YHWH, THE INEFFABLE NAME: AVOIDANCE, ALTERNATIONS AND CIRCUMVENTIONS IN THE NON-BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS AT QUMRAN

by

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ABSTRACT

During the period of the writing of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Tetragrammaton (*YHWH*) was so sacred that it had become an ineffable name. This thesis studies alternations in the usage of the Tetragrammaton in non-biblical manuscripts at Qumran through an analysis of scriptural quotations from the *Torah* to the *Nevi'im* in the Dead Sea Scrolls citing the Tetragrammaton. Thirty-three distinctive divine name alternations were identified. Additionally, a list of alternation types and of scrolls featuring alternations in Qumran were compiled.

Distinctive groups of scrolls were identified at Qumran: some featured the Tetragrammaton, with or without alternations, and some circumvented it completely. Our study focuses on the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton, on alternations in square script, and on writing traditions: *El*, Tetrapuncta and paleo-Hebrew. Two applications were then investigated: the use of alternations in divine names in order to determine the scrolls' origins and the distribution of names in paleo-Hebrew in these scrolls.

From the voices of the past,
my grand-parents, my father, and my mother

to

Noah, Atley, Vera,
Camille, Samuel, and Elisabeth
and the one to come
From Generation to Generation

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

THESIS OVERVIEW AND BACKGROUND

Yigael Yadin heralded the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls as "undoubtedly the

most important discovery in Israel in the field of the Bible and history of Judaism and

Christianity."[1] With these words, Yadin described the findings in eleven caves between

1947 and 1956 of over 1000 manuscripts in the region of Khirbet Qumran on the western

shore of the Dead Sea. Some of the scrolls were badly tattered and fragmentary, others

were almost complete. The collection included scrolls composed locally as well as some

which were brought from other locations. The scrolls date from about 250 B.C.E. to 68 C.E.

Scholars divide the Dead Sea Scrolls into two convenient categories: the "biblical" and the

"non-biblical" manuscripts. The term "biblical" is based on the traditional Hebrew Bible

(Tanakh).

The non-biblical scrolls were previously estimated to approximately 670 scrolls.[2]

Donald Parry and Emanuel Tov have divided the scrolls into genres consisting of religious

law, exegetical, parabiblical, calendrical, sapiential, poetic and liturgical texts, with

additional genres and unclassified texts.[3] The non-biblical and biblical texts are in constant

dialogue by means of biblical quotations and allusions found in Qumran non-biblical

manuscripts. The religious community at Qumran was well versed in their scriptures and

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[1] Hanan Eshel, *Qumran: Scrolls, Caves, History* (trans. A. Yardeni; Jerusalem: Carta, 2009), 7.

[2] All English translations from Qumran are quoted from Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, Jr., Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls – A New Translation* (N. Y. : HarperSanFrancisco,2005).

[3] Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

[2] All English translations from Qumran are quoted from Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, Jr., Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls – A New Translation* (N. Y. : HarperSanFrancisco,2005).

[3] Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (6 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

constantly quoted, echoed, or referred and alluded to biblical texts. From the replacements

for the name *YHWH* (alternations) appearing in the biblical quotations, it is obvious that

the members of the *Yahad* community were aware of the prohibition on pronouncing the

Tetragrammaton already well established in the Second Temple period. In his overview,

Parke-Taylor suggests that the fear of blasphemy (Lev. 24:16) was at the source of the

prohibition. We also know that the custom of calling three times the name of the LORD

during the Day of Atonement ended with the death of the High Priest Simeon the Just in

198 B.C.E.[4] Futhermore our research shows that thirty-three substitutes were used as

alternations to circumvent the Tetragrammaton.

THE THESIS QUESTION

This thesis will discuss what alternations for the name *YHWH* appear in Qumran non-

biblical manuscripts when scriptural units are quoted. The term "alternations" refers to

lexical and syntactical changes, as well as to alternations in writing traditions, such as the

use of paleo-Hebrew script and Tetrapuncta for divine names. The first step of research

involved a discovery of scriptural quotations from the Hebrew Bible referring to the

Tetragrammaton in Qumran non-biblical manuscript; as a result, a corpus of alternations

was established—some scrolls displayed the Tetragrammaton, others exhibited a mix of

alternations and a group of scrolls circumvented the use of the Tetragrammaton altogether.

These findings led to this thesis question: In the Qumran non-biblical manuscripts

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[4] See Geoffrey H. Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh: TheDivine Name in the Bible.* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1975), 86.

circumventing the Tetragrammaton, what alternation patterns predominated and what was the nature of these documents? Two applications of the research were then investigated. Could the information on alternations to the Tetragrammaton be useful in locating the origins of scrolls? Additionally, in scrolls displaying instances of paleo-*El* (or *Elohim*), was there a consistent organization in all the scrolls with respect to the combination of *El* (God) in square script and *El* in paleo-Hebrew?

PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE RESEARCH

In this study of alternations of the name *YHWH*, the first problem was to find an exhaustive list for the biblical quotations and allusions appearing in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts. The scope of the study that included texts from the *Torah* to the *Nevi'im* was also daunting. The investigation involved a search in a large corpus of nearly 1000 scrolls, which had often been reconstructed from fragments. In our case, the issue was to make sure that the actual wording used for referring to the Tetragrammaton was found in an original quotation and was not the product of the restoration of a scholar working on the reconstruction.

The second problem was determining what constituted an alternation. Quotations from the Hebrew Bible (HB) in the Qumran non-biblical manuscripts form a source of authoritative writings embedding the name *YHWH*. The ways the name *YHWH* appeared in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts is the basis for the creation of a corpus of alternations,

for example, the alternation of אל (*El*) for יהוה (Tetragrammaton).[5]

What constitutes an alternation? The determination of an alternation involves defining criteria, which are to be retained and identify and characterize the use of alternations in the non-biblical documents found at Qumran. The difficulty was compounded by the lack of clearly defined boundaries between allusions and quotations and by the presence of syntactical replacements for the Tetragrammaton, such as pronouns and changes in voice and person.

Another quandary concerned whether to include as alternations writing traditions representing the Tetragrammaton, such as writing in paleo-Hebrew and Tetrapuncta.[6] Similarly, the presence of dicolons, which alerts the reader to the occurrences of the Tetragrammaton, is considered as a form of alternation because it may underscore the reverence attached to the use of the Tetragrammaton.[7] A solution to the difficulties listed above involved creating a methodology to determine criteria for alternations and establishing a key of alternations.

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[5] Refer to the table in Appendix D "The Damascus Covenant CD" and compare with 4Q174 "The Last Days." CD shows mostly *El* alternations, no mention of *YHWH*; whereas, in 4Q174, *YHWH* is used for biblical quotations citing *YHWH*.

[6] Four dots (called Tetrapuncta) in texts written in square script represent the Tetragrammaton. A variety of forms of Tetrapuncta is exhibited in the Qumran scrolls, among them: in XHev6/SeEschat Hymn four diagonal strokes are replaced by four points; 4QTanh (4Q176) four dots are used: 1-2ii (two clusters of two strokes); twice 8-10 6:8 twice, 10 (two clusters of two dots). For a detailed definition of Tetrapuncta, see E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts from the Judean Desert* (*STDJ* 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004*),* 218.

[7] A dicolon followed by a space is systematically placed before the Tetragrammaton (written in square script) in 4QRP[b] (4Q364). For a detailed definition of dicolon, see Tov, *Scribal Practices,* 218

In Qumran non-biblical manuscripts, the Tetragrammaton appears once every 472 words; whereas in the Masoretic Text (MT), the ratio is once every 72 words.[8] It is immediately obvious that in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts the divine name was used less frequently than in the MT.

In fact, the Tetragrammaton was considered so sacred by the Second Temple Period that the very pronunciation of the Name *YHWH* became restricted to the High Priest and was only permitted in special religious rituals, such as the Day of Atonement, the most holy celebration for the Jewish people.[9] This practice ended with the death of the High Priest Simeon the Just in 198 B.C.E. By means of the study of alternations in the Dead Sea Scrolls, we get a glimpse into the attitude of the community toward the use of Tetragrammaton and how it dealt with the religious implications presented by the pronunciation of this highly charged name. What mechanism could be used to examine such a phenomenon? The study of biblical quotations (scriptural units) in the Qumran manuscripts offers an insight into the attitude of the community towards the Tetragrammaton.

