Figure 16: P Source Divine Designations in Genesis (proportional).....	85
Figure 17: P Source Divine Designations in Genesis (numerical)	85
Figure 18: P Source Divine Designations in Exodus (proportional).....	91
Figure 19: P Source Divine Designations in Exodus (numerical)	91
Figure 20: P Source Divine Designations in Leviticus +HC (proportional)	100

Figure 21: P Source Divine Designations in Leviticus, +HC (numerical)	101
Figure 22: P Source Divine Designations in Leviticus -HC (proportional).....	101
Figure 23: P Source Divine Designations in Leviticus -HC (numerical)	102
Figure 24: P Source Divine Designations in Numbers (proportional)	113
Figure 25: P Source Divine Designations in Numbers (numerical).....	114
Figure 26: Dtr ¹ Divine Designations in Deuteronomy (proportional)	127
Figure 27: Dtr ¹ Divine Designations in Deuteronomy (numerical).....	127
Figure 28: Dtr ² Divine Designations in Deuteronomy (proportional)	146
Figure 29: Dtr ² Divine Designations in Deuteronomy (numerical).....	146
Figure 30: Dtn Divine Designations in Deuteronomy (proportional)	151
Figure 31: Dtn Divine Designations in Deuteronomy (numerical).....	152

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The use of divine designations to delineate sources in the Torah is often recognized as a foundational marker of the Documentary Hypothesis. Authors of more recent source-critical studies of the Torah, however, point out that divine designations by themselves are not sufficient to assign a passage to a particular source.¹ Instead, scholars should weigh the use of a designation against other pieces of evidence to strengthen the attribution of a passage to a particular author/source. Multiple pieces of evidence pointing towards a particular conclusion strengthen the likelihood of this conclusion.²

In this work, I will investigate just one particular form of evidence in the Documentary Hypothesis: divine designations. Though these have a long-standing and rich history in the source-critical study of the Torah, insufficient attention has been paid to certain aspects of these designations. Rather than simply remarking on their presence in particular source documents, I will catalogue all of the occurrences of divine designations in the Torah and group them by source with the goal of establishing what kinds of patterns of use of designations motivate the authors of each source.

¹ Richard Elliott Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2003), 10; Joel Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 111-112.

² Friedman explains that “the strongest evidence establishing the Documentary Hypothesis is that several different lines of evidence converge.” Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 27.

This investigation will engage with the data using both quantitative and qualitative approaches. From a quantitative perspective, this investigation will generate useful figures including how often authors use different designations in speech and narration, whether authors demonstrate a preference for one designation over another, and where authors may present a concentration of designations in their work. From a qualitative perspective, collecting the data in this way will allow me to address the question of how and when authors choose to use designations. For example, when does the J source author use the divine designation *’ēlōhîm*? When do authors use the term *’ēl* or *’ēl šadday*? Is there a difference in how authors use the indefinite designation *’ēlōhîm* and the definite *hā ’ēlōhîm*? What features might govern these choices in each source’s work?

These approaches work together to establish patterns of usage of divine designations in each source. The quantitative angle offers the numbers that justify calling a usage a “pattern” while the qualitative angle allows me to marshal contextual evidence to account for this pattern. This work does not seek to provide a definitive division of sources based on this evidence alone. It does, however, represent an attempt to refine one piece of evidence based on a better understanding of how divine designations work in the Torah in general.

In chapter 2, I consider the history of the use of divine designations in source-critical scholarship. From Jean Astruc’s divisions to contemporary interpretations of the Documentary Hypothesis, these designations have always been an important piece of the source-critical puzzle. In chapters 3 through 6, I break down the use of divine designations by the authors of the J source, the E source, the P source, and the D

source. In chapter 7, I consider passages like Genesis 14 and 15, the Song of Miriam, and the Covenant Code. These passages have often defied attempts to assign them to a particular source, and so I consider them in their own right and compare them with evidence from sources in which scholars are more confident. In the conclusion, I present the findings of my analysis and make some suggestions regarding fruitful ground for further research.

CHAPTER 2

NAMES AND DESIGNATIONS

“...the name is at the very heart of the interaction between men and gods, and aims to ‘describe’ the god in different ways.” – Corinne Bonnet³

It is first important to establish the difference between the terms “name” and “designation” in this project. The Israelite god only has one name: Yahweh. No matter how different authors might refer to this deity in different texts, all agree that his name is Yahweh. Biblical authors use many different terms to refer to this deity though. These include *’ēlōhîm*, *’ēlō^ah*, and *’ēl*. These can be accompanied by epithets as well such as *’elyôn*,⁴ *šadday*,⁵ *’ēl ’ôlām*, and *’ēlōhê hārûḥôt*. While all of these terms used to describe Yahweh (including his name) qualify as divine designations,⁶ the name Yahweh alone holds the status of a proper name that refers to the Israelite god.

The Divine Name

³ Corinne Bonnet, “Introduction,” *What’s in a Divine Name?* eds. Alaya Palamidis and Corinne Bonnet (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2024), 15.

⁴ Hebrew *עֶלְיוֹן* can serve as a designation in its own right. This is the case in Num 24:16; Deut 32:8; Psalm 82:6.

⁵ There are two cases in which *יְהוָה* does not function as an epithet but instead refers to the Israelite god on its own. See Num 24:4, 16 (E). These occurrences are in poetry. The book of Ruth is the only biblical text in which a writer uses *יְהוָה* as an independent designation in prose. See Ruth 1:20, 21.

⁶ I encountered this term for the first time in the work of Joel Baden and use it in this project as a useful phrase that can encompass the divine name and the various other divine titles that I list above. See Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch*, 22.

In Exod 3:14 (E), Yahweh introduces himself to Moses and explains his name with reference to the Hebrew root *hyh* meaning “to be.”⁷ The vocalization of the name and its meaning have proven to be rich questions. In his 1909 work, Paul Haupt was the first to argue that the original text of Exod 3:14 more likely read *ahwē/ahjē āšār ihwē/ihjē*.⁸ The Hiphil form that he suggests changes the meaning of the first part of Yahweh’s statement in Exod 3:14 to a causative expression – “I cause to be.”

Frank Moore Cross further supported this with a review of the epigraphic evidence in his 1973 work *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*. He found the Amorite personal names in the texts from Mari to be particularly suggestive. These divine names follow *yahwī-N/yahwī-N/yahū-N/yahī-N* patterns reminiscent of the biblical divine name and all fall into the categories of causative, imperfect, or jussive forms with meanings like “the god (N) brings (or brought) into being (a child).” For Cross, this evidence affirmed that the divine name in the biblical material is a causative imperfect form that should be vocalized as “Yahweh.”⁹ I will use this vocalization throughout my analysis.

The name Yahweh also occasionally appears in the shortened form *yāh*. This form of the name is especially popular in the Psalms¹⁰ and is attested in both biblical and epigraphic names, likely dating to the 9th or 8th centuries BCE as a popular theophoric

⁷ There is a second revelation of the divine name in Exod 6:2-8 (P), but this one does not provide an etymology.

⁸ Paul Haupt, “Der Name Jahwe,” *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 5 (1909), pp. 211-214.

⁹ Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 62-65.

¹⁰ All of the occurrences of this form of the name are in poetry, barring one in narration in Exod 17:16 (E). For the poetic occurrences, see Exod 15:2; Isaiah 12:2; 26:4; 38:11; Psalm 68:19; 77:12; 89:9; 94:7, 12; 102:19; 104:35; 105:45; 106:1, 48; 111:1; 112:1; 113:1, 9; 115:17, 18; 116:19; 117:2; 118:5, 14, 17, 18, 19; 122:4; 130:3; 135:1, 3, 4, 21; 146:1, 10; 147:1, 20; 148:1, 14; 149:1, 9; 150:1, 6.

suffix.¹¹ *Yāh* is likely a shortened form of the name Yahweh. This shortening is unsurprising from a Semitic perspective. Further, the longer form is the earliest that we have attested in the epigraphic data (the Mesha stele).¹²

Divine Designations

i. *’ēlōhîm, hā’ēlōhîm, and ’ēlōhê*

After the divine name Yahweh, the next most common set of divine designations in the Torah is *’ēlōhîm, hā’ēlōhîm, and ’ēlōhê*. Notably, these are all grammatically plural nouns. They do function as such in certain biblical texts,¹³ but they are also paired with singular verbs and adjectives.¹⁴ This demonstrates that, despite these words’ grammatical status, biblical writers understood these terms to have the potential for plural and singular meanings. I separate these here and in my analysis because of their grammatical differences. *’ēlōhîm* is the absolute form while *’ēlōhê* is the construct form. *hā’ēlōhîm* is distinguished from these by the addition of the definite article.

An important consideration in the use of *’ēlōhîm* and *hā’ēlōhîm* is where these terms refer to Yahweh himself and where they refer to other deities. In the context of the

¹¹ For an excellent review of the evidence for this suffix in ancient Israelite names, see Ziony Zevit, “A Chapter in the History of Israelite Personal Names,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 250 (1983), pp.1-16.

¹² Heath D. Dewrell, “Yahweh the Destroyer,” *Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of P. Kyle McCarter*, eds. Christopher Rollston, Susanna Garfein, and Neal H. Walls (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2022), 7. Some scholars have suggested that 3rd and 2nd millennium BCE Egyptian texts including the Biography of Khety (*’-h-*’), the Soleb-lists (*y-h-w*), and the lists of Amarah-West (*y-h-w*), and the Medinet Habu-lists (*y-h*) contain traces of the tetragrammaton. The evidence, however, is unclear and inconclusive. The *’-h-*’ attestation in the biography of Khety seems to be a toponym, not a reference to a deity. It is unclear, from the Soleb and Amarah-west material, if *y-h-w* describes a tribe, an area, or a settlement. Finally, the *y-h* in the Medinet Habu-lists also appears to be a toponym that could designate any location in the Syrian-Palestinian area. Faried Adrom and Matthias Müller, “The Tetragrammaton in Egyptian Sources – Fact and Fiction,” *The Origins of Yahwism*, eds. Jürgen van Oorschot and Markus Witte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), pp. 93-113.

¹³ See, for example, Exod 18:11 (E) – גְּדוֹל יְהוָה מְכֻלָּהָּ אֱלֹהִים “Yahweh is greater than all of the gods.”

¹⁴ Genesis 1 (P) is an excellent example of this. Hebrew אֱלֹהִים functions as the agent of masculine singular verbs throughout this text.

P source narrative, for example, it is clear that the *’ēlōhîm* who creates the world is Yahweh. This is evident because this *’ēlōhîm* introduces himself by name in Exod 6:2-3 and explains that he appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob under another name. Other texts are less clear though. In Gen 20:11, when Abraham tells Abimelek that he thought there was no *yîr’at ’ēlōhîm* in Gerar, it is plausible that Abraham does not mean by *’ēlōhîm* his own specific *’ēl* – the one that he later invokes as Yahweh *’ēl ’ôlām* in Gen 21:33.¹⁵ Rather, *’ēlōhîm* in this context functions as a common noun that refers to divinities in general. The implication is that only someone with no respect for the divine would consider taking another man’s wife. Comparative evidence shows that this use of the term for “god” has a general force in other ancient Semitic contexts.¹⁶

The potential for singular and plural uses as well as the potential to refer to a specific deity or divinity more generally makes these designations ripe for careful analysis. Context plays a crucial role in understanding how biblical authors are using them. I will pay close attention to context in my analysis.

ii. *’ēlō^ah*

This designation is certainly related to *’ēlōhîm*, but it is quite rare in the Torah, appearing only in the Song of Moses in Deut 32:15 and 17.¹⁷ The Song of Moses is older poetry.¹⁸ Heinrich Ewald suggested that *’ēlō^ah* is a “lost” singular form that was

¹⁵ See also Deut 25:18 for the phrase יִרְאַת אֱלֹהִים. Here, the lack of any “fear of god” explains how the Amalekites could be so shameless as to attack the Israelites from behind.

¹⁶ See David Toshio Tsumura, “*’Il* as the Collective Godhead,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 143.2 (2023), pp. 365-383 for a similar general force in the case of *’ilū* in late Bronze Age Ugaritic. See chapter 3 below for more examples of this general force for אֱלֹהִים in the E source material.

¹⁷ Outside of the Torah, this designation appears in Isaiah 44:8; Habakkuk 3:3; Psalm 18:32; 50:22; 114:7; 139:19; Job 3:4, 23; 4:9, 17; 5:17; 6:4, 8, 9; 9:13; 10:2; 11:5, 6, 7; 12:4, 6; 15:8; 16:20, 21; 19:6, 21, 26; 21:9, 19; 22:12, 26; 24:12; 27:3, 8, 10; 29:2, 4; 31:2, 6; 33:12, 26; 35:10; 36:2; 37:15, 22; 39:17; 40:2; Proverbs 30:5; Daniel 11:37, 38, 39; Nehemiah 9:17; 2 Chronicles 32:15.

¹⁸ See my discussion of this passage in the chapter in this work on outliers.

replaced by the plural form *’ēlōhîm*. Only writers like the author of Job, Habakkuk, and the author of the Song of Moses would revive its use. In other texts, writers replaced it with the designation *’ēl*. Ewald sees no difference in meaning between *’ēlō^ah* and the more common *’ēl*.¹⁹ D. Pardee suggests that *’ēlō^ah* is of late Aramaean origin in Biblical Hebrew because of the evidence of the Canaanite shift from /ā/ to /ō/ in the second syllable.²⁰ This idea has not gained much traction in the field.

iii. *’ēl* and the Epithets

’ēl appears in many passages in the Torah, often paired with epithets.²¹ For this reason, I have grouped the designation *’ēl* and the epithets together here. Cross points out that two different readings of *’ēl* are possible in light of the evidence. It might function as a proper name or as a general appellative meaning “god.”²² This is similar to the case of *’ēlōhîm*, which can designate a particular deity or gods in general. Also like *’ēlōhîm*, the designation *’ēl* can appear with the definite article (*hā’ēl*). I treat these indefinite and definite occurrences separately in my analysis in order to ascertain what conditions determine their use.

It is important to consider the definition of “epithet.” What is an epithet and what is simply an adjective that a narrator or a character uses to describe a deity? In her study on divine epithets in Ugaritic, Aïcha Rahmouni presents the following definition: “[t]he epithet consists of one or more words expressing a trait of a certain deity (or

¹⁹ Heinrich Ewald, *Die Komposition der Genesis* (Braunschweig: Ludwig Lucius, 1823), 13-14. Ewald notes here that “wohl jene Wörter ziemlich ähnlich gewesen sein und man sieht weder in der Bedeutung noch in einer andern Sache einen Unterschied.”

²⁰ D. Pardee, “Eloah,” *Dictionary of Deities and Demon in the Bible*, eds. Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Peter W. van der Horst (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 287.

²¹ Gen 14:18, 19, 20, 22; 16:13 (J); 17:1 (P); 21:33 (E); 28:3 (P); 31:13, 29 (E); 33:20 (E); 35:1, 7 (E), 11 (P); 43:14 (E); 46:3 (E); Num 23:8, 19, 22, 23 (E); 24:4, 8, 16, 23 (E).

²² Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 47.

demon), describing his/her role in the world or his/her connection to another deity or group of deities within the pantheon or with mankind.”²³ Additionally, Rahmouni presents a set of categories that qualify a term or phrase as an epithet. These include the ability to substitute the word/phrase for the deity’s personal name, that the epithet should refer to a single deity in a particular context, and that one should be able to determine the deity to which the epithet refers in context.²⁴ In light of Rahmouni’s definition and categories, the following words and phrases qualify as epithets in the context of this study: *’elyôn*, *šadday*, *’ēl ’ôlām*, *’ēl rō’î*, *’ēlōhê yīsrā’ēl* and *’ēlōhê hārūḥōt*.²⁵

Cross notes that the *’ēl* + epithet constructions are associated with particular places of worship in the patriarchal narratives in Genesis. Abraham invokes the deity *’ēl ’ôlām* at Beersheba, *’ēl ’ēlōhê yīsrā’ēl* is linked with Shechem, *’ēl rō’î* with Beer-laḥay-roi, and *’ēl bêt ’ēl* with Bethel. *’ēl šadday* is the exception, not associated with any one location.²⁶

šadday merits further comment because of its attestation in extra-biblical sources. In the Deir ‘Alla text, a goddess is asked by a group of gods called the *šdyn* to cover the earth with darkness.²⁷ The story in the Deir ‘Alla text is framed as a vision experienced by Balaam son of Beor, the same prophet whom Balak son of Zippor engages to curse the Israelites in Numbers 22-24. In the biblical account in Numbers,

²³ Aïcha Rahmouni, *Divine Epithets in the Ugaritic Alphabetic Texts*, trans. J. N. Ford (Leiden: Brill, 2007), xix.

²⁴ Rahmouni, *Divine Epithets in the Ugaritic Alphabetic Texts*, xix-xx.

²⁵ *הַרְחֹק* qualifies as an epithet according to Rahmouni’s definition because it expresses a trait of Yahweh, specifically his authority over *רָחֹק*. See chapter 4 note 211 for my analysis of this. Additionally, Moses and Aaron substitute it for Yahweh’s name in Num 16:22.

²⁶ Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 47.

²⁷ Jo Ann Hackett, “The Dialect of the Plaster Texts from Deir ‘Alla,” *Orientalia* 53.1 (1984), 57.

šadday appears twice in poetry, both times functioning as a designation in its own right rather than an epithet. The connections between these texts in both their topic and their divine designations presents a glimpse into the relationship between biblical texts and other ancient Near Eastern literature.

Yahweh is not unique in his possession of various designations and epithets. In her introduction to an anthology with analyses of divine names, Corinne Bonnet argues that "...the variety of appellations plays a decisive role in multiplying the divine and presenting each god as a kaleidoscopic entity."²⁸ My analysis in this work will focus on what conditions dictate the choices that the authors of the Torah make when they use the divine name or other designations.

Divine Designations and Source-Critical Models of the Torah

Historically, the use of divine designations was at the core of the source-critical study of the Hebrew Bible. Divine designations have functioned as important evidence since the early work of Jean Astruc. Astruc's analysis began with a major division between two sources: one of which used the divine designation *'ēlōhîm* and another that used the divine name Yahweh. He identified the source²⁹ in which god is referred to as *'ēlōhîm* as "A" and the source using Yahweh he identified as "B."³⁰

This division breaks down in Genesis 2-3, though, where the compound designation Yahweh *'ēlōhîm* appears. Thus, Astruc labelled this material as belonging

²⁸ Bonnet, "Introduction," 12.

²⁹ Astruc calls these sources *mémoires* and understands them to be older documents that Moses used to compile the book of Genesis and the first two chapters of Exodus.

³⁰ Jean Astruc, *Conjectures sur la Genese* (Brussels: Fricx, 1753), 17. As is clear from Astruc's title, his source divisions only address material in Genesis through Exodus 2. This is because he maintained that Moses wrote the remaining material in Exodus through Deuteronomy but used sources when he wrote the book of Genesis. This view was common since the 1685 work of Richard Simon, *Histoire critique du vieux testament* (Frankfurt: Minerva G.M.B.H., 1967).

to source “C.”³¹ According to Astruc, this source also contributed material to the flood narrative in Gen 7:20, 23, 24.³² Astruc’s source divisions next include the “D” source. This material includes passages like Genesis 14;³³ 19;³⁴ 22:20-24;³⁵ 25:12-18;³⁶ 26:34-35;³⁷ 28: 6-9;³⁸ 34;³⁹ and 36:28-29⁴⁰ which Astruc considered to have little to do with the surrounding narrative. Finally, he breaks down the D source material into smaller source units, employing the letters E through L to label them.⁴¹ In Astruc’s source divisions, the primary drivers of division are the divine designations, which dictate the material belonging to the sources A, B, and C. Narrative interruptions are a secondary category that he employs to identify sources D through L.

This same concern for the use of divine designations would permeate the early German source-critical scholarship as well. Like, Astruc, Johannes Gottfried Eichhorn presented source divisions that divided the Genesis material along the lines of how the sources referred to god.⁴² According to Eichhorn, some of the chapters in Genesis appear to be independent documents compiled by authors who played no larger role in the composition of the entire text. He separated, for example, Gen 2:4-3:24 from the surrounding narrative because it does not have anything to do with the creation

³¹ Astruc, *Conjectures*, 18.

³² Astruc also attributes 7:24 to the A and B sources, demonstrating that he did not pursue exactitude in his source divisions. Astruc, *Conjectures*, 52-53.

³³ Astruc, *Conjectures*, 75.

³⁴ Astruc, *Conjectures*, 100.

³⁵ Astruc, *Conjectures*, 113.

³⁶ Astruc, *Conjectures*, 130.

³⁷ Astruc, *Conjectures*, 139.

³⁸ Astruc, *Conjectures*, 148.

³⁹ Astruc, *Conjectures*, 180-185.

⁴⁰ Astruc, *Conjectures*, 190.

⁴¹ Astruc, *Conjectures*, 310-315.

⁴² Eichhorn’s divisions seem to be indirectly influenced by those of Astruc. He does not cite Astruc but instead cites the earlier work of Richard Simon. See, for example, Johannes Gottfried Eichhorn, *Einleitung ins Alte Testament*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Beidmanns Erben und Reich, 1781), 495.

narrative that precedes it and clearly bears a disjunctive heading that separates it from the creation in Gen 1:1-2:3. Further, he detected a change in tone in Gen 2:4. The text, in his opinion, takes on a childish tone from that point on.⁴³ Finally, the shift from *ělōhîm* to Yahweh *ělōhîm* is sufficient to warrant a separate source whose author refers to God differently. The narrative continuity between Gen 2:4 and Genesis 3 further persuaded Eichhorn that both of these portions of Genesis were the work of another author.⁴⁴

Most telling is Eichhorn's analysis of Genesis 14. He considered this passage to be a stand-alone insertion for two reasons. Firstly, it has no connection to the tone or events narrated in chapters 12-13 or 15. Secondly, the divine designation and epithet formula *'ēl 'elyôn qōnēh šāmayîm wā'āreṣ* (14:19) occurs here and here alone and thus merits the assumption of a separate author who composed this passage and referred to God slightly differently.⁴⁵ Eichhorn proceeded from his examination of divine designations to a consideration of the repetitions in the book of Genesis. In his examination of the flood narrative in Genesis 6-7, the prediction of the birth of Isaac (Genesis 17 and 18), and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 19), Eichhorn remarked on how the divine designation changed between Yahweh and *ělōhîm* consistently.⁴⁶ Thus, apart from individually authored pieces like Genesis 14, Eichhorn considered the rest of Genesis to be the result of two main sources.⁴⁷ Like Astruc, Eichhorn considers factors other than divine designations, but his main source

⁴³ The German word that I render here as "childish" is *Kinderton*. "Hingegen beim vierten Vers des zweiten fällt die Erzählung in den Kinderton voll edler Einfelt, aus welchem das Jugenalder der Welt spricht." Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, 298.

⁴⁴ Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, vol.2, 298-299.

⁴⁵ Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, vol.2, 300. He also perceives glosses in Gen 14:2, 3, 7, 8, and 17 which he admits may have come from the compiler of Genesis or from a later reviser (*Überarbeiter*).

⁴⁶ Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, vol.2, 308--312.

⁴⁷ Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, vol.2, 319. He refers to these sources as *Urfunde*. "Die Urfunde mit dem Namen Jehova...und die mit Elohim."

divisions still go back to these designations. A distinct reference to god referring to him as “the highest god, creator of heavens and earth” was sufficient for Eichhorn to perceive another author at work.

Karl David Ilgen similarly began his source analysis with the evidence of divine designations but turned to other clues in the text as he identified a third major source in Genesis. Like Eichhorn, he first suggested the division of the Genesis material between an “Elohist” and a “Jehovist.”⁴⁸ In scrutinizing the Elohist material, he suggested that this material be divided between a “first Elohist” and a “second Elohist.”⁴⁹ For Ilgen, it is the alternating use of “Jacob” and “Israel” to refer to this patriarch in the Joseph material that prompted the division of the Elohist material into two separate units. The first Elohist contributed the material in which the patriarch is called “Jacob,” while the second Elohist contributed the material in which he is called “Israel.”⁵⁰

Ilgen then demonstrated the difference between these authors in the word choices that they made. While the first Elohist referred to the ruler of Egypt as “Pharaoh” (Gen 40:2, 7, 11, 14, 17; 41:46⁵¹), the second Elohist referred to him as “king” of Egypt (Gen 39:20; 40:1, 5).⁵² Further, while the first Elohist describes the cows in the Pharaoh’s dream as *yěpôt mār’eh* (Gen 41:2, 4), the second Elohist calls them *yěpôt tō’ar* (Gen 41:18).⁵³ Though Ilgen expanded the parameters that he used to divide sources in Genesis beyond the use of divine designations and narrative continuity, he

⁴⁸ Karl David Ilgen, *Die Urkunden des Jerusalemischen Tempelarchivs in ihrer Urgestalt* (Halle: Hemmerde und Schwerste, 1798), 387. Ilgen is the first to use these terms to describe the authors of the sources that refer to god as אֱלֹהִים and יהוה respectively.

⁴⁹ Ilgen, *Die Urkunden*, 394.

⁵⁰ Ilgen, *Die Urkunden*, 393-394.

⁵¹ The Pharaoh is referred to in this verse as פַּרְעֹה מֶלֶךְ-מִצְרַיִם, but Ilgen places this passage only under the category of the first Elohist.

⁵² Ilgen, *Die Urkunden*, 394.

⁵³ Ilgen, *Die Urkunden*, 396.

still refers to these designations as his primary point of departure and names each of the sources that he encounters for them.

Johann Severin Vater also combined the use of divine designations with other evidence in his theory regarding the sources that underlie the Torah. He saw the alternate uses of Yahweh and *'ēlōhîm* as a useful point of departure in recognizing the fragmentary nature of the text of Genesis.⁵⁴ However, unlike Ilgen, Vater chose to rely on narrative continuity rather than vocabulary to determine what material should be grouped together and considered the work of one author or source.⁵⁵ This led Vater to identify several “fragments” in the books of Genesis through Deuteronomy. He divided some of these fragments neatly along the lines of divine designations,⁵⁶ but identified others based on the repetitions or contradictions that he found in them.⁵⁷ Ultimately, Vater did not suggest a particular number of sources as Ilgen and Eichhorn did. Rather, he concluded that both the differences in ways of referring to god and the different assumptions evident in different passages were sufficient to suggest that the work of multiple writers was preserved in the Torah.

Heinrich Ewald's source-critical work returned to a two-source model in Genesis. Like Ilgen, he called these sources the Elohist and the Jehovist.⁵⁸ Ewald tested his hypothesis by looking at the distribution of the designations Yahweh and *'ēlōhîm* in the book of Judges. The abundance of occurrences of Yahweh led him to conclude that this

⁵⁴ Johann Severin Vater, *Commentar über den Pentateuch*, vol.1 (Halle: Waisenhaus Buchhandlung, 1802), vi.

⁵⁵ Vater, *Commentar*, vol.1, vi.

⁵⁶ This is the case with Vater's divisions of the flood story in Genesis. He suggests that Gen 6:13, 14, 17-22 is the work of one writer and Gen 7:1-5 is the work of another. See Vater, *Commentar*, vol.3, 399-400.

⁵⁷ One example of this is the account of Esau's family in Genesis 26:34 and Genesis 36:2. These passages attribute different names to Esau's wives. For this reason, Vater concludes that these texts cannot have been written by the same author. See Vater, *Commentar*, vol.3, 475.

⁵⁸ Ewald, *Die Komposition der Genesis*, 38-39.

book is mostly composed of the work of the Jehovist. The Elohist still contributed some texts though, including chapter 9. Ewald points out that nothing in the narrative of Judges 9 connects it strongly to the events of the surrounding chapters, thus strengthening his hypothesis that there are two sources at work that have been combined.⁵⁹

In addition to his source-critical work, Ewald investigated the many different divine designations that biblical authors use to refer to god and offered some insights into why an author might use one and not the other. He theorized that the Hebrew word *'ēlōhîm* emerged as a more common term to refer to god. It does not hold the same sacred status as the name Jehovah and can therefore be used by community outsiders. This is why a character like Ehud would refer to the *dēbār 'ēlōhîm* rather than the *dēbār Yahweh* when he speaks with Eglon the Moabite king in Judges 3:20.⁶⁰ The plural *'ēlōhîm* became so popular that it overtook the singular form *'ēlōh*, which is now only preserved in Job, Habakkuk, and the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32.⁶¹

He also investigated some of the less common designations. He suggested that *'ēl* is the term that authors prefer in their histories if they want to use an epithet. It can also denote pagan gods as in Judges 9:46 with the example of *'ēl bērit*.⁶² Ewald suggests that *yāh* is a later name that comes into use as an abbreviation of the divine name Yahweh. The name Jehovah belongs exclusively to the god of the Israelites and marks him out in contrast with other foreign deities. He is the king of his people, and he

⁵⁹ Ewald, *Die Komposition*, 39-40.

⁶⁰ Ewald, *Die Komposition*, 27-28.

⁶¹ Ewald, *Die Komposition*, 13.

⁶² Ewald, *Die Komposition*, 14.

appoints leaders over them when needed.⁶³ He also acts as their lawgiver and the entity who enforces the swearing of oaths.⁶⁴

The two-source model continued with the work of Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette. De Wette's divisions drew heavily on the works of many of the critical biblical scholars who came before him, including Astruc, Eichhorn, Vater, and Ewald.⁶⁵ He provided commentary on passages in the Torah and identified some passages as belonging to the "Elohist" while others he described as "Jehovist fragments."⁶⁶ Like Vater and Ilgen, he considers other evidence including repetitions and distinct vocabulary in his divisions. Divine designations do, however, continue to play a role. He argues that Genesis 12 and Genesis 20 must be the work of different writers, for example, because one uses the name Yahweh (Genesis 12) and the other uses the name *'ēlōhîm*.⁶⁷ The divine designations, for de Wette, are not the marker of two different writers, but rather a sign that the texts in Genesis belong to writers or a "school" of writers working in two different time periods.⁶⁸

Hermann Hupfeld brought source-critical theory back to a three-source model. He began his investigation of the sources in Genesis with the acknowledgement that

⁶³ Ewald, *Die Komposition*, 18-19.

⁶⁴ Ewald, *Die Komposition*, 21-25.

⁶⁵ Notable here are his references to Ilgen's work. De Wette acknowledges that Ilgen's divisions of the *Urschrift* (Elohim) source into two composite parts are compelling in places (especially in the Jacob and Joseph stories), but is not wholly compelled by them, concluding that there are clearly two traditions portrayed in the *Urschrift*. De Wette seems to view the *Urschrift* as the work of a single author, even if it does contain two divergent branches of tradition. See Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Halle: Schimmelpfennig und Compagnie, 1807), 151-157.

⁶⁶ De Wette introduces the term "Elohist" in his analysis when he attributes Genesis 35:9-15 to this author. See de Wette, *Beiträge*, 136-138. Passages marked by the name "Jehovah" he considers to be later additions to the Elohist narrative. He calls these "fragments," suggesting that he does not see them as part of a comprehensive work. Based on this, we might better view de Wette as promoting a one-source model with supplements. See de Wette, *Beiträge*, 181.

⁶⁷ De Wette, *Beiträge*, 112.

⁶⁸ De Wette, *Beiträge*, 29-30.

this book is composed of an *Urschrift* along with later additions that are characterized by the use of the name Yahweh.⁶⁹ One of the first passages that he examined was the flood narrative. Not only does Hupfeld draw upon the divine names here, but he also argues in this section based on word choices within each source and the narrative assumptions of each one.⁷⁰ This allows him to argue, for example, that Gen 7:9a should be attributed to the Elohist rather than the Jehovist because of the phrase *šēnayīm* *šēnayīm* that it contains. The same phrase in 7:15 leads Hupfeld to theorize that there must be traces of the Elohist source in this passage which is otherwise attributed to the Jehovist.⁷¹

Hupfeld's attention to narrative details beyond the divine name led him to notice that there are two accounts in Genesis 48 depicting Jacob's blessing of Joseph's sons. He could not attribute one to the Jehovist source, though, because both of these accounts employ the divine designation *'ēlōhîm*. This observation propelled him towards the conclusion that there was an older and a younger Elohist source. Both use the divine designation *'ēlōhîm* in Genesis, but they offer slightly different accounts of events and different etymologies.⁷²

All of these early source-critical scholars used many different types of evidence in their source divisions, but all of them also singled out the use of divine designations as providing an important clue that allows them to delineate the sources that make up the book of Genesis and other parts of the Torah.

⁶⁹ Hermann Hupfeld, *Die Quellen der Genesis und die Art ihrer Zusammensetzung* (Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben, 1853), 5.

⁷⁰ Hupfeld, *Die Quellen*, 6. Especially relevant to Hupfeld's reliance on divine designations in his analysis is the way that he divides Genesis 6. He attributes Gen 6:1-10 to the Jehovist, barring verse 9 which he attributes to the *Urschrift*/Elohist because of the use of Hebrew אֱלֹהִים in this verse.

⁷¹ Herman Hupfeld, *Die Quellen*, 6-7.

⁷² Hupfeld, *Die Quellen*, 35-36.

The Emergence of the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis

The Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis represents the culmination of all of this source-critical scholarship into a source model that would become incredibly popular all over the world. This hypothesis would eventually be called the Documentary Hypothesis.⁷³

Karl Heinrich Graf focused primarily on the laws of the Torah in his source-critical work.⁷⁴ He considered the laws of the Covenant Code in Exodus 20-23 to be the earliest set of laws in the Torah,⁷⁵ followed by the Deuteronomistic law code,⁷⁶ and finally the legal material in Leviticus and Numbers.⁷⁷ Once he had separated these laws, he maintained that the remaining material in Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua was the work of the “Jehovist.” This work was primarily historical in character, drawing on older traditions now lost to us. It only acquired law through the additions of later writers.⁷⁸ The Jehovist added their narrative to the Elohist narrative, the Deuteronomist added their work to the Jehovist-Elohist narrative, and Ezra, finally, added the priestly legislation to complete the Torah as we now have it.⁷⁹ While Graf’s theory profits from the source-critical models that preceded it, he does not discuss divine designations in the same way that his predecessors did. Instead, he focuses entirely on genre and connections between

⁷³ The term “documentary hypothesis” took hold in the English-language scholarship. The earliest work that I have observed using it is that of Carpenter and Harford-Battersby. They use the term “documentary hypothesis” in referring to Eichhorn’s work. J. Estlin Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby, *The Hexateuch*, vol. 1 (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1900), 61.

⁷⁴ Graf’s interest in dating the laws of the Tanakh relative to other texts was inspired by Édouard Reuss’s 1833 lectures in which he argued that the laws were later than the prophetic strata of the Tanakh. Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2019), 143. Reuss eventually published his views in his 1890 work *Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften des alten Testaments* (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1890).

⁷⁵ Graf held that the Elohist incorporated the laws of the Covenant Code into their work. See Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Leipzig: T.O. Weigel, 1866), 124.

⁷⁶ Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher*, 19-25.

⁷⁷ Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher*, 42-66.

⁷⁸ Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher*, 94-95.

⁷⁹ Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher*, 124.

the material in the Torah and that in the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings to construct a theory of how these texts develop.⁸⁰

Julius Wellhausen built upon Graf's chronology to offer a chronology not just of the texts of the Torah, but of ancient Israelite religion itself. For Wellhausen, the bulk of the Hexateuch is composed of the *Priestercodex* and the *jehovistischen Geschichtsbuch*.⁸¹ The latter, in turn, is made up of what Wellhausen designated the J and E sources or the first and second Jehovist sources.⁸² In his source divisions in Genesis, Wellhausen relied upon the use of the divine name and the designation *'ēlōhîm* to determine which parts of the text belonged to the J source and which to the E source.⁸³ When faced with material from the *Priestercodex*, which also uses the designation *'ēlōhîm*, Wellhausen used other factors like vocabulary to separate the text into component sources.⁸⁴ Wellhausen attributes some of the choices in divine designations to an editor. In Genesis 22, for example, he suggests that an editor changed the divine designation in verses 11-13 from *'ēlōhîm* to Yahweh because the editor wanted the divine name there to coordinate with the etymology of "Moriah."⁸⁵

Wellhausen's *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der Historischen Bücher des Alten Testament* is a valuable resource in understanding his source divisions, but his

⁸⁰ Baruch Spinoza was the first source-critical scholar to use the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings to construct a theory of composition for the Torah in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, first published in 1670. Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, vol. 1, trans. R. H. M. Elwes (London: George Bell and Sons, 1891), viii.

⁸¹ This included the material in the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. From the time of de Wette onwards, many scholars considered the book of Deuteronomy to be a later Josianic work.

⁸² Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, vol.1 (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1905), 383.

⁸³ Indeed, Wellhausen notes that the J and E material can be so difficult to separate that sometimes the divine designations are the only reliable way to do so. For him, this is a sign that a separate editor combined these sources. See Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der Historischen Bücher des Alten Testament* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1899), 35.

⁸⁴ Wellhausen, *Die Composition*, 16-17.

⁸⁵ Wellhausen, *Die Composition*, 19.

Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels earned him international fame and brought his model out of the German academy and into England and the rest of the world. In the *Prolegomena*, Wellhausen presented a theory of the development of ancient Israelite religion from the “prophetic” roots of the Yahwist and the Elohist through the beginnings of law and centralization with Deuteronomy, and finally to a culmination in the stagnation of “prophetic” religion with the rituals and laws of the Q source. His historical proposal was not without precedent,⁸⁶ but the combination of source divisions and historical analysis that Wellhausen produced in this work allowed his model to catch on in most scholarly circles.⁸⁷ It was perhaps the synthesis of the critical model with an explanation of the history of ancient Israel that made Wellhausen’s work so appealing. Subsequent source critical scholars would work with Wellhausen’s J, E, Q, and D model.⁸⁸ Even as they changed or critiqued parts of his work, Wellhausen’s sigla would remain and later scholars would seek to divide the Torah between these four sources from this point onwards.

Though much less famous than Wellhausen, Abraham Kuenen was also influential in the English-language reception of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis.⁸⁹ Kuenen applied Graf’s strategy of stratifying the sources to the P source especially (formerly Q or the *Priestercodex*). Kuenen approached the task of source divisions by first dividing the text

⁸⁶ For an earlier work that incorporated source criticism and the history of Israelite religion, see Carl Peter Wilhelm Gramberg, *Kritische Geschichte der Religionsideen des alten Testaments* (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1829). Gramberg used the source critical model of his time to suggest an evolution in ancient Israelite religious practices reflected in the changes in ritual between the *Urschrift* and the Yahwist documents.

⁸⁷ John Rogerson, *Old Testament Criticism* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 1984), 282.

⁸⁸ Importantly, Wellhausen’s model leaves room for “supplements.” He refers to “a later hand” adding Gen 26:1-5 to the Jahwist’s text, suggesting that the work continued to grow even after the Jahwist authored it.

⁸⁹ In his 1888 work on source-criticism of the Pentateuch, Benjamin Wisner Bacon cites Wellhausen and Kuenen as followers of what he calls the “Grafian” theory. Bacon, “Pentateuchal Analysis,” *Hebraica* 4.4 (1888), 216.

of the Torah between the four sources and then discussing the sequence of their composition and editing. The Priestly text he isolated based on the tendency of these texts to refer to God as *'ēlōhîm* and to focus on the Aaronid priesthood and ritual.⁹⁰ He further divided P into three sub-strata: P¹, P², and P³.

He recognized the book of Deuteronomy as a unity apart from the historical preamble and a few passages at the end.⁹¹ He contended that the preamble was written by a later author (D²) in the style of the author of Deuteronomy⁹² and added at the beginning of the law code.⁹³ What remained after Kuenen's identification of the P and D material were the J and E sources or the "prophetic elements" of the Hexateuch. Kuenen admits that there is no satisfactory division of these two sources, but that two narratives are perceptible in the remaining text of the Hexateuch. Genesis 37, in particular, suggested to Kuenen that the J and E sources contained independent narratives relating to the sale of Joseph with different understandings of which brother sold him and what happened to him when he arrived there.⁹⁴ At the same time, the fact that both sources contain a Joseph narrative suggests to Kuenen that the sources were not written independently of one another.

As the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis (hereafter referred to as the Documentary Hypothesis) gained traction among source-critical scholars, the reliance on divine designations was superseded by other forms of evidence. Many of these, including

⁹⁰ Abraham Kuenen, *An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch*, trans. Philp H. Wicksteed (London: MacMillan and Co., 1886), 71-72.

⁹¹ Kuenen assigned some of the passages at the end of Deuteronomy to the P² stratum (Deut 32:48-52; 34:6, 44). Others, like the Song of Moses and the Blessing of Moses he left unassigned. Kuenen, *A Historico-Critical Inquiry*, 123-124.

⁹² Kuenen, *An Historico-Critical Inquiry*, 117-118.

⁹³ Kuenen viewed the law code in Deuteronomy 12-26 as a unified composition. Kuenen, *An Historico-Critical Inquiry*, 107.

⁹⁴ Kuenen, *An Historico-Critical Inquiry*, 146.

narrative continuity and vocabulary, were employed by earlier scholars including Eichhorn, Ilgen, Vater, and de Wette. As source-critical scholars engaged with the Documentary Hypothesis and began to produce their own source divisions, they used all available evidence to support their theories.⁹⁵ Scholars continued to invoke divine designations in Genesis especially, but sought new forms of evidence to support their divisions, especially in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

The Documentary Hypothesis in this Analysis

Contemporary scholars who engage with the Documentary Hypothesis continue to rally multiple forms of evidence when they suggest their source divisions.⁹⁶ This desire to amass evidence apart from divine designations has led many to move away from scrutinizing how the different authors of the Torah used divine designations in their work. In this analysis, I plan to use the Documentary Hypothesis framework to divide the texts of the Torah and then consider how each author uses different divine designations in their work.

I will treat each source individually, beginning with the J source and ending with the D source(s).⁹⁷ For each source, I will consider the use of divine designations in each book of the Torah separately. This division of the data will enable me to account for changes in the use of divine designations in the E source and P source material, each of which provides a revelation of the divine name in Exodus 3 and 6 respectively. Within each book, I will provide charts tracking the occurrences of each designation followed

⁹⁵ For some of these early English-language works that engage with the Documentary Hypothesis, see Bacon, *Pentateuchal Analysis*; Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *The Hexateuch*; and S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York: Meridian Books, 1906).

⁹⁶ Note 1 in the introduction to this work.

⁹⁷ I will discuss the source-critical theory of Deuteronomy in chapter 5.

by my comments on what factors seem to condition authors to choose to use different divine designations in different contexts.

I will keep in mind some core questions throughout my analysis. These include:

When do authors use the divine name Yahweh? When do authors use *'ēlōhîm* independently (without the name) to refer to god? What kind of difference do the authors perceive between *'ēlōhîm* and *hā'ēlōhîm*? Is the use of epithets related to more than just geographic context?⁹⁸

⁹⁸ As suggested by Cross, above.

CHAPTER 3

DIVINE DESIGNATIONS IN THE J SOURCE

“You know my name; no need to know yours...” – Willie Nelson, “Smoke Hour,”

Beyoncé, recorded 2019-2024, track 6 on *Cowboy Carter*.⁹⁹

The author of the J source document is notoriously recognized as the source that uses the divine name Yahweh to refer to god from the start of this author’s narrative in Gen 2:4b. The data, however, show that this author does not only refer to the deity using the divine name. The charts below show that this author uses the name Yahweh in addition to a variety of different forms of the title *’ēlōhîm* and the divine title *’ēl*.

i. Genesis

For the purposes of this analysis, I have removed the instances of the title *’ēlōhîm* from Genesis 2 and 3.¹⁰⁰ I have also removed Genesis 14¹⁰¹ and 15,¹⁰² which

⁹⁹ My thanks to Samaria Divine for suggesting this excellent quotation.

¹⁰⁰ As we will see in this analysis, the combination of Yahweh and the absolute form *’ēlōhîm* is not attested elsewhere in the J source material in Genesis. Thus, it remains an anomaly that may be the work of the final redactor. Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 35.

¹⁰¹ Julius Wellhausen suggested that Genesis 14 may be a part of the E source narrative because the language of tithing in this chapter is analogous to Jacob’s promise to *’ēlōhîm* at Bethel (Gen 28:22) that he will tithe to him. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs* (Berlin: Druck and Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1899), 24-25. Contemporary analyses tend to leave it unaffiliated with any source. Richard Elliott Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 52; and Joel S. Baden *The Composition of the Pentateuch*, 274. Baden sees slight evidence here to connect Genesis 14 with the J source narrative but ultimately draws no conclusions. For my analysis of the divine designations in this chapter, see the section in this work on outliers.

¹⁰² Wellhausen describes Gen 15:1-6 as material belonging to the E source and revised by the editor who combined the J and E sources. The material in Gen 15:18, 24, 27 may belong to the J source author. See Wellhausen, *Die Composition*, 21-22. Benjamin Bacon divided Gen 15 between J, E, and two different redactors. He attributes 15:1, 3-4, 9-11 to J, 15:2 to E, 15:7-8, 12-15 to one redactor, and 15:16, 19-21 to a Deuteronomistic redactor. See Bacon, “Notes on the Analysis of Gen XV,” *Hebraica* 7.1 (1890), pp. 75-76. Friedman considers Genesis 15 to be part of the J source material, barring the phrase “Ur of the

remain contested, and Genesis 49 which is likely older poetry that the J source has used in their larger narrative text.¹⁰³

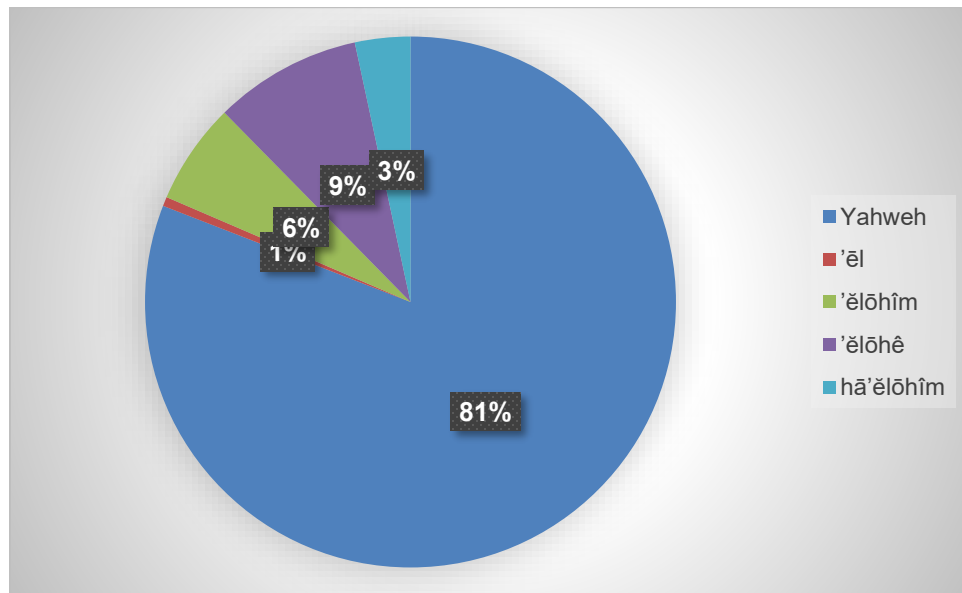


Figure 1: J Source Divine Designations in Genesis (proportional)

Chaldees” and vv.13-17a, which he considers to be the work of the final redactor. See Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 53-54. Baden associates it with the E source for a few reasons. He views the “prophetic address” to Abraham in Genesis 15 as consonant with the E source portrayal of Abraham as a prophet in Gen 20:7, 17. The promise in 15:14 that the Israelites will leave Egypt with great wealth is fulfilled in Exod 12:35-36 (E). Finally, he connects Yahweh’s appearance in smoke and fire in Gen 15:17 with his appearance in the same way in Exod 20:18 (E). See Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch*, 287-288. I consider the evidence for source assignment for this verse to be inconclusive and thus have removed it from my analysis. For the distribution of the divine name in these passages, please see the section in this work on outliers.