As Lange and Weigold remarked, "the allusions to and quotations of Jewish Scriptures in Second Temple Jewish Literature are of great importance not only for the canonical, textual and reception history of the Hebrew Bible, but often provide key evidence for the understanding of the biblical books themselves."[10] These texts also are a source of valuable

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[8] The number of words was divided by the number of occurrences of the Tetragrammaton.

[9] Parke-Taylor states that the cultic use of the Tetragrammaton in the daily priestly blessing and by the High Priest on the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur) continued until 198 B.C.E. on the basis of Reisel's research who regards the *terminus ad quem* for the use of the divine name to be as early as 198 B.C.E. (i.e., the date of the death of the High Priest, Simeon the Just). See Geoffrey H. Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh: TheDivine Name in the Bible.* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1975), 86.

information in other areas, such as the use of divine names, or more specifically for our study, of alternations to the Tetragrammaton.

Overview of Methodology

Creating a methodology for the research on alternations involved a number of steps. In the initial discovery, I collected material from the corpus of biblical quotations compiled by Lange and Weigold from the *Torah* to the *Nevi'im*.[11] Since the corpus contained all the biblical quotations found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, I had to identify scrolls exhibiting biblical quotations and allusions containing the name *YHWH*. For each of these scrolls in the Qumran non-biblical manuscripts, I then determined alternation types and assigned them designations (a0, a1, etc).[12] Some scrolls did not display the name *YHWH*; whereas, others did. I then itemized and categorized the Qumran non-biblical texts in terms of the alternations that appear in them. Some did not display any change to the name *YHWH*, some employed the Tetragrammaton, but included alternations as replacements for the Tetragrammaton and in most non-biblical manuscripts, the Tetragrammaton was avoided and a number of alternations were used to circumvent its use. As a result of this study, in addition to the alternation key, I compiled a "Table of Alternations Types" (Appendix C) and tables of alternations for each scroll in Qumran order (Appendix D).

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[10] Amin Lange and Matthias Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature* (*JAJSup* 5; Oakville, CT: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).
[11] Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations*.
[12] For more details, refer to Appendix B: Key of Alternations.

CORPUS OF BIBLICAL BOOKS

To conduct this study on alternations of the name *YHWH* in quotations of biblical scriptures in Qumran, it was essential to build an exhaustive list of allusions to and quotations of Jewish Scriptures citing the name *YHWH* in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts. The following step was used to establish criteria for determining which alternations would be retained for creating a body of quotations.

CONSTITUTION OF A BODY OF QUOTATIONS IN QUMRAN NON-BIBLICAL SCROLLS

The material from the biblical books constituted a massive amount of data. The starting point to set the frame of reference for this study on alternations was to determine the difference between an allusion and a quotation. One definition states that a quotation "is a passage quoted from a written work, and an allusion is an indirect reference to something."[13] That definition does not indicate whether the quotation is an exact lexical and/or morphological parallel of the passage quoted. Lange and Weigold offer the following distinction: "While allusions are characterized by their morphological difference to their anterior texts, quotations are morphologically identical with them."[14] For Lange and Weigold, "an implicit quotation is any uninterrupted verbal parallel of at least four words that does not alter the quoted text, but is not introduced by a quotation formula or otherwise explicitly identified. An explicit quotation is any verbal parallel of at least two

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[13] Online: *http://www.amazon.ca/Paperback-Oxford-English-*Dictionary-Dictionaries/dp/0199640947 (accessed September 10, 2014).
[14] Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations*, 26.

words which is explicitly identified by a quotation formula or other means."[15]

DETERMINATION OF CRITERIA FOR OUR SELECTION OF QUOTATIONS

The biblical material in Lange and Weigold's corpus is diverse. It included various references to biblical scriptures in the form of allusions and quotations. This research uses implicit and explicit quotations Lange and Weigold have compiled. However, our approach was different. I focused on finding a parallel segment of at least two words citing either the Tetragrammaton or some substitute for the Name *YHWH* in the source biblical quotation. Additionally, I expanded upon Lange and Weigold's corpus by adding references to scriptural quotations found in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation.* [16]

The methodology that was designed for the discovery of alternations for the Tetragrammaton included two categories of alternations that, on occasion, overlapped. The first category consisted of alternations in square script appearing in quotations of scriptural units in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts. The second included alternations for the divine name, such as the use of paleo-Hebrew *El,* Tetrapuncta,[17] and dicolons . For example,

> Paleo-*El*
> הקים את מצות אל· (*fulfill the commandment of God*) (4Q267 9 I, 2)
> The form אל is written in paleo-Hebrew script.

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[15] Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations*, 24-27.

[16] Michael O. Wise, Martin. G. Abegg and Edward.M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls A New Translation* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005).

[17] Tetrapuncta were found in texts to represent the Tetragramaton in eight non-biblical and biblical texts written in the Qumran scribal practice as well as in four additional Qumran texts. For further information, refer to Tov, *Scribal Practices,* 218-219.

Tetrapuncta

פַּנּוּ דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה (*prepare the way of the LORD*) (Isa 40:3)

פנו דרך•••• (*prepare the way of the LORD*) (1QS VIII, 14)

Dicolon :

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי (*and the LORD said to me*) (Deut 2:31)

ויואמר:יהוה אל מושה (*and the LORD said to Moses*) (4Q364 XIV, 3)

Determining the corpus and identifying the criteria governing the selection of alternations that referenced the Tetragrammaton constituted a central part of this research and resulted in a key of alternations including 33 different types.[18] Alternations selected in the corpus of the Hebrew Bible and the *Nevi'im* were defined by parallel lexical and morphological structures. See below for a few examples:

Two or three words segments:

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי (*and the LORD said*) (Deut 2:31)

ויואמר יהוה אלי (*and the LORD said to me*) (4Q364 26b II + e, 3)

In other cases, the alternation is imbedded in a longer corresponding sentence.

וָאֶתְנַפַּל לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֵת אַרְבָּעִים הַיּוֹם (*Thus I fell down before the LORD forty days*) (Deut 9:25)

ואתפלל לפני יהוה ארבעים [יום (*I lay prostrate before the LORD for forty [days and forty nights. . .*]) (4Q364 26 b e II, 2)

In some instances, the scriptural unit quotation was replicated without any change to the Qumran text. In that case, the alternation was recorded as a0 (i.e., there was no change in terminology and the Qumran quotation used the same wording for divine names as found in the MT).[19]

אֵת כָּל־דִּבְרֵי יְהוָה (*all the words of the LORD*) (Exod 4:28)

דברי יהוה (*the LORD's words*) (4Q158 1-2，15)

A number of limitations were established to determine the corpus of this research. An example of an alternation that was excluded is found in Exodus 15:11 where the Tetragrammaton appears in the verse. However in 4Q431, it is replaced with a pronoun in the first person and second person singular. Pronouns and pronominal markers were not retained because they constituted an interpretative substitution, which was beyond the scope of this research on alternations based on lexical and semantic equivalences in the use of the Tetragrammaton. The third person pronouns were considered as alternations of the Tetragrammaton because of the identification of הוא with the ineffable name.

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[19] For an explanation of the code, see in Appendix B: "Key of Alternations."

Biblical reference	DSS quotation	Summary of findings
Exod 15:11 מִי־כָמֹכָה בָּאֵלִם יְהוָה (Who is like you, O LORD, among the gods?)	4Q431 I, 4 מֹ֯י כמוני בֹּאלים (Who is like me among the gods?) Alternation: 0 Missing Tetragrammaton	Alternation of 0 for יהוה

ITEMIZED LIST OF EXCLUSIONS

1. Syntactical replacements of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns and pronominal markers as well as the passive voice were not retained when they constituted a circumvention of the Tetragrammaton because I was looking for semantic and lexical equivalences for the Tetragrammaton. Also excluded were the use of verbal 1st and 2nd person as an alternation because these forms may be the object of a theological and exegetical study on the relationship and the dialogue with God speaking in the 1st or 2nd person singular. The 3rd person singular pronoun is included within the frame of this study. Given the fact that this form is quite similar in appearance, it is understood to refer to the name of the LORD as well as to the 3rd person pronoun: Alternation of הואהא (3rd per. sing. or substitute for *YHWH* LORD).

The alternation for *YHWH* is the 1st person singular suffix:

וְרִחַק יְהוָה אֶת־הָאָדָם וְרַבָּה הָעֲזוּבָה בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ (*And the LORD have removed men far away, and there will be a great forsaking in the midst of the land.*)
(Isa 6:12)

ורחקתי את האדם [ו]עֹזבתי את הארץ (*and (I) remove man far away [and] shall abandon the land in de[solation.*) (4Q388a 7 II, 6)

Here is an example of qualifying alternation with a pronoun acting as an alternation for the Tetragrammaton.