¹⁰³ Frank Moore Cross and David Noel Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1975), 46-47. For a more thorough discussion of this poem, see chapter 6 of this work.

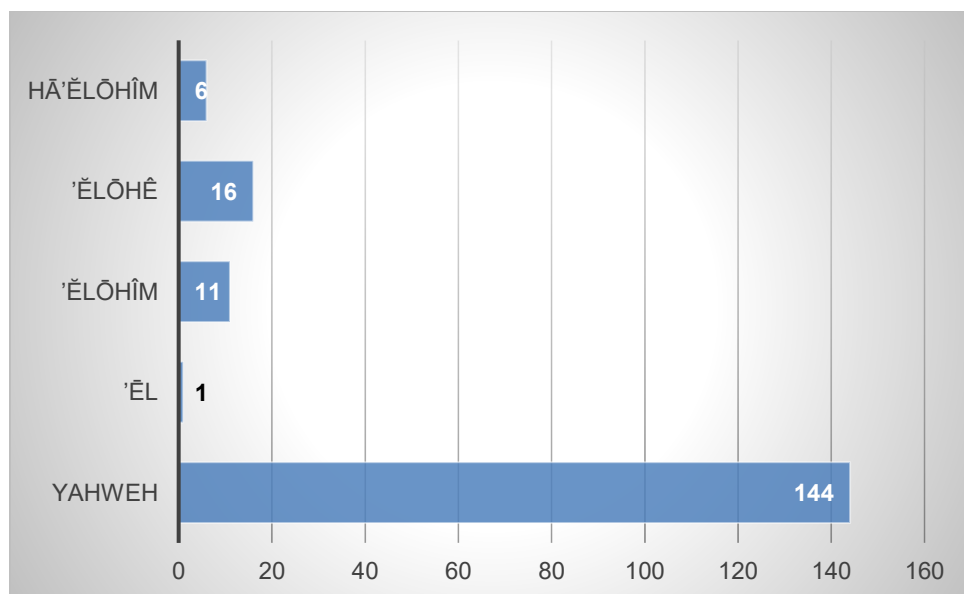


Figure 2: J Source Divine Designations in Genesis (numerical)

Throughout Genesis, the author of the J source only refers to god as Yahweh in narration and presents humans using the name freely up until the Joseph material. The divine name appears 142 times in the J source material in Genesis in both narration and character speech. The divine title *'ēlōhîm* is the second most common divine designation that this author uses. The J source author uses this designation and its derivatives (*'ēlōhê* and *hā'ēlōhîm*) 32 times in Genesis. Finally, the J source author uses the divine designation *'ēl* only once in Gen 16:13 in the etymology of a toponym.¹⁰⁴ I present the name Yahweh and the designations *'ēlōhîm*, *'ēlōhê*, and *hā'ēlōhîm* in context in the tables below for analysis.

a. Yahweh

¹⁰⁴ Here, Hagar addresses Yahweh as אֱלֹהֵי רָאָה after he blesses her and her son. This is unprecedented in the Torah. Yahweh appears to an Egyptian woman, blesses her, and then she applies an epithet to this god. Note the similarity here in the epithet that Hagar applies to Yahweh and the one that Abraham applies to Yahweh in Gen 22:14 (RJE). He names the place where he almost sacrificed his son Isaac יהוה יִרְאֶה “Yahweh will see.” These instances present a striking similarity in that they both portray a child in danger and a “seeing” god intervening.

Yahweh	
Occurrence in J-Genesis	Context
2:4	<i>běyôm 'āsôt Yahweh</i>
2:5	<i>kî lô' himṭîr Yahweh</i>
2:7	<i>wayyîšer Yahweh</i>
2:8	<i>wayyîṭṭa' Yahweh</i>
2:9	<i>wayyašmaḥ Yahweh</i>
2:15	<i>wayyîqqaḥ Yahweh</i>
2:16	<i>wayěšaw Yahweh</i>
2:18	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh</i>
2:19	<i>wayyîšer Yahweh</i>
2:21	<i>wayyappēl Yahweh</i>
2:22	<i>wayyîben Yahweh</i>
3:1	<i>'āšer 'āsāh Yahweh</i>
3:8	<i>'et qôl Yahweh</i>
3:9	<i>wayyîqrā' Yahweh</i>
3:13	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh</i>
3:14	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh</i>
3:21	<i>wayya'aś Yahweh</i>
3:22 ¹⁰⁵	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh</i>
3:23	<i>wayěšallēhēhû Yahweh</i>
4:1 ¹⁰⁶	<i>"qānîṭî 'îš 'et Yahweh"</i>
4:3 ¹⁰⁷	<i>mînhāh laYahweh</i>
4:4	<i>wayyîša' Yahweh</i>
4:6	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh</i>
4:9	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh</i>
4:13	<i>'el Yahweh</i>
4:15	<i>wayyō'mer lô Yahweh...wayyāšem Yahweh</i>
4:16	<i>mîlîpnē Yahweh</i>
4:26 ¹⁰⁸	<i>lîqrô' běšēm Yahweh</i>
6:3	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh</i>
6:5	<i>wayyarē' Yahweh</i>
6:6	<i>wayyînnāhēm Yahweh</i>
6:7	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh</i>

¹⁰⁵ In this verse, Yahweh indicates that he is in divine company by fretting that the humans have become *יְהוָה כְּאֶחָד מֵהֶם* "like one of us."

¹⁰⁶ See note 103 below for a text-critical note on this occurrence of יהוה.

¹⁰⁷ This is the first independent use of יהוה in narration. Prior to this in J-Genesis, the compound designation יהוה אֱלֹהִים persists. This compound designation may be the work of an editor. See note 93 above.

¹⁰⁸ The LXX presents κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ here, perhaps reflecting a translator's choice or a Hebrew *Vorlage* that reads יהוה אֱלֹהִים. For an excellent analysis of Gen 4:26 and previous comments on the LXX version, see Robert P. Gordon, "Who 'Began to Call on the Name of the Lord' in Gen 4:26B?: The MT and the Versions," *Let us Go Up to Zion: Essays in Honour of H. G. M. Williamson*, eds. Iain Provan and Mark Boda (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 57-68.

6:8	<i>bě'ênē Yahweh</i>
7:1	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh</i>
7:5	<i>'āšer šīwwāhū Yahweh</i>
7:16	<i>wayyīsgōr Yahweh ba'ādō</i>
8:20	<i>mīzbē^ah laYahweh</i>
8:21	<i>wayyārah Yahweh... wayyō'mer Yahweh</i>
9:26	<i>"bārūk Yahweh 'ēlōhē šēm"</i>
10:9	<i>gībbōr šayīd līpnē Yahweh... gībbōr šayīd līpnē Yahweh</i>
11:5	<i>wayyēred Yahweh</i>
11:6 ¹⁰⁹	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh</i>
11:8	<i>wayyāpeš Yahweh</i>
11:9	<i>bālal Yahweh... hēpīšām Yahweh</i>
12:1	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh</i>
12:4	<i>ka'āšer dībber 'ēlāyw Yahweh</i>
12:7	<i>wayyērā' Yahweh... mīzbē^ah laYahweh</i>
12:8	<i>mīzbē^ah laYahweh... wayyīqrā' bēšēm Yahweh</i>
12:17	<i>wayēnagga' Yahweh</i>
13:4	<i>wayyīqrā' šām 'abērām bēšēm Yahweh</i>
13:10	<i>līpnē šahēt Yahweh</i>
13:13	<i>wēḥaṭṭāmīm laYahweh</i>
13:14	<i>waYahweh 'āmar</i>
13:18	<i>mīzbē^ah laYahweh</i>
16:2	<i>"āšaranī Yahweh"</i>
16:5	<i>"yīspōṭ Yahweh"</i>
16:7	<i>wayyimšā'āh mal'ak Yahweh</i>
16:9	<i>mal'ak Yahweh</i>
16:10	<i>mal'ak Yahweh</i>
16:11	<i>mal'ak Yahweh... "kī šama' Yahweh"</i>
16:13 ¹¹⁰	<i>wattīqrā' šēm Yahweh</i>
18:1	<i>wayyērā' 'ēlāyw Yahweh</i>
18:13	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh</i>
18:14	<i>"hāyippālē' mēYahweh"</i>
18:17	<i>waYahweh 'āmar</i>

¹⁰⁹ In the speech that begins in this verse, Yahweh again hints at divine plurality by saying, נְדַה וְנִבְּלָה "let us go down and let us confuse" their language. This is the last time that Yahweh speaks in the plural in the Torah. For the significance of this, see Friedman, *The Exodus* (New York: HarperOne, 2017), 183-185.

¹¹⁰ The question of whether or not Hagar utters the divine name here hinges upon the interpretation of the phrase וַתִּקְרָא שֵׁם יְהוָה. Unlike Gen 12:8; 13:4; 26:25 (J), where Abram and Isaac invoke the name, this phrase lacks the preposition ב. Similarly, Gen 4:26b (J) offers a ב קרא construction in which it seems clear that characters speak the divine name from this point onwards. In passages where the verb קרא lacks the ב preposition, the speech component is less clear. Gen 17:19 (P) presents וְקָרָאתָ אֶת־שְׁמוֹ יִצְחָק "and you'll call his name Isaac." Gen 25:30 (J) reads עַל־כֵּן קָרָא שְׁמוֹ אֱדוֹם. Especially in the case of the latter example, it is not clear that anyone actually speaks the name "Edom" in this moment. Rather, the passage simply offers an explanation for the connection between the character Esau and the region of Edom. In light of this, I suggest that Hagar does not speak the divine name. Rather, she calls the name of Yahweh אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה. She does not say the god's name but calls him אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה.

18:19	"derek Yahweh... <i>hābî'</i> Yahweh"
18:20	<i>wayyô'mer</i> Yahweh
18:22	<i>lîpnê</i> Yahweh
18:26	<i>wayyô'mer</i> Yahweh
18:33	<i>wayyēlek</i> Yahweh
19:13	" <i>'et pēnê</i> Yahweh... <i>wayēšalḥēnû</i> Yahweh"
19:14	" <i>kî mašḥîṭ</i> Yahweh"
19:16	<i>bēḥemlat</i> Yahweh
19:24	<i>waYahweh hîmṭîr...</i> <i>mē'ēt</i> Yahweh
19:27	<i>'et pēnê</i> Yahweh
21:1	<i>waYahweh pāqad</i>
24:1	<i>waYahweh bērak</i>
24:3	" <i>wē'ašēbbî'ākā baYahweh</i> "
24:7	"Yahweh <i>'ēlōhê haššāmayîm</i> "
24:12	<i>wayyô'mer</i> "Yahweh..."
24:21	<i>hahîšlîaḥ</i> Yahweh
24:26	<i>wayyîštaḥû laYahweh</i>
24:27	" <i>bārûk</i> Yahweh... <i>nāḥanî</i> Yahweh"
24:31	" <i>bô' bārûk</i> Yahweh"
24:35	" <i>waYahweh bērak</i> "
24:40	"Yahweh <i>'āšer hiṭhalaktî</i> "
24:42	<i>wā'ōmar</i> "Yahweh..."
24:44	" <i>'āšer hōkîaḥ</i> Yahweh"
24:48	" <i>wā'ešttaḥăweh laYahweh...</i> <i>wā'ābārēk 'et</i> Yahweh"
24:50	" <i>mēYahweh yāšā' haddābār</i> "
24:51	" <i>ka'āšer dîbber</i> Yahweh"
24:52	<i>wayyîštaḥû 'aršāh laYahweh</i>
24:56	" <i>waYahweh hîšlîaḥ</i> "
25:21	<i>wayye'ēttar yîšḥāq laYahweh...</i> <i>wayyē'āter lô</i> Yahweh
25:22	<i>lîdrōš 'et</i> Yahweh
25:23	<i>wayyô'mer</i> Yahweh
26:2	<i>wayyērā' 'ēlāyw</i> Yahweh
26:12	<i>wayēbārkehû</i> Yahweh
26:22	<i>hîrḥîb</i> Yahweh
26:24	<i>wayyērā' 'ēlāyw</i> Yahweh
26:25	<i>wayyîqrā' bēšēm</i> Yahweh
26:28	" <i>kî hāyāh</i> Yahweh <i>'īmāk</i> "
26:29	" <i>bārûk</i> Yahweh"
27:7	" <i>lîpnê</i> Yahweh"
27:20	" <i>hîqrāh</i> Yahweh"
27:27	" <i>'āšer bērkô</i> Yahweh"
28:13	<i>wēhînnēh</i> Yahweh... " <i>'ānî</i> Yahweh"
28:16	" <i>'ākēn yēš</i> Yahweh"
29:31	<i>wayyarē'</i> Yahweh
29:32	" <i>kî rā'āh</i> Yahweh"

Laban	24:31, 50, 51; ¹¹³ 30:27, 30
Abimelek	26:28, 29
Achuzat	26:28, 29
Pikol	26:28, 29
Isaac	27:7, 27
Jacob	27:20; 28:16; 32:10
Leah	29:32,33,35
Rachel	30:24

Though Abraham only uses the divine name in speech in Gen 24:3, 7, the J source author records him invoking the name of Yahweh using the phrase *wayyiqra' bēšēm* Yahweh. The author uses this phrase when Abraham builds an altar east of Bethel in 12:8 and when he builds an altar at Bethel itself in 13:4.¹¹⁴ The author also depicts Isaac invoking the divine name with the phrase *wayyiqra' bēšēm* Yahweh in 26:25 when he builds an altar at Beer-sheba.¹¹⁵

Perhaps the most notable use of the divine name in the J source material in Genesis is that the author seems to assume that nearly every character – Abrahamic, or not – knows the name. Yahweh introduces himself explicitly only once to a human character when he appears to Jacob at Bethel 28:13.¹¹⁶ Jacob, however, already knows the divine name, having used it before this introduction in 27:20 when he explained to his father Isaac that Yahweh favoured him in his hunt for game. Thus, the introduction does not give Jacob new information. Additionally, characters who are not part of the Abrahamic lineage also use the name. Bethuel is the son of Abraham's brother Nahor

¹¹³ In vv.50-51 Laban and Bethuel are the speakers.

¹¹⁴ The phrasing is slightly different in 13:4 – וַיִּקְרָא שֵׁם אֲבִרָם בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה –

¹¹⁵ Additionally, Isaac “supplicates” Yahweh (וַיִּעֲתֶר) and Rebekah “goes to consult” (וַתֵּלֶךְ לְדָרָשׁ) Yahweh in 25:21-22. These verbs do not necessarily imply speaking the divine name, so I have not included them in my count of narrative notices of characters speaking the divine name.

¹¹⁶ The וַיִּשְׁמַע יְהוָה אֶל-עֲנִיָּהּ uses the divine name in their speech to Hagar in 16:11, saying כִּי שָׁמַע יְהוָה אֶל-עֲנִיָּהּ. This is a kind of introduction to a character, but Hagar herself does not speak the name. See note 110 above.

(Gen 22:22) and Laban is one of his sons. Abimelek, Achuzat, and Pikol are Philistines from Gerar.

b. 'ēlōhîm, 'ēlōhê, and hā'ēlōhîm

'ēlōhîm		
Occurrence in J-Genesis	Context	
3:1	“ <i>’ap kî ’āmar ’ēlōhîm</i> ”	
3:3	“ <i>’āmar ’ēlōhîm lō’ tō’klû</i> ”	
3:5	“ <i>kî yōdē’a ’ēlōhîm...wīhēyîtem kē’lōhîm</i> ”	
9:27	“ <i>yaptē ’ēlōhîm lēyepet</i> ”	
39:9	“ <i>wēhāṭā’tî lē’lōhîm</i> ”	
42:28	“ <i>mah zō’t ’āsāh ’ēlōhîm lānû</i> ”	
43:29	“ <i>’ēlōhîm yāhñekā bēnî</i> ”	
45:5	“ <i>kî lēmīhyāh šēlāhanî ’ēlōhîm</i> ”	
45:7	“ <i>wayyīslāhēnî ’ēlōhîm līpnē kem</i> ”	
45:9	“ <i>šāmanî ’ēlōhîm lē’ādōn</i> ”	
		Total: 11
Narration		Speech
0		11

'ēlōhê		
Occurrence in J-Genesis	Context	
9:26	“ <i>bārûk Yahweh ’ēlōhê šēm</i> ”	
24:3	“ <i>wē’ašbî’ākā baYahweh ’ēlōhê hašāmayîm wē’lōhê hā’āreṣ</i> ”	
24:7	“ <i>Yahweh ’ēlōhê hašāmayîm</i> ”	
24:12	“ <i>Yahweh ’ēlōhê ’ādōnî ’abrāhām</i> ”	
24:27	“ <i>bārûk Yahweh ’ēlōhê ’ādōnî ’abrāhām</i> ”	
24:42	“ <i>Yahweh ’ēlōhê ’ādōnî ’abrāhām</i> ”	
24:48	“ <i>wā’ābārēk ’et Yahweh ’ēlōhê ’ādōnî ’abrāhām</i> ”	
26:24	“ <i>’ānōkî ’ēlōhê ’abrāhām ’ābîkā</i> ”	
27:20	“ <i>kî hīqrāh Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā lēpānāy</i> ”	
28:13	“ <i>’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhê ’abrāhām ’ābîkā wē’lōhê yīṣḥāq</i> ”	
32:10	“ <i>’ēlōhê ’ābî ’abrāhām wē’lōhê ’ābî yīṣḥāq</i> ”	
43:23	“ <i>’ēlōhēkem wē’lōhê ’ābîkem nātan lākem</i> ”	
		Total: 16
Narration		Speech
0		16

<i>hā'ēlōhîm</i> ¹¹⁷		
Occurrence in J-Genesis	Context	
6:2	<i>wayyîrē'û bēnē hā'ēlōhîm 'et bēnôt hā'ādām</i>	
6:4	<i>yābō'û bēnē hā'ēlōhîm 'el bēnôt hā'ādām</i>	
27:28	<i>"wēyîten lēkā hā'ēlōhîm mītal hašāmayîm"</i>	
42:18	<i>"'et hā'ēlōhîm 'ānî yārē"</i>	
44:16	<i>"hā'ēlōhîm māšā' 'et 'āwōn 'ābādekā"</i>	
45:8	<i>"kî hā'ēlōhîm"</i>	
		Total: 6
Narration		Speech
2		4

In almost all cases where the J source author uses the divine designation *'ēlōhîm* and its derivatives, the term appears in speech between characters.¹¹⁸ The woman and the serpent in Genesis 3 refer to god as *'ēlōhîm* when they speak to one another because it is only in Gen 4:26, in the generation of Lamech, that we read that Yahweh begins to be invoked by name.¹¹⁹ This paves the way for Noah to use the name in 9:26 when he blesses Shem and Japheth and curses Ham.¹²⁰ The occurrences of *'ēlōhîm* in speech in Genesis 3 appear to be the result of the J source author's contention that humans did not use the divine name until later generations.

The next cluster of *'ēlōhîm* occurrences appear in Genesis 24, when Abraham dispatches one of his servants to find a suitable wife for Isaac. Of the 6 times that *'ēlōhîm*

¹¹⁷ That Hebrew אֱלֹהִים appears with the definite article suggests that the author is not using it as a proper noun in these cases.

¹¹⁸ The only two exceptions are Gen 6:2, 4. Friedman highlights that in its usage here, it is part of the fixed phrase בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים. See Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 42.

¹¹⁹ The only exception to this is Gen 4:1 where Eve speaks the name. See my note on the text-critical problems with this example in note 112 above.

¹²⁰ Ham is referred to as Canaan here, a phenomenon likely best explained through reference to Gen 9:18, where he is described as the father of Canaan (וְהָאִם הוּא אָבִי כְנָעַן). Another feature of Noah's blessings for his sons is that he blesses Shem by שֵׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי שֵׁם but only invokes אֱלֹהִים when he blesses Japheth. Ibn Ezra suggests that this is because Japheth is not Shem's equal and therefore unworthy of the divine name. See *Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Pentateuch*, trans. H. Norman Strickman and Arthur M. Silver (Toronto, Canada: Menorah Publishing Company, 1988).

appears, Abraham speaks the term 3 times, and his servant uses it another 3 times. In all cases, the characters use the term in conjunction with the divine name Yahweh and use it to specify the deity's domain and followers. Abraham describes Yahweh as *'ēlōhê haššāmayīm wē'lōhê hā'āreṣ* "god of the skies and god of the earth" and his servant describes Yahweh as *'ēlōhê 'ādōnî* "god of my master" Abraham.

In Gen 26:24 and Gen 28:13, Yahweh himself speaks the word *'ēlōhê*. In Gen 26:24, he describes himself to Isaac as "god of your father Abraham." Isaac clearly knows the name of his father's deity because, in the next verse, he builds an altar and invokes Yahweh by name.¹²¹ Yahweh again introduces himself to Jacob in Gen 28:13 by describing himself as "god of Abraham your father and god of Isaac."¹²² As in Genesis 26, this introduction is followed by the human character speaking the divine name, demonstrating that they know the proper name of the god of their ancestors.¹²³

One instance of *'ēlōhê* and one of *hā'ēlōhîm* appear in Genesis 27. In 27:20, Isaac asks his son "Esau" (Jacob in disguise) how he managed to obtain fresh game so quickly. Jacob responds that Yahweh *'ēlōhêkā* "your god" favoured him. Isaac then blesses Jacob by *hā'ēlōhîm* in 27:28.¹²⁴ Jacob uses *'ēlōhê* twice more in the J source material in Gen 32:10. In both instances in this verse, he equates the *'ēlōhê* of his father Abraham and the *'ēlōhê* of his father Isaac with Yahweh and requests that this deity intervene to help him in his confrontation with his estranged brother Esau. Every time

¹²¹ Hebrew וַיִּקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה. The altar that Isaac builds in this chapter is at Beer-sheba.

¹²² Hebrew אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתָם אֲבִיךָ וְאֵלֶיךָ יִצְחָק.

¹²³ In Gen 28:16, Jacob says, אָכֵן יֵשׁ יְהוָה בְּמָקוֹם הַזֶּה.

¹²⁴ This blessing is interesting in comparison with Noah's blessing of Shem in Gen 9:26, where Noah uses the divine name Yahweh and reserves *'ēlōhîm* for his less-favoured son (according to Ibn Ezra, see note 108 above).

that Jacob uses *'ēlōhē* in speech, he also names the deity as Yahweh. The *'ēlōhē* construction serves to link the god with his ancestors.

The remaining 10 instances of *'ēlōhîm* and its derivatives are located in the J source material on Joseph. Joseph himself uses the term *'ēlōhîm* 5 times and *hā'ēlōhîm* twice. Joseph's steward uses *'ēlōhē* twice to reassure Joseph's brothers that their god and the god of their father must have returned the grain payment to their bags when they last left Egypt. Finally, Joseph's brothers themselves use the term *'ēlōhîm* in Gen 42:28 and *hā'ēlōhîm* in 44:16. In the first instance, they lament that they have left Egypt with both their grain rations and their money returned to them. In the second, Judah pleads with Joseph when the bronze cup is found in Benjamin's bag, saying that *hā'ēlōhîm* has uncovered the brothers' iniquity. In 5 of the cases where Joseph, his brothers, and the Egyptian steward use *'ēlōhîm* and its derivatives, they are speaking in the Egyptian context to people they think are Egyptians or foreigners visiting Egypt. This suggests that the author of the J source does not assume that Egyptians would be familiar with the name.

The other instances of *'ēlōhîm* and its derivatives in the Joseph story in J are slightly more curious. In 42:28, Joseph's brothers use the term *'ēlōhîm* when they are speaking amongst themselves and in 45:5, 7, 8, and 9, Joseph uses the terms *'ēlōhîm* and *hā'ēlōhîm* to describe the divine power that sent him to Egypt for the purpose of preserving his family during the famine in Canaan. In the former case, one might expect the brothers to use the proper name of their god because they (presumably) all know the name. In the latter cases, Joseph's brothers now know his identity and, as such, one might expect Joseph to be privy to the divine name and thus to use it freely as well.

Based on this evidence, I suggest that the divine name is not in use among Joseph's generation in Egypt in the J source material. No other child of Jacob speaks the divine name, and Jacob himself speaks it for the last time in Gen 32:10 before he and his family relocate to Egypt. Thus, the remaining 5 instances of the independent use of *'ēlōhîm* designations may be due to a generational and/or geographic shift in divine nomenclature in the J source. For this author, the divine name is not in use among members of Joseph's generation during their time in Egypt.

Philistine characters can know and speak the name Yahweh in conversation with Abrahamic characters, but the J source author does not use the name in the Egyptian context.¹²⁵ This might suggest that the name is limited to the residents of Canaan. The sons of Jacob do not use the name at all, perhaps because we see them mainly in Egypt. Gerhard von Rad points out that the relatively few references to god in these passages cause the Joseph story to have an affinity with biblical wisdom literature. Joseph invokes *'ēlōhîm* in Gen 50:20 to assure his brothers that the deity's good intentions take precedent over their own bad ones and have resulted in Joseph's success in Egypt and his family's relocation to escape famine.¹²⁶

c. *'ēl*

The designation *'ēl* appears only once in J-Genesis in Gen 16:13. There, Hagar tells Yahweh that his name is *'ēl rō'î*. Though the *mal'ak* Yahweh itself used the divine name when it spoke to Hagar (Gen 16:11), she does not use it in response and instead assigns this deity an epithet identifier. This makes her the only character in Canaan to

¹²⁵ Notably Hagar, an Egyptian woman, does not use the divine name even when a מלאך יהוה shares it with her.

¹²⁶ Gerhard von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch*, trans. Rev. E. W. Trueman Dicken (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 296-297.

not use the divine name. The explanation for this may be tied to Hagar's Egyptian identity. In the J source narrative, the divine name falls out of use in Egypt. Perhaps the author did not want an Egyptian to use the name to preserve its revelation in Egypt later in the J source narrative.

ii. Exodus

The trend of J source author using mainly the divine name Yahweh persists in Exodus.¹²⁷ Other divine designations fall by the wayside as the author presents the divine name coming into use in the land of Egypt.

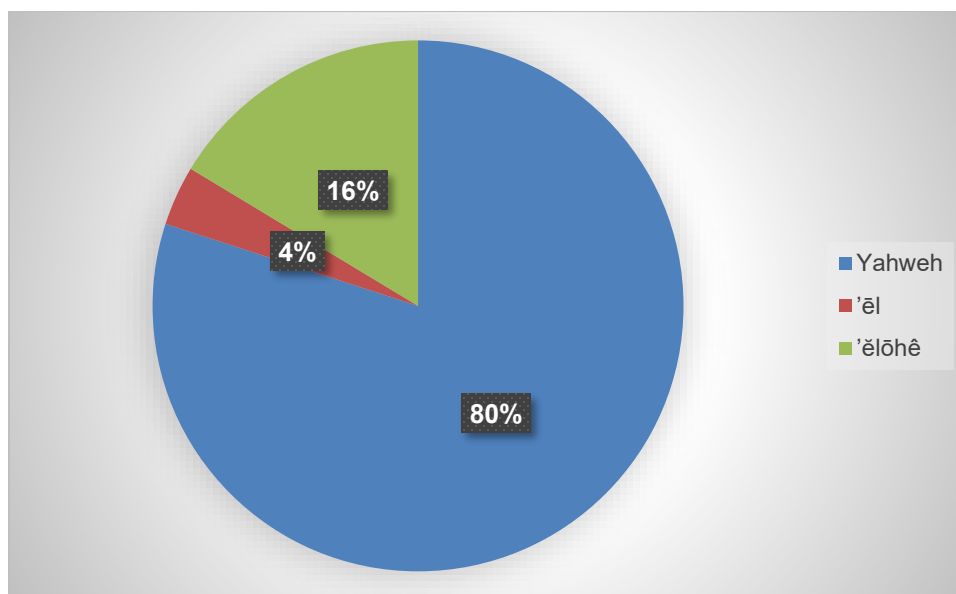


Figure 3: J Source Divine Designations in Exodus (proportional)

¹²⁷ I have removed the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1b-18) from my data set. All grammatical markers indicate that it is certainly much older poetry that the J source author has included in their narrative. See Cross and Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry*, 31-33; Baruch Halpern, *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan* (Chico: Scholar's Press, 1983), 32-33. Notably, this older piece contains yet another divine designation, יה, which is a shortened form of the name Yahweh. This designation appears only twice; once here and once in prose in Exod 17:16 (E). Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, this designation appears in the book of Isaiah and is quite popular in the Psalms. Isaiah 12:2 contains nearly the exact same phrasing as Exod 15:2 (עָזְרִי וְצִמְחָתִי יְהוָה... יְהוָה לִי לִישׁוּעָה). For the other occurrences of this designation, see Isaiah 26:4; 38:11; Psalm 68:5, 19; 77:12; 89:9; 94:7, 12; 102:19; 104:35; 105:45; 106:1, 48; 111:1; 112:1; 113:1, 9; 115:17, 18; 116:19; 117:2; 118:5, 14, 17, 18, 19; 122:4; 130:3; 135:1, 3, 4, 21; 146:1, 10; 147:1, 20; 148:1, 14; 149:1, 9; 150:1, 6. The most common phrase using this designation in the Psalms is יהוה הִלְלוּ־יָהּ which appears in 24 of the 40 verses listed here.

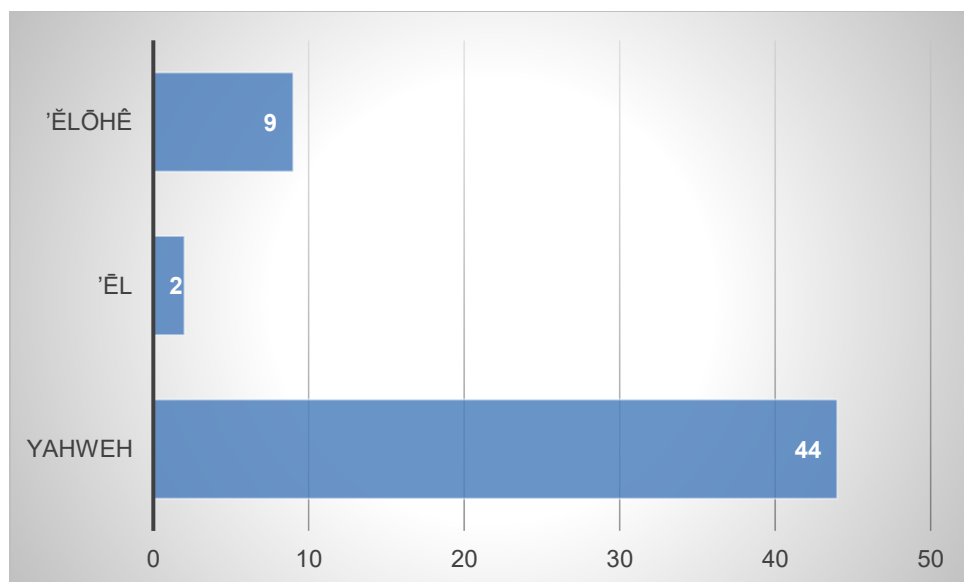


Figure 4: J Source Divine Designations in Exodus (numerical)

The author of the J source uses the divine name 44 times, *'ēlōhē* nine times, and *'ēl* twice. The author uses the divine name in narration but never uses the designations *'ēlōhē* or *'ēl* in narration, only in character speech.

a. Yahweh

The table below presents the J source occurrences of Yahweh in Exodus:

Yahweh	
Occurrence in J-Exodus	Context
3:2	<i>wayyērā' mal'ak Yahweh</i>
3:4	<i>wayyarē' Yahweh</i>
3:7	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh</i>
4:19	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh</i>
4:24	<i>wayyipgēšēhū Yahweh</i>
5:1	<i>"kōh 'āmar Yahweh 'ēlōhē yīsrā'ēl"</i>
5:2 ¹²⁸	<i>"mī Yahweh...lō' yāda'tī 'et Yahweh"</i>
13:21	<i>wēYahweh hōlēk līpnē hem</i>
14:10	<i>wayyiṣ'āqū bēnē yīsrā'ēl 'el Yahweh</i>
14:13	<i>"ūrē'ū 'et yēšū'at Yahweh"</i>

¹²⁸ "Who is Yahweh...I do not know Yahweh." Pharaoh's statement here also suggests that the name Yahweh was not in use in Egypt during Joseph's generation according to the J source author. This is why the Pharaoh does not yet know the name and does not respect Yahweh's divine authority.

name but use it to describe the deity fighting against them on the part of the Israelites. Thus, the divine name is accessible to non-Israelites and is freely used by them.

This presents a development in the use of the divine name. In the generation of Joseph, he and his brothers refer to their god using Hebrew *'ēlōhîm* and its derivatives, which we see during their time in Egypt. When we reach the generation of Moses, the name Yahweh comes into use even in Egypt. Moses himself is the first character to speak the name Yahweh again in Exod 5:1 when he and Aaron address the Pharaoh. As in Genesis, there is no J source account of Yahweh introducing himself to Moses.¹²⁹ Rather, Moses simply knows the name as the other characters in Genesis do.

b. *'ēlōhê* and *'ēl*

There are very few instances of *'ēlōhê* and *'ēl* in the J source material in Exodus.

<i>'ēlōhê</i>		
Occurrence in J-Exodus	Context	
5:1	"Yahweh <i>'ēlōhê yīsrā'ēl</i> "	
34:15	" <i>wězānû 'aḥărê 'ēlōhêhem wězābēḥû lē'lōhêhem</i> "	
34:16	" <i>wězānû bēnōtāyw 'aḥărê 'ēlōhêhen wēhīznû 'et bānēkā 'aḥărê 'ēlōhêhen</i> "	
34:17	" <i>'ēlōhê massēkāh lō' ta'āseh lāk</i> "	
34:23	"Yahweh <i>'ēlōhê yīsrā'ēl</i> "	
34:24	" <i>'et pēnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "	
34:26	" <i>bēt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "	
		Total: 9
Narration		Speech
0		9

¹²⁹ It is possible that an editor removed a J source account of Yahweh introducing himself to Moses in favour of retaining the E source material but, in light of the widely-known divine name in J-Genesis, this is unlikely. Consider Gen 12:8 (J). Abraham explicitly invokes the divine name (ויקרא בשם יהוה) despite the fact that Yahweh has not introduced himself to Abraham by name.

Of the nine uses of *'ēlōhē*, four of them refer to Yahweh as the god of Israel. The remaining five all refer to entities other than Yahweh. The references to *'ēlōhēhem* and *'ēlōhēhen* in 34:15 and 16 both refer to the gods of other inhabitants of Canaan and caution the Israelites against making any covenant with these people, lest they also become involved in the worship of their deities. In 34:17, Yahweh warns the Israelites against making *'ēlōhē massēkāh* “molten gods.”¹³⁰

There is a large concentration of *'ēlōhē* usage in Exod 34. This could be taken as an indicator that these commandments are an insertion into the J source narrative, but it is much more likely that the subject matter of the commandments plays a role in the cluster of *'ēlōhē* designations present here. Most uses of *'ēlōhē* refer to foreign deities, which is a huge focus of this set of commandments. Rather than offering commands regarding ethical action,¹³¹ the commandments here are focused on prohibiting the Israelites from worshipping the deities of the people indigenous to the land that they will soon come to and on ensuring that the Israelites observe all festivals for Yahweh that the deity demands.

<i>'ēl</i>	
Occurrence in J-Exodus	Context
34:6 ¹³²	“ <i>'ēl raḥûm wēḥanûn</i> ”

¹³⁰ The prohibition against molten gods specifically is an important feature of the J source author's religious worldview. The golden calves that Jeroboam makes for the sanctuary in the northern kingdom of Israel are molten, but the cherubs in the temple of Solomon in the south were made from wood and gold plated. This commandment constitutes the author of the J source attempting to delegitimize the religious establishment of the northern kingdom. See Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2019), 58-59.

¹³¹ The commandments in Exod 20:2-10, 12-17 do also stress that the Israelites should only be worshipping Yahweh, but the commands in vv.12-17 especially are more concerned with how people treat one another, including honouring their parents, not committing murder, and not coveting their neighbours' belongings. The commandments in Deut 5:6-18 (Dtr¹) follow the same pattern.

¹³² Friedman observes that Dtr² picks up on the reassuring force of this epithet in Deut 4:31, balancing it with the *אֵל לֹא יָאֵץ* epithet in 4:24 Dtr¹ to soften Yahweh's “jealous” nature. See Friedman, *The Exile and Biblical Narrative* (Chico: Scholar's Press, 1981), 17. For my discussion of these epithets in Deuteronomy, see chapter 5.

34:14	“’ēl qannā’ hû”	
		Total: 2
Narration		Speech
0		2

In the first example, Moses calls Yahweh *’ēl raḥûm wěḥanûn* “merciful and favourable god.”¹³³ In the second, Yahweh instructs Moses to tell the Israelites that they should not worship other gods because he is an *’ēl qannā’* “a jealous god.” This is the same way that Yahweh describes himself when he warns the Israelites against worshipping foreign deities in Exod 20:5.¹³⁴ The phrase *’ēl qannā’* appears again in Deut 4:24; 5:9; and 6:15.¹³⁵

iii. Numbers and Deuteronomy

¹³³ In Deut 4:31 (Dtr¹), the author also uses the term רַחוּם to describe Yahweh, but without the second adjective תַּנּוּן. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, the pairing of רַחוּם and תַּנּוּן is more common (though not always in the same order as in Exod 34:6). See Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Psalm 86:15; 103:8; 111:4; 112:4; 145:8; Nehemiah 9:17, 31; 2 Chron 30:9. In Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2; Psalm 86:15; 103:8; 145:8; Neh 9:17. The praise of a god who is רַחוּם וְתַנּוּן is often followed by language such as אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם and רַב חֶסֶד.

¹³⁴ The version of the ten commandments here in Exod 20:2-10, 12-17 does not appear to belong to any of the four sources. Friedman suggests that it is an insertion. See Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 153. Both Exod 20:5 and Exod 34:14 share the element of a prohibition against bowing down to other deities (לֹא תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה) but otherwise contain markedly different phrasing.

¹³⁵ These verses all belong to Dtr¹. Deut 5:9 matches the phrasing of Exod 20:5 exactly.

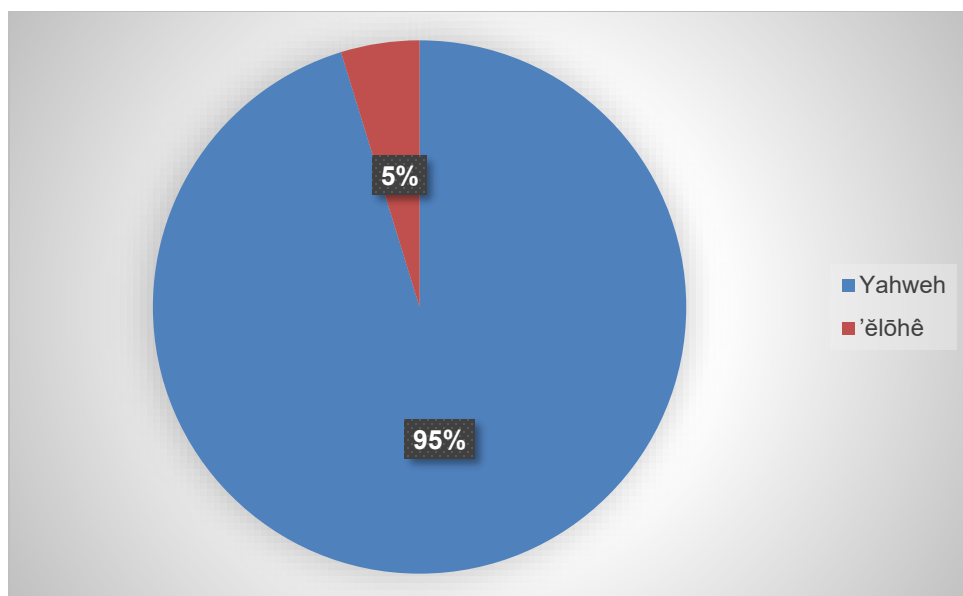


Figure 5: J Source Divine Designations in Numbers (proportional)

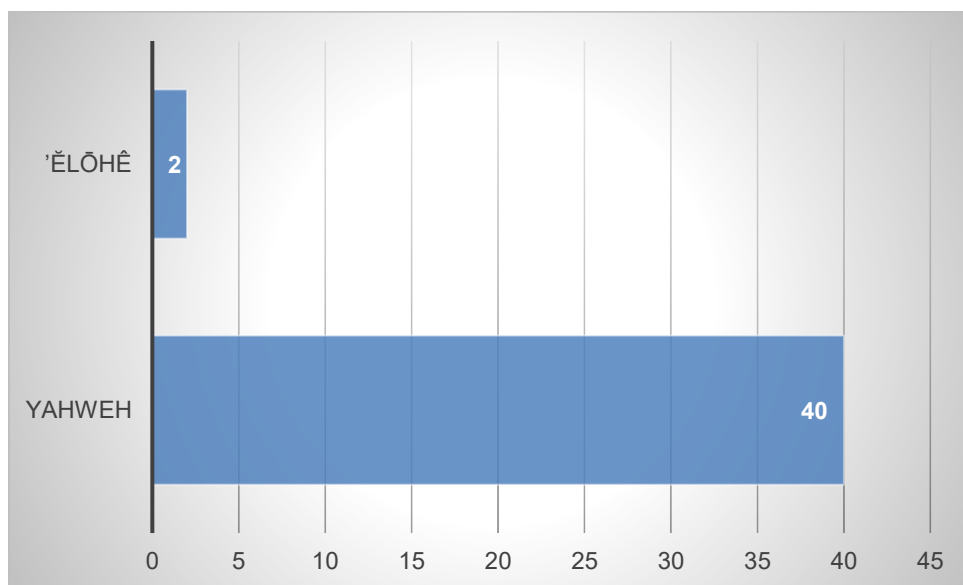


Figure 6: J Source Divine Designations in Numbers (numerical)

In Numbers, the J source author uses the divine name 40 times and uses the term 'ĕlōhê just twice. Both uses of 'ĕlōhê are in Num 25:2 and refer to Moabite deities. While staying at Shittim, the Israelite men commit apostacy by participating in sacrifices to the Moabite gods.

Of the 40 uses of the divine name Yahweh in J-Numbers, 26 uses are in character speech and the remaining 14 are in narration. Moses speaks the name (Num 10:29, 32, 35, 36; 14:14, 16, 18, 41, 42, 43; 16:28, 29, 30; 20:16;¹³⁶ 32:7, 9, 12), Yahweh speaks his own name (14:21; 25:4), the Israelites speak the name (14:40), and the Gadites and Reubenites speak the name (32:27).

The J source material in Deuteronomy consists of only 3 verses and thus requires no chart or table for analysis. The divine name Yahweh appears only twice in 34:5 in narration. Moses, servant of Yahweh, dies in Moab at the command of Yahweh.¹³⁷

Conclusion

Overall, the greatest diversity in divine designations in the J source material is found in Genesis. There, the author uses *'ēlōhîm* and its derivatives independently to refer to god in the speech of characters who live either before the generation of Lamech or after Jacob's generation. The author uses *hā'ēlōhîm* in character speech as well when Isaac blesses Jacob. This author uses the divine name Yahweh in narration and in character speech. They never use *'ēlōhîm* and its derivatives independently to refer to the Israelites' god/pantheon outside of Genesis. Further, this analysis shows that the J source author does not seem to consider the divine name to require any kind of introduction. Both Abrahamic and non-Abrahamic characters know the divine name and use it without the deity formally introducing himself.

¹³⁶ Moses sends messengers to the king of Edom to request passage for the Israelites here. Thus, the messengers also speak the divine name here to a foreign audience.

¹³⁷ Hebrew על־פִּי יְהוָה.

In terms of epithet usage, the evidence in the J source is sparse. The epithet *’ē/ rō’î* appears just once in Gen 16:13 and *’ēlōhē yīsrā’ēl* appears once in Exod 5:1.

Hagar is the speaker in the former case, attributing this phrase to the *mal’ak* Yahweh because it sees her distress and offers her aid. In the latter case, Moses and Aaron use this epithet when they appear before Pharaoh to demand the release of the Israelites for a festival in the wilderness.

CHAPTER 4

DIVINE DESIGNATIONS IN THE E SOURCE MATERIAL

The E source data yield some slightly more diverse charts than the J source data. This author uses many different divine designations and epithets in Genesis, but this author's use of divine designations shifts significantly after Exodus 3.

i. **Genesis**

The author of the E source refers to god as *'ēlōhîm* throughout Genesis. The E source narrative in Genesis begins in Genesis 20. Some have suggested that Genesis 15 may also be part of the E source narrative, but the evidence remains inconclusive.¹³⁸ I have reserved Genesis 15 for chapter 7 of this work on outliers and begin my analysis of divine designations in the E source in Genesis 20.

¹³⁸ See chapter 3, note 102 for the questions surrounding the source assignment of Genesis 15 and my decision to place this text in the outliers section of this work. Why the preserved E source narrative begins in Genesis 20 is worthy of future investigation.

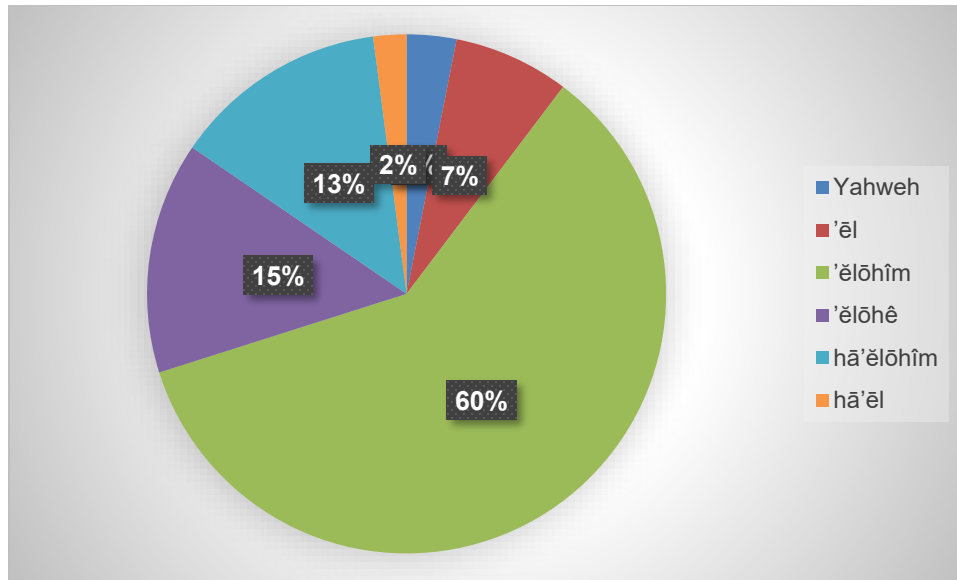


Figure 7: E Source Divine Designations in Genesis (proportional)

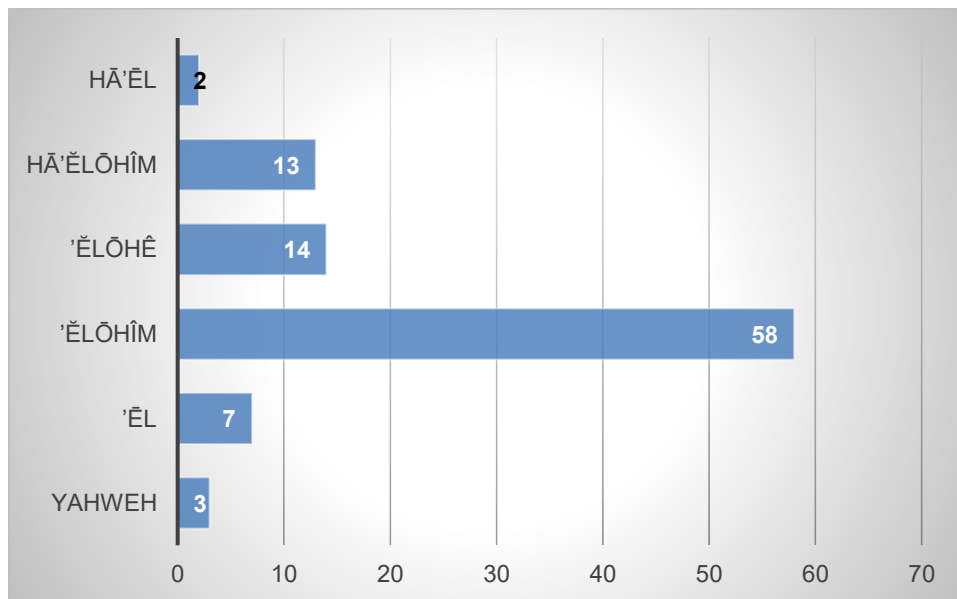


Figure 8: E Source Divine Designations in Genesis (numerical)

a. 'ēlōhîm, 'ēlōhê, and hā'ēlōhîm

'ēlōhîm and its derivatives are the top 3 divine designations that appear in the E source material in Genesis. This author uses 'ēlōhîm, 'ēlōhê, and hā'ēlōhîm 86 times. 'ēl and hā'ēl occur 6 and 2 times respectively, and the author uses the divine name

Yahweh 4 times. This means that *'ēlōhîm* and its derivatives make up 85 of the 98 divine designations in the E source material in Genesis. This will be the first category of designations for analysis.

<i>'ēlōhîm</i>	
Occurrence in E-Genesis	Context
20:3	<i>wayābō' 'ēlōhîm</i>
20:11	<i>"yîr'at 'ēlōhîm"</i>
20:13 ¹³⁹	<i>"hîṭ'û 'ōtî 'ēlōhîm"</i>
20:17	<i>wayyîrpā' 'ēlōhîm</i>
21:6	<i>"'āsāh lî 'ēlōhîm"</i>
21:12	<i>wayyō'mer 'ēlōhîm</i>
21:17	<i>wayyîšma' 'ēlōhîm...mal'ak 'ēlōhîm..."kî šāma' 'ēlōhîm"</i>
21:19	<i>wayyîpqaḥ 'ēlōhîm</i>
21:20	<i>wayēhî 'ēlōhîm</i>
21:22	<i>"'ēlōhîm 'îmkā"</i>
21:23	<i>"hîšāb'āh lî bē'lōhîm"</i>
22:8	<i>"'ēlōhîm yîr'eh lô"</i>
28:12	<i>mal'ākē 'ēlōhîm</i>
28:17	<i>"îm bêt 'ēlōhîm"</i>
28:20	<i>"îm yîhyeh 'ēlōhîm"</i>
28:21	<i>"wēhāyāh Yahweh lî lē'lōhîm"</i>
28:22	<i>"bêt 'ēlōhîm"</i>
30:2	<i>"hātaḥat 'ēlōhîm 'ānōkî"</i>
30:6	<i>"dānanî 'ēlōhîm"</i>
30:8	<i>"naptûlē 'ēlōhîm"</i>
30:17	<i>wayyîšma' 'ēlōhîm</i>
30:18	<i>"nātan 'ēlōhîm"</i>
30:20	<i>"zēbādanî 'ēlōhîm"</i>
30:22	<i>wayyîzkōr 'ēlōhîm</i>
30:23	<i>"'āsap 'ēlōhîm"</i>
31:7	<i>"wēlō' nētānō 'ēlōhîm"</i>
31:9	<i>"wayyaššēl 'ēlōhîm"</i>
31:16	<i>"hîṣîl 'ēlōhîm...'āmar 'ēlōhîm"</i>
31:24	<i>wayābō' 'ēlōhîm</i>

¹³⁹ This is the only occurrences of אֱלֹהִים paired with a masculine plural verb in E-Genesis – Abraham explains to Abimelek that “gods caused me to wander.” The Samaritan Pentateuch is the only Semitic language manuscript that presents a singular verb here. The Greek offers ἐγένετο δὲ ἡνίκα ἐξήγαγέν με ὁ θεός, but the singular verb is unsurprising because of the singular nature of the Greek θεός. Similarly, the translator presents a singular verb in LXX Gen 35:7 while the MT presents the plural אֱלֹהִים. The plural verb is a likely reading here in that it reflects divine plurality, perhaps as a result of Abraham’s communicating with a polytheist.

31:42	“rā’āh ’ēlōhîm”	Total: 58	
31:50	“’ēlōhîm ‘ēd”		
32:2	mal’ākē ’ēlōhîm		
32:3	“maḥănēh ’ēlōhîm zeh”		
32:29	“kî sārîtā ’īm ’ēlōhîm”		
32:31	“kî rā’îtî ’ēlōhîm”		
33:5	“’āšer ḥānan ’ēlōhîm”		
33:10	“kīrōt pēnē ’ēlōhîm”		
33:11	“kî ḥananî ’ēlōhîm”		
35:1	wayyō’mer ’ēlōhîm		
35:5	hittat ’ēlōhîm		
40:8	“hālô’ lē’lōhîm”		
41:16 ¹⁴⁰	“’ēlōhîm ya’āneh”		
41:38	“rû ^a ḥ ’ēlōhîm”		
41:39	“hôdî ^a ’ ’ēlōhîm”		
41:51	“kî naššanî ’ēlōhîm”		
41:52	“kî hīpranî ’ēlōhîm”		
46:2	wayyō’mer ’ēlōhîm		
48:9	“nātan lî ’ēlōhîm”		
48:11	“her’āh ’ōtî ’ēlōhîm”		
48:20	“yěšîmkā ’ēlōhîm”		
48:21	“wēḥāyāh ’ēlōhîm”		
50:19	“hātaḥat ’ēlōhîm ’ānî”		
50:20	“’ēlōhîm ḥāšābāh”		
50:24	“wē’lōhîm pāqōd”		
50:25	“pāqōd yīpqōd ’ēlōhîm”		
		Total: 58	
Narration			Speech
15			
		Total: 58	
Speech			43
15			

'ēlōhē	
Occurrence in E-Genesis	Context
31:5	"wē'lōhē 'ābî"
31:30 ¹⁴¹	"gānabētā 'et 'ēlōhay"

¹⁴⁰ The Dead Sea Scrolls does not provide a divergent divine designation here, but 4QGen¹ reads instead, "It is not in me; God will give Pharaoh a suitable answer." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, eds. Martin Abegg Jr., Peter Flint, and Eugene Ulrich (New York: HarperCollins, 1999), 17. Overall, the Dead Sea Scrolls do not provide any different designations in Genesis from the MT except in Gen 22:14 (יהוה יִרְאֶה) rather than אֱלֹהִים יִרְאֶה, which I have eliminated from this analysis due to it likely being the work of a redactor. Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 65.

¹⁴¹ The case of this instance of an אֱלֹהִי and the one following it in 31:32 refer to objects of worship rather than a deity. Laban is accusing Jacob of stealing his family תְּרָפִים, which Rachel took in 31:19. אֱלֹהִים also appears to refer to objects in Exod 32:1 (E), where the people demand that Aaron make for them an אֱלֹהִים. In that case, he produces a golden calf.

Of the 58 times that the E source author¹⁴⁴ uses the divine designation *'ēlōhîm*, there are 42 uses in speech and just 15 in narration. *'ēlōhê*, similarly, appears more often in speech than in narration, with 11 speech occurrences and 3 narrative examples. *hā'ēlōhîm* is almost equally popular in speech and in narrative, with 7 occurrences in speech and 6 in narrative. In speech, characters of all backgrounds use the designation *'ēlōhîm*. Abraham uses it in conversation with foreigners and with his son Isaac (20:11, 13; 22:8); Sarah uses it (21:6), a *mal'ak 'ēlōhîm* uses it (21:17); foreigners use it when speaking with Abraham (21:22, 23); Jacob uses it when alone, in conversation with his wives, and with Laban (28:17, 20, 21, 22; 30:1; 31:7, 9, 42; 32:3, 31; 33:5, 10, 11; 48:11, 20, 21); Rachel uses it (30:6, 8, 23; 31:16); Leah uses it (30:18, 20; 31:16); Laban uses it (31:50); a mysterious being uses it (32:29);¹⁴⁵ Joseph uses it (40:8; 41:16, 51, 52; 48:9; 50:19, 20, 24, 25); and the Pharaoh uses it (41:38, 39). The only uses that present this designation in proximity to the divine name are 28:21 and 31:49.¹⁴⁶ The limited occurrences of *'ēlōhîm* paired with the divine name Yahweh demonstrate that this designation functions independently to refer to the Israelite god.

Barring one spoken use of *hā'ēlōhîm* in Gen 31:11, where Jacob tells his wives that a *mal'ak hā'ēlōhîm* spoke to him in a dream, *hā'ēlōhîm* is most popular in the Joseph material. In Gen 41:25, 28, and 32, Joseph uses the term consistently to explain to Pharaoh what *hā'ēlōhîm* is trying to communicate to him through cryptic dreams. In

¹⁴⁴ I refer to the author of the E source as an individual writer. I do this because of the unified nature of the texts that belong to these sources. For more on this, see Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?*, 68.

¹⁴⁵ For more on the identity of this mysterious being, see Friedman, *The Hidden Face of God* (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), 11-12.

¹⁴⁶ Jacob seems to use both אֱלֹהִים and יְהוָה. See the chart on the divine name below for context.

48:15, Jacob blesses Joseph by invoking *hā'ēlōhîm* before whom his fathers walked and who has shepherded him since his birth.¹⁴⁷ The evidence does not present a semantic distinction between *'ēlōhîm* and *hā'ēlōhîm*.

In the construct form, *'ēlōhê* appears most often in speech (11 times) and less often in narration (3 times). The author pairs it mostly with patronyms including *'ābî*, *'ābîkā*, *'ābîw yīṣḥāq*, *'ābîhem*, *'abrāhām*, and *nāḥôr*. These constructions seem to emphasize that the *'ēlōhîm* in question is associated with a certain ancestral line.¹⁴⁸ The form also appears with personal pronouns including *'ēlōhê* and *'ēlōhêkā* which link the *'ēlōhîm* with an individual. Finally, there is one occurrence of *'ēlōhê yīsrā'ēl* in Gen 33:20 and two instances of *'ēlōhê hannēkār* in Gen 35:2, 4. In the case of the former, this is the divine title that Jacob links with the altar that he builds at Shechem. *yīsrā'ēl* functions here as a personal name, linking Jacob's altar with the new name that he received in Gen 32:29.¹⁴⁹ In the latter case, Jacob instructs the members of his household to put away their *'ēlōhê hannēkār* before they go up the Bethel to make an altar to the *'ēl* who answered him in his day of trouble. This reference to “foreign gods” does not refer to Jacob's god.

b. *'ēl* and *hā'ēl*

There are nine occurrences of *'ēl* and *hā'ēl* in the E source material in Genesis. Eight of these nine occurrences refer to god. Of those eight, five occurrences are in character speech. The *'ēlōhîm* in communication with Jacob calls himself “*hā'ēl bêt-'ēl*”

¹⁴⁷ Note the J source use of *hā'ēlōhîm* in Gen 27:28. This is the divine designation that Isaac invokes when he blesses Jacob. It is clear, in the J context, that the divine name is widely known. However, *hā'ēlōhîm* is used even there for blessing one's child.

¹⁴⁸ According to the P source genealogy in Gen 11:26, this is Terah's ancestral line.

¹⁴⁹ Though it is a personal name here, it may also look forward to when the author begins to describe Yahweh using the epithet *יְהוָה יִשְׂרָאֵל* in Exod 24:10.

in Gen 31:13 and instructs Jacob to build an altar for this 'ē/ in Gen 35:1. In Gen 46:3, 'ēlōhīm once again introduces himself as *hā'ē/*, this time associating himself with Jacob's fathers.

Jacob frequently uses the term 'ē/ at times to refer to god. In Gen 35:3, he tells his wives that they are going to Bethel to build an altar to the 'ē/ who answered him there. He also invokes 'ē/ *šadday* to dispose Joseph favourably towards his brothers when they need to return to Egypt for more grain.¹⁵⁰

'ē/		
Occurrence in E-Genesis	Context	
21:33	Yahweh 'ē/ 'ōlām	
31:29 ¹⁵¹	“yeš lē'ē/ yādī”	
33:20	'ē/ 'ēlōhē yīsrā'ē/	
35:1	“lā'ē/ hannīr'eh 'ēlēkā”	
35:3	“lā'ē/ hā'ōneh 'ōtī”	
35:7	'ē/ bêt-'ē/	
43:14	“wē'ē/ šadday yīten lākem”	
		Total: 7
Narration		Speech
3		4

hā'ē/		
Occurrence in E-Genesis	Context	
31:13 ¹⁵²	“ānōkī hā'ē/ bêt-'ē/”	

¹⁵⁰ This is the first and only use of the epithet *šadday* in E-Genesis. It will appear later in the E source elsewhere only in the Balaam material in Num 24:14, 16 where it functions as an independent designation and not an epithet. In the context of the Torah, the only other author to use this epithet is the P source author in Gen 17:1; 28:3; 35:11 and in Exod 6:3.

¹⁵¹ The לָא here does not refer to the ancient Israelite god but appears instead to be a turn of phrase that Laban uses to describe his relationship with Jacob. He warns him that “god has (in) my hand the power to deal badly with you.” For other instances of this expression, see Deut 28:32; Mic 2:1; Prov 3:27; Neh 5:5. In all cases, it refers to someone having or not having the ability to do something.

¹⁵² The grammar of this phrase is problematic. Though often translated “I am the God of Bethel” (JPS, NRSVUE, KJV), the Hebrew does not reflect this meaning. If the elements אֵל and בֵּית-אֵל were in a construct chain, we would expect the definite article to appear with the second element, not the first. The only grammatical way to translate this phrase as it is in the MT is “I am the god bêt-'ē/.” This may have intriguing ramifications, especially in light of the later Jewish worship of Eshem-Bethel and Anat-Bethel at Elephantine. See Karel van der Toorn, *Becoming Diaspora Jews* (New Haven: Yale University Press,

46:3	“’ānōkî hā’ēl ’ēlōhê ’ābîkā”	
		Total: 2
Narration		Speech
0		2

Unlike *’ēl*, *hā’ēl* appears only in speech and is only used by god. In 31:13, Jacob tells Leah and Rachel that he dreamt that a *mal’ak hā’ēlōhîm* appeared to him and introduced itself as *hā’ēl bêt-’ēl*. The *mal’āk* encouraged him to return to his homeland. In 46:3, *’ēlōhîm* appears to Jacob in a night vision, explains that he is *hā’ēl ’ēlōhê ’ābîkā*, and encourages him to go down to Egypt. In both instances where god uses *hā’ēl*, he is specifying that he is a particular deity. When he appears to Jacob at Aram-Naharaim, he stresses that he is the same deity who appeared to him at Bethel. When he appears in a night vision, he stresses that he is the same deity worshipped by Jacob’s father.¹⁵³ This suggests that, at least in these cases of *’ēl* designations, the definite article has a particularizing force.

Except for one instance in Gen 21:33, the divine designations *’ēl* and *hā’ēl* appear exclusively in E source narratives about Jacob and his family. In 21:33, Abraham plants a tamarisk tree at Beer-sheba and invokes there the name of Yahweh *’ēl ’ōlām*. This pairing of the designation *’ēl* with the epithet *’ōlām* is unique to the E source and occurs nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁵⁴

2019), 100. The translators of the LXX either remedied the Hebrew here or were in possession of a different *Vorlage*. The LXX reads, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεός σοι ἐν τοῦτω θεοῦ “I am the god who appeared to you in the place of the god.”

¹⁵³ Jacob’s parentage in the E source is an interesting question. Friedman suggests that Isaac dies in this source, sacrificed by Abraham at Moriah. See Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 65. There are, however, references to Isaac later in the E source narrative as one of the Israelite ancestors. See Exod 3:6, 15, 16; 4:5.

¹⁵⁴ See note 161 below for my suggestion on the connection between this occurrence and the use of the term עולם in Exod 3:15 (E). עולם does appear with other divine designations though. Isaiah 40:28 אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה “Yahweh (is) a god of eternity;” Jeremiah 10:10 הוּא אֱלֹהִים חַי וְקַי “he (is) a living god and an eternal king;” Psalms 10:16 יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ עֹלָם “Yahweh is an eternal king;” Psalm 90:2 וְעוֹלָם עַד-עוֹלָם אֱתֵנָּה

c. Yahweh

Yahweh		
Occurrence in E-Genesis	Context	
20:18	<i>kî 'āṣōr 'āṣar Yahweh</i>	
21:33	<i>běšēm Yahweh 'el 'ôlām</i>	
28:21	<i>"wěhāyāh Yahweh lî lē'lōhîm"</i>	
		Total: 3
Narration		Speech
2		1

Of the 3 occurrences of the divine name Yahweh in E-Genesis, 1 seems to appear in speech. In the first occurrence in speech in Gen 28:21, Jacob swears that, if 'ēlōhîm will be with him and return him safely to his father's house, Yahweh will be his god. This speech context is complicated by the use of the infinitive form *lē'mōr*. In other contexts, this form marks a summary of speech, but not a word-for-word account of what a character says. In Gen 18:13, for example, Yahweh asks why Sarah has laughed, saying (*lē'mōr*) "will I really bear a child (even as) I have aged?"¹⁵⁵ In Gen 18:12, however, the reader can see that this is not what Sarah said.¹⁵⁶ The use of *lē'mōr* in Gen 28:21 may thus indicate that the narrator is not recording direct speech from Jacob, but instead the meaning of Jacob's vow.

The remaining 2 occurrences of the divine name are in stories about Abraham and Sarah. The first is difficult to classify as either speech or narration. In Gen 21:33, we read that Abraham plants a tamarisk tree at Beer-sheba and invokes the name of

אל "from the past until forever, you are god;" Micah 4:5 וְעַד מָה אֵלֵינוּ לְעוֹלָם וְעַד "in the name of Yahweh our god forever and ever." Of these examples, only the first presents עולם as an epithet. Otherwise, it just functions to describe Yahweh's status as an eternal king and the Israelite god forever.

¹⁵⁵ Hebrew וְעַד מָה אֵלֵינוּ לְעוֹלָם וְעַד.

¹⁵⁶ Other passages use לאמר in this way as well. See Gen 3:17; 5:29; 2 Sam 5:6. This line of inquiry was suggested to me by Baruch Halpern, personal communication.

Yahweh *'ēl 'ôlām* there.¹⁵⁷ Though embedded in narration, the presence of the *qārā' bē* construction might suggest that Abraham knows of and speaks the divine name in Genesis.¹⁵⁸ Unlike the other passages containing a *qārā' bē* construction, though, this one includes the epithet *'ēl 'ôlām*. I suggest that Abraham does not actually invoke Yahweh by name here but rather invokes the deity who will be known as Yahweh as *'ēl 'ôlām*. This will become clearer when I present the evidence in E-Exodus and consider the identity of the E source author.

The final occurrence of Yahweh is firmly in a narrative context. At the end of Genesis 20, Abraham must pray to *hā'ēlōhîm* to heal Abimelek and his wife and his servant girls so that they can bear children. This is because Yahweh had closed every womb in Abimelek's household in retaliation for his mistaken appropriation of Sarah.¹⁵⁹

ii. Exodus

¹⁵⁷ The invocation of the divine name is an important part of altar-building narratives elsewhere. Judges 6:24 presents Gideon building an altar after a theophany. He calls the altar יהוה שָׁלוֹם. The divine name is often attached to altars.

¹⁵⁸ See chapter 3, note 110 for my evidence regarding the meaning of the *ב קרא* construction.

¹⁵⁹ The alternation between *הָאֱלֹהִים* and the divine name *יהוה* is strange here. See chapter 4 for my observation on the presence of the divine name in passages in both the E and P source documents that involve Sarah and her reproductive capacity.

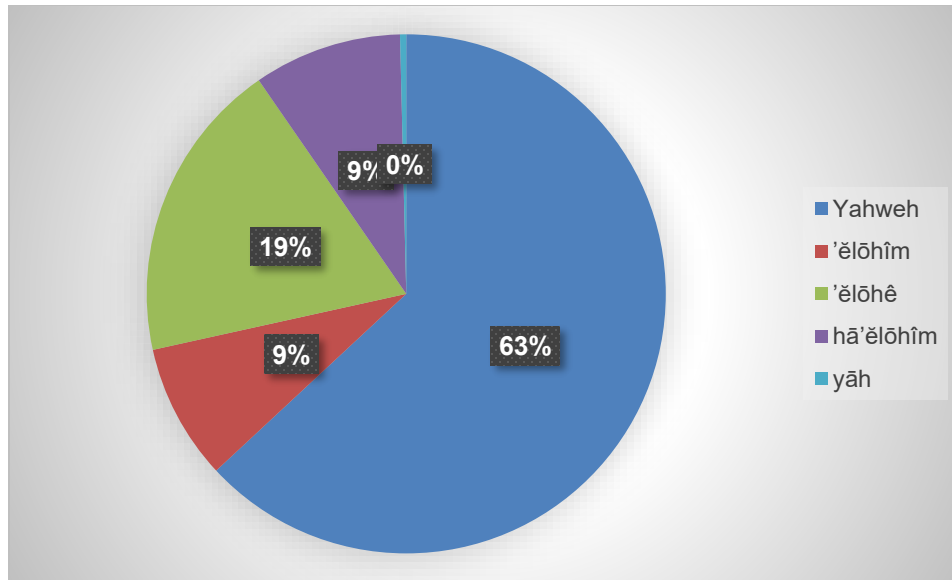


Figure 9: E Source Divine Designations in Exodus (proportional)

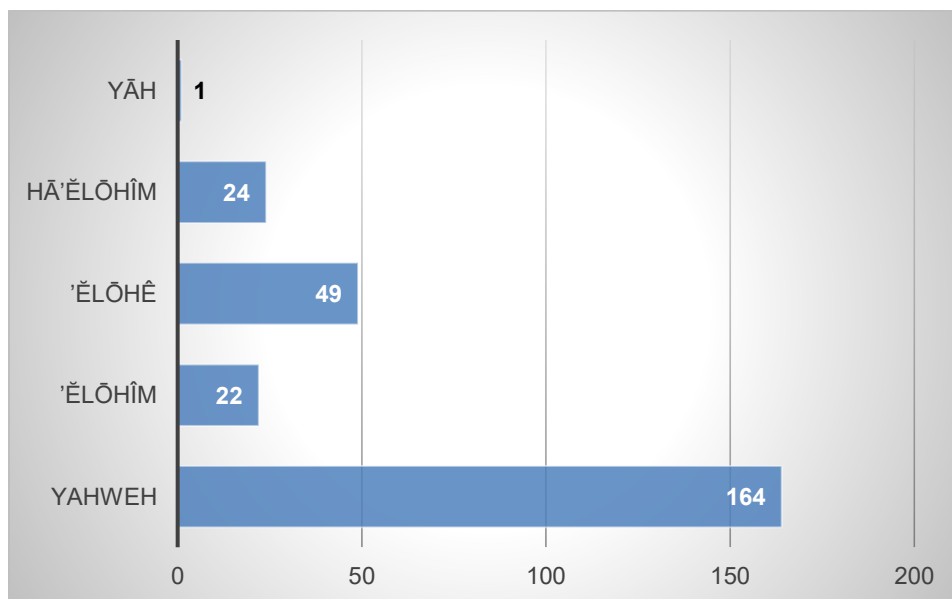


Figure 10: E Source Divine Designations in Exodus (numerical)

The shift in the use of divine designations is huge in the E source material in Exodus.¹⁶⁰ The divine name Yahweh supplants *’ēlōhîm* as the most used designation with 164 uses in comparison with 95 total uses of *’ēlōhîm*, *’ēlōhê*, and *hā’ēlōhîm*.

a. Yahweh

Yahweh	
Occurrence in E-Exodus	Context
3:15 ¹⁶¹	“Yahweh <i>’ēlōhê ’ābōtēkem</i> ”
3:16	“Yahweh <i>’ēlōhê ’ābōtēkem</i> ”
3:18	“Yahweh <i>’ēlōhê hā’ībrīyîm...wēnīzbēḥāh laYahweh ’ēlōhēnū</i> ”
4:1	“ <i>lō’ nīr’āh ’ēlēkā Yahweh</i> ”
4:2	<i>wayyō’mer ’ēlāyw Yahweh</i>
4:4	<i>wayyō’mer Yahweh ’el mōšeh</i>
4:5	“ <i>kî nīr’āh ’ēlēkā Yahweh</i> ”
4:6	<i>wayyō’mer Yahweh</i>
4:10	<i>wayyō’mer mōšeh ’el Yahweh</i>
4:11	<i>wayyō’mer Yahweh ’ēlāyw... “hālō’ ’ānōkî Yahweh”</i>
4:14	<i>wayyīḥar ’ap Yahweh bēmōšeh</i>
4:21	<i>wayyō’mer Yahweh ’el mōšeh</i>
4:22	“ <i>kōh ’āmar Yahweh</i> ”
4:27	<i>wayyō’mer Yahweh ’el ’ahārōn</i>
4:28	<i>kōl dībrê Yahweh</i>
4:30	<i>kōl haddēbārîm ’āšer dībber Yahweh</i>
4:31	<i>kî pāqad Yahweh</i>
5:3	“ <i>wēnīzbēḥāh laYahweh ’ēlōhēnū</i> ”
5:17 ¹⁶²	“ <i>nēlkāh wēnīzbēḥāh laYahweh</i> ”
5:21	“ <i>yēre’ Yahweh ’ālēkem</i> ”
5:22	<i>wayyāšōb mōšeh ’el Yahweh</i>
6:1	<i>wayyō’mer Yahweh ’el mōšeh</i>
7:14	<i>wayyō’mer Yahweh ’el mōšeh</i>
7:16	“Yahweh <i>’ēlōhê hā’ībrîm</i> ”
7:17	“ <i>kōh ’āmar Yahweh...kî ’ānî Yahweh</i> ”
7:25	<i>hakkōt Yahweh ’et hayē’ōr</i>

¹⁶⁰ I have excluded the Covenant Code from my analysis of the E source material in Exodus as it is likely a separate legal work that the author of the E source has incorporated into their document. See Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 154. For an analysis of the divine designations that appear in that document, see the section in this work on outliers.

¹⁶¹ Note the phrasing of יהוה אל עלם in 3:15 and recall that Abraham invokes the name of יהוה אל עלם in Gen 21:33.

¹⁶² The LXX presents τῷ θεῷ here. Targum Jonathan offers אלהיך here but presents the Pharaoh explicitly saying the name (and that it is not known to him) in 5:2.

7:26	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh...“kōh 'āmar “Yahweh”</i>
8:4	<i>“ha'ētîrû 'el Yahweh...wěyîzbēhû laYahweh”</i>
8:6	<i>“kaYahweh 'ēlōhênû”</i>
8:8	<i>wayyîš'aq mōšeh 'el Yahweh</i>
8:9	<i>wayya'as Yahweh kīdbar mōšeh</i>
8:16	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh...“kōh 'āmar “Yahweh”</i>
8:18	<i>“kî 'ānî Yahweh”</i>
8:20	<i>wayya'as Yahweh kēn</i>
8:22	<i>“nîzbah laYahweh 'ēlōhênû”</i>
8:23	<i>“wězābahnû laYahweh 'ēlōhênû”</i>
8:24	<i>“ûzēbahtem laYahweh 'ēlōhêkem”</i>
8:25	<i>“wěha'ētartî 'el Yahweh...lîzbōah laYahweh”</i>
8:26	<i>wayye'ētar 'el Yahweh</i>
8:27	<i>wayya'as Yahweh kīdbar mōšeh</i>
9:1	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh...“kōh 'āmar “Yahweh”</i>
9:3	<i>“hīnnēh yad Yahweh”</i>
9:4	<i>“wěhīplāh Yahweh”</i>
9:5	<i>“wayyāsem Yahweh mō'ed...māhār ya'āseh Yahweh”</i>
9:6	<i>wayya'as Yahweh 'et hadābār hazeh</i>
9:13	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh...“kōh 'āmar “Yahweh”</i>
9:20	<i>hāyārē' 'et dēbar Yahweh</i>
9:21	<i>'el dēbar Yahweh</i>
9:22	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
9:23	<i>waYahweh nātan qōlōt...wayyamtēr Yahweh bārād</i>
9:27	<i>“Yahweh haṣadīq”</i>
9:28	<i>“ha'ētîrû 'el Yahweh”</i>
9:29	<i>“'eprōš 'et kapay 'el Yahweh...laYahweh hā'āreš”</i>
9:30 ¹⁶³	<i>“mīpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhîm”</i>
9:33	<i>wayyīprōs kapāyw 'el Yahweh</i>
10:1	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
10:2	<i>“kî 'ānî Yahweh”</i>
10:3	<i>“kōh 'āmar Yahweh”</i>
10:7	<i>“wěya'abdû 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhêhem”</i>
10:8	<i>“'ībdû 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhêkem”</i>
10:9	<i>“kî ḥag Yahweh lānû”</i>
10:10	<i>“yěhî kēn Yahweh”</i>
10:11	<i>“wě'ībdû 'et Yahweh”</i>
10:12	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
10:13	<i>waYahweh nīhag rūaḥ qādīm</i>
10:16	<i>“ḥāṭā'tî laYahweh 'ēlōhêkem”</i>
10:17	<i>“wěha'ētîrû laYahweh 'ēlōhêkem”</i>

¹⁶³ This is the first case of the compound designation יהוה אלהים since Gen 3:23 (RJE). Notably, it is lacking from the LXX, which reads only κύριον here. Further, this compound designation does not appear elsewhere in the rest of the Hebrew Bible.

10:18	<i>waye'ətar 'el Yahweh</i>
10:19	<i>wayyahăpōq Yahweh rū^ah yām</i>
10:21	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
10:24	<i>"'İbdû 'et Yahweh"</i>
10:25	<i>"wě'āsînu laYahweh 'əlōhênû"</i>
10:26	<i>"la'ăbōd 'et Yahweh 'əlōhênû...mah na'ăbōd 'et Yahweh"</i>
11:1	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
11:3	<i>wayyittēn Yahweh 'et hēn</i>
11:4	<i>"kōh 'āmar Yahweh"</i>
11:7	<i>"yapleh Yahweh bēn mišrāyīm"</i>
12:23	<i>"wě'ābar Yahweh...ūpāsaḥ Yahweh"</i>
12:25	<i>"'ăšer yittēn Yahweh lākem"</i>
12:27	<i>"zebaḥ pesaḥ hû' laYahweh"</i>
12:29	<i>waYahweh hikkāh kōl bēkôr</i>
12:31	<i>"'İbdû 'et Yahweh"</i>
12:36	<i>waYahweh nātan 'et hēn</i>
13:1	<i>wayyēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
13:3	<i>"hōšî' Yahweh 'etkem"</i>
13:5	<i>"wěhāyāh kî yēbî'ākā Yahweh"</i>
13:6	<i>"ḥag laYahweh"</i>
13:8	<i>"zeh 'āsāh Yahweh lî"</i>
13:9	<i>"tîhyeh tôrat Yahweh...hōšî'ākā Yahweh mîmišrāyīm"</i>
13:11	<i>"wěhāyāh kî yēbî'ākā Yahweh"</i>
13:12	<i>"kōl peṭer reḥem laYahweh...laYahweh"</i>
13:14	<i>"bēhōzeq yād hōšî'ānû Yahweh"</i>
13:15	<i>"wayyahărōg Yahweh kōl bēkôr...'ănî zōbēaḥ laYahweh"</i>
13:16	<i>"hōšî'ānû Yahweh mîmišrāyīm"</i>
15:21	<i>"šîrû laYahweh"</i>
15:26	<i>"lěqōl Yahweh 'əlōhēkā...'ănî Yahweh rōp'ekā"</i>
17:2	<i>"mah tēnassûn 'et Yahweh"</i>
17:4	<i>wayyiš'aq mōšeh 'el Yahweh</i>
17:5	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
17:7	<i>nassōtām 'et Yahweh..."ḥāyēš Yahweh bēqîrbēnû"</i>
17:14	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
17:15	<i>šēmô Yahweh nîsî</i>
17:16	<i>"mîlḥāmāh laYahweh ba'āmālēq"</i>
18:1	<i>kî hōšî' Yahweh</i>
18:8	<i>kōl 'ăšer 'āsāh Yahweh...wayyaššilēm Yahweh</i>
18:9	<i>kōl haṭṭōbāh 'ăšer 'āsāh Yahweh</i>
18:10	<i>"bārûk Yahweh"</i>
18:11	<i>"yāda'tî kî gādōl Yahweh"</i>
19:3	<i>wayyîqrā' 'ēlāyw Yahweh</i>
19:7	<i>hā'ēlleh 'ăšer šîwwāhû Yahweh</i>
19:8	<i>"kōl 'ăšer dîbber Yahweh"... 'el Yahweh</i>
19:9	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh...'el Yahweh</i>

Egypt. Moses requests that the *’ēlōhîm* share his name with him so that he can in turn demonstrate to the people that he knows their god’s name. This knowledge of the deity’s name, which does not appear to be widespread among the patriarchs in Genesis, would seem to be new knowledge that Moses is now sharing with the people.¹⁶⁴

Why does this author include an account of the introduction of the divine name when the author of the J source did not? The answer to this may be tied to the Levite identity of the author of the E source.¹⁶⁵ In Friedman’s *The Exodus*, he argues that the Levites alone experienced an exodus from Egypt.¹⁶⁶ When they arrived in Canaan, they encountered a people worshipping a god they called *’ēl*. Rather than asserting that their god, Yahweh, was different from this indigenous *’ēl*, they equated the two. Yahweh is *’ēl*, *’ēl* is Yahweh. The name was simply unknown in Israel until the Levites brought it with them and shared how Yahweh revealed his name to their leader Moses.¹⁶⁷ For this

¹⁶⁴ What qualifies Moses to bring this new name to the Israelites? The author of the E source considers him to be a relative outsider. Indeed, with the exception of Exod 4:14 where Yahweh refers to Aaron as Moses’s “Levite brother,” Moses does not seem to be a member of any Israelite family. In the E source document, the reader first encounters him shepherding sheep at Midian, with no mention of kinship relations other than his father-in-law Jethro. For an explanation of the term “brother” in Exod 4:14 and the lack of biological kinship between Moses and Aaron, see Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 124. For the nature of Moses’s ties with Midian and the Midianites, see Friedman, *The Exodus*, 122-127. Moses’s Midianite heritage would also make him a descendant of Abraham, as Abraham fathers Midian with his second wife, Keturah in Gen 25:2.

¹⁶⁵ The golden calf story in Exodus 32 (E) is one of the most compelling pieces of evidence to support the E source author’s Levite identity. The Levite priests in Shiloh lost their place in the priestly hierarchy when King Solomon expelled Abiathar from Jerusalem (1 Kings 2:26). This left only Zadok, an Aaronid priest, in control of the high priesthood and the Jerusalem temple. The Shiloh prophet Ahijah instigated the succession of the northern tribes from the south and the north became a sovereign kingdom under Jeroboam (1 Kings 11:29-39). Jeroboam then established the golden calves at Dan and Bethel but did not appoint the northern Levites as priests there (1 Kings 12:27-31). Thus, the golden calf story in Exodus 32 (E) is calculated to critique both Aaron and the golden calf. Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?*, 55-56.

¹⁶⁶ The evidence for this includes that the only biblical characters with Egyptian names are Levites and that one of the earliest pieces of poetry in the Hebrew Bible – The Song of Deborah (Judges 5) – does not mention the Levites among the ancient Israelite tribes. Friedman, *The Exodus*, 32-41.

¹⁶⁷ Friedman, *The Exodus*, 51.

reason, the E source author includes an introduction. For him, this is “a crucial development in the people’s history.”¹⁶⁸

This perspective explains the limited but pointed use of the divine name in the E-Genesis material. In Gen 21:33, Abraham invokes the name of Yahweh as *’ēl ’ōlām*, thus demonstrating to the reader that these two deities are one and the same. Additionally, the E source author makes it clear that Jacob’s vow in Gen 28:21, though directed towards an unnamed *’ēlōhîm*, is really a promise to tithe to Yahweh. Though the Israelite characters in Genesis were unaware of the name, they have been planting trees and making vows to him the entire time. Now, with Moses’s introduction of the divine name, the people will know the name of the deity who looked out for their ancestors.

Moses and Aaron are the next speakers of the divine name in Exod 5:3. They inform the king of Egypt¹⁶⁹ that they must take a three-day trip into the wilderness to sacrifice to Yahweh to avoid any divine punishment. The Pharaoh then uses the name Yahweh in Exod 5:17 to accuse the people of trying to use a religious obligation as an excuse to avoid their labour.¹⁷⁰ The people use the name in Exod 5:21 when they rebuke Moses and Aaron for causing the Pharaoh to hate them and increase their workload. The divine name is quite common in the exchanges between Moses and the Pharaoh from Exodus 5-12, with both the Pharaoh and his servants (8:4, 24; 9:27, 28;

¹⁶⁸ Friedman, *The Exodus*, 51.

¹⁶⁹ The head of the Egyptian state is sometimes referred to as *פֶּרַעַה* and at other times referred to as *מֶלֶךְ מִצְרַיִם*. The author refers to the head of state as *פֶּרַעַה* throughout the rest of the chapter in 5:5, 6, 15.

¹⁷⁰ See note 162 above for the textual variants of this verse. It is not problematic for the Pharaoh to use the divine name, especially since Moses and Aaron have introduced the name to him in their negotiations.

10:7, 8, 10, 11, 16, 17, 24; 12:31) and Moses (8:6, 22, 23, 25; 9:29, 30; 10:3, 9, 25, 26; 11:4, 7) speaking the divine name in their discussions.

Miriam speaks or, rather, sings the divine name in Exod 15:21 when she leads the Israelite women in a song of victory for Yahweh.¹⁷¹ Moses's father-in-law Jethro uses the divine name in Exod 18:10 and 11. The Israelites themselves use the divine name twice when they confirm that they will follow the laws that Yahweh is giving them through Moses (19:8; 24:3, 7), but Moses himself remains the most prolific speaker of the divine name.

b. 'ēlōhîm, 'ēlōhê, and hā'ēlōhîm

The author of the E source continues to use the divine designation 'ēlōhîm and its derivatives, though, even after the divine name is revealed to Moses in Exod 3:15.

The charts below show where these divine designations occur in E-Exodus.

'ēlōhîm	
Occurrence in E-Exodus	Context
1:20	<i>wayyēyṭeb 'ēlōhîm lamēyallēdōt</i>
3:4	<i>wayyīqrā' ēlāyw 'ēlōhîm</i>
3:14	<i>wayyō'mer 'ēlōhîm 'el mōšeh</i>
3:15	<i>wayyō'mer 'ōd 'ēlōhîm 'el mōšeh</i>
4:16 ¹⁷²	<i>"wē'attāh tīhyeh lô lē'lōhîm"</i>
9:28	<i>"wērab mīhēyōt qōlōt 'ēlōhîm"</i>
9:30	<i>"mīpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhîm"</i>
13:17	<i>wēlō' nāḥām 'ēlōhîm...kî 'āmar 'ēlōhîm</i>
13:18	<i>wayyassēb 'ēlōhîm 'et hā'am</i>
13:19 ¹⁷³	<i>"pāqōd yīpqōd 'ēlōhîm 'etēkem"</i>
18:1	<i>'ēt kōl 'āšer 'āsāh 'ēlōhîm</i>

¹⁷¹ The song itself, as I mentioned above, is not the work of the E source author. See chapter 6 for an analysis of the designations in this poetry.

¹⁷² This particular case of מִלְּהִים does not refer to the Israelite god but instead refers to Moses. Yahweh tells Moses that Aaron will speak for him and be a "mouth" for Moses to the people while Moses will be like a god to Aaron.

¹⁷³ Exod 13:17 contains the first independent use of 'ēlōhîm to refer to the Israelites' god since Exod 3:14. 13:19 involves a quotation from Gen 50:25 (E), which may explain why the author uses the divine designation 'ēlōhîm in the surrounding verses.

18:12	<i>‘ōlāh ūzēbāhîm lē’lōhîm</i>	
18:15	<i>“kî yābō’ ’ēlay hā’am līdrōš ’ēlōhîm”</i>	
18:19	<i>“wîhî ’ēlōhîm ’īmāk”</i>	
18:21	<i>“’anēšē ḥayîl yîr’ē ’ēlōhîm”</i>	
18:23	<i>“wēšîwkā ’ēlōhîm”</i>	
20:19	<i>“wē’al yēdabbēr ’īmānû ’ēlōhîm”</i>	
32:1	<i>“’āšēh lānû ’ēlōhîm”</i>	
32:16	<i>wēhallūḥōt ma’āšēh ’ēlōhîm...wēhammīktāb mīktāb ’ēlōhîm</i>	
32:23	<i>“’āšēh lānû ’ēlōhîm”</i>	
		Total: 22
Narration		Speech
11		11

’ēlōhē	
Occurrence in E-Exodus	Context
3:6	<i>“’ānōkî ’ēlōhē ’ābîkā...’ēlōhē ’abrāḥām...’ēlōhē yîṣṣāq...wēlōhē ya’āqōb”</i>
3:13	<i>“’ēlōhē ’ābōtēkem šēlāḥanî”</i>
3:15	<i>“Yahweh ’ēlōhē ’ābōtēkem ...’ēlōhē ’abrāḥām...’ēlōhē yîṣṣāq...wēlōhē ya’āqōb”</i>
3:16	<i>“Yahweh ’ēlōhē ’ābōtēkem ...’ēlōhē ’abrāḥām yîṣṣāq wēya’āqōb”</i>
3:18	<i>“Yahweh ’ēlōhē hā’ībrîm...wēnīzbēḥāh laYahweh ’ēlōhênû”</i>
4:5	<i>“Yahweh ’ēlōhē ’ābōtām ...’ēlōhē ’abrāḥām...’ēlōhē yîṣṣāq...wēlōhē ya’āqōb”</i>
5:3	<i>“’ēlōhē hā’ībrîm nīqrā’ ’ālēynû... wēnīzbēḥāh laYahweh ’ēlōhênû”</i>
5:8	<i>“nēlkāh nīzbēḥāh lē’lōhênû”</i>
7:16	<i>“Yahweh ’ēlōhē hā’ībrîm šēlāḥanî”</i>
8:6	<i>“kî ’ēyn kaYahweh ’ēlōhênû”</i>
8:21	<i>“zībḥû lē’lōhēkem bā’āreṣ”</i>
8:22	<i>“nīzbāḥ laYahweh ’ēlōhênû”</i>
8:23	<i>“wēzābaḥnû laYahweh ’ēlōhênû”</i>
8:24	<i>“ūzēbaḥtem laYahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
9:1	<i>“kōh ’āmar Yahweh ’ēlōhē hā’ībrîm”</i>
9:13	<i>“kōh ’āmar Yahweh ’ēlōhē hā’ībrîm”</i>
10:3	<i>“kōh ’āmar Yahweh ’ēlōhē hā’ībrîm”</i>
10:7	<i>“wēya’abdû Yahweh ’ēlōhēhem”</i>
10:8	<i>“lēkû ībdû ’et Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
10:16	<i>“ḥāṭā’tî laYahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
10:17	<i>“wēḥa’ētîrû laYahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
10:25	<i>“wē’āsînû laYahweh ’ēlōhênû”</i>
10:26	<i>“la’ābōd ’et Yahweh ’ēlōhênû”</i>
15:26	<i>“lēqōl Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”</i>
18:4	<i>“kî ’ēlōhē ’ābî bē’ezrî”</i>

'ēlōhēnū, 'ēlōhēkā, 'ēlōhāyw, 'ēlōhēkem, and 'ēlōhēhem. There are 21 of these, 13 of which occur with the divine name Yahweh. The remaining 8 'ēlōhē + pronoun constructions refer to deities or religious objects that are not Yahweh and are not associated with him.

<i>hā'ēlōhîm</i>	
Occurrence in E-Exodus	Context
1:17	<i>wattîre'nāh hamēyallēdōt 'et hā'ēlōhîm</i>
1:21	<i>wayhî kî yār'û hamēyallēdōt 'et hā'ēlōhîm</i>
3:1	<i>wayyābō' 'el har hā'ēlōhîm</i>
3:6	<i>kî yārē' mēhabbîṭ 'el hā'ēlōhîm</i>
3:11	<i>wayyō'mer mōšeh 'el hā'ēlōhîm</i>
3:12	<i>"ta'abdûn 'et hā'ēlōhîm 'al hāhār hazeh"</i>
3:13	<i>wayyō'mer mōšeh 'el hā'ēlōhîm</i>
4:20	<i>wayyîqah mōšeh 'et maṭēh hā'ēlōhîm</i>
4:27	<i>wayyipgēšēhû bēhar hā'ēlōhîm</i>
14:19	<i>wayyîsa' mal'ak hā'ēlōhîm</i>
17:9	<i>"ûmaṭēh hā'ēlōhîm bēyādî"</i>
18:5	<i>šām har hā'ēlōhîm</i>
18:11	<i>"kî gādōl Yahweh mîkōl hā'ēlōhîm"</i>
18:12	<i>'îm ḥōtēn mōšeh lîpnē hā'ēlōhîm</i>
18:16	<i>"wēhōda'tî 'et ḥūqē hā'ēlōhîm"</i>
18:19	<i>"'attāh lā'am mûl hā'ēlōhîm...wēhēbē'ta 'attāh 'et hadēbārîm 'el hā'ēlōhîm"</i>
19:3	<i>ûmōšeh 'ālāh 'el hā'ēlōhîm</i>
19:17	<i>wayyōšē' mōšeh 'et hā'am lîqra't hā'ēlōhîm</i>
19:19	<i>wēhā'ēlōhîm ya'ānenû bēqōl</i>
20:20	<i>"kî lēba'ābûr nasôt 'etēkem bā' hā'ēlōhîm"</i>
20:21	<i>'el hā'ārāpel 'āšer šām hā'ēlōhîm</i>
24:11	<i>wayyeḥzû 'et hā'ēlōhîm</i>
24:13	<i>wayya'al mōšeh 'el har hā'ēlōhîm</i>
Total: 24	
Narration	Speech
17	7

הַעֲבָרִים, though the LXX reads οἱ δοῦλοι here which suggests that the translator reads עֲבָדִים here), 7; 1 Sam 14:11 (the Philistines use it here), 21.

While the E source author uses the divine name Yahweh in both narration and speech, the designation *'ēlōhîm* and its derivatives are still well represented in the narrative and character speech content in Exodus. There are three major clusters of *'ēlōhîm* usage in Exodus 13, 18, and 32. I have already offered a suggestion to explain the use of this divine designation in Exodus 13, and I detail the distribution of divine designations in Exodus 18 below. As for Exodus 32, there are two uses of *'ēlōhîm* in 32:1, 23. In both places, the people ask Aaron to make an *'ēlōhîm* for them. This seems to refer not to their deity but is instead a request for a religious object.¹⁷⁸ The only other uses of *'ēlōhîm* in this chapter are in 32:16, where the narrator describes the tablets that Yahweh gave Moses on the mountain as *ma'āšēh 'ēlōhîm* “divine make” and *mīktab 'ēlōhîm* (divine writing). The use of *'ēlōhîm* here describes the character of the tablets that Yahweh gives to Moses and the writing on them. Because Yahweh is an *'ēlōhîm*, the tablets that he provides are those of an *'ēlōhîm* (*ma'āšēh 'ēlōhîm*) and his writing is that of an *'ēlōhîm* (*mīktab 'ēlōhîm*).