לפנות שם את דרכ הואהא (*there to prepare the way of God*) (1QS VIII, 13)
פַּנּוּ דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה (*Prepare ye the way of the LORD*) (Isa 40:3)

2. Abbreviations such as יי for the divine name were also excluded from our study. Substitutes were only taken into consideration when they occurred as a form of alternation for *YHWH*. No separate study of abbreviations as a class of alternations was conducted in this research. The example below constitutes, however, an isolated case of abbreviation found in Qumran, which can be integrated as an alternation for the Tetragrammaton as part of quote in 4Q266 11, 9.[18]

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהוָֹה (*Blessed are You, LORD.*) (Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10)

בָּרוּכֿ אתֿ אונ הו הכול (*Blessed are You, Almighty God.*) (4Q266 11, 9)[20]

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[20] Baumgarten claims that in the Blessing formula בָּרוכֿ את אונ הו הכול, אונ הו is a surrogate for the Tetragrammaton (Translation: *Blessed art Thou!, Thou art the All* in Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 78.) Lauterbach suggests that הו was an abbreviated form for the Tetragrammaton in Talmudic times to indicate the Tetragrammaton. (Jacob Z. Lauterbach, "Substitutes for the Tetragrammaton," *PAAJR 2* [1931]: 39-67.) Other suggestions mention that this scroll included numerous scribal mistakes and this phrase may have been a scribal error. In his paper on the "Names of God in Qumran Scrolls," Arieh Amihai noted that this expression may not have a specific meaning and may be used as an alternative for pronouncing the Tetragrammaton. (Arieh Amihai, "Divine names in Qumran Scrolls" [paper presented at the 15th World Congress of Jewish Studies, Hebrew Univrsity of Jerusalem, August 2-6, 2009], 1-6.)

The above quotation illustrates an alternation of *Almighty God* for *LORD*.

3. I excluded terms indicated as reconstructions by an editor (i.e., no *YHWH* cf. 4Q378 3 ii+4, 10-1).

4. Texts that were not in Hebrew, such as Aramaic or Greek, were not included in our research.

5. Allusions and alternations that did not constitute a semantic equivalence, such as the one below, were not retained.

אֵין־קָד֤וֹשׁ כַּיהוָ֔ה (*There is none holy as the LORD*); 1Sam. 2:2

אי[ן] אלוה זולתו. (*there is no other God*) (4Q379 22 I, 5-6)

Alternation of אלוה for יְהוָ֔ה:

In 4Q396, the substitute for the name *YHWH* is obviously not an alternation. In this example, the name *YHWH* found in Lev 27:32 was replaced in the quote by the word "priests,"which implies a theological interpretation.

יִהְיֶה־קֹּ֖דֶשׁ (לַיהוָֽה). (*. . .will be holy unto the LORD*) Lev 27:32

(לכוהנים) (לכוהנים) (priests)(*. . .belong to the priest*) 4Q396 1-2 III, 3-4; הוא. 4Q397 6 XIII, 5; 4Q313 2 II .

Alternation לכוהנים (priests) for לַיהוה (LORD)

Below are examples of cases of acceptable and unacceptable alternations.

1. ACCEPTABLE ALTERNATIONS

The alternations below are acceptable as they constitute parallel segments embodying a substitute as a replacement for the Tetragrammaton. Here is an

example of an alternation of *Lord* for *LORD*.

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהֹוָה (*Blessed are You , O LORD*.) (Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10)

ברוך אתה אדוני (*Blessed are You, O Lord*.) (1QHᵃ XIII, 22)

However, when we record occurrences to compute the number of alternations in a scroll, such as the *Hodayot*, which uses a number of formulaic introductions to *Hodayot* or prayers, only one case is counted for all similar forms, for example, the alternation of אדוני (*Lord)* for יהוה (*LORD*).

ברוך אתה אדוני may appear many times, but is only counted once in a single manuscript.

Here is an example of an alternation of *LORD* for *LORD of Hosts*.

כי א מאסו את תורת יהוה צבאות (*because they have rejected the Law of the LORD of Hosts*) (Isa 5:24)

הם אשר מאסו את תורת יהוה (*those who have rejected the Law of the LORD.)* (4Q162 II, 7)

2. *REJECTED QUOTATIONS*

Quotations that do not constitute parallel segments with the MT are rejected. For that reason, this form of alternation was excluded from our corpus. בִּלְתֶּךָ is a particle meaning "except" followed with a 2ⁿᵈ person pronoun. There is no mention of *YHWH* as an alternation for אלוה. בִּלְעָדָיו is a preposition meaning "without" followed by a 3ʳᵈ person pronoun.

כִּי אֵין בִּלְתֶּךָ (*there is no one but You*) (1 Sam 2:2).

כיא אין אלוה מֹבֹלעדיו (*there is no God but Him*) (4Q377 2ii, 8).

Besides the alternation types in square script mentioned above, writing traditions for the divine names in Qumran may be considered as another set of alternation types. As opposed to the previous category, not all of these quotations are from the Hebrew Bible.

1. In some texts written in the square script, the divine name was written in paleo-Hebrew characters.[21]

2. Tetrapuncta were found in texts to represent the Tetragrammaton, in eight non-biblical and biblical texts written in the Qumran scribal practice as well as in four additional Qumran texts.[22]

3. A dicolon (:) constitutes a warning to the sacred character of the Tetragrammaton (4QRP[b]) when placed before the Tetragrammaton (written in the square script in 4QRP[b]).[23]

The table below is my classification of alternations found in the Qumran non-biblical manuscripts and includes writing traditions:

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[21] Tov, "Scribal Notations in the Texts from the Judaean Desert" (*DJD XXXIX,* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 2002), 347. Cf. Table 15 Divine Names.
[22] For further information refer to Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 218.
[23] 4QRP[b](4Q364) passim, e.g. 26b II +e 2 (Deut. 9:25?).

(Appendix B) Key of alternations

Symbol or alternation type	Alternation in DSS for יהוה in biblical quotation
a0	No alternation. The same wording used in the biblical allusion or quotation from MT and the biblical text from the Judean Desert (DSSB) and in the corresponding Qumran verse for a reference to the divine name
a1	אדוני for יהוה (*Lord* for *LORD*)
a2	יהוה for אדוני יהוה (*LORD* for *LORD* our *God*)
a3	יהוה אלהים for יהוה (*LORD God* for *LORD)*
a4	אל for יהוה צבאות (*God* for *LORD of Hosts*)
a5	אל for יהוה (*God for LORD*)
a6	אלהי אלהים for יהוה אלהים (*Lord, your God*) for (*LORD God*)
a7	אלהים (*God*) for יהוה אלהים (the *LORD God*)
a8	אונ הו for יהוה (*God Almighty* for the *LORD*)
a9	הוא, הואהא for יהוה (*He* for *LORD*)
a10	אל ישראל for יהוה (*God of Israel* for *LORD*)
a11	האֹמת for יהוה (*Truth* for *LORD*)
a12	•••• for יהוה (Tetrapuncta substitute for יהוה (*LORD* for *LORD*)
a12a	אלהים •••• for אלהים (*LORD God* for *Lord*)
a13	אל אלים for יהוה (*God of Gods* for *LORD)*
a14	אל הצדק for יהוה (*Righteousness of God for LORD*)
a15	אלהים for יהוה (*God for the LORD*)
a16	יהוה for יהוה צבאות (*LORD* for *LORD of Hosts*)
a17	אל עליון for ֹיהוה (*God Most High* for the *LORD*)
a18	יהוה for יהוה אלוהים (*Lord* for the *LORD God*)
a19	שמך ישעי for יהוה (*Your name* is *my deliverance* for *LORD*)
a20	אל חי for יהוה אלוהים (*Living God* for the *LORD God*)
a21	אנוכי for יהוה אלוהים (*I myself for the LORD God)*
a22	מלכי צדק for יהוה (*Melchizedek for LORD*)
a23	יהוה (paleo-Hebrew) for יהוה (*LORD for the LORD*)
a24	יהוה (paleo-Hebrew) for אדוני (*LORD for the Lord*)

Symbol or alternation type	Alternation in DSS for יהוה in biblical quotation
a25	יהוה (paleo-Hebrew) for יהוה אלוהים (*LORD for the LORD God*)
a26	Paleo-Hebrew Elohim (*God*) (paleo-Hebrew)
a27	אדוני יהוה (יהוה paleo-Hebrew) for יהוה אדוני (*LORD* (paleo-Hebrew) *God for LORD God*)
a28	יהוה צבאות (יהוה paleo-Hebrew) for יהוה צבאות (*LORD* [paleo-Hebrew] of *Hosts* for *LORD of Hosts*)
a29	יהוה for יהוה : (dicolon) (*LORD* for *LORD*)
a30	יהוה for יהוה אלוהים : (dicolon) (*LORD* for *LORD our God*)
a31	יהוה אלוהים for יהוה אלוהים : (dicolon) (*LORD our God* for *LORD our God*)
a32	אל (for יהוה) in paleo-Hebrew (*God for LORD*) (paleo-Hebrew)
a33	שם for יהוה (*Name* for *LORD*)

Examples for the specific classes of alternations in textual alternations displaying the

dicolon and the four or five dots include:

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה סָלַחְתִּי כִּדְבָרֶךָ (*And the LORD said, I have pardoned according to your word*) (Num 14:20)

[וִ]וֹ̊אמֹר: יהוה סֹל[חתי כדבריכה (*And the L]ORD said, [I] have par[doned according to your word.*])[24] (4Q364 18 V) (a29)

4Q248 1 V [וה]י�̊עביר •••• רוח [(*and the LORD shall cause a spirit*)

See DJD XXXVI : Alternation of •••• for יהוה (a12)

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[24] Translation: mine.

After collecting divine names alternations from Lange and Weigold's list and determining

criteria for selecting acceptable quotations, the findings were then organized into tables. A

table (Appendix C) lists the alternations by types on the basis of a key of alternations

(Appendix B), categorizing alternations into types such as a0: no alternation, or a1:

alternation of אדוני (*Adonai*) (Qumran text) for יהוה (*YHWH*) (MT). See Appendix B for

details.

Thirty-three types of alternations for the Tetragrammaton were identified in

Appendix B in the scrolls from the *Torah* to the *Nevi'im*.[25] Appendix B lists alternations

found in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts as substitutes for the Tetragrammaton. (See

below for some examples of alternations in Appendix B).

Appendix B: Key of Alternations

Symbol or alternation type	Alternation in DSS for יהוה in biblical quotation
a1	אדוני (*Adonai*) (*Lord*) for יהוה (*YHWH*) (*LORD*)
a2	אדוני יהוה (*Adonai YHWH*) (*LORD God*) for יהוה
a3	יהוה אלהים (*YHWH Elohim*) (*LORD* my God) for אדוני יהוה (*Adonai YHWH*) (*LORD* God)

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[25] Appendix B was created on the model compiled for DSS biblical manuscripts by Prof. Abegg who compared alternations of divine names in the Masoretic text and in biblical manuscripts found in Qumran. I am deeply grateful to Prof. Abegg to have communicated me this piece of research, which allows a comparison between alternations in DSS biblical manuscripts and Qumran non-biblical manuscripts.

Appendix D features divine names alternations displayed by scrolls organized in

Qumran order. For an example from the *Damascus Document*, see below.

Table D1 - The *Damascus Document* (CD) Geniza A + B, 4Q266-272

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature[26]	Qumran Scribal Practice
CD VII 11	Isa 7:17	Alternation: 0 0 for (Tetragrammaton) יהוה *(LORD)*	Yes	Unsure (See footnote below.)
CD IX, 5	Nah 1:2	a9 הוא (*He*) for (Tetragrammaton) יהוה *(LORD)*	Yes	Unsure
CD XIX, 8	Zech 13:7	a4 אל (*El*) (God) for יהוה צבאות (*Lord of Hosts*)	Yes	Unsure
CD XX, 4	Isa 54:13	a5 אל (*El*) (*God*) for יהוה	Yes	Unsure
4Q266 11 9	Ps 119:12 (4Q90 1 2: 12); 1 Chr 29:10	a8 אונ הו (*God Almighty*) (abbreviation for for יהוה) (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
4Q267 f9i, 2		a32 אל (*El*) (*God*) (paleo-Hebrew)	Yes	Yes

CHAPTER 2: THE POWER OF A NAME IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST AND DIVINE NAMES IN THE HEBREW BIBLE AND THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

NAMES IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

The analysis of divine names alternations has to be understood within the context of the Ancient Near Eastern world. In the ancient Semitic world, names were endowed with particular power and significance. As Parke-Taylor commented, a name was viewed as an intrinsic part of identity and being: "The essential character of a man is concentrated in his name."[27] A name may also define the essential character of the designated person. In Gen 27:36, the name "Jacob" emphasizes the connection between the name and character; Jacob's name initially meant "supplanter" and "cheater."[28] When Jacob's name was changed to *Isra-El* (Gen 32:28-29; 35:10), it was accompanied by a dramatic transformation of Jacob's personality. He no longer displayed a roguish or crafty disposition. Jacob had "prevailed with beings divine and human" and his theophoric name, now integrating the divine name *El,* means: "He who strives with God" or "God strives."

Creation was not complete without the designation created by a name; for instance in Gen 2:19, 2:20 naming occurs after the creation. Henry O. Thompson, as well, noted that the act of naming every living creature "gave dominion … over every living thing."[29] Thus, naming gave Adam dominion over every animal he designated.

> And out of the ground the LORD God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof.

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[27] Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh*, 2.
[28] Parke-Taylor*, Yahweh*, 2.

And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every
beast of the field (Gen 2:19-20 KJV).[30]

Martin Rose noted that the name was a "distinguishing" mark[31] while Parke-Taylor

notes that Umberto Cassuto considered that the naming was an instrument for ordering

and structuring creation. In the *Commentary of the Book of Exodus*, Parke-Tayor underlined

the importance of the naming by stating that "whatever is without appellation does not

exist, but whatever has denomination has existence."[32]

A name referred to the object and person and served as an instrument in

communication and exchanges in religious matters. In that context, the knowledge of the

name gives rise to practices such as human appeals to the divinity and cultic prayers. As we

can see from the examples recorded in Gen 4:26, 12:8, 13:4, 26:25, and 1 Kgs 18:24, calling

on the name of the LORD is part of religious worship.[33]

However, a name could also be used in curses and magic and could be an instrument

of destruction when used in a hostile context.[34] In Egypt, near the beginning of the second

millennium B.C.E., deadly curses were directed against the enemy. In the Egyptian

execration texts of the Middle Kingdom, curses were inscribed on pottery bowls in which

the names of hostile Asiatic princes were specifically mentioned. The ritual smashing of

these vessels was more than symbolic. The names of the rebels represented their "essence"

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[29] Henry O. Thompson, "YAHWEH," *ABD* 6:1011-1012.
[30] King James Version (KJV) with Strong Numbers.
[31] Martin Rose, "Names of God in the OT," *ABD* 4:1001-11.
[32] Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh*, 1. See also Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary of the Book of Exodus* (trans. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magness, 1967), 37, "Whatever is without an appellation does not exist, but whatever has a denomination has existence."
[33] Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh*, 13.
[34] Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh*, 1.

or actuality. To destroy the names was to destroy the enemy rulers themselves. In effect, the destruction of the name was tantamount to destroying the enemy.[35]

The knowledge of the name gave a specific power over the object or person named. The action described in smashing the bowls illustrates the connection between names and magic. The name of the individual was used in magical spells and incantations, and the knowledge of the name gave power over the bearer of the name.[36]

DEVELOPMENT OF THE NAME *YHWH*

The designation of divine names was impacted by these beliefs in the power of the name, and the concept of an inextricable link between the name and the essence of the person or the object. In the Ancient Near Eastern cultures, there was a belief that names assigned to human beings made a statement about their character and reputation. In the same way, divine names embodied the conceptions of a God of a particular religion. Similarly, the name *YHWH* was charged with powers associated with divinity.[37]

The name *YHWH* was associated with two very different concepts: the religion of the Patriarchs and the Yahwistic faith. The gods of the Patriarchs were originally "distinct deities" linked with the names of the patriarchs, such as "the God of Abraham, the Fear (...) of Isaac and the 'mighty One of Jacob, later the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.'"[38] In the

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[35] Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh,* 1; Rose, "Names of God," 4:1001-11.
[36] Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh*, 1; Rose, "Names of God," 4:1001-11.
[37] Thompson, *ABD 6*:1011-12; see also, Raymond Abba, "The Divine Name Yahweh*," JBL* 80, (1961): 321-322; Frank M. Cross, "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs," *HTR* 55 (1962): 256; Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh,* 1-17; S. Cohon, "The Name of God, A Study in Rabbinic Theology," *HUCA* 33 (1951): 585.
[38] Frank M. Cross, "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs," *HTR* 55 (1962): 226.