This chart shows the distribution of divine designations in Exod 18:

Divine Designations in Exodus 18	
Occurrence	Context
18:1	<i>'et kōl 'āšer 'āsāh 'ēlōhîm...kî hōšî' Yahweh</i>
18:4	<i>kî 'ēlōhê 'ābî bē'ezrî</i>
18:5	<i>hōneh šām har hā'ēlōhîm</i>
18:8	<i>kōl 'āšer 'āsāh Yahweh...wayyašilēm Yahweh</i>
18:9	<i>kōl haṭōbāh 'āšer 'āsāh Yahweh</i>
18:10	<i>“bārûk Yahweh”</i>
18:11	<i>“gādōl Yahweh mīkkōl hā'ēlōhîm”</i>
18:12	<i>'ōlāh ūzēbāhîm lē'lōhîm...līpnē hā'ēlōhîm</i>
18:15	<i>“līdrōš 'ēlōhîm”</i>

¹⁷⁸ For a review of the history of interpreters who have similarly understood אֱלֹהִים to function as an object of worship here, see Michael B. Hundley, “What is the Golden Calf?” *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 79.4 (2017), pp. 559-579. The fact that Aaron makes the אֱלֹהִים and then calls for a לַיהוָה demonstrates that the people understand the object to represent their god Yahweh, even if the deity later expresses his disapproval.

18:16	“’et ḥūqê hā’ēlōhîm wē’et tōrōtāyw”
18:19	“wîhî ’ēlōhîm ’immāk...mûl hā’ēlōhîm...’el hā’ēlōhîm”
18:21	“’aněšê ḥayîl yîr’ê ’ēlōhîm”
18:23	“wěšîwwēkā ’ēlōhîm”

The first verse shows an equivalence between *’ēlōhîm* and Yahweh. Jethro hears what *’ēlōhîm* has done and the substance of what this *’ēlōhîm* named Yahweh did was bringing the Israelites out of Egypt. In 18:4, the use of the divine designation *’ēlōhîm* is explicitly influenced by Eliezer’s name, which contains a theophoric element related to the designation *’ēlōhîm*.¹⁷⁹ In 18:5, the *har hā’ēlōhîm* is a place name which appears also in Exod 3:1 (E), before the revelation of the divine name. The author retains the toponym here. When Moses explains the great fortune of the Israelites, he uses the divine name Yahweh. Jethro then uses this name as well to praise Yahweh and call him greater than all the other gods (*kî gādôl Yahweh mîkkôl hā’ēlōhîm*).

The author then reverts to using *’ēlōhîm* in narration (18:12) to describe Aaron and the Israelite elders coming together to offer sacrifices to *’ēlōhîm*¹⁸⁰ and eating before *hā’ēlōhîm*. In the final episode in this chapter, the author portrays the characters using *’ēlōhîm* and *hā’ēlōhîm* exclusively as Moses describes his role in sharing the statutes and torah of *hā’ēlōhîm* and Jethro advises him to appoint other individuals to share this responsibility. The distribution of *’ēlōhîm* and *hā’ēlōhîm* here proves interesting. Jethro refers to the god of whom Moses inquires as *hā’ēlōhîm* in 18:19 but seems to reserve the anarthrous *’ēlōhîm* for more general statements like *wayēhî ’ēlōhîm ’immāk* (18:19), *yîr’eh ’ēlōhîm* (18:21), and *wěšîwwēkā ’ēlōhîm* (18:23). It is

¹⁷⁹ The reason given for Moses’s second son’s name (אֶלִיעֶזֶר) is מִחֶרֶב פָּרַעֲהַּ “because the *’ēlōhîm* of my father (was) my help and he rescued me from Pharaoh’s sword.”

¹⁸⁰ The Hebrew לַאֱלֹהִים is difficult to classify as definite or indefinite. In this case, because it is followed by the arthrous הָאֱלֹהִים, it is more likely definite.

possible that, though he does not use the divine name here, he singles out the particular *'ēlōhîm* from whom Moses solicits statutes and teachings by referring to this entity as *hā'ēlōhîm*.

The example of Exod 18 may suggest that the author of the E source has some nuance in mind when they use the designations *'ēlōhîm* and *hā'ēlōhîm* as well as the divine name Yahweh. Overall, though, the author seems to use these terms and the name nearly interchangeably to refer to the Israelite god and mainly uses the divine name Yahweh after its revelation in Exodus 3.

iii. Numbers and Deuteronomy

There is limited E source material in the book of Numbers. Included in my E-Numbers material is the Balaam story, which is controversial among source critics.¹⁸¹ As in Exodus, Yahweh is again the most popular divine designation in the E source material in Numbers. The author uses it 63 times. Following the divine name, *'ēl* and *'ēlōhîm* are the second most used divine designations in this book, with eight occurrences each. *hā'ēlōhîm*, *'ēlōhê*, and *šadday* are tied in third place with 2 uses each. The author uses the divine designation *'elyôn* only once.¹⁸² Notably, the author uses the divine name even more than they did in their material in Exodus and the use of other divine designations recedes significantly.

¹⁸¹ Wellhausen, for example, ascribes this passage to JE, but views the story as composite due to the contradiction between Num 22:20 and 22:22. For Wellhausen, the divine designations used in this passage are determinative. “Der Wechsel der Gottesnamen gibt dafür einen Fingerzeig, obwohl er nicht ganz rein erhalten ist.” See Wellhausen, *Die Composition*, 109-110. Friedman describes this episode as “perhaps the hardest section in the Torah in which to delineate sources.” See Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 280. I have tentatively chosen to include the Balaam passage with the E source material. I will provide further reflection on that below in light of the use of divine designations that we see in this passage.

¹⁸² Cross notes that the designation and epithet combination *אל עליון* (“the God *'elyôn*” or *'El*, the highest one”) is associated with Jerusalem. See Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 47.

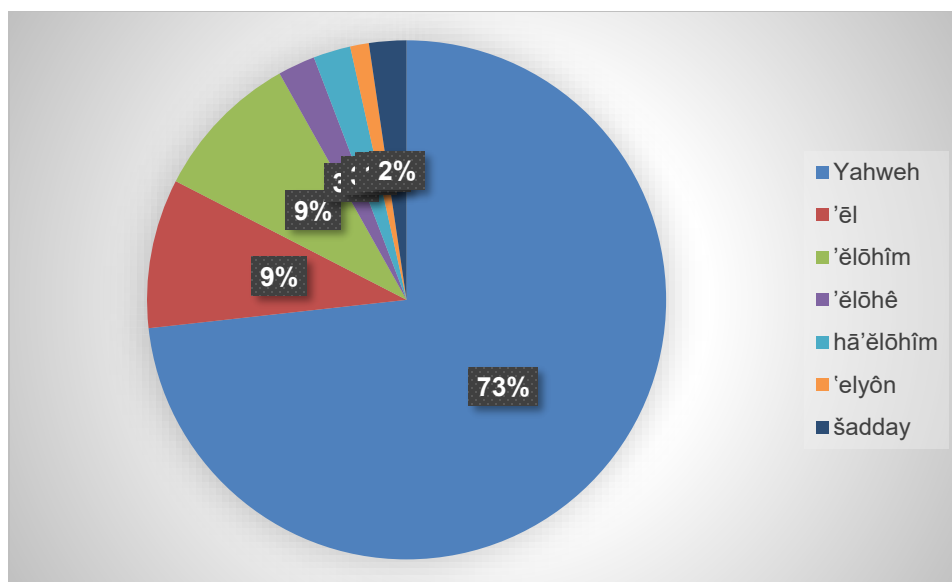


Figure 11: E Source Divine Designations in Numbers (proportional)

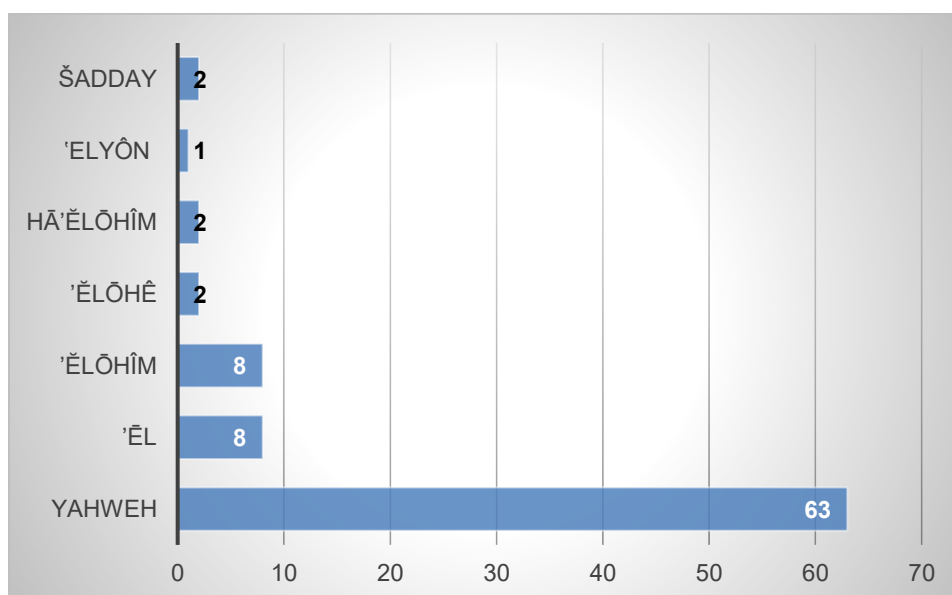


Figure 12: E Source Divine Designations in Numbers (numerical)

a. Yahweh

Yahweh	
Occurrence in E-Numbers	Context
11:1	<i>ra' bē'āznê Yahweh wayyīšma' Yahweh...wattibē'ar bām 'ēš Yahweh</i>
11:2	<i>wayyīpalēl mōšeh 'el Yahweh</i>

11:3	<i>kî bā'ārāh bām 'ēš Yahweh</i>
11:10	<i>wayyīḥar 'ap Yahweh</i>
11:11	<i>wayyō'mer mōšeh 'el Yahweh</i>
11:16	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
11:18	<i>"kî bēkītem bē'āznē Yahweh...wēnātan Yahweh lākem bāšār"</i>
11:20	<i>kî mē'astem 'et Yahweh</i>
11:23	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh "hāyad Yahweh tīqšār"</i>
11:24	<i>'ēt dībrē Yahweh</i>
11:25	<i>wayyēred Yahweh be'ānān</i>
11:29	<i>"ūmī yītēn kōl 'am Yahweh nēbī'im kî yītēn Yahweh 'et rūḥō"</i>
11:31	<i>wērū^aḥ nāsa' mē'ēt Yahweh</i>
11:33	<i>wē'ap Yahweh ḥārāh...wayyak Yahweh bā'ām</i>
12:2	<i>"hāraq 'ak bēmōšeh dīber Yahweh"...wayyīšma' Yahweh</i>
12:4	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh pīt'ōm 'el mōšeh</i>
12:5	<i>wayyēred Yahweh bē'amūd</i>
12:6 ¹⁸³	<i>"īm yīhyeh nēbī'ākem Yahweh"</i>
12:8	<i>"ūtēmūnat Yahweh yabbīṭ"</i>
12:9	<i>wayyīḥar 'ap Yahweh bām</i>
12:13	<i>wayyīš'aq mōšeh 'el Yahweh</i>
12:14	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
21:6	<i>wayēšalah Yahweh bā'ām 'ēt hanēḥāšīm</i>
21:7	<i>"kî dībarnū baYahweh...hitpalēl 'el Yahweh"</i>
21:8	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
22:8	<i>"ka'āšer yēdabēr Yahweh 'ēlāy"</i>
22:13	<i>"kî mē'en Yahweh"</i>
22:18	<i>"lō' 'ūkal la'ābōr 'et pī Yahweh 'ēlōhāy"</i>
22:19	<i>"mah yōsēp Yahweh dabber"</i>
22:22	<i>wayyītyaššēb mal'ak Yahweh badderek</i>
22:23	<i>wattēre' hā'ātōn 'et mal'ak Yahweh</i>
22:24	<i>wayya'āmōd mal'ak Yahweh</i>
22:25	<i>wattēre' hā'ātōn 'et mal'ak Yahweh</i>
22:26	<i>wayyōsep mal'ak Yahweh 'ābōr</i>
22:27	<i>wattēre' hā'ātōn 'et mal'ak Yahweh</i>
22:28	<i>wayyīptaḥ Yahweh 'et pī hā'ātōn</i>
22:31	<i>wayēgal Yahweh 'et 'ēnē bīl'ām wayyarē' 'et mal'ak Yahweh</i>
22:32	<i>wayyō'mer 'ēlāyw mal'ak Yahweh</i>
22:34	<i>wayyō'mer bīl'ām 'el mal'ak Yahweh</i>
22:35	<i>wayyō'mer mal'ak Yahweh 'el bīl'ām</i>
23:3 ¹⁸⁴	<i>"ūlā yīqārēh Yahweh līqrā'tī"</i>

¹⁸³ The 4QNum^b has an extra יהוה in subject position at the beginning of this verse. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, eds. Abegg et al., 117.

¹⁸⁴ 4QNum^b and the Samaritan Pentateuch read אֱלֹהִים rather than יהוה here. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, eds. Abegg et al., 128. Balaam uses both the divine name (22:8, 13, 18, 19; 23:8, 12, 21, 26; 24:6, 13) and אֱלֹהִים/אֱלֹהֵי (22:18, 38; 23:21) in other parts of the narrative and certainly seems to use Yahweh more often. Thus, I think that the MT יהוה is the more likely reading in this instance.

		Total: 8
Narration	Speech	
7	1	

'ēlōhē		
Occurrence in E-Numbers	Context	
22:18	"lō' 'ûkal la'ăbôr 'et pî Yahweh 'ēlōhāy"	
23:21	"Yahweh 'ēlōhāyw īmô"	
		Total: 2
Narration	Speech	
0	2	

hā'ēlōhîm		
Occurrence in E-Numbers	Context	
22:10	wayyô'mer bîl'ām 'el hā'ēlōhîm	
23:27 ¹⁸⁵	"'ûlay yîyšar bē'ênê hā'ēlōhîm"	
		Total: 2
Narration	Speech	
1	1	

The designations *'ēlōhîm*, *'ēlōhē*, and *hā'ēlōhîm* occur twelve times in E-Numbers. Of these twelve occurrences, eight appear in narration and four appear in speech contexts. In three of these four occurrences, Balaam is speaker. Balak uses the divine designation *hā'ēlōhîm* once. The concentration of *'ēlōhîm* and its derivatives in the Balaam story in Num 22-24 is unusual.¹⁸⁶ While E-Exodus presented an intermingling of the name Yahweh with other divine designations, E-Numbers seems to confine the use of *'ēlōhîm* and its derivatives, *'el*, *'elyôn*, and *šadday* to a single passage.

¹⁸⁵ 4QNum^b reads אֱלֹהִים rather than הָאֱלֹהִים here. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, eds. Abegg et al., 129. In light of the very few uses of הָאֱלֹהִים in E-Numbers, it is difficult to say which is more likely the original reading here.

¹⁸⁶ The one outlier here is Num 21:5 in which בְּאֵלֵהִים appears in narration outside of the Balaam narrative.

24:8).¹⁸⁷ There is just one use of the divine designation *'elyôn* in Num 24:16 and two uses of *šadday* in Num 24:4, 16.¹⁸⁸

Given the concentration of diverse divine designations in the Balaam narrative and poetry, I present here a separate chart that provides the data analysis for the divine designations in Num 22:2-24:25 and a chart that tracks the occurrences:

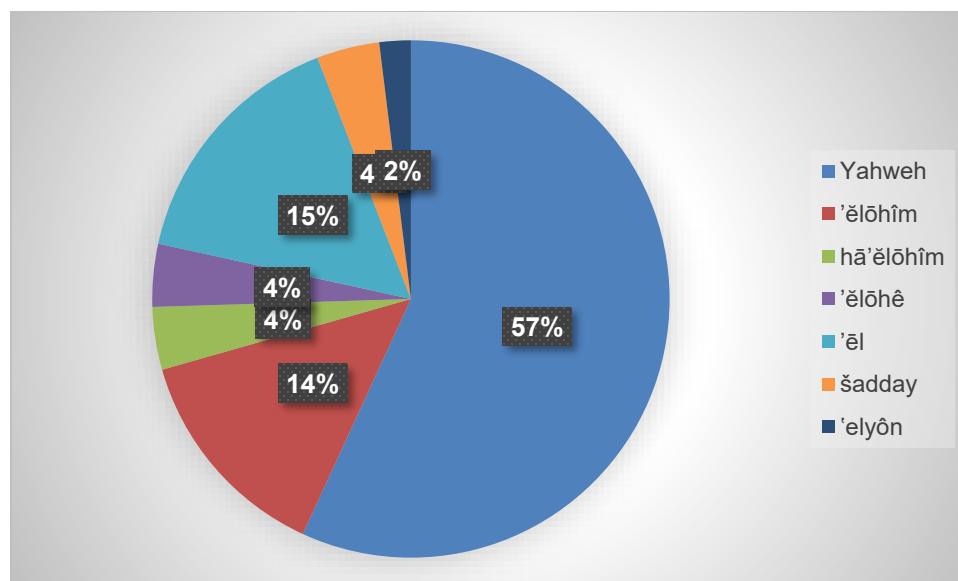


Figure 13: Divine Designations in Num 22:2-24:25

Divine Designations in the Balaam Material (Num 22:2-24:25)	
Occurrence	Context
22:8	" <i>ka'āšer yēdabēr Yahweh 'ēlāy</i> "
22:9	<i>wayyābō' 'ēlōhîm 'el bīl'ām</i>
22:10	<i>wayyō'mer bīl'ām 'el hā'ēlōhîm</i>
22:12	<i>wayyō'mer 'ēlōhîm 'el bīl'ām</i>
22:13	" <i>kî mē'ēn Yahweh</i> "
22:18	" <i>lō' 'ûkal la'ābōr 'et pî Yahweh 'ēlōhāy</i> "
22:18	" <i>lō' 'ûkal la'ābōr 'et pî Yahweh 'ēlōhāy</i> "
22:19	" <i>mah yōsēp Yahweh dabber</i> "

¹⁸⁷ The poetic parallel between אֵל and יְהוָה in 23:8 further supports that Balaam is using אֵל to refer to the ancient Israelite god Yahweh in his poetic speeches.

¹⁸⁸ In Num 24:4, Balaam refers to himself as one אֲשֶׁר מַחְזֶה שָׂדַי "who envisions *šadday*." In Num 24:16, Balaam says: וַיֵּדַע דַּעַת עֲלִיּוֹן מַחְזֶה שָׂדַי "and he knows the knowledge of *'elyôn*, envisions *šadday*." These uses of שָׂדַי stand out from other E source and P source uses of the term, where it usually appears in conjunction with Hebrew אֵל to produce the compound designation אֵל שָׂדַי. The E source author uses the compound designation only once in Gen 43:14. The P source author uses the compound designation in Gen 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; Exod 6:2.

22:20	wayyābō' 'ēlōhīm 'el bīl'ām	
22:22	wayyīḥar 'ap 'ēlōhīm	
22:22	wayyītyašēb mal'ak Yahweh baderek	
22:23	wattēre' hā'ātôn 'et mal'ak Yahweh	
22:24	wayya'āmōd mal'ak Yahweh	
22:25	wattēre' hā'ātôn 'et mal'ak Yahweh	
22:26	wayyōsep mal'ak Yahweh 'ābôr	
22:27	wattēre' hā'ātôn 'et mal'ak Yahweh	
22:28	wayyīptaḥ Yahweh 'et pī hā'ātôn	
22:31	wayēgal Yahweh 'et 'ēnē bīl'ām wayyarē' 'et mal'ak Yahweh	
22:32	wayyō'mer 'ēlāyw mal'ak Yahweh	
22:34	wayyō'mer bīl'ām 'el mal'ak Yahweh	
22:35	wayyō'mer mal'ak Yahweh 'el bīl'ām	
22:38	“āšer yāšīm 'ēlōhīm bēpī”	
23:3	“'ûlā yīqārēh Yahweh līqērā'tī”	
23:4	wayyīqar 'ēlōhīm 'el bīl'ām	
23:5	wayyāšem Yahweh dābār bēpī bīl'ām	
23:8	“māh 'eqōb lō' qabōh 'ēl”	
23:8	“'ezē'ōm lō' zā'am Yahweh”	
23:12	“ēt āšer yāšīm Yahweh bēpī”	
23:16	wayyīqar Yahweh 'el bīl'ām	
23:17	“mah dīber Yahweh”	
23:19	“lō' 'îš 'ēl”	
23:21	“Yahweh 'ēlōhāyw 'îmō”	
23:21	“Yahweh 'ēlōhāyw 'îmō”	
23:22	“'ēl mōšī'ām mīmmīšrāyīm”	
23:23	“'ûlēyīsrā'el mah pā'al 'ēl”	
23:26	“kōl āšer yēdabbēr Yahweh”	
23:27	“'ûlay yīyšar bē'ēnē hā'ēlōhīm”	
24:1	wayyar' bīl'ām kī tōb bē'ēnē Yahweh	
24:2	wattēhī 'ālāyw rū ^a ḥ 'ēlōhīm	
24:4	“nē'ûm šōmē ^a 'îmrē 'ēl”	
24:4	“āšer maḥāzēh šadday yehēzeh”	
24:6	“ka'āhālīm nāṭa' Yahweh”	
24:8	“'ēl mōšī'ô mīmmīšrāyīm”	
24:11	“wēhīnēh mēnā'ākā Yahweh mīkābōd”	
24:13	“lō' 'ûkal la'ābôr 'et pī Yahweh... 'āšer yēdabbēr Yahweh”	
24:16	“nē'ûm šōmē ^a 'îmrē 'ēl”	
24:16	“wēyōdē'a da'at 'elyôn”	
24:16	“maḥāzēh šadday yehēzeh”	
24:23	“ôy mī yīḥēyeh mīšûmô 'ēl”	
		Total: 51
Narration		
22		
Speech		Total: 51
29		

Divine Designations in Num 22:2-24:25: Narration versus Speech			
Designation	Narration	Speech	Total
Yahweh	12	17	29
'ēlōhîm	6	1	7
'ēlōhê	0	2	2
hā'ēlōhîm	1	1	2
'ēl	0	8	8
'elyôn	0	1	1
šadday	0	2	2

Cataloguing the divine designations in Num 22:2-24:25 separately from the rest of the E-Numbers material reveals the extent of the concentration of divine designations in these chapters. Of the 86 divine designations in E-Numbers, 51 appear in chapters 22:2-24:25. Of the 63 occurrences of the divine name Yahweh in E-Numbers, 29 appear in Num 22:2-24:25. Seven of eight 'ēlōhîm occurrences in E-Numbers appear in Num 22:2-24:25, and all of the other divine designations occur only in Num 22:2-24:25. The conspicuous concentration of designations in Num 22:2-24:5 may suggest that the E source author is integrating material from an outside source here and preserving the divine designations from that source.¹⁸⁹

Separating the narrative material in Num 22:2-24:25 from the poetry may prove helpful in explaining this concentration. The narrative sections span 22:2-23:6; 23:11-17; 23:25-24:2; 24:10-14; 24:25 and the poetry includes 23:7-10; 23:18-24; 24:3-9; 24:15-24. The narrative includes the divine name Yahweh 25 times and the divine designations 'ēlōhîm and hā'ēlōhîm 5 and 2 times respectively. The poetry, conversely,

¹⁸⁹ Carl S. Ehrlich suggests that the biblical authors who write about Balaam may have been familiar with his story as it exists in the Deir 'Alla plaster inscription, excavated in 1967 in the Jordan valley. See Ehrlich, "Balaam the Seer: From the Bible to the Deir 'Alla Inscriptions," <https://www.thetorah.com/article/balaam-the-seer-from-the-bible-to-the-deir-alla-inscription>, accessed 01/11/2024. I myself am not convinced that it was exactly this text. More likely, the Deir 'Alla plaster inscription and the Balaam story in Numbers share a connection to other Levantine Balaam literature.

contains the divine name Yahweh 4 times, the divine designation *'ēlōhîm* twice, and the designation *'ēlōhê* twice. In addition to these, the poetic passages contain all of the occurrences of *'ēl*, *'elyôn*, and *šadday* in E-Numbers.

The situation becomes even clearer when one compares the use of designations in the narrative sections of Num 22:2-24:25 with the use of divine designations in E-Exodus and E-Numbers. The E source material in Exod 3:15 through Num 21:8 makes for a sound comparison because this material similarly offers a mixture of uses of the divine name and other divine designations. In this data, there are 194 occurrences of the divine name Yahweh, 20 occurrences of *'ēlōhîm*, 44 occurrences of *'ēlōhê*,¹⁹⁰ and 17 occurrences of *hā'ēlōhîm*. The charts below model the results of this comparison:

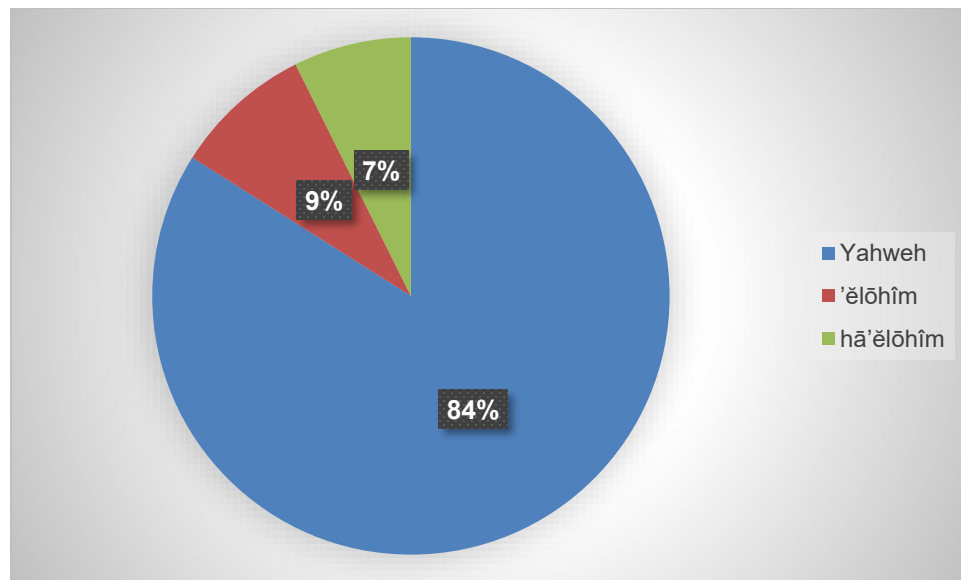


Figure 14: Divine Designations in E-Exod 3:15 – E-Num 21:8

¹⁹⁰ I am removing the *אֱלֹהִי* occurrences from the E-Exod 3:15 – E-Num 21:8 chart, simply because this designation does not appear in the Balaam narrative. I want to focus on comparing the designations that are present in both passages, those being *יְוָה*, *אֱלֹהִים*, and *הָאֱלֹהִים*.

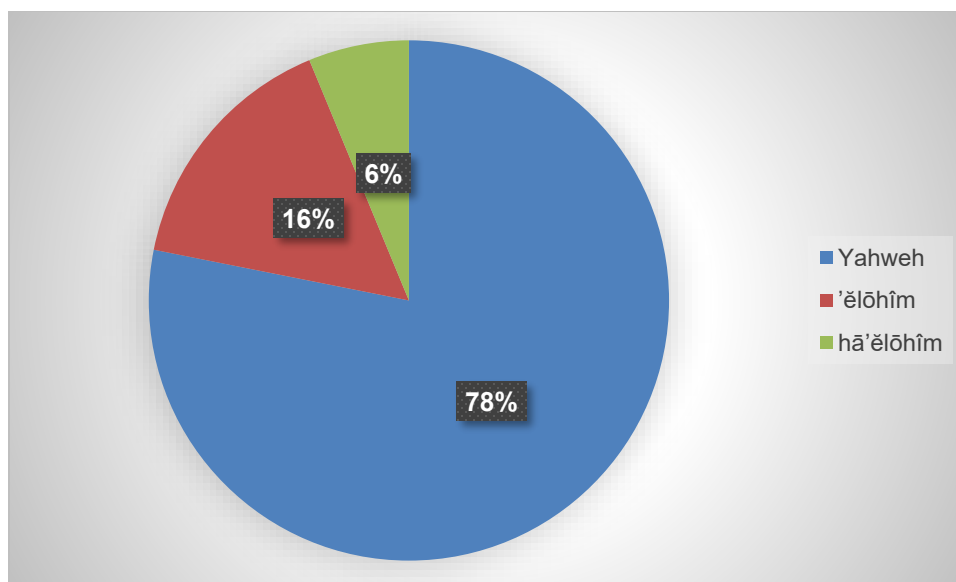


Figure 15: Divine Designations in the Balaam Narrative

The charts show that the usage of divine designations in each data set is similar. Yahweh is the dominant divine designation in both, followed by 'ēlōhîm and hā'ēlōhîm. Based on this result, I tentatively suggest that the use of divine designations in the Balaam narrative resembles the use in other E source narratives that we have seen thus far in the Torah. Additionally, in terms of the poetry in this section, the E source author has used the designations 'ēl and šadday before.¹⁹¹ The only new designation to appear here that has not appeared previously in the E-Torah material is 'elyôn.¹⁹²

Thus, it is perhaps most likely that the narrative in Num 22:2-24:25 is the work of the E source author. The poetry may also belong to them, with the use of more diverse

¹⁹¹ See Gen 33:20; 35:1, 7 for E source uses of אֱל and Gen 43:14 for E source use of the designation אֱלֹהִים.

¹⁹² Though this is our first and only use of אֱלֹהִים in the E source material in the Torah, this designation also appears in Gen 14:18, 19, 20, 22 (source unknown); Deut 28:1 (Dtr¹). See the section in this work on outliers for the use of אֱלֹהִים in Genesis 14. In the case of the Dtr¹, אֱלֹהִים is an adjective in this particular passage. For its use as an independent divine designation, see my analysis of the Song of Moses in chapter 6. See the section on outliers for an analysis of the uses of אֱלֹהִים in the Tanakh.

divine designations in this section conditioned by the poetic genre.¹⁹³ Additionally, the solution may lie somewhere in between these two possibilities, with the poetry and insertion from another source which the E source author integrated into their own narrative account of the exploits of Balaam.

The E source material in Deuteronomy is confined to Deut 31:14, 15. Only the divine name Yahweh appears, and only in narration. Yahweh speaks to Moses in verse 14 and appears in a column of cloud at the Tent of Meeting in verse 15.

Conclusion

This analysis of divine designations in the E source material in the Torah has shown that the E source author uses a variety of divine designations from Genesis through Deuteronomy. The author's main use of the designation *'ēlōhîm* in Genesis gives way to the use of the divine name Yahweh in the narratives of E-Exodus, E-Numbers, and E-Deuteronomy. This supports the author's strategy of accounting for how the name Yahweh became associated with the deity *'ēl* whom the Israelites worshipped before the arrival of the Levites in Canaan. Once this name is introduced and the equivalence between *'ēl* and Yahweh is established, however, the E source author continues to use the designations *'ēlōhîm*, *ēlōhê*, *hā'ēlōhîm* occasionally in both character speech (Exod 13:19; 18:1, 4, 5, 12, 19, 21, 23, 16) and narration (Exod 13:17, 18; 14:19; 18:15; 19:17, 19; 24:13; Num 21:5; 22:9, 10, 12, 20, 22, 38; 23:4). Perhaps this mixed use of the divine name with other designations is part of this author's strategy to demonstrate that Yahweh is *'ēl* and *'ēl* is Yahweh.

¹⁹³ It is not unusual for biblical authors to employ diverse divine designations in poetry. See, for example, the diversity in divine designations in Exodus 15 (the Song of Miriam). See the section on outliers in this work for a more thorough analysis of the designations in this poem.

This author uses many divine designations that are relatively rare in the Torah including *'ēl*, *šadday*, and *'elyôn*. These last three are especially common in the poetry that is attributed to this source. They use more epithets only slightly more than the J source author. In this source, *'ēl 'ōlām* (Gen 21:33), *'ēlōhē yīsrā'ēl* (Exod 24:10; 32:27), *šadday* (Num 24:4, 16), and *'elyôn* (Num 24:16) function as epithets that the author uses to describe Yahweh. The latter two appear independently and in poetry.

CHAPTER 5

DIVINE DESIGNATIONS IN THE P SOURCE MATERIAL

The material in the Torah that belongs to the P source author may enjoy more consensus than the oft-contested texts belonging to the J and E source authors, but scholars continue to debate how much diversity we can perceive within this source.¹⁹⁴

The P source narrative in the Torah begins in Genesis 1 and extends through Deuteronomy.¹⁹⁵

i. Genesis

¹⁹⁴ Bacon, influenced by Dillman, divides the P source material in the Torah between P1, P2, and P3 strata. P1 represents the first and earliest portion of the P source work, including Lev 17-26 and Exod 31-Num 15. P2 includes modifications to the P1 material and the narratives, genealogies, laws, and ritual texts that appear in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. P3 includes editorial modifications to the P1/P2 text. Bacon perceives these modifications in Exod 25-31; Exod 35-Num 10; Num 17:1-5; 25:10-13; 26:8-11, 58-61. See Bacon, "Pentateuchal Analysis," *Hebraica* 4.4 (1888), pp. 216-243. In contrast, S. R. Driver treats the P source as a single stratum, remarking on the consistent literary features and "habits of thought" that pervade both the historical and legal texts belonging to this source. See Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York: Meridian Books, 1906), 130-131. Contemporary source critical analyses occasionally diverge. In *The Exile and Biblical Narrative*, Friedman divides the P source into two stages. The first is pre-exilic (P1) and the second is post-exilic (P2). Friedman, *The Exile and Biblical Narrative* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1981). In *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, however, he uses only P to refer to the entire work. Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003). Baden uses P to refer to the material belonging to the Priestly source and only isolates Leviticus 17-26, which he refers to as H. *The Composition of the Pentateuch* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012). See the section on Leviticus below for a more thorough discussion of H ("the Holiness Code"). More recently, Liane M. Feldman does not single out Leviticus 17-26 in her work and insists that the work be read as a "literary whole." See Feldman, *The Consuming Fire* (Oakland: The University of California Press, 2023). Tyler Edward Kelley makes a compelling case for eliminating any distinction between a "Holiness Code" (H) and P in his 2023 dissertation "Archival Unity: A Neo-Analytic Model of the Priestly Text" (PhD dissertation, The University of Georgia, 2023), chapter 3.

¹⁹⁵ Perhaps the most significant question about the P source is whether or not the material in Leviticus 17-26 is part of this source or an insertion called the Holiness Code added by another author. For this discussion, see the section below on Leviticus.

In Genesis, the P source author mainly uses the divine designation *'ēlōhîm* to refer to the god of the Israelites, using it 68 times. The designations *hā'ēlōhîm* and *'ēl šadday* are the second most popular in this author's work, each appearing three times in the P source material in Genesis. Finally, the P source author uses the divine name Yahweh only twice in P-Genesis.

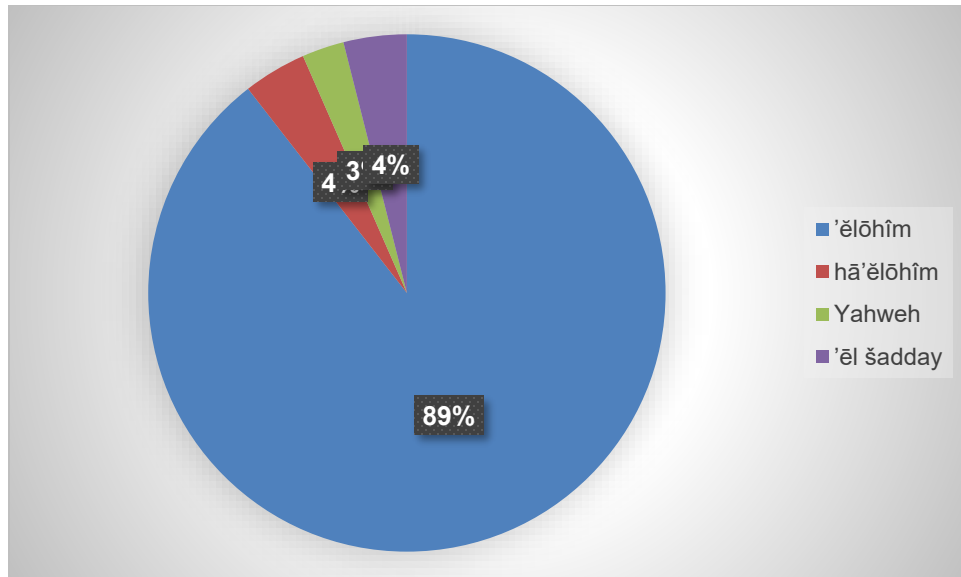


Figure 16: P Source Divine Designations in Genesis (proportional)

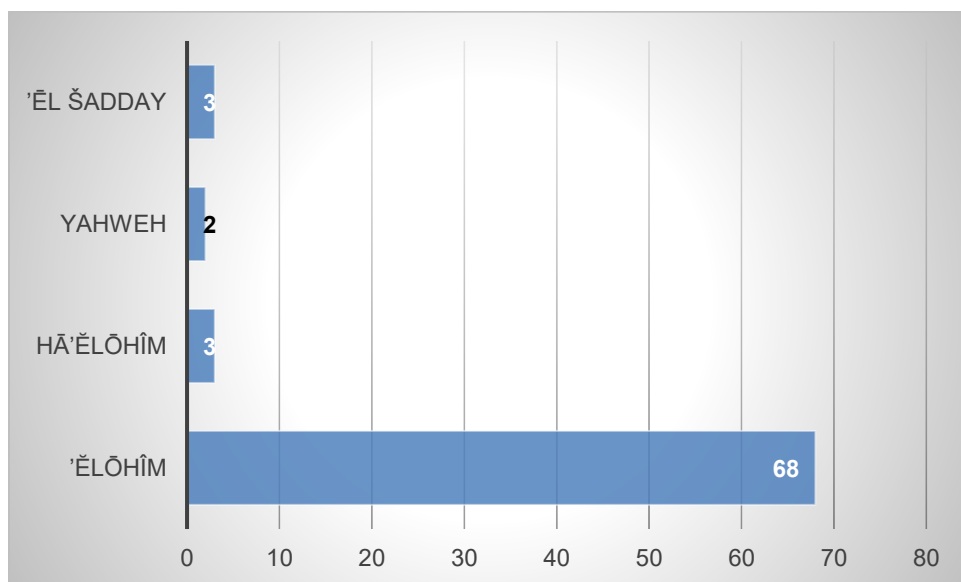


Figure 17: P Source Divine Designations in Genesis (numerical)

a. 'ēlōhîm and hā'ēlōhîm

'ēlōhîm	
Occurrence in P-Genesis	Context
1:1	<i>bērē'šît bārā' 'ēlōhîm</i>
1:2	<i>wērû^ah 'ēlōhîm mēraḥepet</i>
1:3	<i>wayyō'mer 'ēlōhîm</i>
1:4	<i>wayyar' 'ēlōhîm 'et hā'ôr...wayyabdēl 'ēlōhîm</i>
1:5	<i>wayyīqrā' 'ēlōhîm lā'ôr yôm</i>
1:6	<i>wayyō'mer 'ēlōhîm</i>
1:7	<i>wayya'as 'ēlōhîm 'et hārāqī'a</i>
1:8	<i>wayyīqrā' 'ēlōhîm lārāqī'a šāmāyîm</i>
1:9	<i>wayyō'mer 'ēlōhîm</i>
1:10	<i>wayyīqrā' 'ēlōhîm layyabāšāh 'ereṣ... wayyar' 'ēlōhîm</i>
1:11	<i>wayyō'mer 'ēlōhîm</i>
1:12	<i>wayyar' 'ēlōhîm kî ṭōb</i>
1:14	<i>wayyō'mer 'ēlōhîm</i>
1:16	<i>wayya'as 'ēlōhîm 'et šēnēy hamē'ōrōt</i>
1:17	<i>wayytēn 'ōtām 'ēlōhîm bīrēqī'a</i>
1:18	<i>wayyar' 'ēlōhîm kî ṭōb</i>
1:20	<i>wayyō'mer 'ēlōhîm</i>
1:21	<i>wayyībrā' 'ēlōhîm 'et hattānīnīm... wayyar' 'ēlōhîm kî ṭōb</i>
1:22	<i>wayēbārek 'ōtām 'ēlōhîm</i>
1:24	<i>wayyō'mer 'ēlōhîm</i>
1:25	<i>wayya'as 'ēlōhîm 'et ḥayat hā'āreṣ... wayyar' 'ēlōhîm kî ṭōb</i>
1:26 ¹⁹⁶	<i>wayyō'mer 'ēlōhîm nā'āseh</i>
1:27	<i>wayyībrā' 'ēlōhîm 'et hā'ādām...bēšelem 'ēlōhîm</i>
1:28	<i>wayēbārek 'ōtām 'ēlōhîm... wayyō'mer lāhem 'ēlōhîm</i>
1:29	<i>wayyō'mer 'ēlōhîm</i>
1:31	<i>wayyar' 'ēlōhîm 'et kōl 'āšer 'āsāh</i>
2:2	<i>wayēkal 'ēlōhîm bayôm haššēbī'î</i>
2:3	<i>wayēbārek 'ēlōhîm 'et yôm haššēbī'î...'āšer bārā' 'ēlōhîm</i>
6:12	<i>wayyar' 'ēlōhîm 'et hā'āreṣ</i>
6:13	<i>wayyō'mer 'ēlōhîm lēnōaḥ</i>
6:22	<i>kēkōl 'āšer šīwwāh 'ōtō 'ēlōhîm</i>
7:9	<i>ka'āšer šīwwāh 'ēlōhîm 'et nōaḥ</i>
7:16	<i>ka'āšer šīwwāh 'ōtō 'ēlōhîm</i>
8:1	<i>wayyīzkōr 'ēlōhîm 'et nōaḥ</i>
8:15	<i>wayēdabbēr 'ēlōhîm 'el nōaḥ</i>
9:1	<i>wayēbārek 'ēlōhîm 'et nōaḥ</i>

¹⁹⁶ This is one of the three times in the Torah that god speaks in the plural. The other examples are Gen 3:22 and 11:7, which both belong to the J source narrative. For the significance of this, see Friedman, *The Exodus*, 183-185.

with the hope that his descendants will inherit the land that *’ēlōhîm* promised to Abraham.

<i>hā’ēlōhîm</i>		
Occurrence in P-Genesis	Context	
6:9	<i>’et hā’ēlōhîm hithallek nō^ah</i>	
6:11	<i>wattīššāhēt hā’āreṣ līpnê hā’ēlōhîm</i>	
17:18	<i>wayyō’mer ’abrāhām ’el hā’ēlōhîm</i>	
		Total: 3
Narration		Speech
3		0

The author of the P source never uses the divine designation *hā’ēlōhîm* in speech, but only in narration. The author uses it twice in the flood narrative to describe Noah as someone who “walks with *hā’ēlōhîm*” and to describe the world as “destroyed before *hā’ēlōhîm*.”¹⁹⁸ These two uses of *hā’ēlōhîm* are followed by the use of *’ēlōhîm* in Gen 6:12, 13, 22. In these three occurrences, *’ēlōhîm* functions as the subject of a verb in the clause in which it appears. This may suggest that the P source author uses the divine designation *’ēlōhîm* in subject position¹⁹⁹ and *hā’ēlōhîm* in the indirect object position.

Finally, the author uses this designation in 17:18 to describe Abraham responding to *hā’ēlōhîm* when this deity appears to him to promise that Sarah will give birth to his heir. The same subject/indirect object division persists in this chapter, where

¹⁹⁸ The use of *הָאֱלֹהִים* in the case of the former phrase (*אֶת הָאֱלֹהִים הִתְהַלֵּךְ נֹחַ*) may not be surprising. In the case of a similar phrase in Gen 5:22, 24 (*וַיִּתְהַלֵּךְ קִנּוֹךְ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים*), the definite *הָאֱלֹהִים* also appears. This phrase in Gen 5:22 is likely the work of a separate source that contains the genealogical material found in the Torah. See Friedman, *Bible with Sources Revealed*, 40-41.

¹⁹⁹ The only exceptions to this in P-Genesis are in 1:27; 9:16; 17:7, 8. In these verses, *אֱלֹהִים* appears in a construct chain and as a complement to the main verb.

the narrator uses *'ēlōhîm* in subject position and *hā'ēlōhîm* in indirect object position, as when Abraham addresses the deity.

b. *'ēl šadday*

<i>'ēl šadday</i>		
Occurrence in P-Genesis	Context	
17:1	“ <i>'ānî 'ēl šadday</i> ”	
28:3	“ <i>wē'ēl šadday yēbārēk 'ōtkā</i> ”	
35:11	“ <i>'ānî 'ēl šadday</i> ”	
		Total: 3
Narration		Speech
0		3

God only introduces himself as *'ēl šadday* in the P source material in Genesis.²⁰⁰ He uses this designation in Gen 17:1 when he speaks with Abraham and in Gen 35:11 when he speaks with Jacob. Isaac is the only character to use this designation when he blesses Jacob in Gen 28:3 and instructs him to go to Paddan-Aram to find a wife from the house of Bethuel.

c. Yahweh

Yahweh		
Occurrence in P-Genesis	Context	
17:1	<i>wayyērā' Yahweh 'el 'abrām</i>	
21:1	<i>wayya'aś Yahweh lēšārāh ka'āšer dībbēr</i>	
		Total: 2
Narration		Speech
2		0

²⁰⁰ In the E source material, Jacob uses this designation in Gen 43:14. He uses it despite god never having introduced himself with this designation in the context of that source.

The P source author uses the divine name Yahweh only twice in P-Genesis, both times in narration. In the first case, the P source author uses the deity's name in narration (Gen 17:1), but the deity then introduces himself as *'ēl šadday* to Abraham. In the second case, the author states that "Yahweh did to Sarah as he had said," referring to her giving birth to her son Isaac (Gen 21:1).²⁰¹ It may be significant that, in both cases where god is involved in Sarah giving birth to a child (the promise and the conception), that the P source author uses the divine name Yahweh. These instances, paired with the occurrence of Yahweh in the narration in E-Genesis in Gen 20:18, create a conspicuous concentration of the divine name in narratives that involve Sarah and her fertility. This presents the possibility that an editor involved themselves here, inserting the divine name because this deity is responsible for fertility.²⁰²

In addition to the connection between Yahweh and fertility that is evident here, the P source author has another reason to use the divine name in these select places in P-Genesis. The use of the name in Gen 17:1 makes it clear that Yahweh is the same deity who introduces himself to Abraham as *'ēl šadday* while the use in 21:1 again confirms that Yahweh (though known as *'ēl šadday*) is directly responsible for Sarah's fertility.

ii. Exodus

The P source material in Exodus includes, as in the E source, a revelation of the divine name. This significantly shifts the balance in the use of the divine name versus other designations, as I demonstrate below.

²⁰¹ Friedman regards this as editorial. Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 62.

²⁰² The association of Yahweh with reproduction is clear at least in Gen 15:3; 16:2 (J); 17:5 (P); 21:1b (P); 6 (E); 25:21 (J); 29:31 (J); 30:2, 22 (E); 33:5 (E); 48:9 (E).

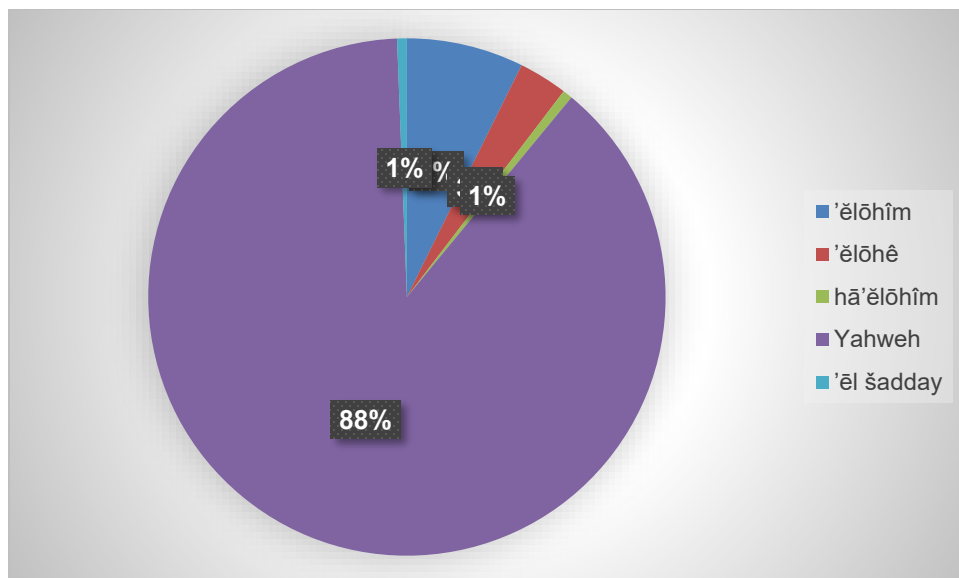


Figure 18: P Source Divine Designations in Exodus (proportional)

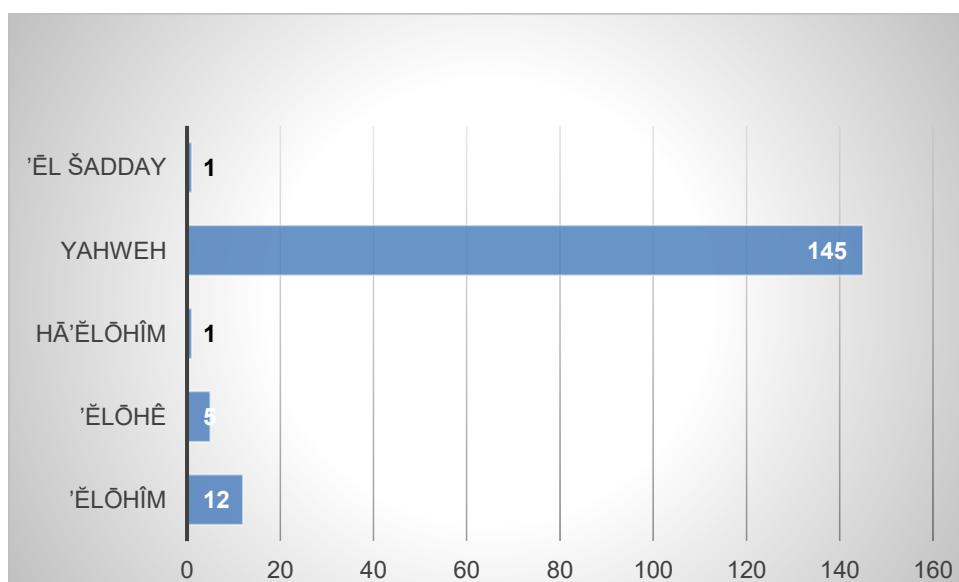


Figure 19: P Source Divine Designations in Exodus (numerical)

a. Yahweh

Yahweh	
Occurrence in P-Exodus	Context
6:2	"'ănî Yahweh"
6:3	"ûšmî Yahweh lō' nōda'tî lāhem"
6:6	"'ănî Yahweh"

6:7	"wīda'tem kî 'ānî Yahweh 'ēlōhêkem"
6:8	"'ānî Yahweh"
6:10	wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh
6:30	wayyō'mer mōšeh līpnê Yahweh
7:1	wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh
7:5	"wēyād'û mīšrāyīm kî 'ānî Yahweh"
7:6	ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'otām
7:8	wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh
7:10	ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh
7:13	ka'āšer dībber Yahweh
7:19	wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh
7:20	ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh
7:22	ka'āšer dībber Yahweh
8:1	wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh
8:12	wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh
8:15	ka'āšer dībber Yahweh
9:8	wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh
9:12	wayēḥazēq Yahweh 'et lēb par'ōh... ka'āšer dībber Yahweh
12:1	wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh
12:11	"pesaḥ hû' laYahweh"
12:12	"'ānî Yahweh"
12:14	"wēḥagōtem 'otō ḥag laYahweh"
12:28	ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh
12:41	yāš'û kōl šīb'ot Yahweh mē'ereš mīšrāyīm
12:42	lēyl šīmūrīm hû' laYahweh
12:43	wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh
12:48	"wē'āsāh pesaḥ laYahweh"
12:50	ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh
14:1	wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh
14:4	"'ānî Yahweh"
14:8	wayēḥazēq Yahweh 'et lēb par'ōh
14:10	wayyīš'āqû bēnē yīsrā'el 'el Yahweh
14:15	wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh
14:18	"'ānî Yahweh"
14:26	wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh
16:3	"mî yīttēn mūtēnû bēyad Yahweh"
16:6	"kî Yahweh hōšî' 'etēkem mē'ereš mīšrāyīm"
16:7	ûrē'item 'et kēbôd Yahweh bēšām'û 'et tēlūnōtēkem 'al Yahweh
16:8	"bētēt Yahweh lākem...bīšēmō'a Yahweh 'et tēlūnōtēkem...kî 'al Yahweh"
16:9	"qīrbû līpnê Yahweh"
16:10	wēhīnēh kēbôd Yahweh
16:11	wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh
16:12	"kî 'ānî Yahweh 'ēlōhêkem"
16:15	"hû' haleḥem 'āšer nātān Yahweh"

16:16	"zeh hadābār 'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh"
16:23	"hū' 'āšer dībber Yahweh...šabat qōdeš laYahweh"
16:25	"kī šabāt hayôm laYahweh"
16:28	wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh
16:29	"rē'û kī Yahweh nātan lākem hašabāt"
16:32	"zeh hadābār 'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh"
16:33	"wēhanah 'ōtô līpnē Yahweh"
16:34	ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh
24:16	wayyīškōn kēbōd Yahweh
24:17	ûmar'eh kēbōd Yahweh
25:1	wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh
27:21	"līpnē Yahweh"
28:12	"līpnē Yahweh"
28:29	"līpnē Yahweh"
28:30	"līpnē Yahweh...līpnē Yahweh"
28:35	"līpnē Yahweh"
28:36	"qōdeš laYahweh"
28:38	"līpnē Yahweh"
29:11	"līpnē Yahweh"
29:18	"'olāh hū' laYahweh...rē ^a h nīhō ^a h 'tššeh laYahweh"
29:23	"līpnē Yahweh"
29:24	"līpnē Yahweh"
29:25	"līpnē Yahweh 'tššeh hū' laYahweh"
29:26	"līpnē Yahweh"
29:28	"tērûmātām laYahweh"
29:41	"rē ^a h nīhō ^a h 'tššeh laYahweh"
29:42	"līpnē Yahweh"
29:46	"wēyad'û kī 'ānī Yahweh 'ēlōhēhem...'ānī Yahweh 'ēlōhēhem"
30:8	"līpnē Yahweh"
30:10	"qōdeš qōdāšîm hū' laYahweh"
30:11	wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh
30:12	"wēnātnû 'îš kōper nāpšô laYahweh"
30:13	"tērûmāh laYahweh"
30:14	"yītēn tērûmat Yahweh"
30:15	"lātēt 'et tērûmat Yahweh"
30:16	"līpnē Yahweh"
30:17	wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh
30:20	"lēhaqtîr 'tššeh laYahweh"
30:22	wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh
30:34	wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh
30:37	"qōdeš tīhyeh lēkā laYahweh"
31:1	wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh
31:12	wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh
31:13	"lāda'at kī 'ānī Yahweh"
31:15	"šabat šabātôn qōdeš laYahweh"

The shift from the use of *'ēlōhîm* in Genesis to the divine name Yahweh in Exodus is just as abrupt as it was for the E source author. The P source author goes from using the designation *'ēlōhîm* 89% of the time to using the divine name Yahweh 88%.²⁰³ The divine name appears nearly equally in narration and in speech, with 76 occurrences in narration and 70 in speech. As in the case of the E source author, this shift is a meaningful moment for the P source author. It demonstrates that Yahweh and the *'ēlōhîm* depicted in the patriarchal narratives in Genesis are one and the same god. As a Levite,²⁰⁴ this author is keen to impress this upon their readers.²⁰⁵

Yahweh himself is the first to speak his name in Exod 6:2, where he introduces himself to Moses with this name and explains that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob knew him as *'ēl šadday*. He proceeds to speak his own name 47 times over the course of P-Exodus.²⁰⁶ Moses is the second most prolific speaker of the divine name, using it 20 times.²⁰⁷ The Israelites themselves use the name in speech twice²⁰⁸ and Aaron uses it only once.²⁰⁹

²⁰³ For the purpose of comparison, The E source author shifts from using אֱלֹהִים 59% of the time in E-Genesis to using Yahweh 63% of the time in E-Exodus.

²⁰⁴ The author of the P source demonstrates their Aaronid-Levite interests in the Korah rebellion story in Numbers 16. There, Korah leads a faction of Levites in a rebellion against Aaron, complaining about his family's exclusive hold on the office of high priest. All parties present their incense burners at the Tent of Meeting and Yahweh appears to vindicate Aaron and his priestly line. Friedman, *Who Wrote the Bible?*, 172-175.

²⁰⁵ As in the case of the Levite author of the E source, the Levite author of the P source stresses this in their narrative as part of the syncretism of the Levite worship of Yahweh and the indigenous Israelite worship of אֵל. Friedman, *The Exodus*, 51. See chapter 3 above for my treatment of this in the E source.

²⁰⁶ Exod 6:2, 3, 6, 7, 8; 7:5; 12:11, 12, 14, 48; 14:4, 18; 16:12, 29; 27:21; 28:12, 29, 30, 35, 36, 28; 29:11, 18, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 41, 42, 46; 30:8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 20, 37; 31:13, 15, 17.

²⁰⁷ Exod 16:8, 9, 15, 16, 23, 25, 32, 33; 35:1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 30; 36:1.

²⁰⁸ In Exod 16:3, the Israelites as a whole use the name when they express that they wish they had died by Yahweh's hand in Egypt rather than in the wilderness, where they accuse Moses and Aaron of starving them. The second use of the name by the Israelites is in Exod 36:5. Here, it is technically only the artisans charged with working on the tabernacle who speak. They advise Moses that the people are bringing more materials than Yahweh had commanded.

²⁰⁹ This is in Exod 16:6 where he and Moses are both speaking. Aaron never uses the divine name in speech separate from Moses in P-Exodus.

After the revelation of Yahweh's name in Exod 6:2, the P source author uses the name consistently in narration to refer to the Israelite god.

b. 'ēlōhîm, 'ēlōhê, and hā'ēlōhîm

'ēlōhîm		
Occurrence in P-Exodus	Context	
2:24	wayyîšma' 'ēlōhîm 'et na'āqātām...wayyîzkōr 'ēlōhîm	
2:25	wayyar' 'ēlōhîm 'et bēnê yīsrā'ēl wayyēda' 'ēlōhîm	
6:2	wayēdabbēr 'ēlōhîm 'el mōšeh	
6:7	“wēhāyîti lāhem lē'lōhîm”	
7:1	“nētatîkā 'ēlōhîm lēpar'ōh”	
8:15	“'ešba' 'ēlōhîm hîw”	
29:45	“wēhāyîti lāhem lē'lōhîm”	
31:3	“wā'āmalē' 'ōtō rū ^a h 'ēlōhîm”	
31:18	kētūbîm bē'ešba' 'ēlōhîm	
35:31	“wayēmalē' 'ōtō rū ^a h 'ēlōhîm”	
		Total: 12
Narration		Speech
6		6

The author uses 'ēlōhîm equally in both narration and speech. In speech, Yahweh uses the designation first in Exod 6:7 when he introduces himself to Moses and assures him that he will be the Israelites' god. He reiterates this claim in 29:45 when he gives Moses the instructions for building the tabernacle. He uses the term also in 7:1 when he tells Moses that he will be “like a god” to Pharaoh and Aaron will be his prophet. Finally, both Yahweh and Moses use this designation in 31:3 and 35:31 to describe Bezalel son of Uri as filled with “the spirit of god.”

In narration, the author uses the designation 'ēlōhîm four times before Yahweh reveals his name in 6:2. After this, the author uses this designation not to refer to god, but instead to describe his role in relation to the ancient Israelites, as in Exod 6:7 and 29:45. The five remaining uses of the designation 'ēlōhîm seem to refer to divinity more

generally. The promise to Moses that he will be “like a god” to the Egyptian Pharaoh,²¹⁰ the idiom “the finger of god”²¹¹ and the “spirit of god” with which Bezalel is filled all point to divine authority or talent or authority.²¹²

'ēlōhê		
Occurrence in P-Exodus	Context	
6:7	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”	
12:12	“ûbēkōl ’ēlōhê mīṣrāyīm”	
16:12	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”	
29:46	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêhem...’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêhem”	
		Total: 5
Narration		Speech
0		5

The use of the designation *'ēlōhê* is very limited in P-Exodus. The P source author never used it in P-Genesis and uses it only 5 times in this book. One usage in Exod 12:12 refers to the gods of Egypt and is thus excluded from divine designations that refer to god. Of the remaining four uses, *'ēlōhê* appears with possessive suffixes. In both Exod 6:7 and 16:12, Yahweh assures Moses that the people will know that he is “Yahweh your god” using the second masculine plural personal suffix. In Exod 29:46,

²¹⁰ Just like the other uses of אֱלֹהִים in P-Exodus, Yahweh here specifies Moses’s role in relation to Pharaoh. To be “like a god” to Pharaoh suggests that Moses will wield power over him, as he does on behalf of Yahweh.

²¹¹ The Egyptian diviners credit “the finger of god” (אֶצְבַּע אֱלֹהִים) with the plagues against Egypt in Exod 8:15 and the narrator explains in Exod 31:18 that the laws on the לוחות הָעֵדוּת are written by “the finger of god.” Both uses suggest that a tangible product – lice and a written code of law – are the work of a divine figure. In neither instance does the term אֱלֹהִים refer specifically to Yahweh, but both may be understood to point to divine agency.

²¹² Hebrew וַיִּמְלֵא אֹתוֹ רֹחַ אֱלֹהִים. In this context, this phrase indicates a promise that Yahweh will imbue Bezalel with the skill that he needs to craft the tabernacle elements. Moses later presents this to the Israelites as וַיִּמְלֵא אֹתוֹ רֹחַ אֱלֹהִים בְּחָכְמָה בְּתִבְיוֹנָה וּבְדַעַת וּבְכָל-מְלָאכָה “and he filled him with the breath of *'ēlōhîm* with wisdom, with understanding, and with knowledge in all of his works.” This phrasing expands on what the רֹחַ אֱלֹהִים offers those who are filled with it: technical skill in all that they do. For other cases of the phrase רֹחַ אֱלֹהִים in the Torah, see Gen 1:1 (P); 41:38 (E); Num 24:2 (E). The P source author also mentions those with רֹחַ חָכְמָה making Aaron’s priestly garments (Exod 28:3). Joshua is described as having this same רֹחַ חָכְמָה in Deut 34:9 (P).

Yahweh describes the procedure for sacrifice at the tabernacle, assuring Moses that, when he appears there, the people will know that he is their god.

<i>hā'ēlōhîm</i>		
Occurrence in P-Exodus	Context	
2:23	<i>watta'al šaw'ātām 'el hā'ēlōhîm</i>	
		Total: 1
Narration		Speech
1		0

The P source author only uses the designation *hā'ēlōhîm* once in P-Exodus. As in the uses of this designation in P-Genesis, this designation appears in the indirect object position. The people's cry for help rises up to *hā'ēlōhîm*. Notably, this occurrence is followed by uses of the designation *'ēlōhîm* in Exod 2:24 and 2:25. While the people's cry reaches *hā'ēlōhîm*, it is *'ēlōhîm* who hears the cry, remembers the covenant, looks upon the people, and knows.²¹³ This supports my observation that the P source author uses the divine designation *'ēlōhîm* in its indefinite form in subject and direct object position while the definite *hā'ēlōhîm* is reserved for the indirect object position.²¹⁴

c. *'ēl šadday*

<i>'ēl šadday</i>		
Occurrence in P-Exodus	Context	
6:3	<i>"wā'ērā' 'el 'abrāhām 'el yīṣḥāq wē'el ya'āqōb bē'el šadday"</i>	
		Total: 1
Narration		Speech
0		1

²¹³ The object of the verb יָדַע is not specified.

²¹⁴ See Gen 6:9, 11; 17:18; Exod 2:23 for all of the P source uses of הָאֱלֹהִים in indirect object position.

This single use of 'ē/ šadday in P-Exodus is significant in that it connects the divine name Yahweh with the divine entity who interacted with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in P-Genesis. Yahweh assures Moses here that he was the god whom the Israelites' ancestors worshiped, but they only knew him by the title of 'ē/ šadday. Now, god is prepared to share his proper name with the people so that they can address him as such.

iii. Leviticus

The question of which material to consider belonging to the author of the P source in Leviticus is a difficult one. For some time, chapters 17-26 have been regarded as a distinct section of Leviticus called The Holiness Code.²¹⁵ Whether the author of the P source incorporated it into their work, or the author of the Holiness Code added their distinct code into the material now contained in Leviticus when they edited the Torah is much debated.²¹⁶ In his MA thesis, my colleague Tyler Edward Kelley suggested that the material in the Leviticus 17-26 is in fact an integral part of the P source narrative. The narrative assumptions in this passage include the address to a group of Israelites who are migrating from Egypt to their promised homeland, that Moses is the speaker,

²¹⁵ Kuenen traces the acknowledgement of the distinct character of Leviticus 17-26 to Nobel, Ewald, and Nöldeke. See Abraham Kuenen, *An historico-critical inquiry into the origin and composition of the Hexateuch*, trans. Philip Henry Wicksteed (London: Macmillan 1886), 88.

²¹⁶ Wellhausen, for example, perceived the content of Leviticus 17-26 to be an older and self-contained composition that was incorporated into the Priestly work. See Wellhausen, *Die Composition*, 150. Much later, Israel Knohl suggested that the Holiness Code was a later addition to the Priestly work, written sometime in the 8th century BCE. Notably, Knohl also sees signs of the work of author of the Holiness Code outside of Leviticus including Num 9:1-14. See Knohl, *The Sanctuary of Silence* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 204-212. Similarly, Jacob Milgrom argues that the author of the Holiness Code “presumes, supplements, and revises P” in their work. See Milgrom, *Leviticus 17-22, AB 3A* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 1349.

and that the Tent of Meeting is in their midst.²¹⁷ Thus, I present two sets of charts here for consideration. The first show the evidence from Leviticus with the material from the Holiness Code included and the second shows the distribution without this material.

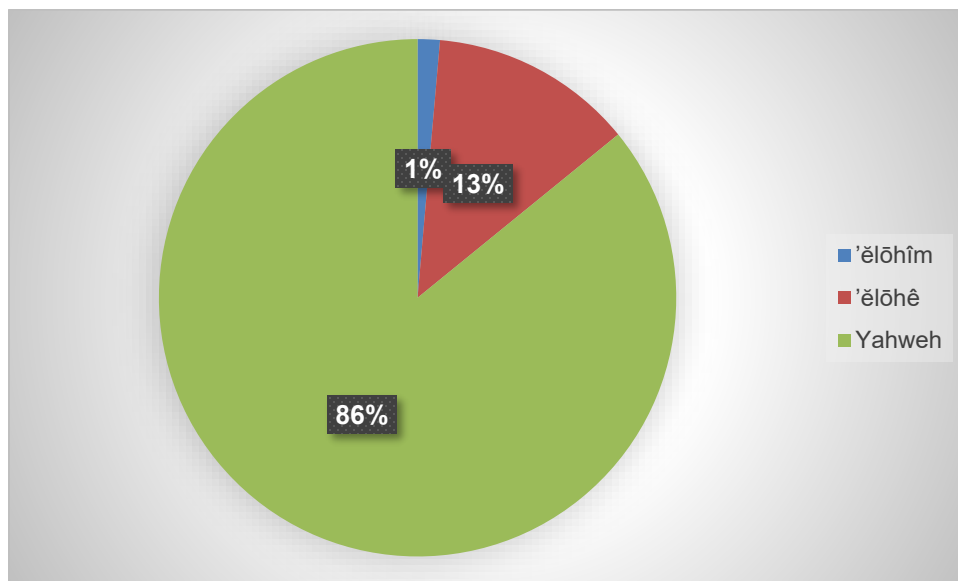


Figure 20: P Source Divine Designations in Leviticus +HC (proportional)

²¹⁷ Tyler Edward Kelley, “‘It is Commonly Thought and Widely Accepted:’ A Reevaluation of the Holiness Code” (master’s thesis, The University of Georgia, 2014), 35-36. Kelley expanded this significantly in his PhD dissertation, which I have also cited above.

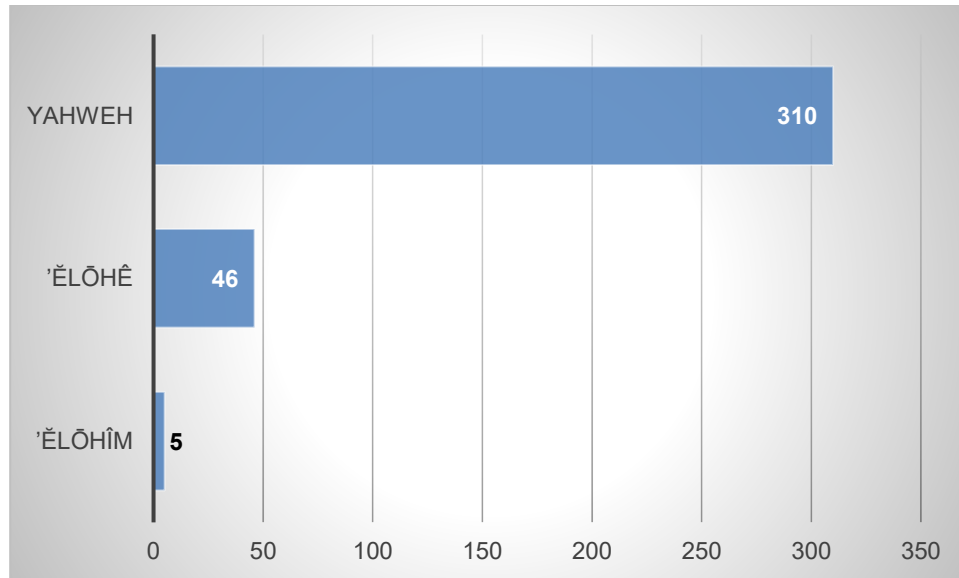


Figure 21: P Source Divine Designations in Leviticus +HC (numerical)

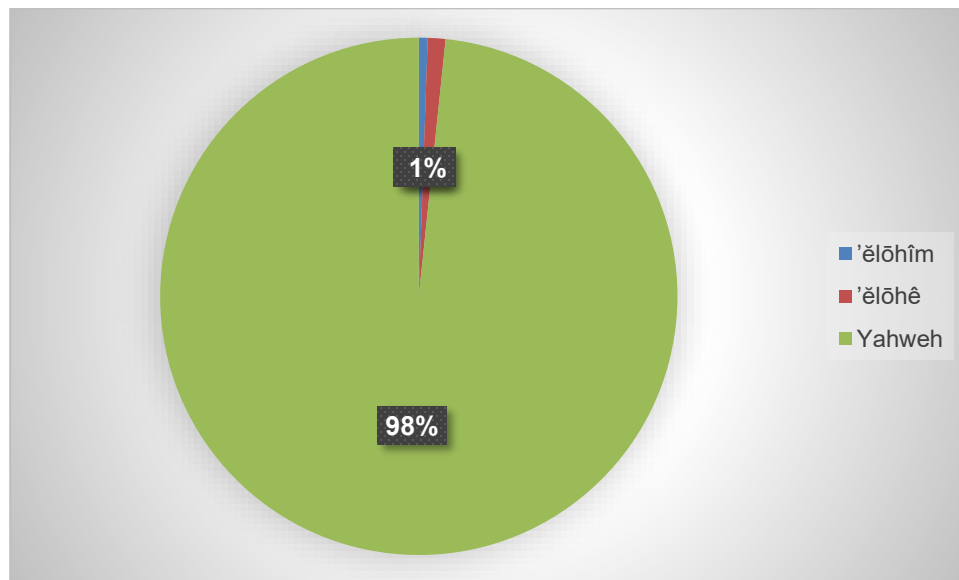


Figure 22: P Source Divine Designations in Leviticus -HC (proportional)

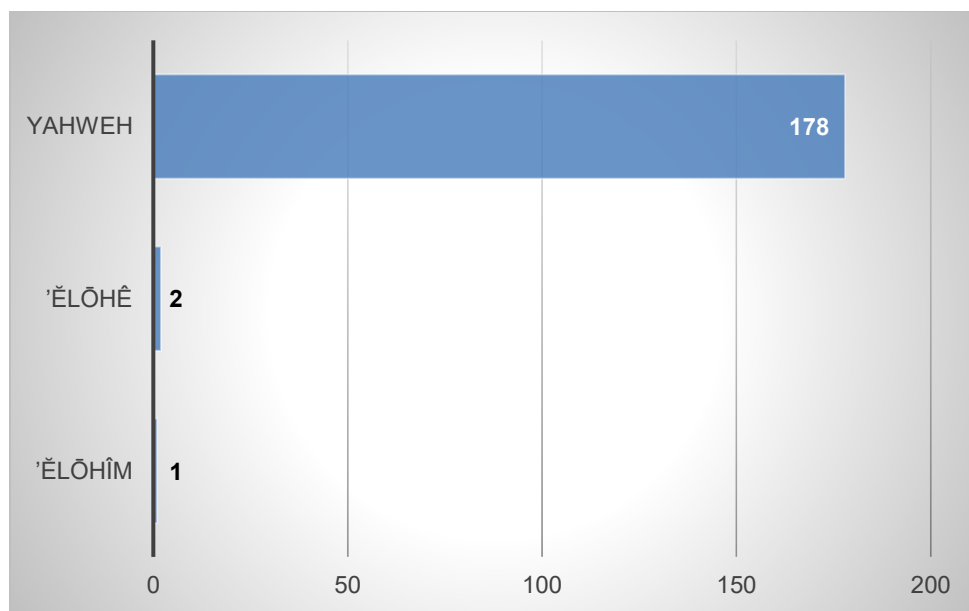


Figure 23: P Source Divine Designations in Leviticus -HC (numerical)

a. Yahweh

Yahweh	
Occurrence in P-Leviticus	Context
1:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'ēlāyw</i>
1:2	<i>"qōrbān laYahweh"</i>
1:3	<i>"līpnē Yahweh"</i>
1:5	<i>"līpnē Yahweh"</i>
1:9	<i>"'iššēh rē^{ah} nīhō^{ah} laYahweh"</i>
1:11	<i>"līpnē Yahweh"</i>
1:13	<i>"'iššēh rē^{ah} nīhō^{ah} laYahweh"</i>
1:14	<i>"qōrbānō laYahweh"</i>
1:17	<i>"'iššēh rē^{ah} nīhō^{ah} laYahweh"</i>
2:1	<i>"qōrban mīnēhāh laYahweh"</i>
2:2	<i>"'iššēh rē^{ah} nīhō^{ah} laYahweh"</i>
2:3	<i>"qōdeš qādāšīm mē'iššē Yahweh"</i>
2:8	<i>"'āšer yē'āseh mē'ēleh laYahweh"</i>
2:9	<i>"'iššēh rē^{ah} nīhō^{ah} laYahweh"</i>
2:10	<i>"qōdeš qādāšīm mē'iššē Yahweh"</i>
2:11	<i>"kōl hamīnēhāh 'āšer taqrībū laYahweh... 'iššēh laYahweh"</i>
2:12	<i>"qōrban rē'sīt taqrībū 'ōtam laYahweh"</i>
2:14	<i>"wē'im taqrīb mīnhat bikkûrīm laYahweh"</i>
2:16	<i>"'iššēh laYahweh"</i>
3:1	<i>"līpnē Yahweh"</i>

3:3	" <i>ʾiššeh laYahweh</i> "
3:5	" <i>ʾiššeh rê^aḥ nîḥô^aḥ laYahweh</i> "
3:6	" <i>lězebaḥ šělāmîm laYahweh</i> "
3:7	" <i>lîpnê Yahweh</i> "
3:9	" <i>ʾiššeh laYahweh</i> "
3:11	" <i>leḥem ʾiššeh laYahweh</i> "
3:12	" <i>lîpnê Yahweh</i> "
3:14	" <i>ʾiššeh laYahweh</i> "
3:16	" <i>kôl ḥēleb laYahweh</i> "
4:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh ʾel mōšeh</i>
4:2	" <i>mîkôl mîšwôt Yahweh</i> "
4:3	" <i>laYahweh lēḥaṭāʾt</i> "
4:4	" <i>lîpnê Yahweh... lîpnê Yahweh</i> "
4:6	" <i>lîpnê Yahweh</i> "
4:7	" <i>lîpnê Yahweh</i> "
4:13	" <i>mîkôl mîšwôt Yahweh</i> "
4:15	" <i>lîpnê Yahweh... lîpnê Yahweh</i> "
4:17	" <i>lîpnê Yahweh</i> "
4:18	" <i>lîpnê Yahweh</i> "
4:22	" <i>mîkôl mîšwôt Yahweh ʾēlōḥāyw</i> "
4:24	" <i>lîpnê Yahweh</i> "
4:27	" <i>ʾaḥat mîmîšwôt Yahweh</i> "
4:31	" <i>lěré^aḥ nîḥô^aḥ laYahweh</i> "
4:35	" <i>ʾal ʾiššê Yahweh</i> "
5:6	" <i>wēḥēbî ʾet ʾāšāmô laYahweh</i> "
5:7	" <i>šētê tōrîm ʾô šēnê běnê yōnāh laYahweh</i> "
5:12	" <i>ʾal ʾiššê Yahweh</i> "
5:14	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh ʾel mōšeh</i>
5:15	" <i>mîqādsê Yahweh... wēḥēbî ʾet ʾāšāmô laYahweh</i> "
5:17	" <i>mîkôl mîšwôt Yahweh</i> "
5:19	" <i>ʾāšôm ʾāšam laYahweh</i> "
5:20	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh ʾel mōšeh</i>
5:21	" <i>ûmāʾālāh maʾal baYahweh</i> "
5:25	" <i>wēʾet ʾāšāmô yābî laYahweh</i> "
5:26	" <i>lîpnê Yahweh</i> "
6:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh ʾel mōšeh</i>
6:7	" <i>lîpnê Yahweh</i> "
6:8	" <i>rê^aḥ nîḥô^aḥ ʾazkarātah laYahweh</i> "
6:11	" <i>mēʾiššê Yahweh</i> "
6:12	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh ʾel mōšeh</i>
6:13	" <i>ʾāšer yaqrîbû laYahweh</i> "
6:14	" <i>rê^aḥ nîḥô^aḥ laYahweh</i> "
6:15	" <i>hōq ʾôlām laYahweh</i> "
6:17	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh ʾel mōšeh</i>
6:18	" <i>lîpnê Yahweh</i> "

7:5	" <i>ṭššeh laYahweh</i> "
7:11	" <i>'ăšer yaqrîb laYahweh</i> "
7:14	" <i>těrûmāh laYahweh</i> "
7:20	" <i>mīzebaḥ šělāmîm 'ăšer laYahweh</i> "
7:21	" <i>mībāsār zebaḥ hašělāmîm 'ăšer laYahweh</i> "
7:22	<i>wayədabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
7:25	" <i>ṭššeh laYahweh</i> "
7:28	<i>wayədabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
7:29	" <i>'et zebaḥ šělāmāyw laYahweh... 'et qōrbānô laYahweh</i> "
7:30	" <i>'iššē Yahweh...těnûpāh lîpnē Yahweh</i> "
7:35	" <i>mē'iššē Yahweh...hīqrîb 'ōtām lěkahēn laYahweh</i> "
7:36	" <i>'ăšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i> "
7:38	" <i>'ăšer šīwwāh Yahweh... 'et qōrbēnēhem laYahweh</i> "
8:1	<i>wayədabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
8:4	<i>ka'ăšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'ōtô</i>
8:5	" <i>zeh hadābār 'ăšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i> "
8:9	<i>ka'ăšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i>
8:13	<i>ka'ăšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i>
8:17	<i>ka'ăšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i>
8:21	<i>lěré^{aḥ} niḥō^{aḥ} ṭššeh hû' laYahweh ka'ăšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i>
8:26	<i>lîpnē Yahweh</i>
8:27	<i>lîpnē Yahweh</i>
8:28	<i>lěré^{aḥ} niḥō^{aḥ} ṭššeh hû' laYahweh</i>
8:29	<i>lîpnē Yahweh... ka'ăšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i>
8:34	" <i>šīwwāh Yahweh la'ăsōt</i> "
8:35	" <i>ûšēmartem 'et mīšmeret Yahweh</i> "
8:36	<i>'ăšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i>
9:2	" <i>lîpnē Yahweh</i> "
9:4	" <i>lîpnē Yahweh...Yahweh nîrē'āh 'ălêkem</i> "
9:5	<i>lîpnē Yahweh</i>
9:6	" <i>zeh hadābār 'ăšer šīwwāh Yahweh...wěyērā' 'ălêkem kěbôd Yahweh</i> "
9:7	" <i>ka'ăšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i> "
9:10	<i>ka'ăšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i>
9:21	<i>lîpnē Yahweh</i>
9:23	<i>wayyērā' kěbôd Yahweh</i>
9:24	<i>wattēšē' 'ēš mīlîpnē Yahweh</i>
10:1	<i>lîpnē Yahweh</i>
10:2	<i>wattēšē' 'ēš mīlîpnē Yahweh...wayyāmūtû lîpnē Yahweh</i>
10:3	" <i>hû' 'ăšer dībber Yahweh</i> "
10:6	" <i>'ăšer šārap Yahweh</i> "
10:7	" <i>kî šemen mīšḥat Yahweh 'ălêkem</i> "
10:8	<i>wayədabbēr Yahweh 'el 'ahārōn</i>
10:11	" <i>kôl haḥuqqîm 'ăšer dībber Yahweh</i> "
10:12	" <i>mē'iššē Yahweh</i> "

10:13	" <i>mē'iššē Yahweh</i> "
10:15	" <i>līpnē Yahweh... ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i> "
10:17	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
10:19	" <i>līpnē Yahweh... hayītab bē'ēnē Yahweh</i> "
11:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh wē'el 'ahārōn</i>
11:44	" <i>kī 'ānī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem</i> "
11:45	" <i>kī 'ānī Yahweh</i> "
12:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
12:7	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
13:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh wē'el 'ahārōn</i>
14:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
14:11	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
14:12	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
14:16	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
14:18	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
14:23	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
14:24	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
14:27	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
14:29	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
14:31	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
14:33	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh wē'el 'ahārōn</i>
15:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh wē'el 'ahārōn</i>
15:14	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
15:15	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
15:30	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
16:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh... līpnē Yahweh</i>
16:2	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
16:7	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
16:8	" <i>gōrāl 'eḥād laYahweh</i> "
16:9	" <i>haggōrāl laYahweh</i> "
16:10	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
16:12	" <i>mīlīpnē Yahweh</i> "
16:13	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
16:18	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
16:30	" <i>līpnē Yahweh</i> "
16:34	<i>ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>
17:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
17:2	" <i>zeh hadābār 'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i> "
17:4	" <i>qōrbān laYahweh... līpnē mīškan Yahweh</i> "
17:5	" <i>wehēbī'ūm laYahweh... zībḥē šēlāmīm laYahweh</i> "
17:6	" <i>'al mīzbah Yahweh... lēre^aḥ nīḥō^aḥ laYahweh</i> "
17:9	" <i>la'āsōt 'ōtō laYahweh</i> "
18:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
18:2	" <i>'ānī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem</i> "
18:4	" <i>'ānī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem</i> "

18:5	“’ānî Yahweh”
18:6	“’ānî Yahweh”
18:21	“’ānî Yahweh”
18:30	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”
19:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’el mōšeh</i>
19:2	“kî qādōš ’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”
19:3	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”
19:4	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”
19:5	“zebah šēlāmîm laYahweh”
19:8	“kî ’et qōdeš Yahweh”
19:10	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”
19:12	“’ānî Yahweh”
19:14	“’ānî Yahweh”
19:16	“’ānî Yahweh”
19:18	“’ānî Yahweh”
19:21	“wēhēbî’ ’et ’āšāmō laYahweh”
19:22	“līpnê Yahweh”
19:24	“qōdeš hīlûlîm laYahweh”
19:25	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”
19:28	“’ānî Yahweh”
19:30	“’ānî Yahweh”
19:31	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”
19:32	“’ānî Yahweh”
19:34	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”
19:36	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”
19:37	“’ānî Yahweh”
20:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’el mōšeh</i>
20:7	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”
20:8	“’ānî Yahweh mēqadīškem”
20:24	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”
20:26	“kî qādōš ’ānî Yahweh”
21:1	<i>wayyō’mer Yahweh ’el mōšeh</i>
21:6	“kî ’et ’iššē Yahweh”
21:8	“kî qādōš ’ānî Yahweh mēqadīškem”
21:12	“’ānî Yahweh”
21:15	“’ānî Yahweh mēqadšō”
21:16	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’el mōšeh</i>
21:21	“lēhaqrīb ’et ’iššē Yahweh”
21:23	“’ānî Yahweh mēqadšām”
22:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’el mōšeh</i>
22:2	“’ānî Yahweh”
22:3	“’āšer yaqdīšû bēnē yīsrā’ēl laYahweh... ’ānî Yahweh”
22:8	“’ānî Yahweh”
22:9	“’ānî Yahweh mēqadšām”
22:15	“’ēt ’āšer yārîmû laYahweh”

22:16	“’ānî Yahweh mēqadšām”
22:17	wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’el mōšeh
22:18	“’āšer yaqrîbû laYahweh lē’ōlāh
22:21	“zebah šēlāmîm laYahweh”
22:22	“lō’ taqrîbû ’ēleh laYahweh...’al hammîzbē ^a h laYahweh”
22:24	“lō’ taqrîbû laYahweh”
22:26	wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’el mōšeh
22:27	“lēqōrban ’îššeh laYahweh”
22:29	“zebah tôdāh laYahweh”
22:30	“’ānî Yahweh”
22:31	“’ānî Yahweh”
22:32	“’ānî Yahweh mēqadîškem”
22:33	“’ānî Yahweh”
23:1	wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’el mōšeh
23:2	“mô’ādē Yahweh”
23:3	“šabbāt hî’ laYahweh”
23:4	“’ēleh mô’ādē Yahweh”
23:5	“pesah laYahweh”
23:6	“ḥaq hamaššôt laYahweh”
23:8	“wēhîqrabtem ’îššeh laYahweh”
23:9	wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’el mōšeh
23:11	“lîpnē Yahweh”
23:12	“lē’ōlāh laYahweh”
23:13	“’îššeh laYahweh rê ^a h nîḥō ^a h”
23:16	“mînhāh ḥadašah laYahweh”
23:17	“bîkûrîm laYahweh”
23:18	“’ōlāh laYahweh...’îššeh rê ^a h nîḥō ^a h laYahweh”
23:20	“lîpnē Yahweh...qōdeš yîhyû laYahweh”
23:22	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”
23:23	wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’el mōšeh
23:25	“’îššeh laYahweh”
23:26	wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’el mōšeh
23:27	“wēhîqrabtem ’îššeh laYahweh”
23:28	“lîpnē Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”
23:33	wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’el mōšeh
23:34	“ḥag hasūkkôt šîb’at yāmîm laYahweh”
23:36	“taqrîbû ’îššeh laYahweh... wēhîqrabtem ’îššeh laYahweh”
23:37	“’ēleh mô’ādē Yahweh...lēhaqrîb ’îššeh laYahweh”
23:38	“šabbētôt Yahweh...’āšer tîtnû laYahweh”
23:39	“tāḥōgû ’et ḥag Yahweh”
23:40	“lîpnē Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”
23:41	“wēḥaggōtem ’otô ḥag Yahweh”
23:43	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”
23:44	’et mô’ādē Yahweh
24:1	wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’el mōšeh

24:3	“līpnê Yahweh”	
24:4	“līpnê Yahweh”	
24:6	“līpnê Yahweh”	
24:7	“’ššeh laYahweh”	
24:8	“ya’arkenû līpnê Yahweh”	
24:9	“mē’iššê Yahweh”	
24:12	’al pî Yahweh	
24:13	wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’el mōšeh	
24:16	“wēnōqēb šēm Yahweh”	
24:22	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”	
24:23	ka’āšer šīwwāh Yahweh	
25:1	wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’el mōšeh	
25:2	“šabbāt laYahweh”	
25:4	“šabbāt laYahweh”	
25:17	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”	
25:38	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”	
25:55	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”	
26:1	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”	
26:2	“’ānî Yahweh”	
26:13	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”	
26:44	“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhêhem”	
26:45	“’ānî Yahweh”	
26:46	’āšer nātan Yahweh	
27:1	wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’el mōšeh	
27:2	“kî yaplî’ neder bě’erkēkā nēpāšōt laYahweh”	
27:9	“qōrbān laYahweh...yītēn mīmenû laYahweh”	
27:11	“qōrbān laYahweh”	
27:14	“qōdeš laYahweh”	
27:16	“yaqdîš ’îš laYahweh”	
27:21	“qōdeš laYahweh”	
27:22	“yaqdîš laYahweh”	
27:23	“qōdeš laYahweh”	
27:26	“’āšer yēbūkkar laYahweh...laYahweh hû”	
27:28	“’āšer yaḥāřīm ’îš laYahweh...qōdeš qōdāšîm hû’ laYahweh”	
27:30	“mīprî hā’ēs laYahweh...hû’ qōdeš laYahweh”	
27:32	“yīhyeh qōdeš laYahweh”	
27:34	’ēleh hamīšwôt ’āšer šīwwāh Yahweh”	
		Total: 310
Narration		
61		
Speech		
249		

The majority of the occurrences of the divine name Yahweh occur in speech in P-Leviticus. This makes sense, given that most of the content of the book is law that

Yahweh communicates verbally to Moses. Yahweh is the most prolific speaker of his name, using it 231 times in speech.²¹⁸ Moses is the second most prolific speaker of the name, using it 17 times.²¹⁹ Aaron uses the name just once.²²⁰

b. 'ēlōhîm and 'ēlōhê

'ēlōhîm		
Occurrence in P-Leviticus	Context	
11:45	"lîhyōt lākem lē'lōhîm"	
23:33	"lîhyōt lākem lē'lōhîm"	
25:38	"lîhyōt lākem lē'lōhîm"	
26:12	"wēhāyîti lākem lē'lōhîm"	
26:45	"lîhyōt lāhem lē'lōhîm"	
		Total: 5
Narration		
Speech		
0	5	

The P source author only uses the title *'ēlōhîm* in speech in Leviticus and Yahweh is its only speaker. In each usage, Yahweh declares himself to be the people's *'ēlōhîm*. The usage of this designation in P-Leviticus clearly demonstrates that the author is using it as a title that Yahweh holds in relation to the Israelites. This is consistent with the P-source usage of this divine designation in Exodus after the revelation of the divine name.

²¹⁸ See Lev 1:2, 3, 5, 9, 11, 13, 14, 17; 2:1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16; 3:1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16; 4:2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 13, 15, 17, 18, 22, 24, 27, 31, 35; 5:6, 7, 12, 15, 17, 19, 21, 25, 26; 6:7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18; 7:5, 11, 14, 20, 21, 25, 29, 30, 35, 36, 38; 10:11; 11:44, 45; 12:7; 14:11, 12, 16, 18, 23, 24, 27, 29, 31; 15:14, 15, 30; 16:7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 18, 30; 17:2, 4, 5, 6, 9; 18:2, 4, 5, 6, 21, 30; 19:2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37; 20:7, 8, 24, 26; 21: 6, 8, 12, 15, 21, 23; 22:2, 3, 8, 9, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 24, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33; 23:2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43; 24:3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 22; 25:2, 4, 17, 38, 55; 26:1, 2, 13, 44, 45; 27:2, 9, 11, 14, 16, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 30, 32.

²¹⁹ See Lev 8:5, 34, 35; 9:2, 4, 6, 7; 10:3, 6, 7, 12, 13, 15, 17.

²²⁰ See Lev 10:19.

Four of the five uses of the title *’ēlōhîm* appear in chapters 23-26, content that scholars traditionally designate the Holiness Code. The phrases that the author uses here, though, have precedent in other P source material in the Torah. In Gen 17:7-8, Yahweh introduces himself to Abram as *’el šadday* and promises to be Abram’s god and the god of his descendants.²²¹ Further, in Exod 29:45, Yahweh promises to dwell among the Israelites in the tabernacle and to be their god.²²² Though these phrases are isolated here, they suggest continuity and cohesion with other P source material.²²³

<i>’ēlōhē</i>	
Occurrence in P-Leviticus	Context
4:22	<i>“mīkōl mīšwōt Yahweh ’ēlōhāyw”</i>
11:44	<i>“kī ’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
18:2	<i>“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
18:4	<i>“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
18:21	<i>“’et šēm ’ēlōhēkā”</i>
18:30	<i>“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
19:2	<i>“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
19:3	<i>“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
19:4 ²²⁴	<i>“’al tīpnû ’el hā ’ēlîlîm wē ’lōhē masēkāh...’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
19:10	<i>“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
19:12	<i>“’et šēm ’ēlōhēkā”</i>
19:14 ²²⁵	<i>“wēyārē’tā mē ’ēlōhēkā”</i>
19:25	<i>“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
19:31	<i>“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
19:32	<i>“wēyārē’tā mē ’ēlōhēkā”</i>
19:34	<i>“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
19:36	<i>“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>
20:7	<i>“’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem”</i>

²²¹ Hebrew (17:8) וְהָיִיתִי לָהֶם לֵאלֹהִים; (17:7) לְהָיוֹת לָךְ לֵאלֹהִים וּלְזָרְעֶךָ אַחֲרָיִךְ.

²²² Hebrew וְהָיִיתִי לָהֶם לֵאלֹהִים וְשָׁכַנְתִּי בְתוֹךְ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהָיִיתִי לָהֶם לֵאלֹהִים.

²²³ Kelley’s dissertation, which I have cited above, provides much more robust evidence. See Kelley, “Archival Unity: A Neo-Analytic Model of the Priestly Text.”

²²⁴ The word *’ēlîlîm* does not appear in any other texts in the Torah. In parallel with *מַסְכָּה*, it is clear that the author means to indicate a religious statue. For uses of this word outside of the Torah, see Isaiah 2:8, 18, 20; 10:10; 19:3; Zechariah 11:17. The occurrences of this term in Isaiah support understanding this word to mean “statue.” In 2:8, the author describes them as *מַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו* “the work of his hands.” In 2:20, the phrases *אֱלִילֵי כֶסֶף* “statues of silver” and *אֱלִילֵי זָהָב* “statues of gold” appear. This suggests that these objects can be made of different metals.

²²⁵ This particular construction of the root *יָרָא* in the Qal combined with the preposition *מִן* and the noun *אֱלֹהִים* is unique to the P source material in Leviticus. It occurs here and in Lev 19:32; 25:17, 36, 43.