*El*ohistic tradition, God introduces himself to Moses, speaking face to face with him

(Exod 3:4, 15). He then recalls his long-standing connection with the patriarchs before

revealing his name to Moses, which had been until then unknown to the patriarchs, Israel's

ancestors at the time of Moses. This text combines two themes: continuity and

discontinuity. Exodus refers to the continuity between the religion of the Fathers and the

Yahwistic faith, but also highlights the fact they were historically distinct and belonged to

two stages in a historical development.

The alternation of the name *YHWH* for *El Shaddai* illustrates the transition from the

God of the Patriarchs to *YHWH.* The priestly tradition in Exod 6:2-3, although pointing in

the same direction, acknowledges a cleavage between the ancient time and the Yahwistic

era, even though it acknowledges the identity of the God of the Patriarchs and *YHWH*.[39]

> And God said to Moses. . .'I am *Yahweh.* And I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac
> and to Jacob as *El Shaddai*; but by my name *Yahweh*, I was not known to them
> (Exod 6:2-3 KJV).

The revelation of the Name, the Tetragrammaton, opens a new relationship between

the Israelites and the God of Israel. Cross and Talené disagree about the implications of the

revelation of the name Yahweh.[40] Cross emphasizes the initial connection between *YHWH*

and *El* and the interchange between the two cults, the Religion of the Fathers and the

Yahwistic faith. Talené, on the other hand, insists on the dissimilation between the two

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[39] Abba, "Divine Name*,"* 321-322; see also Cross, "Yahweh*,"* 256.
[40] Cross, "Yahweh," 256.

religions and claims *El* was organically innate in Yahwism centered on the concept of the "Jealous *El* of Isra-*El*."[41]

The Covenant Contract (between *YHWH* and Israel) is revealed by the epithet אל קנא, Jealous *El,*" (11Q19 II, 12), which expresses *YHWH*'s desire to be the only God of his people Israel because he is a jealous God who punishes those who serve any other God (Exod 20:5c; Deut 4:24; 6:14-15; Josh 24:20). The position taken here is that the epithet Jealous *El* is most effective in that it serves as a means of assimilating the familiar *El* language that pervades the patriarchal material, while simultaneously dissimilating the Jealous *El* from any other god, including the Canaanite *El*.

For Talené, the concept underlying the divine epithet "the jealous *El*", אֵל קַנָּא, was the determining force that contributed to shape *YHWH*'s religion into a distinctive faith and helped it to remain distinct from the *El* religion*.*

The God revered at Qumran may have retained traces of the God of the Patriarchs as the Israelites worshipped a God clearly associated with Israel, but the theological connection between the Canaanite *El* and *YHWH* had been severed. My research concerning alternations in Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran shows that in texts not featuring the Tetragrammaton, *El* had become a common form of alternation for *YHWH.*[42]

El had become a form of alternation for *YHWH,* which appeared to be characteristic of Qumran non-biblical manuscripts in some texts, but was never used as a substitute for *YHWH* in the Dead Sea Scrolls Biblical Corpus – Canonical Texts (DSSBC), as is suggested

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41 Steven Talené, "The Jealous El of Isra-El" (M. A. thesis, Trinity Western University, 2012), abstract.
42 See Chapter 8, "Scrolls circumventing the Tetragrammaton: *YHWH* The Ineffable Name."

by the alternations between the DSS and DSSBC. *El* does occur in the DSSBC but not as a replacement for the Tetragrammaton. However, *El* is used in the DSS both as an alternation for the name יהוה (*YHWH*) appearing in scriptural quotations in the DSS, and as a common substitute for יהוה (*YHWH*). In 4Q99 4-5:3 (4QJob[a]) in DSSB-C, an אל (*El*) alternation was used as a substitute for אלוֹה (God) featured in Job 33:26 in the MT.[43]

INTRODUCTION TO DIVINE NAMES IN THE MT

אלוהים (*Elohim*)

The Hebrew Bible includes terms which constitute alternations for the name *YHWH* where some divine names are used as replacements for the name *YHWH*. The list of divine names used as alternations includes אלוהים (*Elohim*), יה (*YH*), אדני (*Adonai*) and divine names compounded with אל (*El*), such as אל עליון (*El Elyon*), אל אולם (*El Olam*), שדי אל (*El Shaddai*), אל קנא (*El Qana*), יהוה צבאות (*YHWH Sebaoth*). References to some of these names appear in the non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls as alternations for the name *YHWH,* such as *Elohim.*

The name *Elohim* is discussed below in the context of the alternations for the name *YHWH* used in Qumran. *Elohim* is found in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts (405 occurrences without reconstructions). It is used more often in Qumran than the Tetragrammaton (336 occurrences). In *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* the word *Elohim*

occurs 2600 times. [44]

Martin Rosel states that, as in the latter parts of the Hebrew Scriptures, *El* is a common designation for God in the Dead Sea Scrolls. However, *Elohim* can also be found, although less frequently, as a parallel and interchangeable term for *El* (e.g., "Sons of *El*" [Ps 29:1; 89:7] and Sons of *Elohim* [Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7] and 4Q375, 4Q378, 4Q379).[45] Others, such as Rose, claim that the form *El* is found mostly in older texts (or archaizing texts) in the HB. *Elohim Israel* appears in the *Masoretic* Text (MT) 198 times as *Elohei Israel*. Only one occurrence can be found with *El Israel*, namely in Ps 68:36. On the other hand, in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts, *El Israel* appears 104 times and *Elohei Israel* six times. This finding suggests that *Elohei Israel* (אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) is used predominantly in the MT; whereas, *El Israel* is used most often in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts. Rose's hypothesis that *El* is a term found in older texts could be reviewed on the grounds that the expression *Elohei Israel* (אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) in Judg 5:5 dates back to the Song of Deborah in the 11th century B.C.E. Our research also confirmed that *El* is a term frequently used in documents in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts as a replacement for *YHWH*. A. Murtonen posits "*Elohim* is a plural of *Eloha*" (masc. sing. common noun for God).[46]

In Qumran non-biblical manuscripts, אֱלֹהֵי in [אלוה]ינו [אלו]הי (*God* our *God*) constitutes an alternation to יהוה. In biblical verses in the HB and in DSSB Isa 57:21 אֱלֹהֵי is

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[44] The Masoretic Text was accessed by the means of the BHS-W4 module: Oak Tree Software, "Accordance Bible Software," [accessed April 12, 2013]. Online: http://www.accordancebible.com/.

[45] Martin Rosel, "Names of God," *EnclDSS* 1:601-92. See also Rose, "Names of God in the OT," *ABD* 6:1006.

[46] Parke-Taylor, "Divine Name," 34, footnote 21, refers to A. Murtonen, *A Philological and Literary Treatise of the Old Testament Divine Names* (Helsinski: 1952), 42. Parke-Taylor notes that Murtonen points out that "elohim is a plural of Eloah. "The singular meaning, 'a god,' appears at least as early as the Ras Shamra texts."

an alternation for יהוה. יהוה is found in the parallel scriptural quotation in Isa 48:22. The

alternation אלוהי appears in Qumran in verses corresponding to Isa 47:21: 1Q8 IV, 52; 1Q8

XXV, 5; 4Q58 XII, 5, 6; however, the alternation יהוה is found in verses corresponding to Isa

48:22: 1Q8 XXI 8 and 4Q58 IV, 6. אֱלֹהֵי displays the same ending as Adonai. The alternation

אֱלֹהָי is unusual and was not identified previously and only two occurrences of the form are

found in 1Q22 in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts (1Q22 1 II, 1 6 and 1Q22 1 III, 6).