20:24	"'ănî Yahweh 'ělôhêkem"	
21:6	"qědôšîm yîhyû lē'lôhêhem...šēm 'ělôhêhem...leḥem 'ělôhêhem"	
21:7	"kî qādôš hû' lē'lôhāyw"	
21:8	"kî 'et leḥem 'ělôhêkā"	
21:12	"mîqdaš 'ělôhāyw...nēzer šemen mîšḥat 'ělôhāyw"	
21:17	"leḥem 'ělôhāyw"	
21:21	"leḥem 'ělôhāyw"	
22:25	"'et leḥem 'ělôhêkem"	
23:14	"'et qōrbān 'ělôhêkem"	
23:22	"'ănî Yahweh 'ělôhêkem"	
23:28	"lîpnê Yahweh 'ělôhêkem"	
23:40	"lîpnê Yahweh 'ělôhêkem"	
23:43	"'ănî Yahweh 'ělôhêkem"	
24:15	"îš kî yěqalēl 'ělôhāyw"	
24:22	"'ănî Yahweh 'ělôhêkem"	
25:17	"wěyārē'ta mē'ělôhêkā kî 'ănî Yahweh 'ělôhêkem"	
25:36	"wěyārē'ta mē'ělôhêkā"	
25:38	"'ănî Yahweh 'ělôhêkem"	
25:43	"wěyārē'ta mē'ělôhêkā"	
25:55	"'ănî Yahweh 'ělôhêkem"	
26:1	"'ănî Yahweh 'ělôhêkem"	
26:13	"'ănî Yahweh 'ělôhêkem"	
26:44	"'ănî Yahweh 'ělôhêhem"	
		Total: 46
Narration		Speech
0		46

Like the designation *'ēlōhîm*, the P source author uses the designation *'ēlōhê* only in speech and Yahweh is its only speaker. It appears 45 times with personal possessive suffixes.²²⁶ In terms of possessive suffixes, the second person masculine plural is the most popular, with 27 attestations.²²⁷ There are 8 instances of the second person masculine singular possessive suffix,²²⁸ 7 of the third person masculine

²²⁶ One אֱלֹהִי occurrence appears without a possessive suffix in Lev 19:4 in the phrase מִסְכָּה אֱלֹהִי.

²²⁷ Lev 11:44; 18:2, 4, 30; 19:2, 3, 4, 10, 25, 31, 34, 36; 20:7, 24; 22:25; 23:14, 22, 28, 40, 43; 24:22; 25:17, 38, 55; 26:1, 13, 44.

²²⁸ Lev 18:21; 19:12, 14, 32; 21:8; 25:17, 36, 43.

singular,²²⁹ and 3 are the third person masculine plural.²³⁰ Of these 45 occurrences, 30 are paired with the divine name Yahweh. The result is that 65% of *’ēlōhē* uses are paired with Yahweh.

Additionally, within the 30 times that the author uses Yahweh + *’ēlōhē* + possessive suffix,²³¹ 22 instances are “*’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhē*” phrases wherein Yahweh announces himself to be the Israelites’ god.²³² Also like the designation *’ēlōhîm*, these occurrences are concentrated in material that has traditionally been described as the Holiness Code, with 21 of the 22 total instances appearing there. While the concentration of this phrase is striking, this is not the first time that the P source author has used an “*’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhē*” or an “*’ānî Yahweh*” statement when Yahweh speaks to Moses or to the Israelites.²³³

Further, the phrase “*’ānî Yahweh ’ēlōhē*” finds parallels in the opening to the Ten Commandments in both Exod 20:3 and Deut 5:6.²³⁴ This suggests that the phrase may have particular relevance in a legal context.²³⁵ Though the phrase appears only once in

²²⁹ Lev 4:22; 21:7, 12, 17, 21; 24:15.

²³⁰ Lev 21:6.

²³¹ Of these possessive suffixes, 8 are the second person masculine singular, 27 are the second person masculine plural, 7 are the third person masculine singular, and 3 are the third person masculine plural.

²³² See Lev 11:44; 18:2, 4, 30; 19:2, 3, 4, 10, 25, 31, 34, 36; 20:7, 24; 23:22, 43; 24:22; 25:38, 55; 26:1, 13, 44.

²³³ There is one exact match for this phrasing in the P source narrative in Exod 30:46. Yahweh promises to abide among the Israelites in the tabernacle so the Israelites will know that *אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם* “I am Yahweh their god.” Yahweh also introduces himself to Moses using the phrase *אֲנִי יְהוָה* in Exod 6:2 and then requests that he pass this phrasing on to the Israelites in Exod 6:6. These phrases lack the addition of *’ēlōhē* though, so they are not exact parallels.

²³⁴ Hebrew *אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיךָ* (Exod 20:3; Deut 5:6).

²³⁵ This phrase (*אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם*) also enjoys immense popularity in prophetic literature. See Isaiah 27:3; 41:4, 13, 17; 42:6, 8; 43:3, 11, 15; 44:24; 45:3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 18, 19, 21; 48:17; 49:23, 26; 51:15; 60:16, 22; 61:8; Jer 9:23; 17:10; 24:7; 32:27; Ezek 5:13, 15, 17; 6:7, 10, 13, 14; 7:4, 9, 27; 11:10, 12; 12:15, 16, 20, 25; 13:7, 9 (*אֲנִי אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה*), 14, 21, 23; 14:4, 7, 8, 9; 15:7; 17:21, 24; 20:5, 7, 12, 19, 20, 26, 38, 42, 44; 21:4, 10, 37; 22:14, 16, 22; 23:49 (*אֲנִי אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה*); 24:14, 24 (*אֲנִי אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה*), 27; 25:5, 7, 11, 17; 26:6, 14; 28:22, 23, 24 (*אֲנִי אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה*), 26; 29:6, 9, 16 (*אֲנִי אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה*), 21; 30:8, 12, 19, 25, 26; 32:15; 33:29; 34:24, 27, 30; 35:4, 9, 12, 15; 36:7, 11, 23, 36, 38; 37:6, 13, 14, 28; 38:23; 39:6, 7, 22, 28; Hosea 12:10; 13:4; Joel 2:27; 4:17; Zech 10:6; Mal 3:6.

each instance of the Ten Commandments, it appears 21 times in Leviticus 18-26, beginning with prohibitions against any Egyptian religious practices and culminating in a promise that Yahweh will honour his covenant with the Israelites even if they face expulsion from the promised land. The legal and covenant contexts in which authors use this phrase in the Torah suggests that the phrase has particular legal value and therefore appears frequently in Leviticus 18-26.

iv. Numbers and Deuteronomy

The P source material in Numbers, while still containing legal material, includes a return to narration and thus slightly more diversity in the use of divine designations. The proportion of uses of Yahweh (95%) is quite close to the proportion of uses of Yahweh in P-Leviticus excluding the Holiness Code (98%). The proportion of P source use of Yahweh in Exodus excluding the material in Exodus 2, which precedes the revelation of the name, is 91%.

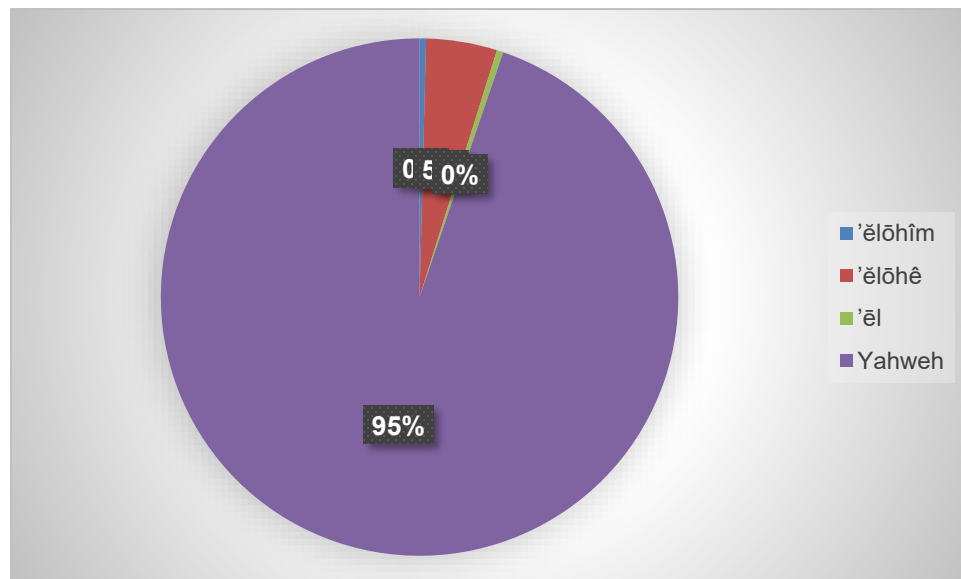


Figure 24: P Source Divine Designations in Numbers (proportional)

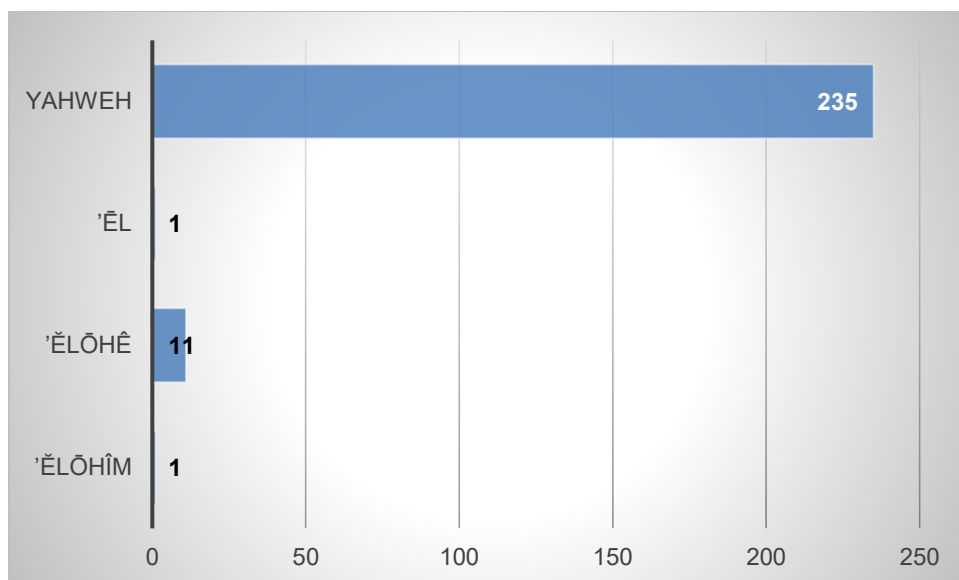


Figure 25: P Source Divine Designations in Numbers (numerical)

a. Yahweh

Yahweh	
Occurrence in P-Numbers	Context
1:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
1:19	<i>ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>
1:48	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
1:54	<i>kēkōl 'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>
2:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh wē'el 'ahārōn</i>
2:33	<i>ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>
2:34	<i>kēkōl 'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>
3:1	<i>bēyōm dībber Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>
3:4	<i>līpnē Yahweh... 'ēš zārāh līpnē Yahweh</i>
3:5	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
3:11	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
3:13	<i>“'ānī Yahweh”</i>
3:14	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
3:16	<i>'al pī Yahweh</i>
3:39	<i>'al pī Yahweh</i>
3:40	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
3:41	<i>“'ānī Yahweh”</i>
3:42	<i>ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'otō</i>
3:44	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
3:45	<i>“'ānī Yahweh”</i>
3:51	<i>'al pī Yahweh...ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>

4:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
4:17	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
4:21	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
4:37	<i>'al pî Yahweh</i>
4:41	<i>'al pî Yahweh</i>
4:45	<i>'al pî Yahweh</i>
4:49	<i>'al pî Yahweh... 'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i>
5:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
5:4	<i>ka'āšer dībber Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
5:5	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
5:6	<i>"līm'ōl ma'al baYahweh"</i>
5:8	<i>"hā'āšām hamûšāb laYahweh"</i>
5:11	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
5:16	<i>"līpnē Yahweh"</i>
5:18	<i>"līpnē Yahweh"</i>
5:21	<i>"yītēn Yahweh 'ōtāk...bētēt Yahweh 'et yērēkēk"</i>
5:25	<i>"līpnē Yahweh"</i>
5:30	<i>"līpnē Yahweh"</i>
6:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
6:2	<i>"nāzīr lēhazīr laYahweh"</i>
6:5	<i>"'āšer yazīr laYahweh"</i>
6:6	<i>"kōl yēmē hazīrō laYahweh"</i>
6:8	<i>"qādōš hū' laYahweh"</i>
6:12	<i>"wēhīzīr laYahweh"</i>
6:14	<i>"'et qōrbānō laYahweh"</i>
6:16	<i>"līpnē Yahweh"</i>
6:17	<i>"zebah šēlāmīm laYahweh"</i>
6:20	<i>"līpnē Yahweh"</i>
6:21	<i>"qōrbānō laYahweh"</i>
6:22	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
6:24	<i>"yēbārekkā Yahweh"</i>
6:25	<i>"yā'ēr Yahweh pānāyw 'ēlēkā"</i>
6:26	<i>"yīsā' Yahweh pānāyw 'ēlēkā"</i>
7:3	<i>'et qōrbānām līpnē Yahweh</i>
7:4	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
7:11	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
8:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
8:3	<i>ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>
8:4	<i>kamar'eh 'āšer her'āh Yahweh</i>
8:5	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
8:10	<i>"līpnē Yahweh"</i>
8:11	<i>"līpnē Yahweh...la'ābod 'et 'ābodat Yahweh"</i>
8:12	<i>"'ōlāh laYahweh"</i>
8:13	<i>"tēnūpāh laYahweh"</i>
8:20	<i>kēkōl 'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>

8:21	<i>těnûpāh lîpnê Yahweh</i>
8:22	<i>ka'ăšer šîwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>
8:23	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
9:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
9:5	<i>kēkōl 'ăšer šîwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>
9:7	<i>"'et qōrbān Yahweh"</i>
9:8	<i>"mah yēšawweh Yahweh lākem"</i>
9:9	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
9:10	<i>"wě'āsāh pesaḥ laYahweh"</i>
9:13	<i>"kî qōrbān Yahweh lō' hîqrîb"</i>
9:14	<i>"wě'āsāh pesaḥ laYahweh"</i>
10:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
10:9	<i>"lîpnê Yahweh"</i>
10:10	<i>"'ănî Yahweh 'ēlōhêkem"</i>
13:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
13:3	<i>'al pî Yahweh</i>
14:3	<i>"wēlāmāh Yahweh mēbî' 'ōtānû"</i>
14:8	<i>"îm ḥāpēš bānû Yahweh"</i>
14:9	<i>"'ak baYahweh 'al tîmrōdû...Yahweh 'itānû"</i>
14:10	<i>ûkēbôd Yahweh nîr'āh</i>
14:26	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh wě'el 'ahārōn</i>
14:28	<i>"ḥay 'ānî nē'ûm Yahweh"</i>
14:35	<i>"'ănî Yahweh dîbbartî"</i>
14:37	<i>lîpnê Yahweh</i>
15:35	<i>wayyô'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
15:36	<i>ka'ăšer šîwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>
15:37	<i>wayyô'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
15:39	<i>"'et kōl mîšwōt Yahweh"</i>
15:41	<i>"'ănî Yahweh 'ēlōhêkem... 'ănî Yahweh 'ēlōhêkem"</i>
16:3	<i>"ûbētôkām Yahweh...tîtnas'û 'al qēhal Yahweh"</i>
16:5	<i>"wēyōda' Yahweh 'et 'ăšer lō"</i>
16:7	<i>"lîpnê Yahweh...hā'îš 'ăšer yîbḥar Yahweh"</i>
16:9	<i>"mîškan Yahweh"</i>
16:11	<i>"'al Yahweh"</i>
16:15	<i>wayyô'mer 'el Yahweh</i>
16:16	<i>"lîpnê Yahweh"</i>
16:17	<i>"lîpnê Yahweh"</i>
16:19	<i>wayyērā' kēbôd Yahweh</i>
16:20	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh wě'el 'ahārōn</i>
16:23	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
16:35	<i>wě'ēš yās'āh mē'et Yahweh</i>
17:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
17:3	<i>"lîpnê Yahweh"</i>
17:5	<i>lîpnê Yahweh...ka'ăšer dîbber Yahweh</i>
17:6	<i>"'atem ḥāmîtem 'et 'am Yahweh"</i>

17:7	<i>wayyērā' kēbôd Yahweh</i>
17:9	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
17:11	<i>"kî yāšā' haqqešep mīlīpnē Yahweh"</i>
17:16	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
17:22	<i>līpnē Yahweh</i>
17:24	<i>mīlīpnē Yahweh</i>
17:25	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
17:26	<i>ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i>
17:28	<i>"'el mīškan Yahweh"</i>
18:1	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el 'ahārōn</i>
18:6	<i>"nētūnīm laYahweh"</i>
18:8	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el 'ahārōn</i>
18:12	<i>"'āšer yītnû laYahweh"</i>
18:13	<i>"'āšer yābî'û laYahweh"</i>
18:15	<i>"'āšer yaqrîbû laYahweh"</i>
18:17	<i>"lērē^{ah} nîhō^{ah} laYahweh"</i>
18:19	<i>"'āšer yārîmû bēnē yīsrā'el laYahweh...līpnē Yahweh"</i>
18:20	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el 'ahārōn</i>
18:24	<i>"'āšer yārîmû laYahweh"</i>
18:25	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
18:26	<i>"mīmennû tērûmat Yahweh"</i>
18:28	<i>"tērûmat Yahweh... 'et tērûmat Yahweh"</i>
18:29	<i>"kōl tērûmat Yahweh"</i>
19:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh wē'el 'ahārōn</i>
19:2	<i>"'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh"</i>
19:13	<i>"'et mīškan Yahweh tīmē"</i>
19:20	<i>"kî 'et mīqdaš Yahweh tīmē"</i>
20:3	<i>"līpnē Yahweh"</i>
20:4	<i>"'et qēhal Yahweh"</i>
20:6	<i>wayyērā' kēbôd Yahweh</i>
20:7	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
20:9	<i>mīlīpnē Yahweh</i>
20:12	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
20:13	<i>'āšer rābû bēnē yīsrā'el 'et Yahweh</i>
20:23	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh wē'el 'ahārōn</i>
20:27	<i>ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i>
25:10	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
25:16	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
26:1	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh wē'el 'el'āzār ben 'ahārōn</i>
26:4	<i>ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i>
26:52	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
26:61	<i>'ēš zārāh līpnē Yahweh</i>
26:65	<i>kî 'āmār Yahweh</i>
27:3	<i>"hannō'ādīm 'al Yahweh"</i>
27:5	<i>līpnē Yahweh</i>

27:6	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
27:11	<i>"ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh"</i>
27:12	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
27:15	<i>wayēdabbēr mōšeh 'el Yahweh</i>
27:16 ²³⁶	<i>"yīpqōd Yahweh 'ēlōhē hārūhōt lēkōl bāsār"</i>
27:17	<i>"wēlō' tīhyeh 'ādat Yahweh"</i>
27:18	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
27:21	<i>"līpnē Yahweh"</i>
27:22	<i>ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i>
27:23	<i>ka'āšer dībber Yahweh</i>
30:2	<i>"zeh hadābār 'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh"</i>
30:3	<i>"'īš kī yīddōr neder laYahweh"</i>
30:4	<i>"wē'īššāh kī tīddōr neder laYahweh"</i>
30:6	<i>"waYahweh yīslaḥ lāh"</i>
30:9	<i>"waYahweh yīslaḥ lāh"</i>
30:13	<i>"waYahweh yīslaḥ lāh"</i>
30:17	<i>'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>
31:1	<i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
31:3	<i>"nīqmat Yahweh bēmīdyān"</i>
31:7	<i>ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>
31:16	<i>"līmsōr ma'al baYahweh...ba'ādat Yahweh"</i>
31:21	<i>"zō't ḥūqqat hatōrah 'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh"</i>
31:25	<i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'el mōšeh</i>
31:28	<i>"wahārēmōtāh mekes laYahweh"</i>
31:29	<i>"tērūmat Yahweh"</i>
31:30	<i>"šōmrē mīšmeret mīškan Yahweh"</i>
31:31	<i>ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>
31:37	<i>wayēhī hamekes laYahweh</i>
31:38	<i>ūmīksām laYahweh</i>
31:39	<i>ūmīksām laYahweh</i>
31:40	<i>ūmīksām laYahweh</i>
31:41	<i>'et mekes tērūmat Yahweh...ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh</i>
31:47	<i>šōmrē mīšmeret mīškan Yahweh...ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i>
31:50	<i>"'et qōrban Yahweh...līpnē Yahweh"</i>
31:52	<i>'āšer hērīmū laYahweh</i>
31:54	<i>līpnē Yahweh</i>
32:4	<i>"'āšer hīkāh Yahweh"</i>
32:13 ²³⁷	<i>"wayīḥar 'ap Yahweh...bē'ēné Yahweh"</i>

²³⁶ For a slightly different example of this epithet, see Num 16:22 (P). There, Moses and Aaron address Yahweh as אֱלֹהֵי הַרוּחַת. These two occurrences are the only cases of this epithet in the Tanakh. See my discussion of this epithet below.

²³⁷ It is difficult to discern which verses are dialogue in this chapter and which are narration. This is in part because the chapter appears to be a blend of J source and P source material. See Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 300. I read this verse as dialogue because I see it as a continuation of Moses's question to the children of Gad and Reuben in Num 32:6 (P).

b. *’ēlōhîm* and *’ēlōhê*

<i>’ēlōhîm</i>		
Occurrence in P-Numbers	Context	
15:41	<i>“lîhyôt lākem lē’lōhîm”</i>	
		Total: 1
Narration		Speech
0		1

The common P source phrase *“lîhyôt lākem lē’lōhîm”* resurfaces just once here in P-Numbers.²⁴⁴ As in its other occurrences, the designation *’ēlōhîm* describes Yahweh’s relationship to the Israelites; he is their god.

<i>’ēlōhê</i>		
Occurrence in P-Numbers	Context	
6:7	<i>“kî nēzer ’ēlōhāyw ’al rō’sô”</i>	
10:9	<i>“lîpnê Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”</i>	
10:10	<i>“lîpnê ’ēlōhêkem ’ănî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”</i>	
15:40	<i>“wîhēyîtem qēdōšîm lē’lōhêkem”</i>	
15:41	<i>“’ănî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem...’ănî Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem”</i>	
16:9	<i>“kî hîbdîl ’ēlōhê yîsrā’ēl”</i>	
16:22	<i>“’el ’ēlōhê hārûḥōt”</i>	
25:13	<i>“taḥat ’ăšer qînnē’ lē’lōhāyw”</i>	
27:16	<i>“yipqōd Yahweh ’ēlōhê hārûḥōt lēkōl bāsār”</i>	
		Total: 11
Narration		Speech
0		11

The P source author uses the designation *’ēlōhê* only in speech in P-Numbers. Notably, the phrase *“’ănî Yahweh ’ēlōhê”* appears three times in Num 10:10 and 15:41, recalling the usage of the phrase in P-Leviticus and P-Exodus.²⁴⁵ The distribution of the

²⁴⁴ See Gen 17:7; Lev 11:45; 23:33; 25:38; 26:45 for exact matches (Gen 17 offers a second person singular address). See Gen 17:8; Exod 6:7; 29:45; Lev 26:12 for a similar phrase: וְהָיִיתִי לָכֶם/לְאֵלֹהִים.

²⁴⁵ Lev 11:44; 18:2, 4, 30; 19:2, 3, 4, 10, 25, 31, 34, 36; 20:7, 24; 23:22, 43; 24:22; 25:38, 55; 26:1, 13, 44. This phrase also appears in the tabernacle building narrative in Exod 30:46. In Num 10:10, Yahweh says this after he explains to Moses how to use trumpets to signal both military maneuvers and festival

pronominal suffix is slightly different here too, with 6 second person masculine plurals and 2 third person masculine singulars. Apart from these, the designation *'ēlōhē* appears with the ethnonym *yīsrā'ēl* in Num 16:9 and with the epithet *hārûḥōt* in Num 16:22 and 27:16 (more on this below).

c. *'ēl*

<i>'ēl</i>		
Occurrence in P-Numbers	Context	
16:22	“ <i>'ēl 'ēlōhē hārûḥōt lěkōl bāśār</i> ”	
		Total: 1
Narration		Speech
0		1

The author of the P source uses the divine designation *'ēl* only once in Num 16:22. Here, the epithet that the P source author uses (*hārûḥōt*) is distinct in the Hebrew Bible and matches nearly exactly the other P-source usage in Num 27:16 where the author uses the divine name rather than the designation *'ēl*.²⁴⁶ In both cases, characters use the epithet when they are making a request of Yahweh. Moses and Aaron use it in Num 16:22 to beg Yahweh not to destroy the whole Israelite community in the wilderness after the Korah revolt. Moses uses it himself in Num 27:16 to beg Yahweh to appoint a leader who will lead the Israelites into the land after his death.²⁴⁷

d. Deuteronomy

days. In Num 15:41, Yahweh uses this phrase twice when he refers to the *tzitzit* functioning as reminders of the commandments that he has given the Israelites. The use of this phrase in legal contexts in Numbers supports my theory suggested above that the יהוה אֱלֹהֵי statement is a hallmark of legal material.

²⁴⁶ Hebrew יהוה אֱלֹהֵי הַרְחֹחַת לְכֹל בָּשָׂר.

²⁴⁷ Interestingly, both of these requests have to do with authority. In Num 16, Korah and his followers demand Aaronid authority. In Num 27, Moses asks that Yahweh appoint a new authority who will lead the Israelites when he is dead. This may relate to the use of Hebrew רָחַ as something that can denote divine skill or appointment, as in the case of Bezalel in Exod 31:3; 35:31 (P).

There is only one P source divine designation in Deuteronomy 34:9. The author uses the divine name, stating that “they did (the children of Israel) what Yahweh had commanded Moses.”

Conclusion

Overall, the P source author uses the divine name Yahweh much more than any other designation following the revelation of the name in Exodus 6 and even uses it more in proportion to other than designations than the E source author. Like the author of the E source, the P source author integrates a few uses of the divine name into their Genesis material in Gen 17:1 and Gen 21:1b. These select uses of the divine name confirm that, even when characters in Genesis did not know Yahweh by name, this deity was in fact the one looking out for them. While the E source author continued to use designations other than the divine name after the revelation of the name in that source, the P source author offers much more precision. He refers to god only as Yahweh and uses designations like *’ēlōhîm* and *’ēlōhê* to describe Yahweh’s role – he is the Israelites’ *’ēlōhîm*.

Unlike the J or E source authors, the P source author demonstrates a grammatical distinction between *’ēlōhîm* and *hā’ēlōhîm*, using the former in subject and direct object position and the latter in the indirect object position. The uses of epithets in the P source is confined to the use of 3 epithets: *’ēl šadday*, *’ēlōhê yīsrā’ēl*, and *’ēlōhê hārûḥōt lēkōl bāšār*. The first occurs 4 times in Gen 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; and Exod 6:3. The second appears only once in Num 16:9. Finally, *’ēlōhê hārûḥōt lēkōl bāšār* appears

only twice in the P source material in Num 16:22 and 27:16. This epithet is unique to this author in the Torah and does not appear outside of it.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁸ The term רוחות does appear elsewhere outside of the Torah, but not as an epithet. See Jeremiah 49:36 where it means “winds.”

CHAPTER 6

DIVINE DESIGNATIONS IN THE D SOURCE MATERIAL

The book of Deuteronomy occupies a liminal space in the Tanakh, being at once the fifth book of the Torah and the first book of the Deuteronomistic History. Martin Noth coined the term “Deuteronomistic History” in his 1943 work *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*. In this work, he suggested that the book of Deuteronomy was the first book of a much larger work that he called the Deuteronomistic History, which included the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings.²⁴⁹ He referred to the historian responsible for this work as “Dtr” and described their work as containing “einer einfachen und einheitlichen Geschichtstheologie enthalten, also auch starke inhaltliche Zusammenhänge.”²⁵⁰

For Noth, the book of Deuteronomy was the starting point of Dtr’s Deuteronomistic history. The first chapters of the book provide references to events already familiar from the books of Exodus and Numbers but, according to Noth, Dtr has arranged everything to suit his own agenda and re-told the events in ways that suit his historical narrative. The amount of detail that Dtr accorded to the stories of the spies, for example, in Deut 1:19-46, served the interests of his historical project by both introducing the theme of Israelite occupation of the land and by offering a justification for

²⁴⁹ Martin Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1957), 5.

²⁵⁰ Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 6.

the huge amount of time (40 years) that the people spend wandering in the wilderness.²⁵¹

Dtr followed this narrative with the Deuteronomic law code²⁵² and he completed the whole text with a final narrative section in Deut 31-34. These narrative compositions that are not necessary for the framing of the Deuteronomic law demonstrate that Dtr has in mind the composition of a large-scale narrative work²⁵³ that will tell the story of the Israelites from their arrival at the land promised to their ancestor to their expulsion from it.

Frank Moore Cross challenged the idea that the Deuteronomistic History was the work of a single historian. He suggested that the Deuteronomistic History might be better viewed as a work with two separate editions: one Josianic and another exilic. He divided the Deuteronomistic History into separate strata and referred to the two strata as the work of Dtr¹ and Dtr².²⁵⁴ The Dtr¹ edition, according to Cross, was written during the reign of King Josiah and framed the history of the Israelites as coloured by both divine judgment and hope that a restoration of the correct worship of Yahweh would improve the people's fortunes. Josiah himself is the figure who will bring about correct

²⁵¹ Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 30-32.

²⁵² Noth understands the Deuteronomic law code to be a law document dating to the time of Josiah that Dtr. includes in his work. See Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 38-39.

²⁵³ Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, 88-90.

²⁵⁴ Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 278-287.

worship through his reforms (2 Kings 23).²⁵⁵ It is this historian who included the older Deuteronomic material (including the laws) into his document.²⁵⁶

In contrast, the Dtr² edition was written after the Babylonian exile and the loss of ancient Israelite statehood.²⁵⁷ This author stresses that, even though the people are scattered among the nations, their god will not forget them. Cross points to Deut 4:27-31 as an example of the work of this post-exilic author. In this passage, Moses warns the people that they will lose possession of their land and live among foreign people. If they search for Yahweh, though, they will find him, and he will not let his people perish.²⁵⁸

I follow Cross's suggested divisions of the book of Deuteronomy into Dtr¹ and Dtr² components. I identify the Deuteronomic law code as Dtn.²⁵⁹ Thus, my analysis will first present divine designations in the Dtr¹ material, then those of Dtr², and finally those of Dtn.

i. Dtr¹

The text that belongs to the edition known as Dtr¹ includes much of the Deuteronomic narrative. This narrative is largely a re-telling of many of the events already depicted in Exodus and Numbers.²⁶⁰ Moses reminds the people of the main

²⁵⁵ Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 287. For some issues with the association of Dtr¹ with the reign of Josiah, see Baruch Halpern, "What does Deuteronomy Centralize?" *Deuteronomy in the Making*, eds. Diana Vikander Edelman et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021). Like Halpern, Jeffrey Stackert has also problematized the dating of the D¹/Dtr¹ material to the reign of Josiah. He suggests that a date during the reign of Manasseh would be more appropriate. See Stackert, *Deuteronomy and the Pentateuch* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022), 149.

²⁵⁶ Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 274.

²⁵⁷ Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 287.

²⁵⁸ Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 287. Friedman also provides an excellent analysis of the nuances of the exilic Deuteronomistic editor. See Friedman, *The Exile and Biblical Narrative*, 26ff.

²⁵⁹ I use the same sigla as Friedman in *The Bible with Sources Revealed*.

²⁶⁰ Noth suggests that Dtr. bases his account of these events on older sources rather than J, E, and P material in the Torah. See Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 46.

events during their wilderness wandering before giving them a second set of laws that they should heed as they enter the promised land and settle there.

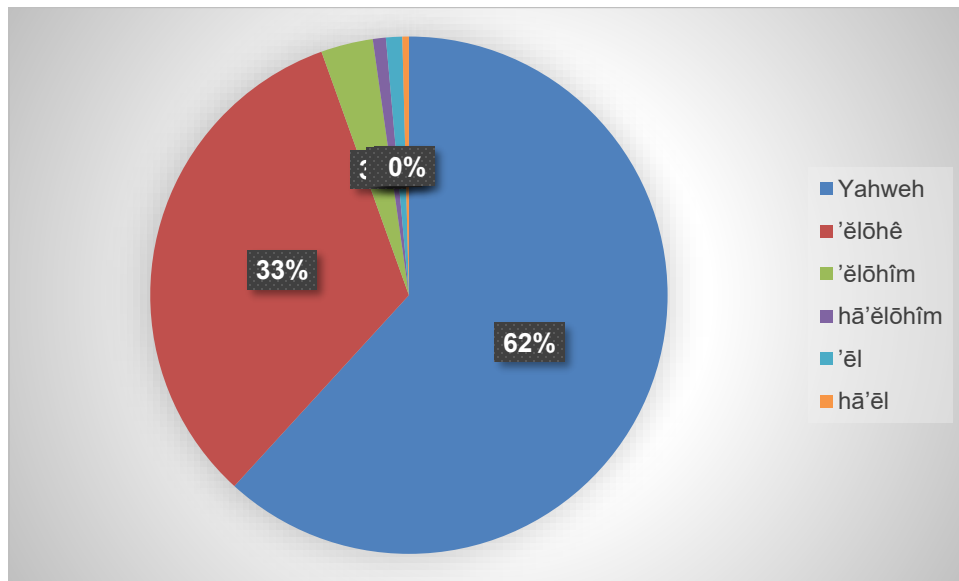


Figure 26: Dtr¹ Divine Designations in Deuteronomy (proportional)

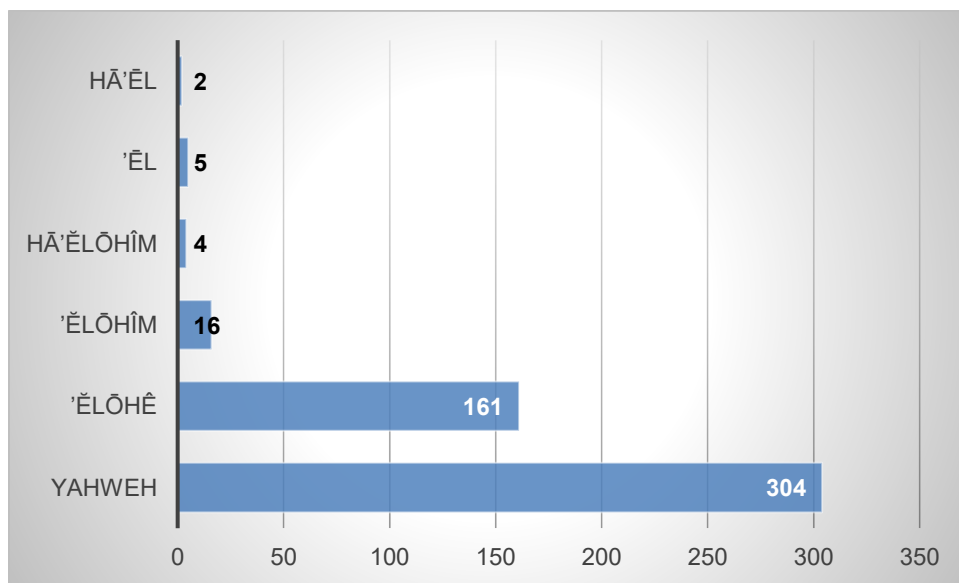


Figure 27: Dtr¹ Divine Designations in Deuteronomy (numerical)

a. Yahweh

Yahweh

Occurrence in Dtr ¹ -Deuteronomy	Context
1:3	<i>kěkōl 'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh</i>
1:6	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū dībber 'ēlēnū"
1:8	"'āšer nīšba' Yahweh la'ābōtēkem"
1:10	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem hīrbāh 'etēkem"
1:11	"Yahweh 'ēlōhé 'ābōtēkem"
1:19	"ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
1:20	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū nōtēn lānū"
1:21	"nātan Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...Yahweh 'ēlōhé 'ābōtēkā"
1:25	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū nōtēn lānū"
1:26	"'et pī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
1:27	"bēšīn'at Yahweh 'ōtānū hōšī'anū"
1:30	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem hahōlēk līpnē kem"
1:31	"nēšā'ākā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
1:32	"'ēnkem ma'āmīnīm baYahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
1:34	"wayyīšma' Yahweh 'et qōl"
1:36	"'āšer mīlē' aḥāré Yahweh"
1:37	"gam bī hit'anap Yahweh"
1:41	"ḥāṭa'nū laYahweh... kěkōl 'āšer šīwwānū Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
1:42	"wayyō'mer Yahweh 'ēlay"
1:43	"wattamērū 'et pī Yahweh"
1:45	"wattībkū līpnē Yahweh wēlō' šāma' Yahweh"
2:1	"ka'āšer dībber Yahweh 'ēlāy"
2:2	"wayyō'mer Yahweh 'ēlay"
2:7	"kī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā 'īmāk"
2:9	"wayyō'mer Yahweh 'ēlay"
2:12	"'āšer nātan Yahweh lāhem"
2:14	"ka'āšer nīšba' Yahweh lāhem"
2:15	"wēgam yad Yahweh ḥāytāh bām"
2:17	"wayēdabbēr Yahweh 'ēlay"
2:21	"wayyašmīdēm Yahweh"
2:29	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū nōtēn lānū"
2:30	"kī hīqšāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā 'et rūḥō"
2:31	"wayyō'mer Yahweh 'ēlay"
2:33	"wayyītnēhū Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū lēpānēnū"
2:36	"nātan Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū lēpānēnū"
2:37	"wěkōl 'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
3:2	"wayyō'mer Yahweh 'ēlay"
3:3	"wayyītēn Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū bēyādēnū"
3:18	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem nātan lākem"

3:20 ²⁶¹	“ <i>’ad ’āšer yānīaḥ Yahweh la’āḥêkem... ’āšer Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem nōtēn lāhem</i> ”
3:21	“ <i>kōl ’āšer ’āśāh Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem...kēn ya’āseh Yahweh</i> ”
3:22	“ <i>kī Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem hū’ hannīlḥām</i> ”
3:23	“ <i>wē’ethannan ’el Yahweh</i> ”
3:24	“ <i>’ādōnāy Yahweh</i> ”
3:26	“ <i>wayyit’abbēr Yahweh bī... wayyō’mer Yahweh ’ēlay</i> ”
4:1	“ <i>’āšer Yahweh ’ēlōhē ’ābōtêkem nōtēn lākem</i> ”
4:2	“ <i>’et mīšwōt Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem</i> ”
4:3	“ <i>’et ’āšer ’āśāh Yahweh...hīšmīdō Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
4:4	“ <i>hadēbēqīm baYahweh ’ēlōhêkem</i> ”
4:5	“ <i>ka’āšer šīwwanī Yahweh ’ēlōhāy</i> ”
4:7	“ <i>kaYahweh ’ēlōhēnū</i> ”
4:10	“ <i>līpnē Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā...be’ēmōr Yahweh ’ēlay</i> ”
4:12	“ <i>wayēdabbēr Yahweh ’ālêkem</i> ”
4:14	“ <i>wē’ōtī šīwwāh Yahweh</i> ”
4:15	“ <i>bēyôm dībber Yahweh ’ālêkem</i> ”
4:19	“ <i>’āšer ḥālaq Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
4:20	“ <i>wē’etkem lāqaḥ Yahweh</i> ”
4:21	“ <i>waYahweh hitē’anap bī...’āšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā</i> ”
4:23	“ <i>’et bērit Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem...kōl ’āšer šīwwēkā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
4:24	“ <i>kī Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā ’ēs ’ōklāh</i> ”
4:34	“ <i>kēkōl ’āšer ’āśāh lākem Yahweh ’ēlōhêkem</i> ”
4:35	“ <i>kī Yahweh hū’ hā’ēlōhīm</i> ”
4:39	“ <i>kī Yahweh hū’ hā’ēlōhīm</i> ”
4:40	“ <i>’āšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā</i> ”
5:2	“ <i>Yahweh ’ēlōhēnū karat ’imānū bērit</i> ”
5:3	“ <i>lō’ ’et ’ābōtēnū kārat Yahweh ’et bērit</i> ”
5:4	“ <i>pānīm bēpānīm dībber Yahweh ’imākem</i> ”
5:5 ²⁶²	“ <i>’ānōkī ’ōmēd bēn Yahweh...’et dēbar Yahweh</i> ”
5:6	“ <i>’ānōkī Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
5:9	“ <i>kī ’ānōkī Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
5:11	“ <i>lō’ tīśśā’ ’et šēm Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā...kī lō’ yēnaqqeh Yahweh</i> ”
5:12	“ <i>ka’āšer šīwwēkā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
5:14	“ <i>šabāt laYahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
5:15	“ <i>wayōšī’ākā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā mīšām...’al kēn šīwwēkā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”

²⁶¹ 4QDeut^m reads יהוה אלהיכם in the first clause in addition to the second here. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, eds. Abegg et al., 151. Similarly, the LXX reads κύριος ὁ θεός in the first clause. There are a large number of יהוה + אלהי constructions throughout Deuteronomy, so a change like this (especially in proximity Hebrew to Hebrew (לִאֲחִיכֶם)) is unsurprising.

²⁶² 4QDeutⁿ adds יהוה אלהיכם to the second clause in this verse. *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Abegg et al., 153.

5:16	"ka'āšer šīwwēkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... 'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lākē"
5:19	"'et hadēbārīm hā'ēleh dībber Yahweh"
5:21	"herē'ānū Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
5:22	"'et qōl Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
5:24	"kōl 'āšer yō'mar Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū... kōl 'āšer yēdabbēr Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
5:25	"wayyīšma' Yahweh... wayyōmer Yahweh"
5:29	"ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
5:30	"'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
6:1	"ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
6:2	"lēma'an tīrā' 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
6:3	"ka'āšer dībber Yahweh 'ēlōhē 'ābōtēkā"
6:4	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū Yahweh 'ehād"
6:5	"wē'āhabtā 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
6:10	"wēhāyāh kī yēbī'ākā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
6:12	"pen tīškaḥ 'et Yahweh"
6:13	"'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā tīrā"
6:15	"kī 'ēl qannā' Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... pen yeḥreh 'ap Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
6:16	"lō' tēnasū 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
6:17	"'et mīšwōt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
6:18	"wēhaṭōb bē'ēnē Yahweh... 'āšer nīšba' Yahweh la'ābōtēkā"
6:19	"ka'āšer dībber Yahweh"
6:20	"'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
6:21	"wayōšī'ēnū Yahweh mīmīšrayīm"
6:22	"wayyittēn Yahweh 'ōtōt"
6:24	"wayēšawwēnū Yahweh... lēyīr'āh 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
6:25	"līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
7:1	"kī yēbī'ākā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
7:2	"ūnētānām Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā lēpānēkā"
7:4 ²⁶³	"wēḥārāh 'ap Yahweh bākem"
7:6	"qādōš 'attāh laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā bēkā bāḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
7:7	"ḥāšaq Yahweh bākem"
7:8	"kī mē'ahābat Yahweh... hōšī' Yahweh 'etēkem"
7:9	"wēyāda'tā kī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
7:12	"wēšāmar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
7:15	"wēhēsīr Yahweh mīmka"
7:16	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lākē"
7:18	"'ēt 'āšer 'āsāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
7:19	"'āšer hōšī'ākā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... kēn ya'āšeh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
7:20	"yēšalaḥ Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā bām"

²⁶³ 4QDeut^c reads יהוה אליכם/ rather than just יהוה. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, eds. Abegg et al., 157.

7:21	"kî Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā bēqīrbekā"
7:22	"wēnāšal Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
7:23	"ūntānām Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā lēpānēkā"
7:25	"kî tō'ābat Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā hū"
8:1	"'āšer nīšba' Yahweh la'ābōtēkem"
8:2	"'āšer hōlīkkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
8:3	"pî Yahweh yīhyeh hā'ādām"
8:5	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā mēyasrekā"
8:6	"'et mīšwōt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
8:7	"kî Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā mēbī'ākā"
8:10	"ūbēraktā 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
8:11	"pen tīškah 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
8:14	"wēšākahtā 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
8:18	"wēzākartā 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
9:3	"kî Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā hū' hā'ōbēr lēpānēkā"
9:4	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā 'ōtām mīlpānēkā...bēšīdqātī hēbī'anī Yahweh...Yahweh mōrīšām mīpānēkā"
9:5	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā mōrīšām mīpānēkā...'āšer nīšba' Yahweh la'ābōtēkā"
9:6	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā"
9:7	"'āšer hīqšaptā 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...mamrīm hēyītem 'īm Yahweh"
9:8	"hīqšaptē 'et Yahweh wayīt'anap Yahweh"
9:9	"'āšer kārat Yahweh 'īmākem"
9:10	"wayyittēn Yahweh 'ēlay...'āšer dībber Yahweh 'īmākem"
9:11	"nātan Yahweh 'ēlay"
9:12	"wayyō'mer Yahweh 'ēlay"
9:13	"wayyō'mer Yahweh 'ēlay"
9:16	"hāṭā'tem laYahweh 'ēlōhēkem...'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'etkem"
9:18	"wā'etnapal līpnē Yahweh...la'āsōt hāra' bē'ēnē Yahweh"
9:19	"'āšer qāšap Yahweh...wayyīšma' Yahweh 'ēlay"
9:20	"ūbē'ahārōn hit'anap Yahweh"
9:22	"maqšīpīm hēyītem 'et Yahweh"
9:23	"ūbīšlōaḥ Yahweh 'etēkem...wattamrū 'et pî Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
9:24	"mamrīm hēyītem 'īm Yahweh"
9:25	"wā'etnapal līpnē Yahweh...kî 'āmar Yahweh"
9:26	"wā'etpalēl 'el Yahweh wā'ōmar 'ādōnāy Yahweh"
9:28	"mīblī yēkōlet Yahweh"
10:1 ²⁶⁴	"'āmar Yahweh 'ēlay"
10:4	"'āšer dībber Yahweh 'ālēkem...wayyītnēm Yahweh 'ēlāy"
10:5	"ka'āšer šīwwanī Yahweh"

²⁶⁴ The verse following this one (Deut 10:2) contains no divine designations in the MT, but 4QDeut^c reads יהוה את דברי יהוה "the words of Yahweh" referring to the words that Yahweh writes on the second set of stone tablets after Moses destroys the first. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, eds. Abegg et al., 162.