Martin Abegg found that a number of alternations in DSS biblical manuscripts

related to the name *Elohim* were not found in Qumran. These included   יהוה אלהים for

יהוה (*YHWH* for *YHWH Elohim*), אלהים for יהוה אלהים (*Elohim* for *YHWH Elohim*), יהוה for

אלהים (*YHWH for Elohim*), יהוה אלהים for אדני יהוה (*Adonai YHWH* for *YHWH Elohim*),

אדני יהוה for אדני יהוה (*Adonai Elohim* for *Adonai YHWH*), יהוה אלהים for אדני אלהים

(*YHWH Elohim* for *Adonai YHWH*), אדני אלהים for אדני (*Adonai Elohim* for *Adonai*), צבאות

יהוה for יהוה אלהים צבאות (*YHWH tsevaoth* for *YHWH Elohim Tsevaoth*), and אלהים for

אדני (*Elohim* for *Adonai*). In summary, alternations related to the name *Elohim* occurring

in the DSS biblical manuscripts were not found in Qumran. [47]

אדני (*Adonai*)

Adonai is a term frequently encountered as well in Qumran non-Biblical

manuscripts as an alternation for the Tetragrammaton. The ending "ai" represents either

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[47] Abegg, DSSB notes, 2014. Alternation of אל (*El*) (God) for יהוה (16x) (not found in DSSB) a5. CD III, 8; CD XX, 4; CD XX, 19; 1QS XI, 15; 1QSb V, 25; 1QM IV, 6; 1QM IV, 7 (2x); 1QM XV, 3; 1QM XIX 11; 1QHa 1 XIV, 32; 1QHa XIX, 32; 1QHa XXII: 34; 4Q492 1-10; 11Q13 II, 4; 11Q13 II, 11. Note: 4Q99 4-5 3 Alternation of אל (*El*) for Job 33:26 אלוה (God) (MT).

"my lords" or an emphatic substantival affirmative "Lord par excellence."[48]

At some point, *Adonai* became a substitute for the Tetragrammaton, a name which was, by then, considered too sacred to be expressed.[49] The avoidance of the Tetragrammaton became the practice and *Adonai* had to be read in prayers and in every occurrence in the Hebrew Bible by the Second Temple Period. Later on the avoidance to utter the divine name extended to *Adonai*. In the Dead Sea Scrolls as well, we observe that the *Yahad* imposed a strict prohibition forbidding the members to pronounce not only the Tetragrammaton, but also its substitutes such as *Aleph Daled* (*Adonai*).[50] At Qumran the alternation of *Adonai* for the Tetragrammaton appeared in a number of scrolls.

יהוה צבאות (*YHWH Sebaoth*)

YHWH Sebaoth is a form frequently recurring in MT and is usually translated as "Lord of Hosts." At Qumran, it is used much less often proportionately for the size of the DSS as opposed to the MT. Therefore, although it is a characteristic name in the MT, it is much less part of the "language" used in Qumran to refer to the Tetragrammaton .

EL AND THE GOD OF THE PATRIARCHS

In the HB the term *El* occurs frequently; *El* is used by the authors of the texts as well as the term *YHWH*. According to Rose, "*El* is not a divine name but a common Semitic

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[48] Rose, "Names of God," 6:1008.
[49] Parke-Taylor, "Divine Name," 9. See also, R. Gordis, *The Biblical Text in the Making* (1937; repr. N.Y.:Ktav, 1971), xvii. The oldest Kethibh-Qere appears in the Tetragrammaton, which was recognized in the Talmud as a *Qere Perpetuum:* "Not as I am written am I read: I am written *Yod He* and I am read *Aleph Daled* (i.e. *Adonai*) (B. Pesahim, 50a)." See also Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1QS VI 27-VII 1 and CD XV 1-3.
[50] Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 68.

appellative for the 'divinity.'"[51] However, Cross views *El* as a deity worshiped in Canaan. Based on the etymology of *YHWH*, he claims that the best explanation would be to conclude that originally *YHWH* was a cultic name of *El*. Cross distinguishes a number of strains which entered Yahwism. For instance, *YHWH* was regarded as a tutelary deity entered into an intimate relationship with a social group. *YHWH* was the god who brought Israel from the land of Egypt. A second strain entered Yahwism as well, "that of the high and eternal one, 'El the creator of heaven and earth.'" [52]

The alternation of *El* as *YHWH* in the HB was not a normative practice if we use the MT as a reference. However, our research shows that in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts, which do not feature the Tetragrammaton, *El* is featured repeatedly as a substitute (alternation) for the name *YHWH.*

El epithets: אל עולם (*El Olam*), אל עליון (*El Elyon*), אל שדי (*El Shaddai*)

These three *El* compound names occur in the MT and in Qumran manuscripts: *El Olam* (Gen 21:33,); Qumran (1QHa XV, 34; 4Q286 VII, 1; 4Q405 XIX, 3; 11Q17 VI, 4); *El Elyon* (Gen 14:18-20, 22; Ps 78:35); Qumran (20 occurrences); *El Shaddai* (Gen 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; 43:14; 48:3; 49:25); Qumran (4Q252 III, 12).

אל עולם (EL OLAM)

Cross suggests the possibility of two readings for these appellations characteristic of patriarchal times: *El* can be read as a generic term "god" in apposition with a divine name, or with a substantive in a genitive relationship, or the first element can be read as the

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[51] Rose, "Names of God," 1004; Cross, "Yahweh," 225-259; esp. 256.
[52] Cross, "Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs," 259.

proper name *El*, and the second element as an appellation of the old deity *Olam* arising out

of a liturgical or mythological cliché. *El Olam* may signify "the god *Olam*" or the "God of

Eternity"or "*El* the Eternal One."

Therefore, in the MT, the name resonates with reminiscences of Canaanite cultic

rituals, but in Qumran Hebrew, the name *El Olam* stands for the Eternal one.[53]

<div align="center">אל עליון (EL ELYON)</div>

As with *El Olam*, the name *El Elyon* resonates with original associations with the cult

of the Canaanite *El* and is paired in the patriarchal narratives with the liturgical formula

possessor of Heaven and Earth (Gen14:19, 22). However, the original Canaanite *El* epithets

were subsumed under the name of Israel's deity, *YHWH*.[54]

<div align="center">אל שדי (EL SHADDAI)</div>

Who is *El Shaddai*? It appears to be the most mysterious of the names of the God of

the patriarchs. The full title *El Shaddai* appears in Exod 6:3 and is referred to as the name

by which *YHWH* is known. *El Shaddai* occurs in Gen 17:1, 28:3, 35:11, 43:14, 48:3, 49:25

and *Shaddai* alone is found in Num 24:4, 16. Thirty-one references to *Shaddai* are found in

the book of Job.[55] The name also occurs in Ps 68:14 (Heb. v. 15); Ps 91:1; Ruth 1:20, 21;

and Ezek 1:24. The full title appears in Ezek 10:5.

However, in the prehistory narrated in the book of Genesis, the Priestly author uses

the expression *Shaddai* (or *Elohim*). In other words, in spite of the fact that *Shaddai* may be

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[53] Cross, "Yahweh," 238-241.
[54] Parke Taylor, "Yahweh," 39. See also, Cross, "Yahweh," 225-259.
[55] Parke Taylor, "Yahweh," 37.

rooted in Amorite or Canaanite mythology, the priestly author of Genesis viewed the name

as an alternate form of *YHWH*. Cross suggests other options: "Sadday was an old Amorite

deity who was early identified by the Fathers with Canaanite '*El*."[56] Sadday might also be an

epithet of Amorite '*El*. In both cases, Cross emphasizes the connection between the

primitive religion and Cananite lore.[57]

Among the Qumran manuscripts, only very few occurrences of *El Shaddai* are found:

in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts: 4Q252 3 12; In the DSSB, out of three possible

occurrences, two of them (4Q12 2 and 4Q5 8 8) are totally reconstructed; therefore, it is

not a very common form of alternation at Qumran.

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[56] Cross, "Yahweh," 250.
[57] Cross, "Yahweh," 253.

Divine names used as alternations in the HB include *Elohim*, *Yah, Adonai, El*, (*El*) *Elyon*, (*El*) *Olam*, (*El*) *Shaddai, El Qana, El Sebaoth.* In the research conducted on divine names, we briefly reviewed the evolution of these names from their original association with Canaanite traditions and cults to their actual use in Qumran as alternations for *YHWH*.

El and the God of the patriarchs—the *El* epithets, *El Olam*, *El Elyon,* and *El Shaddai* are divine names that had been associated with the God of the Patriarchs and the *El* religion in the HB. In his analysis, Cross distinguishes between two historically distinct traditions that were related to different stages of historical development: The God of the Fathers and the Mosaic religion.

In conclusion, this review highlights some debates among scholars about the origins and history of divine names and points out differences in the use of language related to divine names in Dead Sea Scrolls. At Qumran, the use of language is influenced by biblical literature and the community defined itself as the "true root of Israel" (e.g., CD I, 7-8).[58] However, an examination of the use of divine names reveals differences between Qumran and the DSS biblical manuscripts as well as between Qumran and the MT.

According to Schniedewind, Qumran Hebrew is an "antilanguage" created by conscious linguistic choices to set the speakers and their language apart from others. Did the community construct a distinct language—"an antilanguage"—as a means to

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[58] William W. Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew as an antilanguage," *JBL* 118 (1999): 235-252. Schniedewind links the language to the society generating the language.

"differentiate and further insulate themselves?"[59] As we have shown earlier in this chapter, the examination of alternations for divine names in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts seems to point in the direction of the authors using different language choices or traditions in these scrolls. Comparisons of divine name alternations highlight a number of variants between the MT and the DSS biblical manuscripts. However, the discrepancies are much more evident if we consider the use of divine names in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts and compare them to the MT.

Qumran non-biblical manuscripts feature semantic divergences from the Hebrew Bible for divine names. For example, the alternation of *YHWH* for *Adonai YHWH* (יהוה for אדני יהוה) is not featured in Qumran. Additionally, *El* and divine names compounded with *El* no longer convey in Qumran the same Canaanite associations as the ones in the MT as they are used as alternations or replacements for the Tetragrammaton. As a result, it becomes a metonym for LORD, *Elohim* or *Adonai* and is used as an alternation for the Tetragrammaton in texts systematically avoiding using the name *YHWH*.[60]

Moreover, the use of divine names compounded with *El* includes phrases which are in common use in Qumran manuscripts and which occur much less frequently in the HB: (אל ישראל [*God of Israel*], אל יהוה [*the LORD*], אל חי [*the living God*]). אל צדק is an example of the use of a divine name which is characteristic of the Qumran literature, since it constitutes an alternation for *YHWH* at Qumran and appears only once in the MT.

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[59] Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew," 235.
[60] CD III, 8, CD XX, 4, CD XX, 19, 1QS XI, 15, 1QSb V, 25, 1QM IV, 6, 1QM IV, 7 (2x), 1QM XV, 3, 1QM XIX, 11, 1QHᵃ XIV, 32, 1QHᵃ XIX, 32, 1QHᵃ XXII, 34, 4Q492 1-10, 11Q13 II, 4, 11Q13 II, 11.

On the syntactical level, some of the compounded structures of divine names are also distinctive in the Qumran non-biblical manuscripts usage since they differ from the MT. In the HB, we find numerous occurrences of *Elohei* Israel; whereas, this alternation is only found three times in non-biblical manuscripts (4Q368 2 16, 4Q466 1 2; 4Q522 9 II, 5). On the other hand, Qumran commonly uses אל ישראל (104 occurances) while this phrase only appears eleven times in the MT. Qumran Hebrew also features unusual alternations such as (אלו[הי אלוה]ינו) *Elohai Elohenou* (1Q22 1 II, 6; 1 III, 6 and 1 II, 1). [61] The term (אלהי) *Elohai* is used as an alternation for יהוה.[62]

An examination of terminological differences in divine names between the MT and Qumran language had already been done by Abegg through the compilation of alternations between the MT and DSS biblical manuscripts.[63] Our study supplements the information collected by Abegg and substantiates the existence of specific usages for divine names in Qumran by compiling and examining alternations that emerge from quotations of scriptural verses in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts and from writing traditions, such as the use of paleo-Hebrew writing for divine names. The section "Analysis of Alternations" (Appendix B) includes a compilation of alternations featured in a group of texts selected on the basis of *El* alternations to the Tetragrammaton in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts not featuring the Tetragrammaton. That section offers an insight on the language used in non-normative texts in Qumran.

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[61] Abegg's personal correspondence, as suggested by Eibert Tigchelaar. 10/19/04.
[62] See Isa 48:22; 57:21.
[63] Abegg, personal notes to the Dead Sea Scrolls Biblical Texts Accordance module, 2014.

CHAPTER 3: THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS, THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY, AND THE TETRAGRAMMATON

This chapter examines the nature of the Dead Sea Scrolls and their connection with the community at Qumran. The previous chapter explored the meaning of names in the Ancient Near Eastern world in order to clarify their approach to names and to explore the origin and meaning of divine names in the Hebrew Bible and at Qumran. We will now focus on the connections between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community as a background for the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton. I will consider the question: What do we know about the community, the *Yahad,* and their religious life and beliefs? The following investigation intends to highlight the causes of the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton, the ineffable name in the *Yahad*.[64] The exploration sets the stage for my study on alternations in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts investigating alternations for biblical verses quoting the Tetragrammaton. Although the Tetragrammaton is featured in some of the biblical quotations appearing in the Qumran non-biblical manuscripts, it does not appear in the group of texts selected for the study in the Dead Sea Scrolls which are characterized by the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton and the use of *El* and of other alternations as substitutes.

WHAT ARE THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS?

The term, "Dead Sea Scrolls," is the designation usually associated with the manuscripts found in the eleven caves near wadi Qumran. Some were in jars, others were

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[64] CD XV, 1-3; 1QS VI, 27; 1QS VII, 1.

just shredded fragments scattered over the cave floors. A few of the scrolls were intact or in

good condition, but most were very fragmented. Scholars refer to these manuscripts as

"Qumran scrolls" or the "library of Qumran*.*" The scrolls were written in Hebrew, Aramaic,

and Greek. The term Dead Sea Scrolls refers to all the finds from the Judean Desert dating

from the fourth century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. This larger group of scrolls were

found in a number of sites: Wadi Dalyeh, Ketef Jericho, Qumran, Khirbet Mird, Wadi

Murabba'at, Wadi Sdeir (=Nahal David), Nahal Hever (= Seiyal) Nahal Mishmar, Nahal

Se'elim, and Masada, as well as Qumran.[65] However, our study focuses on the manuscripts

from the Qumran site rather than on all the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Most scrolls in the Qumran caves were Jewish religious texts, although a few

documentary texts were also found. The collection included biblical texts, apocryphal and

pseudepigraphic compositions, halakhic (legal) discussions, prayers and liturgical

compositions, and sectarian works. The term "corpus" implies that the scrolls formed an

intentional collection of selected works, or in the words of Jodi Magness "the scrolls

represent a religious library.*"*[66]

In her work on the archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls, Magness states:

"It is precisely this literary character (a religious library) which makes this collection a

library, especially in light of the fact that in many cases the collection contains several

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[65] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 3.
[66] Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 34. Qumran non-biblical manuscripts covers the collection made up of documents that do not belong to the traditional content of the Hebrew Bible, although there was no agreement at that time about the books that constituted the canon. According to Jody Magness, the MT became authoritative around 100 CE (*Archaeology of Qumran,* 34-35). Magness concurs with Devorah Dimant about the fact the Dead Sea Scrolls constitute a religious library at Qumran. Devorah Dimant, "The Library of Qumran: Its Content and Character," in Schiffman, Tov and VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery*: *Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997*. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society: 2000),170-76.

copies of the same writing." Devorah Dimant noted that Cave 4 yielded about three-quarters of the entire collection and that each cave contained at least one copy of a work found in Cave 4. The scrolls also reflect a distinctly sectarian point of view. By sectarian, Dimant meant that they explicitly related to the life and ideas of the community. [67]

Magness argues, however, that all the documents of the collection belong to a library on the basis that the same scribes working on sectarian documents copied manuscripts from different caves. She supports her view further by stating that the nature of these manuscripts was not homogeneous: some were biblical, but others were difficult to characterize because the documents may have been texts not explicitly related to the community, such as apocalyptic works.[68]

Alison Schofield challenges Magness' thesis about the extent of the connection between the scrolls and the community.[69] After a review of various other hypotheses about the nature of Qumran, such as whether it was a fortress or a villa, Schofield does not divorce the scrolls from the site. However, she points out that some Qumran artifacts and the cemetery have parallels with those found in other communities, a fact suggesting that members of the *Yahad* may have resided in places other than Qumran. Schofield concludes that Qumran functioned as a focal point of a "community-as-temple arrangement" and served as a hierarchical centre and place of central exegetical activity. However, the *Yahad* could have had other centres or branches. Qumran, a desert settlement which had existed

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[67] Devorah Dimant, "The Library of Qumran: Its Content and Character," in Schiffman, Tov and VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery*: *Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997*. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society: 2000),170-76.
[68] Magness, Archaeology of Qumran, 34.
[69] Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*: *A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule* (STDJ 77; ed. Florentino García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 220-271.

since the middle of the previous century, may have ultimately been a final place of refuge to which members fled with their scrolls before 68 C.E., the date generally agreed to be the destruction of Qumran by the Romans.[70]

As we saw earlier, Schofield raised the possibility that scrolls could have originated from areas other than Qumran. As an example, she suggests that S (1QS *Rule of the Community*) could have developed earlier in a location other than Qumran. In this thesis, I will examine whether the configuration of divine names alternations in the scrolls, along with other criteria, such as Qumran scribal practice, sectarian content, linguistic profile, and paleo-Hebrew divine name writing traditions could contribute some information about the origins of the documents found at Qumran. Since Schofield suggests the existence of other locations for the development or the penning of some scrolls such as 1QS and CD, the connection between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the community at Qumran constitutes an important area of this research.