10:8	" <i>hībēdīl Yahweh 'et šēbeṭ halēwī... 'et 'ārôn bērit Yahweh...līpnē Yahweh</i> "
10:9	" <i>Yahweh hū' naḥālātō ka'āšer dībber Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā lō</i> "
10:10	" <i>wayyišma' Yahweh 'elay...lō' 'ābāh Yahweh hašḥitekā</i> "
10:11	" <i>wayyō'mer Yahweh 'ēlay</i> "
10:12	" <i>māh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā šō'el...lēyir'āh 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...wēla'ābōd 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
10:13	" <i>līšmōr 'et mišwōt Yahweh</i> "
10:14	" <i>hēn laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā hašāmāyīm</i> "
10:15	" <i>raq bē'ābōtēkā ḥāšaq Yahweh</i> "
10:17	" <i>kī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem hū' 'ēlōhé hā'ēlōhīm</i> "
10:20	" <i>'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā tīrā</i> "
10:22	" <i>šāmkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
11:1	" <i>wē'āhabētā 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
11:2	" <i>lō' rā'ū 'et mūsar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem</i> "
11:4	" <i>wayē'abdēm Yahweh 'ad hayôm hazeh</i> "
11:7	" <i>'et kōl ma'āšēh Yahweh hagādōl</i> "
11:9	" <i>'āšer nišba' Yahweh la'ābōtēkem</i> "
11:12	" <i>'ereš 'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā dōrēš...tāmīd 'ēné Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā bāh</i> "
11:13	" <i>lē'ahābāh 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem</i> "
11:17	" <i>wēḥārāh 'ap Yahweh bākem... 'āšer Yahweh nōtēn lākem</i> "
11:21	" <i>'āšer nišba' Yahweh la'ābōtēkem</i> "
11:22	" <i>lē'ahābāh 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem</i> "
11:23	" <i>wēhōrīš Yahweh 'et kōl hagōyīm</i> "
11:25	" <i>ūmōra'ākem yītēn Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem</i> "
11:27	" <i>'el mišwōt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem</i> "
11:28	" <i>'el mišwōt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem</i> "
11:29	" <i>kī yēbī'ākā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
11:31	" <i>'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem nōtēn lākem</i> "
26:16	" <i>Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā mēšawwēkā</i> "
26:17	" <i>'et Yahweh he'ēmartā hayôm līhyōt lēkā lē'lōhīm</i> "
26:18	" <i>waYahweh he'ēmīrkā hayôm līhyōt lō lē'am</i> "
26:19	" <i>'am qādōš laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
27:2	" <i>'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk</i> "
27:3	" <i>'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā...ka'āšer dībber Yahweh 'ēlōhé 'ābōtēkā</i> "
27:5	" <i>mīzbē^aḥ laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
27:6	" <i>'et mīzbaḥ Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... 'ōlōt laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
27:7	" <i>līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
27:9	" <i>nīhyētā lē'am laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
27:10	" <i>wēšāma'tā bēqōl Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
27:15	" <i>tō'ābat Yahweh</i> "
28:1	" <i>'īm šāmō'a tišma' bēqōl Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...ūnētānkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā 'elyōn</i> "

28:2	"kî tîšma' bēqôl Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
28:7	"yītten Yahweh 'et 'ōybēkā"
28:8	"yēšaw Yahweh 'itkā 'et habērākāh... 'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk"
28:9	"yēqîmkā Yahweh lô lē'am qādôš... 'et mîšwōt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
28:10	"kî šēm Yahweh nīqrā' 'alēkā"
28:11	"wēhōtīrkā Yahweh lē'ōbāh... 'āšer nīšba' Yahweh lē'ābōtēkā"
28:12	"yīptaḥ Yahweh lēkā 'et 'ōsārō"
28:13	"ūnētānkā Yahweh lērō's... kî tîšma' 'el mîšwōt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
28:15	"īm lô' tîšma' bēqôl Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
28:20	"yēšalah Yahweh bēkā 'et ham'ērāh"
28:21	"yadbēq Yahweh bēkā 'et hadāber"
28:22	"yakkāh Yahweh bašaḥepet"
28:24	"yītten Yahweh 'et mēṭar 'arškā"
28:25	"yītenēkā Yahweh nīgāp līpnē 'ōybēkā"
28:27	"yakkāh Yahweh bīšhīn"
28:28	"yakkāh Yahweh bēšīgā'ōn"
28:35	"yakkāh Yahweh bīšhīn"
28:45	"kî lô' šama'tā bēqôl Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
28:47	"lō' 'ābadtā 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
28:48	"'āšer yēšalḥenū Yahweh bāk"
28:49	"yīššā' Yahweh 'alēkā gōy"
28:52	"'āšer nātan Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā lāk"
28:53	"'āšer nātan lēkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
28:58	"'ēt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
28:59	"wēhīplā' Yahweh 'et makkōtkā"
28:61	"ya'ēlēm Yahweh 'alēkā"
28:62	"kî lô' šama'tā bēqôl Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
28:69	'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'et mōšeh
29:1	"'ēt kōl 'āšer 'āsāh Yahweh"
29:3	"wēlō' nātan Yahweh lākem"
29:5 ²⁶⁵	"kî 'ānī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
29:9	"līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
29:11	"lē'ābrēkā bībrīt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... 'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā kōrēt"
29:14	"līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
29:17	"pōneh hayôm mē'īm Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
29:19	"lō' yō'beh Yahweh sēlōaḥ... ye'san 'ap Yahweh... ūmāḥah Yahweh 'et šēmō"
29:20	"wēhībdīlō Yahweh lērā'āh"

²⁶⁵ Moses is speaking here, yet he states, "I am Yahweh your (masculine plural) god." This slippage between Moses and god is evident also in Deut 11:14, 15, 18.

twice.²⁶⁹ Perhaps one of the most striking aspects of the use of the divine name in the Dtr¹ material is that it so often appears in conjunction with the divine title *’ēlōhîm* in construct form.²⁷⁰

A striking aspect of the textual variants in the Dtr¹ material is that three of four of these (Deut 3:20; 5:5; 7:5) include the addition of *’ēlōhê* to verses that read simply “Yahweh” in the MT. In the case of Deut 3:20, I suggested that the addition might be due to confusing the following *la’ăḥēkem* for *’ēlōhēkem*, but the other two examples have no such possibilities for scribal error. Instead, I suggest that these variants can be accounted for by the popularity of the Yahweh + *’ēlōhê* construction in the Deuteronomic material. A copyist might easily add a few more of these constructions when they encounter it so frequently in the text.

b. *’ēlōhîm*, *hā’ēlōhîm*, and *’ēlōhê*

<i>’ēlōhîm</i>	
Occurrence in Dtr ¹ -Deuteronomy	Context
1:17	“ <i>kî hamîšpāṭ lē’lōhîm</i> ”
4:7	“ <i>’ăšer lô ’ēlōhîm</i> ”
4:32	“ <i>bārā’ ’ēlōhîm ’ādām</i> ”
4:33	“ <i>hăšāma’ ’ām qôl ’ēlōhîm</i> ”
4:34	“ <i>hănîssāh ’ēlōhîm</i> ”
5:7	“ <i>lō’ yîhyeh lēkā ’ēlōhîm ’ăḥērîm</i> ”
5:24 ²⁷¹	“ <i>kî yēdabbēr ’ēlōhîm</i> ”
5:26	“ <i>qôl ’ēlōhîm ḥayyîm</i> ”
6:14	“ <i>lō’ tēlkûn ’ahărē ’ēlōhîm ’ăḥērîm</i> ”
7:4	“ <i>wě’ābdû ’ēlōhîm ’ăḥērîm</i> ”
9:10	“ <i>kētûbîm bē’ešba’ ’ēlōhîm</i> ”
11:16	“ <i>wě’ābadtem ’ēlōhîm ’ăḥērîm</i> ”

6:25; 38:21; Lev 25:32, 33; Num 1:47, 50, 51, 53; 2:17, 33; 3:9, 12, 39, 41, 45, 46, 49; 4:18, 46; 7:5, 6; 8:6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22; 18:26. All of these occurrences belong to the P source author. Elsewhere in Dtr¹, the term “Levite” appears only once without the term “priest” in Deut 10:8.

²⁶⁹ Deut 27:9, 10.

²⁷⁰ See my analysis of this below.

²⁷¹ 4QDeutⁿ reads יהוה rather than אֱלֹהִים here. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, eds. Abegg et al., 155.

11:28	"lāleket 'aḥărê 'ēlōhîm 'ăḥērîm"	
26:17	"lîhyôt lēkâ lē'lōhîm"	
28:14	"lāleket 'aḥărê 'ēlōhîm 'ăḥērîm"	
29:12	"wēhû' yîhyeh lēkâ lē'lōhîm"	
		Total: 16
Narration		Speech
0		16

The divine designation *'ēlōhîm* appears only in the context of speech. Out of the 16 times that this designation appears in Dtr¹, six of these refer to deities other than Yahweh (*'ēlōhîm 'ăḥērîm*) who Moses exhorts the Israelites to avoid worshipping.²⁷² The phrase *'ēlōhîm 'ăḥērîm* suggests that there are *'ēlōhîm* other than Yahweh that the Israelites might make the mistake of worshipping.²⁷³ The remaining uses of *'ēlōhîm* make it clear that the author of Dtr¹ uses this term to describe a category of beings. Deut 4:7 confirms the plurality of entities who participate in this category. This verse presents a plural use of the noun *'ēlōhîm* as demonstrated by the use of the plural adjective *qērōbîm*. Moses highlights the unique nature of the Israelites here, asking what other people have gods as close to them as the Israelites' god Yahweh is to them.

While there might be many *'ēlōhîm*, Yahweh is an *'ēlōhîm* of unique importance to the Israelites because of the way that he has singled them out. Deut 4:32 offers an account reminiscent of Gen 1:27 (P)²⁷⁴ wherein *'ēlōhîm* functions as a singular noun with a masculine singular verb. Moses is again stressing the singularity of the Israelites'

²⁷² Deut 5:7; 6:14; 7:4; 11:16, 28; 28:14.

²⁷³ This language suggests at least an acknowledgement of the belief in the existence of other אֱלֹהִים. The historian may not share this belief, but they may be cognizant that they are speaking to a diverse community in which some may harbour a belief in other אֱלֹהִים entities. These entities might include deceased ancestors, as in the case of the use of אֱלֹהִים in 1 Sam 28:13. This belief itself is not punishable under Deuteronomistic law. Only the actual worship or inciting others to worship other אֱלֹהִים entities is prohibited. See Deut 12:2-3, 30; 13:2-4, 7-10, 14-16; 17:3-5.

²⁷⁴ The verb בָּרָא and the phrase עַל הָאָרֶץ are also present in Gen 1:26-27 (P), but this language is not sufficient to suggest that the historian responsible for the Dtr¹ edition is specifically invoking this text here.

experience of their deity, asking them if anything like this has happened since *’ēlōhîm* created humans.²⁷⁵ Deut 4:33 elaborates on what Moses views as so special here. He asks the Israelites if any other people have heard the voice of an *’ēlōhîm* from fire and survived to tell the tale.²⁷⁶ In Deut 4:34, he asks the Israelites if an *’ēlōhîm* has ever ventured to take a people for himself as their god Yahweh has done for them.²⁷⁷ *’ēlōhîm* is a category that we might translate as “god” or “divinity” in which the Israelites’ god Yahweh participates. Unlike other *’ēlōhîm*, he has done something singular and amazing for the Israelites by choosing them, liberating them from Egypt, and speaking to them from the midst of a fire.

The two remaining uses of *’ēlōhîm* refer to the category of divinity more generally. In Deut 1:17, Moses cautions the Israelites appointed as magistrates over the people that “judgement belongs to gods.”²⁷⁸ This admonition encourages them to avoid any kind of partiality in judgment. Deut 9:10 describes the writing on the stone tablets as produced by the finger of *’ēlōhîm*.²⁷⁹ While the deity who writes out the instructions on the tablets is Yahweh, it seems more important to the author of Dtr¹ to emphasize Yahweh’s divinity rather than his name here.

<i>hā’ēlōhîm</i>	
Occurrence in Dtr ¹ -Deuteronomy	Context

²⁷⁵ The masculine singular verb here certainly suggests that the historian responsible for the Dtr¹ edition had a single creator deity in mind.

²⁷⁶ Though grateful for this unique experience of hearing their god speak to them from the fire and still living, the Israelites ask that Moses listen and speak to Yahweh on their behalf. Yahweh approves of this decision (Deut 5:25-56).

²⁷⁷ Deut 5:21, 23; 26:17; 29:12 are also part of this theme of the singular nature of Yahweh and his relationship with the Israelites.

²⁷⁸ I use the plural intentionally here because the text does not specify a specific divinity.

²⁷⁹ Hebrew בָּאֶצְבֶּעַת אֱלֹהִים “(written) by the finger of god” recalls language that the P source author has also used in Exod 8:15; 31:18. See note 274 above as well for another instance of language reminiscent of the P source in Dtr¹. As I suggest there, this phrasal evidence is not sufficient to establish that the historian is specifically invoking the P source text.

4:35	“ <i>kî Yahweh hû’ hā’ěġlôhîm</i> ”	
4:39	“ <i>kî Yahweh hû’ hā’ěġlôhîm</i> ”	
7:9	“ <i>kî Yahweh ’ěġlôhêkā hû’ hā’ěġlôhîm</i> ”	
10:17	“ <i>kî Yahweh ’ěġlôhêkem hû’ ’ěġlôhê hā’ěġlôhîm</i> ”	
Narration		Speech
0		4

The designation *hā’ēlōhîm* appears only four times in the Dtr¹ material and is used only in speech. Three of these four occurrences use the phrase “Yahweh he (is) the god.” The definite article seems to add a specificity to the title *’ēlōhîm* here; Yahweh is THE god for the Israelites. Indeed, the occurrences in 4:35, 39 both include the phrase *’ēn ’ôd* “there is no other.” Deut 10:17 elaborates on this theme, stating that “Yahweh your god, he (is) the god of the gods.”²⁸⁰ This confirms that numerous entities participate in the status of *’ēlōhîm*, but that Yahweh is an *’ēlōhîm* above all others and that he is the only *’ēlōhîm* for the Israelites.

Unlike the P source material, where *hā’ēlōhîm* appeared only in the indirect object position in sentences and thus exhibited a grammatical distinction from the indefinite *’ēlōhîm*, the author of Dtr¹ uses this designation with the definite article in two different ways. In Deut 4:35, 39, the definite article lends a sense of specificity in and highlights the unique nature of Yahweh as a god. In Deut 7:9; 10:17, however, *hā’ēlōhîm* does just the opposite, referring to “the gods.”²⁸¹ As a whole, these phrases emphasize Yahweh’s superiority relative to other *’ēlōhîm*. He is the *’ēlōhîm* in the heavens above and above the earth from below. The definite article is only in these expressions, singling him out from *’ēlōhîm* entities.

²⁸⁰ Friedman sees evidence for monotheism especially in this phrase. See Friedman, *Commentary on the Torah*, 600.

²⁸¹ Just as the plural אֱלֹהִים in the same verse refers to “the lords.”

'ēlōhē	
Occurrence in Dtr ¹ -Deuteronomy	Context
1:6	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū dībber 'ēlēnū"
1:10	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem hīrbāh 'etkem"
1:11	"Yahweh 'ēlōhē 'ābōtkem"
1:19	"ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
1:20	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū nōtēn lānū"
1:21	"nātan Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...Yahweh 'ēlōhē 'ābōtēkā"
1:25	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū nōtēn lānū"
1:26	"'et pī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
1:30	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem hahōlēk līpnē kem"
1:31	"nēšā'ākā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
1:32	"'ēnkem ma'āmīnīm baYahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
1:41	"kēkōl 'āšer šīwwānū Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
2:7	"kī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā 'īmāk"
2:29	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū nōtēn lānū"
2:30	"kī hīqšāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā 'et rūḥō"
2:33	"wayyitnēhū Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū lēpānēnū"
2:36	"nātan Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū lēpānēnū"
2:37	"wēkōl 'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
3:3	"wayyitēn Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū bēyādēnū"
3:18	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem nātan lākem"
3:20	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem nōtēn lāhem"
3:21	"kōl 'āšer 'āsāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
3:22	"kī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem hū' hanīlḥām"
4:1	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhē 'ābōtēkem nōtēn lākem"
4:2	"'et mīšwōt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
4:3	"hīšmīdō Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
4:4	"hadbēqīm baYahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
4:5	"ka'āšer šīwwanī Yahweh 'ēlōhāy"
4:7	"kaYahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
4:10	"līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
4:19	"'āšer ḥālaq Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
4:21	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā"
4:23	"'et bērit Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem...kōl 'āšer šīwwēkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
4:24	"kī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā 'ēš 'ōklāh"
4:34	"kēkōl 'āšer 'āsāh lākem Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
4:40	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā"
5:2	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū karat 'īmānū bērit"
5:6	"'ānōkī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
5:9	"kī 'ānōkī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
5:11	"lō' tīššā' 'et šēm Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
5:12	"ka'āšer šīwwēkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"

5:14	"šabāt laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
5:15	"wayōšr'ākā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā mīšām... 'al kēn šīwwēkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
5:16	"ka'āšer šīwwēkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... 'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk"
5:21	"her'ānū Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
5:22	"'et qōl Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
5:24	"kōl 'āšer yō'mar Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū... kōl 'āšer yēdabbēr Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
5:29	"ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
5:30	"'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
6:1	"ka'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
6:2	"lēma'an tīrā' 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
6:3	"ka'āšer dībber Yahweh 'ēlōhē 'ābōtēkā"
6:4	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū Yahweh 'eḥād"
6:5	"wē'āhaptā 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
6:10	"wēḥāyāh kī yēbī'ākā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
6:13	"'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā tīrā"
6:14	"mē'ēlōhē hā'amīm"
6:15	"kī 'ēl qannā' Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... pen yehreh 'ap Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
6:16	"lō' tēnassū 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
6:17	"'et mīšwōt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
6:20	"'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
6:24	"lēyir'āh 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
6:25	"lipné Yahweh 'ēlōhēnū"
7:1	"kī yēbī'ākā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
7:2	"ūtānām Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā lēpānēkā"
7:6	"qādōš 'attāh laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā bēkā bāḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
7:9	"wēyāda'tā kī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
7:12	"wēsāmar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
7:16	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lākē... wēlō' ta'ābōd 'ēlōhēhem"
7:18	"'ēt 'āšer 'āsāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
7:19	"'āšer hōšī'ākā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... kēn ya'āseh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
7:20	"yēšalah Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā bām"
7:21	"kī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā bēqīrbekā"
7:22	"wēnāšal Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
7:23	"ūtānām Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā lēpānēkā"
7:25	"pēsīlē 'ēlōhēhem tīsrēpūn... kī tō'ābat Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā hū"
8:2	"'āšer hōlīkkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
8:5	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā mēyasrekā"
8:6	"'et mīšwōt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
8:7	"kī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā mēbī'ākā"
8:10	"ūbēraktā 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"

8:11	"pen tīškaḥ 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
8:14	"wēšākaḥtā 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
8:18	"wēzākartā 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
9:3	"kī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā hū' hā'ōbēr lēpānēkā"
9:4	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā 'ōtām mīlpānēkā"
9:5	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā mōrīšām mīpānēkā"
9:6	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā"
9:7	"'āšer hīqṣapētā 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
9:16	"ḥāṭā'tem laYahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
9:23	"wattamrū 'et pī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
10:9	"ka'āšer dībber Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā lō"
10:12	"māh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā šō'el...lēyīr'āh 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...wēla'ābōd 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
10:14	"hēn laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā hašāmayīm"
10:17	"kī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem hū' 'ēlōhé hā'ēlōhīm"
10:20	"'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā tīrā"
10:21	"wēhū' 'ēlōhēkā"
10:22	"šāmkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
11:1	"wē'āhabtā 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
11:2	"lō' rā'ū 'et mūsar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
11:12	"'ereš 'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā dōrēš...tāmīd 'ēné Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā bāh"
11:13	"lē'ahābāh 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
11:22	"lē'ahābāh 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
11:25	"ūmōra'ākem yītēn Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
11:27	"'el mīšwōt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
11:28	"'el mīšwōt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
11:29	"kī yēbī'ākā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
11:31	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem nōtēn lākem"
26:16	"Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā mēšawwēkā"
26:19	"'am qādōš laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
27:2	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk"
27:3	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā...ka'āšer dībber Yahweh 'ēlōhé 'ābotēkā"
27:5	"mīzbē ^a ḥ laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
27:6	"'et mīzbah Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...ōlōt laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
27:7	"līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
27:9	"nīhyētā lē'am laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
27:10	"wēšāma'tā bēqōl Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
28:1	"īm šāmō'a tīšma' bēqōl Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...ūnētānkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā 'elēyōn"
28:2	"kī tīšma' bēqōl Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
28:8	"yēšaw Yahweh 'itkā 'et habērākāh... 'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk"

personal suffixes are the second person singular²⁸³ and plural²⁸⁴ with 95 occurrences of the former and 32 of the latter. The next most popular is the first common plural, with 23 occurrences.²⁸⁵ There is just one occurrence of this designation with the first common singular suffix.²⁸⁶

In addition to these uses with possessive suffixes, the historian responsible for the Dtr¹ edition also presents the designation *’ēlōhē* in the phrases “Yahweh *’ēlōhē ’ābōtēkā*” and “Yahweh *’ēlōhē ’ābōtēkem*” five times.²⁸⁷ Additionally, in Deut 10:17, the author describes Yahweh as *’ēlōhē hā’ēlōhīm* “god of the gods.”²⁸⁸

Finally, the designation *’ēlōhē* also appears in phrases referencing deities who are not Yahweh. These include *’ēlōhē hā’amīm* “gods of the peoples”²⁸⁹ and *’ēlōhē hagōyīm* “gods of the nations.”²⁹⁰ There are also two instances of *’ēlōhēm* in Deut 7:16, 25 where Moses instructs the Israelites not to serve “their gods” and to burn “the statues of their gods.” Both refer to the worship of deities indigenous to the promised land.

c. *’ēl* and *hā’ēl*

<i>’ēl</i>	
Occurrence in Dtr ¹ -Deuteronomy	Context
3:24	“ <i>mī ’ēl bašāmayīm</i> ”
4:24	“ <i>hū’ ’ēl qannā</i> ”

²⁸³ Deut 1:21, 31; 2:7, 30; 4:3, 10, 19, 21, 23, 24, 40; 5:6, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16; 6:2, 5, 10, 13, 15; 7:1, 2, 6, 9, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25; 8:2, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 18; 9:3, 4, 5, 6, 7; 10:9, 12, 14, 20, 21, 22; 11:1, 12, 29; 26:16, 19; 27:2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10; 28:1, 2, 8, 9, 13, 15, 45, 47, 52, 53, 58, 62; 29:11; 31:3, 6, 11.

²⁸⁴ Deut 1:10, 26, 30, 32; 3:18, 20, 21, 22; 4:2, 4, 23, 34; 5:29, 30; 6:1, 16, 17; 9:16, 23; 10:17; 11:2, 13, 22, 25, 27, 28, 31; 29:5, 9; 31:12, 13, 26.

²⁸⁵ Deut 1:6, 19, 20, 25, 41; 2:29, 33, 36, 37; 3:3; 4:7; 5:2, 21, 22, 24; 6:4, 20, 24, 25; 29:14, 17, 28.

²⁸⁶ Deut 4:5.

²⁸⁷ See Deut 1:21; 6:3; 27:3 for the use of the singular אֱלֹהֶיךָ and Deut 1:11; 4:1 for the plural אֱלֹהֵיכֶם.

²⁸⁸ See my discussion of this title above on page 129.

²⁸⁹ Deut 6:14.

²⁹⁰ Deut 29:17.

5:9	“Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā ’ēl qannā”	
6:15	“kī ’ēl qannā’ Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”	
7:21	“’ēl gādōl wěnnōrā”	
28:32	“wě’ēn lě’ēl yādekā”	
		Total: 6
Narration		
0		
Speech		
6		

The Dtr¹ historian uses the designation ’ēl six times. Three of these six occurrences are in the designation + adjective phrase ’ēl qannā’ “jealous god.”²⁹¹ In all of these verses, this particular adjective follows exhortations to the Israelites to refrain from worshipping other deities or making religious statues.²⁹² In Deut 7:21, the designation ’ēl is paired with the adjectives gādōl wēnōrā’ “big and fearsome.”²⁹³ These adjectives are not as common as qannā’, though they do appear in other contexts to describe Yahweh.²⁹⁴

The ’ēl in Deut 3:24 occurs in Moses’s question to Yahweh “what god in the heavens and the earth has done what you have done?” Like the use of the designation ’ēlōhīm, it acknowledges the conception of other ’ēl entities, but it functions to single out Yahweh for what he has done for the Israelites. The last instance of ’ēl in Deut 28:32 does not refer to Yahweh but is instead a common expression that refers to having power over something.²⁹⁵ In this context, Moses warns the people that their failure to

²⁹¹ Deut 4:24; 5:9; 6:15.

²⁹² This connection supports the interpretation of Yahweh’s jealousy as related to the notion of idolatry as a kind of adultery. See Nissim Amzallag, “Furnace Remelting as the Expression of YHWH’s Holiness,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 134.2 (2015), 234.

²⁹³ Note that these adjectives also describe the wilderness in Deut 1:16; 8:15 הגדול והנורא. Though the wilderness is great and fearsome, so is Yahweh.

²⁹⁴ See Psalm 99:3 for a nearly exact match. Here, these adjectives describe Yahweh’s name: יְדוּ שְׁמֵךְ גְּדוֹל וְנֹרָא.

²⁹⁵ Hebrew וְיָאֵל לְאֵל יָדָךְ. This phrase also occurs (but in the positive sense) in Gen 31:29 (E).

uphold the covenant with Yahweh can result in their sons and daughters being given to another people while they themselves remain powerless.

<i>hā'ēl</i>		
Occurrence in Dtr ¹ -Deuteronomy	Context	
7:9	“ <i>hā'ēl hane'mān</i> ”	
10:17	“ <i>hā'ēl haggādōl hagībōr wēhanôrā</i> ”	
		Total: 2
Narration		Speech
0		2

There are only two instances of the definite designation *hā'ēl* in the Dtr¹ material in Deuteronomy. In Deut 7:9, Moses describes Yahweh as *hā'ēl hane'mān* “the steadfast god.” This trait is associated with the promise that Yahweh will keep his side of the covenant agreement. In Deut 10:17, Moses calls Yahweh as *hā'ēl haggādōl hagībōr wēhanôrā* “the big, mighty, and fearsome god.” In both cases, the use of the designation *hā'ēl* follows the phrase Yahweh *'ēlōhēkā hū' hā'ēlōhīm* (7:9) or Yahweh *'ēlōhēkem hū' 'ēlōhē hā'ēlōhīm* (10:17). These examples demonstrate that the author uses this designation after having used *'ēlōhīm*, *hā'ēlōhīm*, and *'ēlōhē*. The variety of designations in these passages serves to emphasize Yahweh's positive traits. Foremost among the *'ēlōhīm*, he is also a steadfast god, a big god, a mighty god, and a fearsome one.

ii. Dtr²

The Dtr² stratum includes some narrative additions to Deuteronomy 4, 8, and 29-31. This historian's additions are characterized by allusions to exile from the promised land and the warning that the Israelites will face destruction if they do not follow all of the laws that Yahweh enjoined upon them.

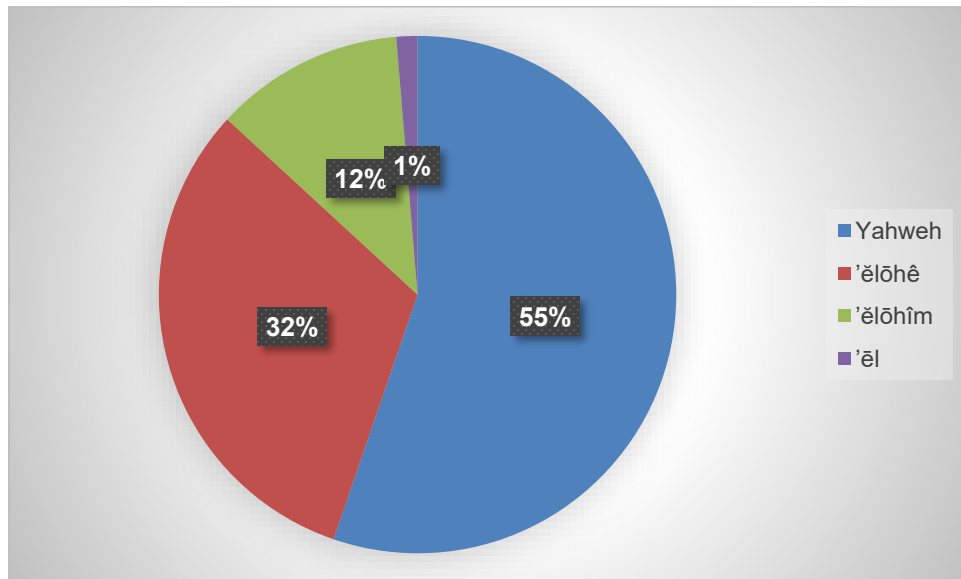


Figure 28: Dtr² Divine Designations in Deuteronomy (proportional)

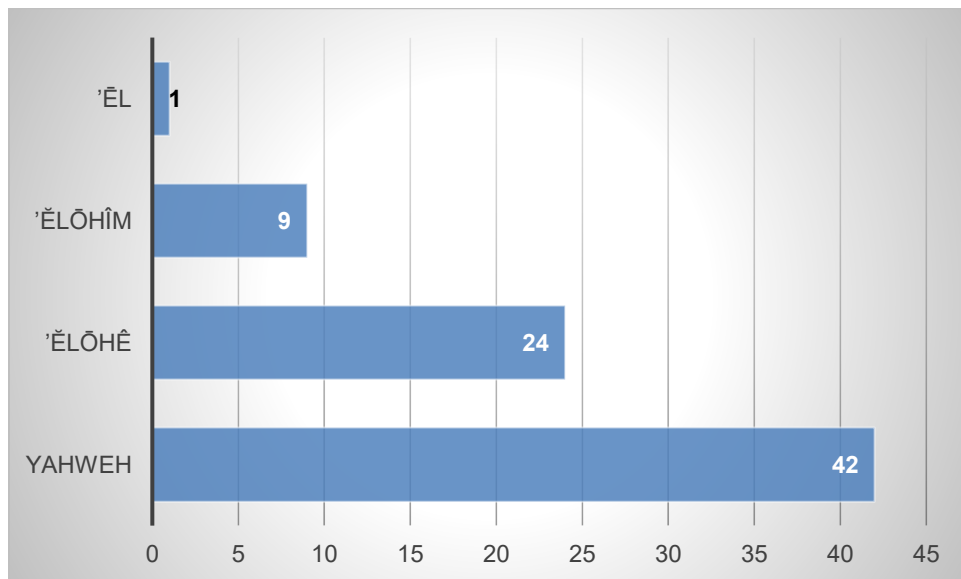


Figure 29: Dtr² Divine Designations in Deuteronomy (numerical)

a. Yahweh

Yahweh	
Occurrence in Dtr ² -Deuteronomy	Context
4:25	<i>"wa'ăšîtem hāra' bē'ênê Yahweh 'ĕlōhêkā"</i>

The historian who edited the Dtr² edition presents the divine name Yahweh 42 times. It appears only once in narration and 41 times in speech. The speaker is Moses every time. Of the 42 occurrences, 22 occur alongside the designation *’ēlōhē*. This means that the name Yahweh occurs with the designation *’ēlōhē* roughly 52% of the time. When we compare this with the Dtr¹ material, where 157 of the 304 instances of the divine name appear with the designation *’ēlōhē* (about 51%), we see that the authors of the Dtr¹ and Dtr² strata use this compound construction Yahweh *’ēlōhē* nearly the same amount.

b. *’ēlōhīm* and *’ēlōhē*

<i>’ēlōhīm</i>		
Occurrence in Dtr ² -Deuteronomy	Context	
4:28	“ <i>’ēlōhīm ma’āsē yēdē</i> ”	
8:19	“ <i>wēhālaktā ’aḥrē ’ēlōhīm ’āḥērīm</i> ”	
28:36	“ <i>wē’ābadtā šām ’ēlōhīm ’āḥērīm</i> ”	
28:64	“ <i>wē’ābadtā šām ’ēlōhīm ’āḥērīm</i> ”	
29:25	“ <i>wayya’abdū ’ēlōhīm ’āḥērīm...’ēlōhīm ’āšer lō’ yēdā’ūm</i> ”	
30:17	“ <i>wēhīštahāwītā lē’lōhīm ’āḥērīm</i> ”	
31:18	“ <i>pānāh ’el ’ēlōhīm ’āḥērīm</i> ”	
31:20	“ <i>ūpānāh ’el ’ēlōhīm ’āḥērīm</i> ”	
		Total: 9
Narration	Speech	
0	9	

The Dtr² historian presents the divine designation *’ēlōhīm* nine times and only in speech contexts. Moses is the sole speaker. Seven of these nine occurrences are in the phrase *’ēlōhīm ’āḥērīm* “other gods,” referring to deities other than Yahweh that the Israelites might make the mistake of worshipping. The remaining two occurrences also refer to deities other than Yahweh. In Deut 4:28, Moses warns the people that, when scattered among the nations, they will worship *’ēlōhīm ma’āsē yēdē ’ādām* “gods (which

are) the work of human hands.” In Deut 29:25, Moses also warns the people that, when the promised land is destroyed, the nations will be told that it was because the Israelites worshipped *’ēlōhîm ’āšer lō’ yēdā’ûm* “gods that they did not know.” None of these uses of the designation *’ēlōhîm* refer to Yahweh.

Like the historian responsible for the Dtr¹ edition, the Dtr² historian presents the designation *’ēlōhîm* to refer to a class of entities of which Yahweh is one. Rather than worshipping other *’ēlōhîm*, *’ēlōhîm* made by human hands, or *’ēlōhîm* that they do now know, they should worship their god Yahweh.

’ēlōhē	
Occurrence in Dtr²-Deuteronomy	Context
4:25	“ <i>wa’āšîtem hāra’ bē’ēnē Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
4:29	“ <i>ûbîqaštem mîšām ’et Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
4:30	“ <i>wēšabtā ’ad Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
4:31	“ <i>kî ’el raḥûm Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
8:19	“ <i>’im šākōaḥ tîškah ’et Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
8:20	“ <i>lō’ tîšmē’ûn bēqôl Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
29:24	“ <i>’et bērit Yahweh ’ēlōhē ’ābōtām</i> ”
30:1	“ <i>hîdîḥākā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
30:2	“ <i>wēšabtā ’ad Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
30:3	“ <i>wēšāb Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā...hepîškā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
30:4	“ <i>yēqabeškā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
30:5	“ <i>wehēbî’ākā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
30:6	“ <i>ûmāl Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā...lē’ahābāh ’et Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
30:7	“ <i>wēnātan Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
30:9	“ <i>wēhôtîrkā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
30:10	“ <i>kî tîšma’ bēqôl Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā...kî tāšûb ’el Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
30:16	“ <i>lē’ahābāh ’et Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā...ûbērakkā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
30:20	“ <i>lē’ahābāh ’et Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā</i> ”
31:16	“ <i>wēzānāh ’ahārē ’ēlōhē nēkar hā’āreṣ</i> ”
31:17 ²⁹⁷	“ <i>kî ’ēn ’ēlōhay bēqirbî</i> ”
Total: 24	

²⁹⁷ 4QDeut^c reads יהוה אלהי here. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, eds. Abegg et al., 190. The LXX similarly presents κύριος ὁ θεός here. These attestations may be preferable to the original reading here, adding specificity to the אֱלֹהִים entity that the people lack in this situation. The problem imagined by the author, after all, is that the people have abandoned Yahweh for the worship of אֱלֹהֵי נֶכֶד הָאָרֶץ.

Narration	Speech	
0	24	

The designation *’ēlōhē* appears 24 times in the Dtr² material in Deuteronomy with all cases being in speech. Moses speaks this designation 22 times²⁹⁸ and Yahweh uses it twice.²⁹⁹ 21 of the 24 *’ēlōhē* have the second-person masculine singular suffix, translating to “your (singular) god.”³⁰⁰ In Deut 31:17, there is one occurrence of the first-person singular suffix. Yahweh is the speaker in this case, and he warns that the Israelites will rationalize the calamities that befall them by saying, *’ēn ’ēlōhay bēqīrbī* “my god is not among me.”³⁰¹ This is an outlier in Dtr², as the only case of an *’ēlōhē* designation without the name Yahweh that still seems to refer to Yahweh.

Deut 29:24 contains the phrase Yahweh *’ēlōhē ’ābōtām* “Yahweh god of their fathers.” The context here is members of other nations explaining why the land that Yahweh promised the Israelites was destroyed. The other nations refer to Yahweh as “the god of their fathers.” Finally, Deut 31:16 offers an example of the designation *’ēlōhē* where it does not refer to Yahweh. Yahweh warns Moses that, after his death, the Israelites will “whore”³⁰² after *’ēlōhē nēkar hā’āreṣ* “the gods of a foreign land.”

c. *’ēl*

There is only one occurrence of the divine designation *’ēl* in Dtr² in Deut 4:31. Moses reminds the people, *’ēl raḥûm Yahweh ’ēlōhêkā* “Yahweh your god is a merciful

²⁹⁸ Deut 4:25, 29, 30, 31; 8:19, 20; 29:24; 30:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 20.

²⁹⁹ Deut 31:16, 17.

³⁰⁰ Deut 4:25, 29, 30, 31; 8:19, 20; 30:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 20.

³⁰¹ The Hebrew here is awkward in translation. The LXX offers the first-person singular reading and there are no other existing manuscript variants. The JPS uses the first-person plural in translation (“our God is not in our midst”) to make the English more straight-forward.

³⁰² Hebrew נָאָץ.

god.” The designation *’ēl* with the adjective *raḥûm* appears also in the Torah in Exod 34:6 (J) when Yahweh reveals his back to Moses at Moses’s request.³⁰³

iii. Dtn

The Dtn material in Deuteronomy includes the law code in Deut 12-26:15. The historians who arranged the source documents in the Deuteronomistic history frame this law code as Moses’s address to the public. The speaker in every instance of the divine designations below is thus Moses and I have classified all of these designations as appearing in speech.

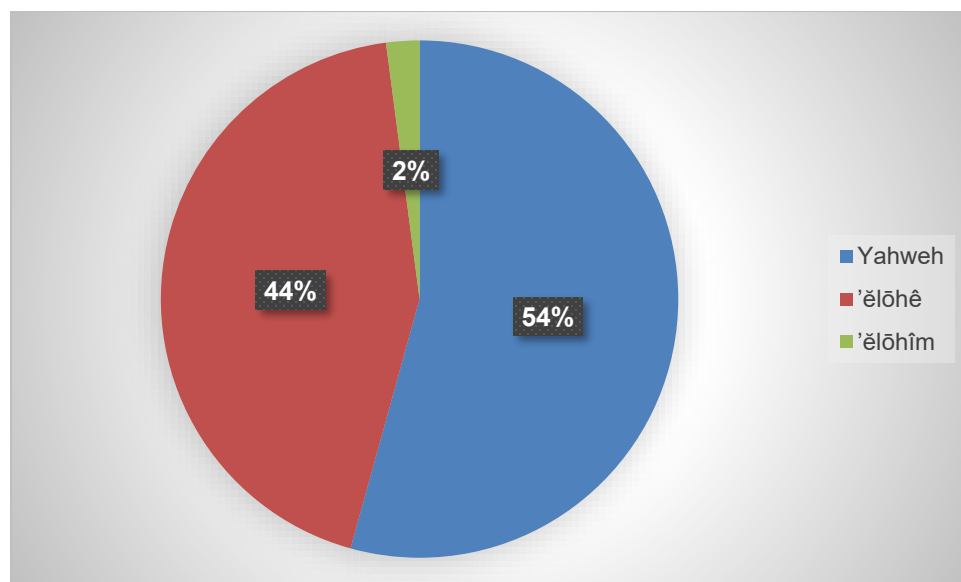


Figure 30: Dtn Divine Designations in Deuteronomy (proportional)

³⁰³ In Exod 34:6, the full phrase is אֵל רַחוּם וְרַחוּם. These two adjectives appear together outside of the Torah to describe god in Psalm 86:15.

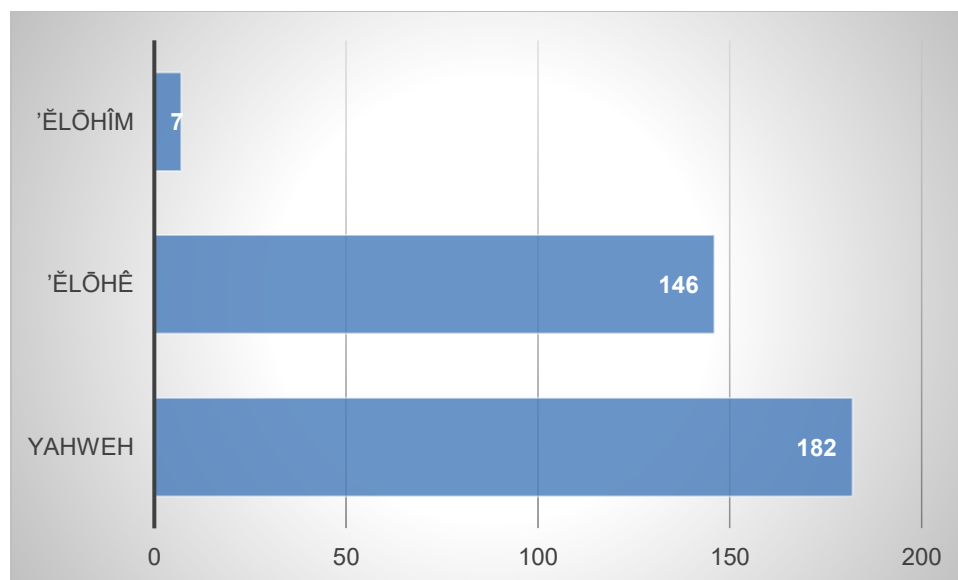


Figure 31: Dtn Divine Designations in Deuteronomy (numerical)

a. Yahweh

Yahweh	
Occurrence in Dtn-Deuteronomy	Context
12:1	" <i>'āšer nātan Yahweh 'ēlōhē 'ābōtēkā</i> "
12:4	" <i>kēn laYahweh 'ēlōhēm</i> "
12:5	" <i>'āšer yībhar Yahweh 'ēlōhēm</i> "
12:7	" <i>līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēm... 'āšer bērakkāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
12:9	" <i>'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk</i> "
12:10	" <i>'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēm manḥil 'etkem</i> "
12:11	" <i>'āšer yībhar Yahweh 'ēlōhēm... 'āšer tīdrū laYahweh</i> "
12:12	" <i>līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēm</i> "
12:14	" <i>'āšer yībhar Yahweh</i> "
12:15	" <i>kēbīrkat Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
12:18	" <i>kī 'īm līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... 'āšer yībhar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... wēšamaḥtā līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
12:20	" <i>kī yarḥīb Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
12:21	" <i>'āšer yībhar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... 'āšer nātan Yahweh lēkā</i> "
12:25	" <i>hayāšār bē'ēnē Yahweh</i> "
12:26	" <i>'āšer yībhar Yahweh</i> "
12:27	" <i>'al mīzbaḥ Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... 'al mīzbaḥ Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
12:28	" <i>bē'ēnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
12:29	" <i>kī yakrīt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
12:31	" <i>kēn laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā... kōl tō'ābat Yahweh</i> "

13:4	" <i>kî mēnasseh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem... 'ōhābīm 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem</i> "
13:5	" <i>'aḥārē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem tēlēkū</i> "
13:6	" <i>sārāh 'al Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem... 'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
13:11	" <i>mē'al Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
13:13	" <i>'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā</i> "
13:17	" <i>kālīl laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
13:18	" <i>lēma'an yāšûb Yahweh</i> "
13:19	" <i>bēqôl Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... bē'ēnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
14:1	" <i>bānīm 'atem laYahweh 'ēlōhēkem</i> "
14:2	" <i>qādôš 'attāh laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā ûbēkā bāḥar Yahweh</i> "
14:21	" <i>qādôš 'attāh laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
14:23	" <i>wē'ākaltā līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... lēyīr'a 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
14:24	" <i>'āšer yībḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... kî yēbārekkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
14:25	" <i>'āšer yībḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
14:26	" <i>līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
14:29	" <i>lēma'an yēbārekkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
15:2	" <i>kî qārā' šēmīṭāh laYahweh</i> "
15:4	" <i>kî bārēk yēbārekkā Yahweh... 'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā</i> "
15:5	" <i>bēqôl Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
15:6	" <i>kî Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā bērakkā</i> "
15:7	" <i>'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā</i> "
15:9	" <i>wēqārā' 'alēkā 'el Yahweh</i> "
15:10	" <i>yēbārekkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
15:14	" <i>'āšer bērakkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
15:15	" <i>wayyīpdēkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
15:18	" <i>ûbērakkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
15:19	" <i>taqdīš laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
15:20	" <i>līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... 'āšer yībḥar Yahweh</i> "
15:21	" <i>tīzbāḥenû laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
16:1	" <i>wē'āsītā pesaḥ laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā... hōšī'ākā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
16:2	" <i>wēzābaḥtā pesaḥ laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā... 'āšer yībḥar Yahweh</i> "
16:5	" <i>'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk</i> "
16:6	" <i>'āšer yībḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
16:7	" <i>'āšer yībḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
16:8	" <i>ûbayôm hašēbī'ī 'āšeret laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
16:10	" <i>ḥag šābū'ôt laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā... ka'āšer yēbārekkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
16:11	" <i>līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... 'āšer yībḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
16:15	" <i>tāḥōg laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā... 'āšer yībḥar Yahweh kî yēbārekkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
16:16	" <i>'et pēnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... 'et pēnē Yahweh</i> "
16:17	" <i>kēbīrkat Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> "
16:18	" <i>'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā</i> "

16:20	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk”
16:21	“mīzbaḥ Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
16:22	“’ăšer šānē’ Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
17:1	“lō’ tīzbaḥ laYahweh ’ēlōhēkā...kī tō’ăbat Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
17:2	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk...bē’ēnē Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
17:8	“’ăšer yībḥar Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
17:10	“’ăšer yībḥar Yahweh”
17:12	“lēšāret šām ’et Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
17:14	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk”
17:15	“’ăšer yībḥar Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
17:16	“waYahweh ’amar lākem”
17:19	“lēyīr’āh Yahweh ’ēlōhāyw”
18:1	“’iššē Yahweh”
18:2	“Yahweh hū’ naḥālātō”
18:5	“kī bō bāḥar Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā...bēšēm Yahweh”
18:6	“’ăšer yībḥar Yahweh”
18:7	“bēšēm Yahweh ’ēlōhāyw...līpnē Yahweh”
18:9	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk”
18:12	“kī tō’ăbat Yahweh...Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā mōrīš ’ōtām”
18:13	“’īm Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
18:14	“lō’ kēn nātan lēkā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
18:15	“yāqīm lēkā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
18:16	“mē’īm Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā...’et qōl Yahweh ’ēlōhāy”
18:17	“wayyō’mer Yahweh ’ēlāy”
18:21	“’ăšer lō’ dībbērō Yahweh”
18:22	“bēšēm Yahweh...’ăšer lō’ dībbērō Yahweh”
19:1	“kī yakrīt Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā...’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā”
19:2	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā”
19:3	“’ăšer yanḥilēkā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
19:8	“wē’īm yarḥīb Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
19:9	“lē’ahābāh ’et Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
19:10	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā”
19:14	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā”
19:17	“hārīb līpnē Yahweh”
20:1	“kī Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā ’īmāk”
20:4	“kī Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem hahōlēk ’īmākem”
20:13	“ūnētānāh Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā bēyādekā”
20:14	“’ăšer nātan Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā lāk”
20:16	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā”
20:17	“ka’ăšer šīwkā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
20:18	“wēḥāṭā’tem laYahweh ’ēlōhēkem”
21:1	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā”
21:5	“kī bām bāḥar Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā...bēšēm Yahweh”
21:8	“’ăšer pādītā Yahweh”
21:9	“bē’ēnē Yahweh”

There are 182 occurrences of the divine name Yahweh in the Deuteronomic law code. Most occur in conjunction with the designation *'ēlōhē*, just as in the Dtr¹ and Dtr² material. Unlike the Dtr¹ and Dtr² strata, however, the name Yahweh appears with the designation *'ēlōhē* much more often. In Dtr¹ and Dtr², the divine name appears with the designation *'ēlōhē* roughly 51-52% of the time. In Dtn, however, 139 of the 182 occurrences of the name Yahweh appear with the designation *'ēlōhē*. This means that the name appears with the companion designation roughly 76% of the time. This is a much higher figure than either Dtr¹ or Dtr².

b. *'ēlōhîm* and *'ēlōhē*

<i>'ēlōhîm</i>		
Occurrence in Dtn-Deuteronomy	Context	
13:3	“ <i>nēlkāh 'aḥărē 'ēlōhîm 'ăḥērîm</i> ”	
13:7	“ <i>wēna 'abdāh 'ēlōhîm 'ăḥērîm</i> ”	
13:14	“ <i>wēna 'abdāh 'ēlōhîm 'ăḥērîm</i> ”	
17:3	“ <i>wayya 'ăbōd 'ēlōhîm 'ăḥērîm</i> ”	
18:20	“ <i>běšēm 'ēlōhîm 'ăḥērîm</i> ”	
21:23	“ <i>kî qīllat 'ēlōhîm tālûy</i> ”	
25:18	“ <i>wēlō 'yārē 'ēlōhîm</i> ”	
		Total: 7
Narration		Speech
0		7

Of the seven occurrences of the divine designation *'ēlōhîm* in the Dtn material, five are part of the common phrase *'ēlōhîm 'ăḥērîm* “other gods,” which the author of the law code cautions the people against worshipping or invoking in prophecy. Like in the Dtr¹ and Dtr² material, this use of *'ēlōhîm* suggests that the author understands this term to represent a category in which many entities might participate. Yahweh is just one of these.

The remaining two uses of *'ēlōhîm* seem to refer to divinity more generally. In Deut 21:23, the author warns the people that a corpse left exposed overnight is *qīl'ēlat 'ēlōhîm* “a divine curse.”³⁰⁴ The final occurrence of this designation in Deut 25:18 reminds the people of the Amalekite attack in the wilderness. The Amalekites were unafraid to attack the Israelites at the back of the march because they did not fear *'ēlōhîm*. The *'ēlōhîm* in question here is not necessarily Yahweh. Rather, the Amalekites do not seem to fear any deity and therefore committed acts that the author considers to be unjust and unfair.³⁰⁵ These last two uses demonstrate a concern for acts that might offend any deity, not just Yahweh.

<i>'ēlōhê</i>	
Occurrence in Dtn-Deuteronomy	Context
12:1	“ <i>’āšer nātan Yahweh 'ēlōhê 'ābōtēkā</i> ”
12:2	“ <i>’āšer 'atem yōrēšîm 'ōtām 'et 'ēlōhêhem</i> ”
12:3	“ <i>’ūpēsîlê 'ēlōhêhem tēgaddē'ûn</i> ”
12:4	“ <i>kēn laYahweh 'ēlōhêkem</i> ”
12:5	“ <i>’āšer yîbḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhêkem</i> ”
12:7	“ <i>lîpnê Yahweh 'ēlōhêkem...’āšer bērakkāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> ”
12:9	“ <i>’āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk</i> ”
12:10	“ <i>’āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhêkem manḥîl 'etêkem</i> ”
12:11	“ <i>’āšer yîbḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhêkem</i> ”
12:12	“ <i>lîpnê Yahweh 'ēlōhêkem</i> ”
12:15	“ <i>kēbîrkat Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> ”
12:18	“ <i>kî 'îm lîpnê Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...’āšer yîbḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...wēšāmaḥtā lîpnê Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> ”
12:20	“ <i>kî yarḥîb Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> ”
12:21	“ <i>’āšer yîbḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> ”
12:27	“ <i>'al mîzbah Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...’al mîzbah Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā</i> ”

³⁰⁴ For a similar phrase, see Judges 9:57 – וַתָּבֹא אֶלְיָהֶם קִלְלַת יוֹתָם “and the curse of Jotham will come upon them.” This suggests that leaving the corpse out overnight will offend deities who will punish the people in response.

³⁰⁵ In a similar vein, consider the use of these terms in Gen 20:11 (E). There, Abraham defends his lie to Abimelek king of Gerar saying, אֵין-יִרְאַת אֱלֹהִים בְּמָקוֹם הַזֶּה “(I thought) there was no fear of god in this place.” The phrasing does not match exactly, but the use of the ירא “fear” and אֱלֹהִים creates a parallel. In Genesis, the lack of יִרְאַת אֱלֹהִים prompts Abraham to assume that Abimelek would do something unjust like taking another man’s wife (Sarah in this case). In Deut 25:18, the Amalekites similarly do something unjust by attacking the Israelites from behind.

12:28	"bē'ēnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
12:29	"kī yakrīt Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
12:30	"ūpen tīdrōš lē'lōhēhem...ya'abdū hagōyīm hā'ēleh 'et 'ēlōhēhem"
12:31	"kēn laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā... 'āšer sānē' 'āsū lē'lōhēhem"
13:4	"kī mēnasseh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem... 'ōhābīm 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
13:5	"'aḥrē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem tēlēkū"
12:6	"sārāh 'al Yahweh 'ēlōhēkem... 'āšer šīwwāh Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
13:8	"mē'ēlōhē hā'amīm 'āšer sēbībōtēkem"
13:11	"mē'al Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
13:13	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā"
13:17	"kālīl laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
13:19	"bēqōl Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...bē'ēnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
14:1	"bānīm 'atem laYahweh 'ēlōhēkem"
14:2	"qādōš 'attāh laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
14:21	"qādōš 'attāh laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
14:23	"wē'ākaltā līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...lēyir'a 'et Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
14:24	"'āšer yībḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā...kī yēbārekkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
14:25	"'āšer yībḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
14:26	"līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
14:29	"lēma'an yēbārekkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
15:4	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā"
15:5	"bēqōl Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
15:6	"kī Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā bērakkā"
15:7	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā"
15:10	"yēbārekkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
15:14	"'āšer bērakkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
15:15	"wayyipdēkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
15:18	"ūbērakkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
15:19	"taqdīš laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
15:20	"līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
15:21	"tīzēbāḥenū laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
16:1	"wē'āsītā pesaḥ laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā...hōšī'ākā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
16:2	"wēzābaḥtā pesaḥ laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
16:5	"'āšer Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk"
16:6	"'āšer yībḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
16:7	"'āšer yībḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
16:8	"ūbayōm hašbī'i 'āšeret laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
16:10	"ḥag šābū'ōt laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā...ka'āšer yēbārekkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
16:11	"līpnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā... 'āšer yībḥar Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
16:15	"tāḥōg laYahweh 'ēlōhēkā...kī yēbārekkā Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
16:16	"'et pēnē Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"
16:17	"kēbīrkat Yahweh 'ēlōhēkā"

16:18	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā”
16:20	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk”
16:21	“mīzbaḥ Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
16:22	“’ăšer šānē’ Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
17:1	“lō’ tīzbaḥ laYahweh ’ēlōhēkā...kī tō’ābat Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
17:2	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk...bē’ēnē Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
17:8	“’ăšer yībḥar Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
17:12	“lēšāret šām ’et Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
17:14	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk”
17:15	“’ăšer yībḥar Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
17:19	“lēyīr’āh Yahweh ’ēlōhāyw”
18:5	“kī bō bāḥar Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
18:7	“bēšēm Yahweh ’ēlōhāyw”
18:9	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lāk”
18:12	“Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā mōriš ’ōtām”
18:13	“īm Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
18:14	“lō’ kēn nātan lēkā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
18:15	“yāqīm lēkā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
18:16	“mē’īm Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā...’et qōl Yahweh ’ēlōhāyw”
19:1	“kī yakrīt Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā...’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā”
19:2	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā”
19:3	“’ăšer yanḥīlkā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
19:8	“wē’īm yarḥīb Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
19:9	“lē’ahābāh ’et Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
19:10	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā”
19:14	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā”
20:1	“kī Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā īmāk”
20:4	“kī Yahweh ’ēlōhēkem hahōlēk īmākem”
20:13	“ūnētānāh Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā bēyādekā”
20:14	“’ăšer nātan Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā lāk”
20:16	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā”
20:17	“ka’ăšer šīwkā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
20:18	“kēkōl tō’ābōtām ’ăšer ’āsū lē’lōhēhem...wēḥāṭā’tem laYahweh ’ēlōhēkem”
21:1	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā”
21:5	“kī bām bāḥar Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
21:10	“ūnētānō Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā bēyādekā”
21:23	“’ăšer Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā nōtēn lēkā”
22:5	“kī tō’ābat Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
23:6	“wēlō’ ’ābāh Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā...wayyahāpōk Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā...kī ’āhēbkā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
23:15	“kī Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā mīthalēk”
23:19	“bēt Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā...kī tō’ābat Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”
23:21	“lēma’an yēbārekkā Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”

person masculine singular.³¹⁰ The law code presents the second person masculine singular suffix roughly 81% of the time, making it the most popular of all of the personal suffixes used here.

This contrasts with Dtr¹ where the second person singular address makes up about 59% of the personal suffixes attached to the designation *'ēlōhē*. The Dtn use of personal suffixes is much closer to the usage in the Dtr² material, where the second person masculine singular suffix makes up roughly 87.5% of the total number of personal suffixes used with *'ēlōhē*.

Conclusion

The Dtr¹, Dtr², and Dtn strata share some things in common when it comes to divine designations. All of these sources seem to agree that the designation *'ēlōhîm* represents a class of beings of which Yahweh is just one. He is, however, the *'ēlōhîm* that the Israelites should worship. The Dtr¹ historian impresses upon the reader that Yahweh is *'ēlōhē hā'ēlōhîm* (Deut 10:17) “the god of the gods” with whom the Israelites have an exceptionally close relationship. The historian of Dtr² mentions *'ēlōhîm 'ăḥērîm* seven times and discourages the Israelites from worshipping them. The Dtn document presents repeated invocations of Yahweh, reminding the people that he is their *'ēlōhîm* who gives and enforces their laws.

The differences between the sources are slight. The Dtn material stands out from the Dtr¹ and Dtr² material in that it does not contain any epithet constructions. Further, the author of Dtⁿ uses the combination designation Yahweh *'ēlōhē* much more than the authors of Dtr¹ and Dtr². No epithets appear in any of these strata. Rather, the construct

³¹⁰ Deut 17:19; 18:7.

form *’ēlōhē* appears more commonly in “Yahweh your god (*’ēlōhēkā/kem*)”³¹¹ phrases. There are 281 occurrences of the former across the Dtr¹, Dtr², and Dtn strata.

The use of “Yahweh your god (*’ēlōhēkā/kem*)” phrases in the Deuteronomic strata raises an interesting point of comparison between this book and the P source material in Leviticus. There, the P source author pairs the divine name Yahweh with *’ēlōhēkā* + possessive suffix 65% of the time. In both of these legal works, the authors present the divine name frequently and pair it with *’ēlōhē* constructions, perhaps to remind the audience that their god, Yahweh, will hold them accountable.

³¹¹ For the Dtr¹ occurrences, see: Deut 1:10, 21, 26, 30, 31, 32; 2:7, 30; 3:18, 20, 21, 22; 4:2, 3, 4, 10, 19, 21, 23, 24, 34, 40; 5:6, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 29, 30; 6:1, 2, 5, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17; 7:1, 2, 6, 9, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25; 8:2, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 18; 9:3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 16, 23; 10:9, 12, 14, 17, 20, 21, 22; 11:1, 2, 12, 13, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31; 26:16, 19; 27:2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10; 28:1, 2, 8, 9, 13, 15, 45, 47, 52, 53, 58, 62; 29:5, 9, 11; 31:3, 6, 11, 12, 13, 26. For the Dtr² occurrences, see Deut 4:25, 29, 30, 31; 8:19, 20; 30:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 2012. For the Dtn occurrences, see Deut:4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 20, 21, 27, 28, 29, 31; 13:4, 5, 6, 11, 13, 17, 19; 14:1, 2, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29; 15:4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21; 16:1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22; 17:1, 2, 8, 12, 14, 15; 18:5, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16; 19:1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 14; 20:1, 4, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18; 21:1, 5, 10, 23; 22:5; 23:6, 15, 19, 21, 22, 24; 24:4, 9, 13, 18, 19; 25:15, 16, 19; 26:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, 11, 13.

CHAPTER 7

ACCOUNTING FOR OUTLIERS

In addressing divine designations in the Torah from a source-critical perspective, it is also important to acknowledge the passages that scholars have struggled to link with any particular documentary source. These passages include narrative in Genesis 14 and 15, poetry in Genesis 49, Exodus 15, and Deuteronomy 32-33, and law in the covenant code (Exod 21:1-23:19). In the case of the narratives in Genesis 14 and 15 it is difficult to say whether the narratives were included by authors of the documentary sources or by later editors.³¹² In the case of the poetry and the law code, scholars usually suggest that the authors of J and E integrated the older poetic or legal texts into their narrative.³¹³

i. **Genesis 14**

Genesis 14 has long stood out as a chapter that is difficult to assign to any documentary source.³¹⁴ It shows Abram in a new light – rather than a migrant, he becomes a political figure in the land of Canaan, embroiled in the disputes between different political powers as they come to affect his own family. In addition to portraying

³¹² For more on the questions surrounding Genesis 14 and 15, see chapter 3, notes 101-102.

³¹³ As in the case of Exodus 15, for example. See Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 144.

³¹⁴ Source critics as early as Jean Astruc saw Genesis 14 as a text that could not be connected with other narratives in Genesis. See Astruc, *Conjectures*, 75. Eichhorn, too, commented on the singular nature of this passage. See Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, vol.2, 300.

a different kind of patriarch, the passage also contains some curious divine designations:

Divine Designations in Genesis 14		
Occurrence	Context	
14:18	<i>kōhēn lē'ēl 'elyôn</i>	
14:19	<i>"bārûk abrām lē'ēl 'elyôn"</i>	
14:20	<i>"ûbārûk 'ēl 'elyôn"</i>	
14:22	<i>"hăřīmōtî yādî 'el Yahweh 'ēl 'elyôn"</i>	
		Total: 5
Narration		Speech
1		4

'ēl 'elyôn "'ēl the highest" is the most commonly used divine designation in this chapter, used in narration, spoken by Melchizedek, king of Salem, and spoken as well by Abram. The notable feature of Abram's use of this designation is that he pairs it with the name Yahweh, affirming in his communication to Melchizedek that Yahweh is the name of this 'ēl 'elyôn. Though the designation 'ēl has been shown to appear in source material belonging to J, E, and P sources,³¹⁵ the pairing of the name Yahweh with the designation 'ēl 'elyôn does not appear elsewhere in the Torah. 'elyôn functions as a divine designation just once in Num 24:16, where it appears independently.³¹⁶ Outside of the Torah, there are 23 cases where 'elyôn functions as a divine epithet, largely concentrated in the Psalms. All of these occurrences are in poetry.³¹⁷ Elsewhere, 'elyôn

³¹⁵ See Gen 16:13; Exod 34:6 (J); Gen 33:20; 35:1; Exod 23:8, 19, 22, 23; 24: 4, 8, 16, 23 (E); Num 16:22 (P).

³¹⁶ Here, Balaam says: וַיֵּדַע דַּעַת עֲלִיּוֹן מִתְּחִלָּה שְׂדֵי "and he knows the knowledge of 'elyôn, envisions šadday."

³¹⁷ 2 Sam 22:14 (אֶדְמָה לְעִלְיוֹן); Isaiah 14:14 (אֶדְמָה לְעִלְיוֹן); Psalm 7:18 (אֶדְמָה לְעִלְיוֹן); 9:3 (שֵׁם יְהוָה עֲלִיּוֹן); 56, 35, 78:17; 77:11; 73:11; 57:3; 50:14; 47:3; 46:5; 21:8 (עֲלִיּוֹן בְּלִי-יָמוּס); 18:14 (יְהוָה יַעֲלִיּוֹן יִתֵּן קִלּוֹ); 82:6; 83:19; 91:1, 9; 92:2; 97:9; 107:11; Lam 3:38.

commonly functions as an architectural term designating the upper part of a building or building complex.³¹⁸

Abram's unique use of the name suggests a slight affinity with the patterns of usage that we have seen in the E source narrative – only Abraham uses the divine name in Genesis.

ii. Genesis 15

Scholars have debated whether Gen 15 should be regarded as a part of the larger J source narrative or the E source narrative.³¹⁹ There are seven divine designations in this chapter, all of which are the divine name Yahweh. They are split nearly evenly between narration and speech, with Yahweh speaking his name once and Abram saying the name twice. Abram speaks first, demonstrating that he knows the name of the deity who appears to him *bamaḥăzeh* “in a vision.”

Divine Designations in Genesis 15		
Occurrence	Context	
15:1	<i>hāyāh dēbar Yahweh 'el 'abrām</i>	
15:2	<i>“’ādōnāy Yahweh mah tīten lī”</i>	
15:4	<i>wēhīneh dēbar Yahweh 'ēlāyw</i>	
15:6	<i>wēhe'mīn baYahweh</i>	
15:7	<i>“’ānī Yahweh 'āšer hōšē'tīkā mē'ūr kaśdīm”</i>	
15:8	<i>“’ādōnāy Yahweh bamāh 'ēda' kī 'irāšēnnāh”</i>	
15:18	<i>bayôm hāhû' kārāt Yahweh 'et 'abrām bērit</i>	
		Total: 7
Narration		Speech
4		3

³¹⁸ See 1 Kings 9:8; 2 Kings 15:35; 18:17; Isaiah 7:3; Isaiah 36:2; Jeremiah 20:2; 36:10; Ezekiel 9:2; 41:7; 42:5; 1 Chron 7:24; 2 Chron 8:5; 23:20; 27:3; 32:30.

³¹⁹ Friedman suggests that the chapter belongs to the J source narrative excepting two words in v. 7 and the contents of vv.13-17a. See Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 53-54. Baden has pointed to strong evidence that might better connect the chapter with the work of the E source author. See Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch*, 287-288. For details on Baden's evidence, see chapter 3, note 102. I do not see enough evidence to connect this chapter with either the J source or E source work.

This distribution of divine designations resembles the pattern of use that we have observed in the J source narrative - characters know Yahweh's name without the deity needing to introduce himself.

iii. Genesis 49

This poem, called “the Blessing of Jacob,” records Jacob’s blessings to his children. It is likely an older work that that author of the J source incorporated into their narrative.³²⁰ The connections between the poem and the J source narrative in Genesis are apparent in the reference to Reuben sleeping with his father’s concubine (Gen 35:22 and Gen 49:4) and the violence of Simeon and Levi (Gen 34:25 and Gen 49:5).³²¹

Divine Designations in Genesis 49		
Occurrence	Context	
49:18	“ <i>qīwwîṭî</i> Yahweh”	
49:25	“ <i>mē’ēl ’ābîkā...wě’ēt šadday</i> ”	
		Total: 3
Narration		Speech
0		3

There are only 3 designations here, which is not sufficient for any kind of strong analysis. Another connection that I observe here with the J source material in Genesis is the invocation of divine designations other than Yahweh in conferring blessings. I have pointed this out above in both Gen 27:28 (J), where Isaac blesses Jacob (dressed as Esau). Isaac invokes *hā’ēlōhîm* here. Similarly, Genesis 49 invokes blessings from *’ēl ’ābîkā* and *šadday*. This use of *šadday* as an independent designation, rather than as an epithet paired with *’ēl*, is similar to the way that this word is used in the Balaam

³²⁰ Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 114. Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch*, 28.

³²¹ Friedman suggests that the author of the J source used this poem as an older source that informed their narrative. See Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 114.

poetry (Num 24:4, 16). This may be because Genesis 49, like the Balaam material in Num 24:4, 16, is poetry.

iv. Exodus 15

The poem in Exodus 15 is also called “the Song of the Sea” and “the Song of Miriam.” This poem is the oldest piece of poetry in the Hebrew Bible.³²²

Divine Designations in the Song of Miriam		
Occurrence	Context	
15:1	“’āšîrāh laYahweh”	
15:2	“’āzî wēzîmrāt yāh...zeh ’ēlî...’ēlōhé ’ābî”	
15:3	“Yahweh ’îš mîlḥāmāh Yahweh šēmō”	
15:6	“yēmînkā Yahweh... yēmînkā Yahweh”	
15:11	“mî kāmōkā bā’ēlîm Yahweh”	
15:16	“’ad ya’ābōr ’amkā Yahweh”	
15:17	“mākôn lēšibtēkā pā’altā Yahweh”	
15:18	“Yahweh yîmlōk lē’ōlām”	
		Total: 13
Narration		Speech
0		13

The dominant designation in this poem is the divine name Yahweh, which occurs nine times. The lines *zeh ’ēlî* “this (is) my god” and *mî kāmōkā bā’ēlîm* “who is like you among the gods” suggest that Yahweh fits into the category of *’ēlîm* “gods” and that he is the singer’s deity of choice.³²³ The unique nature of the deity suggested by the phrase *mî kāmōkā bā’ēlîm* resembles the stress that Dtr¹ places on Yahweh’s relationship with the Israelites. He is a god who is close at hand (Deut 4:7) and provides the people with laws and rules (Deut 4:8).³²⁴ He is *’ēlōhé hā’ēlōhîm* “god of the gods” (Deut 10:17).

These passages insist on Yahweh’s uniqueness among the gods.

³²² Cross and Freedman, *Ancient Yahwistic Poetry*, 33.

³²³ Cross points out that this plural form only occurs four times in the Hebrew Bible: Psalm 29:1; 89:7; Daniel 11:3 and here. See Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 45.

³²⁴ Note the interrogative framing of these verses – מִי־יִגְדֹל – יְהוָה.

v. The Covenant Code

Graf singled out the Covenant Code as the earliest law code in the Torah.³²⁵

Contemporary source critics view it as an older law code that the author of the E source incorporated into their work.³²⁶ Many scholars have drawn connections between the laws of the Covenant Code and those of Deuteronomy.³²⁷

Divine Designations in the Covenant Code		
Occurrence	Context	
21:6	“wěhiggîšô ’ădōnāyw ’el hā’ēlōhîm”	
21:13	“wěhā’ēlōhîm ’innāh lěyādô”	
22:7	“ba’al habayîť ’el hā’ēlōhîm”	
22:8 ³²⁸	“’ad hā’ēlōhîm yābō’...’ăšer yaršî’ūn ’ēlōhîm”	
22:10	“šěbū’at Yahweh”	
22:19	“zobēah lā’ēlōhîm...bītî laYahweh lěbadô”	
22:27	“’ēlōhîm lō’ tēqalēl”	
23:13	“wěšēm ’ēlōhîm ’ăhērîm lō’ tazkîrû”	
23:17	“’el pēnē hā’ădōn Yahweh”	
23:19	“tābî” bēt Yahweh ’ēlōhēkā”	
		Total: 13
Narration		Speech
0		13

The name Yahweh appears four times in these three chapters. The designation *’ēlōhîm* occurs four times, *hā’ēlōhîm* occurs four times, and *’ēlōhē* occurs just once. Barring Exod 22:10, where an oath before Yahweh is required to resolve a dispute in which there is suspected theft, the remaining three occurrences of Yahweh are all in ritual contexts. Exod 22:19 stipulates that individuals cannot perform sacrifices to *’ēlōhîm* other than Yahweh, Exod 23:17 requires all males to present themselves before

³²⁵ Graf, *Die Geschichtlichen Bücher*, 19-25.

³²⁶ See Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 154; Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch*, 140.

³²⁷ For this possible line of influence, see Stackert, *Deuteronomy and the Pentateuch*, 53-55.

³²⁸ The plural verb in the second part of this verse especially suggests the possibility of multiple אֱלֹהִים entities.

Yahweh three times per year, and Exod 23:19 demands that all first fruit offerings be brought to the house of Yahweh *'ēlōhēkā*. In the same vein as Exod 22:19, Exod 23:13 forbids the people from mentioning or commemorating the name of any *'ēlōhîm 'ăḥērîm*.

The divine designations *'ēlōhîm* and *hā'ēlōhîm* are also used in an oath context in Exod 22:8. There, two parties in dispute should bring their testimony before *hā'ēlōhîm*. *'ēlōhîm* will judge between them. Similarly, Exod 21:6 dictates the case of an enslaved person who does not wish to go free. In this case, their owner should bring them before *hā'ēlōhîm* and pierce their ear as a symbol of their eternal status as an enslaved person. Just as in the case of the oath in 22:8, this is likely to ensure that the oath happens in a relatively public place and that a deity is there to oversee it.³²⁹

Finally, Exod 21:13 and 22:7 provide examples of *'ēlōhîm* and *hā'ēlōhîm* that seem to describe divinity more generally. In Exod 21:13, an unintentional homicide is described as *wēhā'ēlōhîm 'innāh lēyādô* “the god forced his hand.” Exod 22:27 prohibits people from cursing *'ēlōhîm*.³³⁰

vi. A Song and a Blessing

I have placed both the Song of Moses (Deut 32:1-43) and the Blessing of Moses (Deut 33:2-29) in this section because they are both earlier pieces of poetry that an editor worked into the Deuteronomic text at some point. G. Ernest Wright first argued in 1962 that the Song is an expansion or adaptation of the prophetic covenant lawsuit form

³²⁹ For a review of the speculation surrounding this verse and the significance of the piercing of the enslaved person's ear, see Victor Hurowitz, “‘His Master Shall Pierce His Ear with an Awl’ (Exodus 21:6): Marking Slaves in the Bible in Light of Akkadian Sources,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 58 (1992), pp. 47-77.

³³⁰ Or a גָּשִׁיָא בְּעִמְךָ.

in which the prophet is the spokesperson to the nation of God's judgment.³³¹ The Song of Moses is a work of poetry likely inserted into its current place in Deuteronomy by the historian responsible for the Dtr² edition of the Deuteronomistic History. The references to god abandoning the Israelites as recompense for their idolatry (Deut 32:19-26) would have been relevant during the exilic period, the time of the Dtr² edition of the history.³³²

Cross and Freedman argue that the Blessing was likely composed during the 11th century BCE. The "poetic diction and structure" resemble the oldest Israelite poetry. Additionally, the ode that introduces the blessings as well as some of the blessings themselves resemble the Canaanite literature "which influenced Israel's early poetic genius."³³³ Friedman suggests that the Deuteronomistic Historian included the Blessing of Moses in the Dtr¹ edition of the history.³³⁴

Divine Designations in the Song of Moses	
Occurrence	Context
32:3	" <i>kī šēm Yahweh 'eqrā' hābū gōdel lē 'lōhēnū</i> "
32:4	" <i>'ēl 'ēmūnāh wē 'ēn 'āwel</i> "
32:6	" <i>lēYahweh tīgmēlū zō 't</i> "
32:8 ³³⁵	" <i>bēhanhēl 'elyōn gōyīm</i> "
32:9	" <i>kī hēleq Yahweh 'amō</i> "
32:12	" <i>Yahweh bādād yanhenū wē 'ēn 'īmō 'ēl nēkār</i> "
32:15	" <i>wayyitōš 'ēlōha 'āsāhū</i> "
32:17	" <i>yīzbēhū lašēdīm lō ' 'ēlōh 'ēlōhīm lō ' yēdā 'ūm</i> "
32:18	" <i>wattīškāh 'ēl mēhōllekā</i> "
32:19	" <i>wayyarē ' Yahweh</i> "
32:21	" <i>hēm qīn 'ūnī bēlō ' 'ēl</i> "
32:27	" <i>wēlō ' Yahweh pā 'al kōl zō 't</i> "
32:30	" <i>wēYahweh hīsgīrām</i> "
32:36	" <i>kī yādīn Yahweh 'amō</i> "

³³¹ G. Ernest Wright, "The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deuteronomy 32," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage*, eds. Bernard W. Anderson and Walter Harrelson (Bloomsbury: SCM Press, 1962), pp. 26-67.

³³² Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 360.

³³³ Cross and Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry*, 64.

³³⁴ Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 364.

³³⁵ The LXX reads ἀγγέλων θεοῦ "messengers of god" here while the Dead Sea Scrolls offer בני אלוהים. Based partially on the Dead Sea Scrolls variant, Friedman argues that Deut 32:8 offers an account of god creating the nations and portioning them to different gods (בני אלוהים). Friedman *The Exodus*, 171.

32:37 ³³⁶	“wě `āmār `ē `ělōhēmō”	
32:39	“wě `ên `ělōhīm `īmādī”	
		Total: 19
Narration		Speech
0		19

The divine name occurs eight times in the Song of Moses. ’ēlōhīm (32:17, 39) and ’ēlōhē (32:3, 37) each occur twice. ’ēlōha occurs twice in Deut 32:15, 17. ’ēl occurs four times in Deut 32:4, 12, 18, 21. Finally, ’elyōn occurs just once (and independently) in 32:8.

The parallel between Yahweh and ’ēlōhēnū in Deut 32:3 suggests, as I have pointed out elsewhere in Deuteronomy, that Yahweh is a particular ’ēlōhīm for the writer of this poem. In addition to ’ēlōhīm, the author of this poem describes Yahweh as an ’ēl in Deut 32:4. This same designation can also describe a foreign deity in the phrase ’ēl nēkār in Deut 32:12. Another parallel between ’ēlōha and ’ēlōhīm in Deut 32:17 shows that these designations can be used interchangeably in this poem.³³⁷

Overall, the Song of Moses includes a variety of divine designations, and the author seems to use many of them interchangeably. This is similar to other examples of poetry that I have examined in this analysis including the Song of the Sea and the Balaam poetry.

Divine Designations in the Blessing of Moses	
Occurrence	Context
33:2	“Yahweh mīssīnay bā”
33:7	“šēma ‘Yahweh qōl yēhūdāh”
33:11	“bārēk Yahweh hēlō”
33:12	“yēdīd Yahweh”

³³⁶ 4QDeut^a reads וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה, making יְהוָה the subject of the verb in this verse. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, eds. Abegg et al., 192. The LXX presents καὶ εἶπεν κύριος as well, lending some support to this variant.

³³⁷ Deut 32:17 also mentions the שָׂדִים, which seem to be a name for the לֹא אֱלֹהִים “no god” mentioned in this line.

33:13	" <i>měbōreket Yahweh 'aršō</i> "	
33:21	" <i>šīdqaṭ Yahweh 'āsāh</i> "	
33:23	" <i>ûmālē ' bīrkat Yahweh</i> "	
33:26	" <i>'ēn kā 'ēl yěšūrûn</i> "	
33:27	" <i>mě 'ōnāh 'ēlōhē qedem</i> "	
33:29	" <i>'am nôša ' baYahweh</i> "	
		Total: 10
Narration		Speech
0		10

The divine name Yahweh occurs eight times in the Blessing of Moses. Only two other designations occur in this piece. 'ēl appears in Deut 33:26 and 'ēlōhē appears in Deut 33:27. The structure of the blessing is similar to Genesis 49, though Simeon is missing here. Judah, Levi, Benjamin, Joseph, Gad, and Naphtali each receive a mention of Yahweh in their blessings. The blessings for Reuben, Zebulun, Issachar, Dan, and Asher do not contain a mention of the divine name.

Conclusion

These passages that cannot be successfully attributed to any of our documentary sources offer interesting examples of the use of divine designations. One thing that many of these outlier passages share is that they treat Yahweh as a distinct being who participates in the larger category of 'ēlōhîm or 'ēl. Much of the poetry that I have classified as an outlier here also demonstrate a trend in poetic material of using many different designations to describe Yahweh.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

This analysis has shown that the authors of each documentary source use divine designations differently. The numerous charts, though cumbersome, offer the quantitative data required to track the patterns of usage of divine designations that characterize each source. The key term here is “patterns.” While no one piece of evidence is enough to determine to which documentary source a particular text might belong, tracking how different authors use certain words and when they use them allows us to develop a better understanding of their patterns of language use. These patterns can then be helpful pieces of evidence in delineating between sources in the Torah.

Counting Evidence

i. The J Source Data

Amalgamating the J source occurrences of divine designations into a single chart provides insight into the patterns that dictate how this author chooses to use divine designations in their work. Excepting two instances of the designation *hā'ēlōhîm* in Genesis 6, this author never uses designations other than Yahweh in narration. Their characters use *ēlōhîm*, *ēlōhê*, and *ēl*, but the author themselves does not. Additionally, the use of diverse designations, other than the divine name, tapers off in Exodus and disappears entirely in Numbers and Deuteronomy.

Designation	Gen		Exod		Num/Deut	
	S	N	S	N	S	N
Yahweh	41	103	17	33	26	16
<i>’ēlōhîm</i>	11	0	0	0	0	0
<i>’ēlōhê</i>	16	0	9	0	0	0
<i>hā’ēlōhîm</i>	4	2	0	0	0	0
<i>’ēl</i>	0	0	2	0	0	0
S = speech N = narration						

The author uses the name Yahweh freely in narration from the time of creation until the conclusion of the J source narrative in Deut 34:5-7. In Genesis, characters residing in Canaan, even those unconnected with the Abrahamic lineage,³³⁸ use the name freely in speech. When Joseph and then the rest of his family move to Egypt, characters use the designations *’ēlōhîm* and *hā’ēlōhîm* rather than the divine name. In J-Exodus, the narrator continues to use the divine name in Exod 3:2 while characters return to using the divine name in J-Exodus after Exod 5:1.

ii. The E Source Data

The E source data presents consistent diversity from Genesis through Deuteronomy, employing seven different designations in genesis, five in Exodus, and seven in Numbers. This author only uses the divine name in their material in Deuteronomy. Certain designations stand out as more popular in this author’s work. The divine name Yahweh and the designations *’ēlōhîm*, *’ēlōhê*, *hā’ēlōhîm* appear throughout this author’s work. They use *’ēl*, *hā’ēl*, *šadday*, *’ēlyôn*, and *yāh* sparingly.

Designation	Gen		Exod		Num/Deut	
	S	N	S	N	S	N
Yahweh	1	2	85	79	25	40
<i>’ēlōhîm</i>	43	15	11	11	1	7
<i>’ēlōhê</i>	11	3	47	2	2	0

³³⁸ These characters include Abimelek, Achuzat, and Pikol in Gen 26:28, 29.

<i>hā'ēlōhîm</i>	7	6	7	17	1	1
<i>'ēl</i>	3	3	0	0	8	0
<i>hā'ēl</i>	2	0	0	0	0	0
<i>'ēl šadday</i>	1	0	0	0	0	0
<i>šadday</i>	0	0	0	0	2	0
<i>'ēlyôn</i>	0	0	0	0	1	0
<i>yāh</i>	0	0	1	0	0	0
S = speech N = narration						

The E source author reserves the use of the divine name for very specific circumstances. The author uses the name when Abraham plants a tamarisk tree and invokes *'ēl 'ōlām* in Gen 21:33, and when Jacob takes an oath at Bethel in Gen 28:21. As I have argued above, these apparent ritual invocations of the divine name likely do not indicate that a character actually speaks the name. Rather, these uses are a sign from the E source author that, even though the patriarchs did not know Yahweh by name, they still worshipped him and made oaths to him. Finally, the E source author uses the divine name in narration only once in Gen 20:18.

After the revelation of Yahweh's name in Exod 3:15, the E source author begins to use the divine name in narration as well as in character speech. The author still uses designations like *'ēlōhîm*, *hā'ēlōhîm* sometimes. Exodus 18 is a flashpoint for the use of the divine name in character speech and in narration alongside these two other designations. In E-Numbers, the author uses the divine name Yahweh much more than *'ēlōhîm* and *hā'ēlōhîm*, and the concentration of non-Yahweh divine designations is very strong in the Balaam material in Numbers 22-24.

iii. The P Source Data

The P source data show that this author uses the divine name Yahweh only twice in Genesis in narrative contexts. Once this author presents a revelation of the divine

name in Exod 6:3, they commit to using this name exclusively to refer to the Israelite god. Designations like *’ēlōhîm*, *’ēlōhê* persist in relatively small numbers, with *’ēlōhê* usage high in Leviticus especially due to the proliferation of *’ēlōhê* + pronominal suffix phrases that stress Yahweh’s status as the Israelites’ *’ēlōhîm*. This author abandons the epithet *’ēl šadday* after making it clear that this entity is Yahweh in Exod 6:3. Finally, this author uses the designation *’ēl* just once in the character speech in P-Numbers.

Designation	Gen		Exod		Lev		Num/Deut	
	S	N	S	N	S	N	S	N
Yahweh	0	2	70	76	249	61	115	121
<i>’ēlōhîm</i>	4	64	6	6	5	0	1	0
<i>’ēlōhê</i>	0	0	5	0	46	0	11	0
<i>hā’ēlōhîm</i>	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0
<i>’ēl</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
<i>’ēl šadday</i>	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
S = speech N = narration								

For the P source author, god introduces himself to Abraham in Genesis 17:1 as *’ēl šadday* and is known as such among the Israelites until he reveals his name to Moses in Exodus 6:2. This is why the author refrains from using the name until Exodus 6, except for the two uses in Gen 17:1 and 21:1.³³⁹ Additionally, the P source material offers a grammatical nuance between the designations *’ēlōhîm* and *hā’ēlōhîm*. The indefinite designation appears only in subject and direct object positions while the definite designation appears only in indirect object position.

This introduction of the divine name in P-Exodus triggers an immediate shift in the narrative and speech material in this source. The author refers to god consistently as Yahweh in narration and characters including Moses, Aaron, and the Israelites use

³³⁹ See my explanation for these in chapter 5.

the name in speech. From this point forward, occurrences of *’ēlōhîm* no longer function independently to refer to god but instead appear in conjunction with Yahweh’s name to describe his role as *’ēlōhîm* to the Israelites.³⁴⁰

The large uses of *’ēlōhê* in P-Leviticus also make for an interesting piece of evidence. I commented on this in chapter 5 and suggested that the concentration of Yahweh + *’ēlōhê* constructions here (65%) may be connected to the legal nature of Leviticus. I observe a similar concentration in the Deuteronomic strata.

iv. The Data from the Deuteronomic Strata

An overview of the data from Dtr¹, Dtr², and Dtn is instructive mainly in the comparison of Yahweh and *’ēlōhê* uses among these sources. The Dtr¹ historian uses Yahweh *’ēlōhê* constructions about 51% of the time, which is reflected in the high counts for both of these designations in the data. *’ēlōhîm* occurrences are relatively rare in this stratum, but not quite as rare as *hā’ēlōhîm*, *’ēl*, and *hā’ēl*. Most of the occurrences of divine designations are in speech because of the nature of the book of Deuteronomy, which is mostly Moses’s speech to the Israelites and the presentation of law which is shared verbally with the Israelites.

Divine Designations in Dtr ¹		
Designation	Speech	Narration
Yahweh	296	8
<i>’ēlōhîm</i>	16	0
<i>’ēlōhê</i>	161	0
<i>hā’ēlōhîm</i>	4	0
<i>’ēl</i>	6	0
<i>hā’ēl</i>	2	0

³⁴⁰ For an example of this in P, see Exod 6:7 – אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם.

The author of Dtr¹, like the author of the P source, uses *'ēlōhîm* as a category that describes the role of Yahweh in relation to the Israelites. He is their *'ēlōhîm*, *'ēlōhê hā'ēlōhîm*, who has a unique history with this people. For this reason, they should avoid worshipping any other *'ēlōhîm*. This usage of *hā'ēlōhîm* in the Dtr¹ material demonstrates a flexibility in this term rather than a grammatical distinction (as in the P source). The author of Dtr¹ uses the definite designation to both highlight Yahweh's uniqueness (*hû' hā'ēlōhîm*) and to describe Yahweh's superiority over various other *'ēlōhîm* (*'ēlōhê hā'ēlōhîm*). Further, this author frequently pairs the divine name Yahweh with the designation *'ēlōhê*.

The Dtr² historian is responsible for much less text in Deuteronomy and therefore has much smaller numbers for designations, though these remain mostly in speech as in the case of Dtr¹. The divine name and the designation *'ēlōhê* are the most-used designations by far for this historian. They use Yahweh + *'ēlōhê* constructions roughly 52% of the time, only 1% more often than the Dtr¹ historian. *'ēlōhîm* is the third most common designation in this stratum, trailing Yahweh and *'ēlōhê*. The historian uses *'ēl* just once.

Divine Designations in Dtr ²		
Designation	Speech	Narration
Yahweh	41	1
<i>'ēlōhîm</i>	9	0
<i>'ēlōhê</i>	24	0
<i>'ēl</i>	1	0

This author does not use the definite or indefinite absolute forms of the designation *'ēlōhîm* to refer to Yahweh but only uses the term *'ēlōhîm* to describe other gods, idols (gods that are the work of human hands), and gods that the people do not know.

The Dtn data is incredibly similar to that of the Dtr¹ and Dtr² strata in that Yahweh and *’ēlōhē* remain the most popular designations. Unlike these strata, however, the law code presents Yahweh + *’ēlōhē* constructions roughly 76% of the time, much higher than the 51-52% figures of Dtr¹ and Dtr². Like Dtr¹ and Dtr², the Dtn stratum uses the designation *’ēlōhîm*, but very little in comparison with the divine name and *’ēlōhē*. The Dtn stratum does not contain any examples of the use of *hā’ēlōhîm*, *’ēl*, or *hā’ēl*.

Divine Designations in Dtn		
Designation	Speech	Narration
Yahweh	182	0
<i>’ēlōhîm</i>	7	0
<i>’ēlōhē</i>	147	0

As in the case of the Dtr² stratum, the designation *’ēlōhîm* only refers to other gods in the Dtn material. There are only two uses of *’ēlōhîm* here that are exceptions (Deut 21:23; 25:18). In these verses, *’ēlōhîm* refers to divinity as a general category.

The Questions that Remain

In this analysis, I have nuanced our understanding of the ways in which the different authors who contributed texts to the Torah used the divine name and other divine designations. I have attempted, in the presentation of the data, to point out patterns that seem to characterize the ways in which these authors use divine designations. These include the J source author’s consistent use of Yahweh in narration, the E source author’s mixed use of designations even after the revelation of the name in Exod 3:15, and the concentration of Yahweh + *’ēlōhē* phrases in the legal material in both the P source and Deuteronomy. In addition to these findings, this analysis also results in questions that merit further attention.

v. The Divine Name in the J Source

In the J source material in Genesis, only residents of Canaan know Yahweh's name. From the time that Joseph is in Egypt, characters do not use the divine name Yahweh in the J source narrative. The author continues to refer to god as Yahweh, but the characters refer to god as *'ēlōhîm* and *hā'ēlōhîm*. This is strange, especially since the descendants of Jacob should know the divine name from their father, who is the last to speak the name in J-Genesis in Gen 32:10. Additionally, Hagar, an Egyptian woman living in Canaan, does not speak the divine name even when it has been explicitly spoken to her (Gen 16:11). This is significant because other non-Abrahamic Canaanite characters use the name. This suggests that the J source author has some agenda in mind when it comes to Abrahamic characters using the divine name in Egypt and Egyptian characters using the name in Canaan. The nature of this agenda, however, remains unclear at the moment.

vi. Levite Treatments of the Divine Name

Both the author of the E source and the author of the P source are Levites. These authors have a strong interest in equating Yahweh with *'ēl'ēlōhîm* and so they each include a revelation of the divine name in which Yahweh appears to Moses and makes it clear that he is the same *'ēlōhîm* who interacted with the patriarchs in Genesis. Each author also includes just a few uses of the divine name in Genesis.³⁴¹ These uses affirm, even before Moses shares Yahweh's name with the Israelites, that Yahweh interacted with the patriarchs even when they did not know his name. Once this revelation takes place, the P source author exclusively refers to god by his name, Yahweh and uses the designations *'ēlōhîm* and *'ēlōhê* to describe Yahweh's status.

³⁴¹ The E source uses are in Gen 20:18; 21:33; and 28:21. The P source uses are in Gen 17:1 and 21:1b.

The author of the E source handles this change slightly differently, continuing to use the designations *’ēl*, *’ēlōhîm*, and *hā’ēlōhîm* in both character speech and narration. I suggest that this continued use of non-Yahweh designations continues to affirm the equivalence of Yahweh, but what conditions the different ways in which these Levite authors use the divine name and other designations after the revelation of the name? Why does the E source author continue their efforts to communicate this equivalence while the P source author simply uses Yahweh?

vii. Sources in the E Source

In E-Exodus 13:17-19, the author uses the divine designation *’ēlōhîm* when they were previously using Yahweh. I suggested that this is because the author is quoting their own material in Gen 50:25. In other cases where we see the use of diverse divine designations in the E source narrative like Exodus 18 and Numbers 22-24, could it be the case that the author changed their pattern of use because they are integrating material from other sources and following the use of divine designations in those sources? This is an interesting idea in the case of the Balaam story especially, which demonstrates connections with the Deir ‘Alla plaster.

viii. Divine Designations in Legal Material

In the legal material in the P source and in Deuteronomy, the authors frequently remind the reader of Yahweh’s name and that he is their god. This is evident in the phrase “*’ānî Yahweh*” in the P source material and in the use of the compound Yahweh *’ēlōhê* designation in the Deuteronomic narrative and law code. There is only one such

reminder of this kind in the Covenant Code, however.³⁴² This invites comparison with other ancient Near Eastern legal material. Are deities invoked by name in the extant Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian legal evidence?

Invocations of deities are most commonly found in the prologues and epilogues of other ancient Near eastern law codes.³⁴³ Only in the Laws of Eshnunna and the Laws of Hammurabi do we find any mentions of deities by name. In the Laws of Eshnunna, a man whose home has been burglarized, causing him to lose the goods of another that were left in his possession must swear an oath that he has not committed fraud at the gate of *Tišpak*.³⁴⁴ In the Laws of Hammurabi, Marduk is mentioned by name only in the case of a man whose daughter has been dedicated to this deity.³⁴⁵ The only other mentions of divine entities use the general *ilu*.³⁴⁶ These occur in cases of accusations of

³⁴² This is the law that demands that the people bring the firstlings of their crops to the בֵּית יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ in Exod 23:19.

³⁴³ This is the case in the Laws of Ur-Namma, the Laws of Lipit-Ishtar, the Laws of Eshnunna, and the Laws of Hammurabi. Martha T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, second edition, ed. Piotr Michalowski (Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1997).

³⁴⁴ See Eshnunna 37 in Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 65. The Babylonian reads *ina bāb Tišpak* "at the gate of *Tišpak*," which Roth understands to involve an oath at the gate to the temple of this god. This resembles closely the Covenant Code law regarding goods given to another for safekeeping in Exod 22:6-8. There, the parties come before הָאֱלֹהִים so that the one safekeeping the property can take an oath to settle the case.

³⁴⁵ See LH 182 in Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 118. The text here reads *nadīt Marduk ša Bābilim* "dedicated to Marduk of Babylon."

³⁴⁶ These general uses of *ilu* appear in the Laws of Hammurabi and the Middle Assyrian Law codes. I outline the major examples below but share two extraneous cases in this note. In the Middle Assyrian Palace Decrees, the phrase (*ilu lu la iqabbi* "God forbid") appears in MAPD 2. See Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 197. In this same code, MAPD 8, the law regarding the god-of-the-journey (*il harrāne*) states that, when the deity's statue enters the palace, palace officials should inspect the palace eunuchs to ensure that they are castrated. See Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 200.

adultery,³⁴⁷ the death of a hired ox,³⁴⁸ the death of livestock in the care of a shepherd,³⁴⁹ and the theft of objects from a temple or sanctuary.³⁵⁰

This comparison shows that the P source legal material as well as the Deuteronomic strata share something unique amongst other ancient Near eastern legal corpora: they consistently invoke Yahweh by name and affirm his status as “your god” throughout their legal discourse.

This analysis has yielded a better understanding of the use of divine designations in the texts of the Torah. I have shown the distinct ways in which the authors of the J, E, P, and D sources use divine designations and present divinity as a category. The many questions prompted by this study are proof that the analysis of divine designations in the Torah is a fruitful study that merits future efforts.

³⁴⁷ See LH 131 in Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 106. In this case, a woman whose husband has accused her of adultery should take an oath to the gods (*nīš ilim*) to clear herself.

³⁴⁸ See LH 249 in Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 128. This law stipulates that if a man rents an ox and a god strikes it dead (*ilum imḥassuma*), the man should swear an oath by the god to gain his release.

³⁴⁹ See LH 266 in Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 130. The text reads, *lipit ilim ittabši...maḥar ilim ubbamma*. The idea here seems to be that the shepherd should present themselves before whichever deity the legal parties think is responsible for the disease (or the lion attack) that killed the animals.

³⁵⁰ See MAL A 1 in Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 155. Here, if a woman steals something from a sanctuary (*bēt ile*) and the item is found in her possession, the legal authorities should perform a divination (*bārûta ila*) to learn what the deity associated with the sanctuary instructs them to do (*ša ilu ana epāše iqabbiuni*)

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