WHAT IS THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE COMMUNITY AT QUMRAN?

Magness suggests that some of the caves were used as a community library and that some of the works were placed in the caves for safekeeping. Several questions come to mind. Was there a link between the library and the community? Are there archaeological findings establishing the connection? Was any copying done at Qumran? Magness points

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[70] Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran,* 68. Magness compares her chronology with the one suggested by de Vaux and establishes the period of the destruction of the Qumran community to 68 C.E. After 68 C.E., she suggests that Qumran was occupied by a small garrison of Roman soldiers who inhabited part of the main building and dumped the debris that they cleared to the north of the main building and in the cisterns of the south. She agrees with de Vaux concerning the date of the Qumran destruction by the Romans.

out the presence of three inkwells in the "Scriptorium," a fact which is unusual enough in itself to claim that the room might have been used to copy scrolls. No scrolls were discovered in the settlement. However, she makes the point that the same ceramic types of pottery were discovered in the settlement and the scroll-jars in the caves. Why then are there no traces of scrolls or scroll fragments in Qumran? Magness suggests the reason is that the sectarian settlement was burnt twice, first in ca. 9/8 B.C.E. and again in 68 C.E. Therefore, the fire may well have burnt any traces of scrolls in the settlement.

Dimant also claims that the community and the library were connected. Besides the evidence of similar pottery remains found at Qumran and in the caves, she points out that some pottery forms are unique to this complex and are not found elsewhere. Furthermore, it was impossible to access some of the caves, which are man made, without passing through the Qumran site.

She concludes that, because of its proximity, the community would have used the library. Material proof of the connection between the Qumran community and the Dead Sea Scrolls was found, such as specific jars used for storing the scrolls for safekeeping in Qumran. As for the contents of the library, 25 per cent of the library consists of texts explicitly related to the life and ideas of a community, a fact indicative of a close connection with the community that lived at Qumran. Because of the proximity of the caves and the library, it is assumed that the library content reflects the community nearby.

One might argue together with Schofield, however, that the scrolls may not have been specifically describing the function of the Qumran community but may have referred

to other related groups holding the same theological views. This is an area of debate among scholars on the basis of the analysis of scrolls such as 1QS and CD.[71]

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND BELIEFS AT QUMRAN

The *Rule of the Community* (1QS VIII), also commonly called *Serekh ha-Yahad* or *Manual of Discipline*, describes the *Yahad* community organization. It lists the stringent rules governing the admission to and the life in the community and its leadership in this way: "… twelve laymen and three priests who are blameless in the light of all that has been revealed from the whole Law so as to work truth, righteousness, justice, loving-kindness, and humility, one with another*."*

The community saw their purpose laid out in Isa 40:3, cited in 1QS VIII, 14.

> The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the
> LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God (Isa 40:3 *KJV*).

> In the wilderness prepare the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a
> highway for our God (1QS VIII, 14).[72]

As Magness noted, the scrolls provide information on the beliefs and practices of the sect that used and, in some cases, composed these scrolls and deposited them in the caves in Qumran.[73]   The scrolls provides information on the sect that had fled Jerusalem to escape corruption and settled in a lifestyle which was stricter in its interpretation of Jewish law than other Jewish groups, such as the Pharisees or the rulers of the Hasmonean monarchy. Whether the members of the community were holding Essene or Saduccean beliefs is still a matter of debate. The community of Essenes described by Josephus lived in

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[71] Magness, Archaeology of Qumran, 37.
[72] 1QS VIII, 14: Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls.*
[73] Magness, Archeology of Qumran, 36.

similar Judean communities and resembles the Qumran community, although the

members' numbers seem inflated in Josephus' account.[74] Lawrence Schiffman, on the other

hand, on the basis of 4QMMT, argues that the 22 halakhic disputes enumerated in this

scroll reflect positions in harmony with Saduccean beliefs. If the DSS people were Essenes,

why would they adopt Saduccean positions on Halakhic disputes? Schiffman posits that, at

the beginning, the members of the sect came from a Saduccean background and held

Saduccean beliefs. At first, they attempted rejoining the community members who

continued to serve in the Jerusalem Temple, but when the attempt failed, they fell under

the leadership of the Teacher of Righteouness, who gave the sect its shape and direction.[75]

The *Hodayot* and 1QS reveal the religious fervour animating the members who

aimed to function as a Temple in which they were living a pure life and atoning for the land.

They applied purity laws as were required for the temple cult as a spiritual replacement for

the sacrifices held in the Temple of Jerusalem. 1QS makes this view explicit.

> They will be "the tested wall, the precious cornerstone" (Isaiah 28:16) whose
> foundations shall neither be shaken nor swayed, a fortress, a Holy of Holies
> for Aaron, all of them knowing the Covenant of Justice and thereby offering a
> sweet savour. They shall be a blameless and true house in Israel, upholding
> the covenant of eternal statutes. They shall be an acceptable sacrifice, atoning
> for the land and ringing in the verdict against evil, so that perversity ceases
> to exist (1QS VIII, 7-10).[76]

Through their avoidance of the Tetragrammaton and their ascetic lifestyle, the

members of the community realized their religious beliefs in a relentless pursuit of purity.

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[74] Schofield, From Qumran to the Yahad, 206.
[75] Schiffman, "Origin and Early History of the Qumran Sect," *BA* 58 (1995): 37-48.
[76] For coincident texts, refer to 4Q258 6. Variant recension. For coincident text, see 4Q259 2:16-17.

The life of the initiates was governed by a conception of an all-powerful God, Chief of the gods, as expressed in 1QHa.

> Behold, You are Chief of the gods and King of the glorious, Lord of every spirit and Ruler over every creature. Apart from You nothing is done, nor is there any knowing without Your will. There is no one beside You and no one approaches You in strength. No one can compare to your Glory and as to Your strength , there is no price. Who among the celebrated creatures of your Wonder can maintain the strength to take a stand before your Glory (1QH[a] XVIII, 8-11).[77]

The belief in predestination and in "the end of days or last days" are tenets fundamental to the understanding of this community. The *Yahad* community was convinced they were living in the midst of an apocalyptic battle between the forces of good and evil and viewed their role as decisive in the final battle.[78]

Was the community in Qumran unique or were there other chapters of this community in other places such as Jerusalem or Jericho? On the basis of the examination of the S history, Metso reconstructs three primary lines of textual tradition, represented by 4QS[e], 4QS[b,d], and 1QS.[79] According to Metso, these lines of development influenced one another. Schofield assumes that the three main versions underwent semi-independent development. She, then suggests, that the development of 4QS[e] and 4QS[b,d] may have taken place in another location where a community resided holding the same theological beliefs that entertained a "dialogic" connection with Qumran. Qumran would have functioned as a hierarchical centre, but was not the only branch of the *Yahad*. Since an application of my thesis is to try to determine whether divine names can help determine origins of scrolls,

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[77] VanderKam and Flint, The *Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 256.
[78] For an apocalyptic vision regarding the Last Days, see 1QSb. For Armageddon, refer to 1QM, 4Q491-496.
[79] Sarianna Metso, "The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule" (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

this debate is instrumental in our search for origins of scrolls not featuring the Tetragrammaton. It stands to reason to assume that different groups would have alternation practices specific to their groups. This is an element used in our research for building hypotheses about scrolls's origins such as in the case of CD and 1QS, or 1QM and 1QS. Again, scholars, such as Schofield, claim that Qumran would not be the only branch for groups holding similar theological beliefs.

AVOIDANCE OF THE INEFFABLE NAME, THE TETRAGRAMMATON

Scrolls, such as commentaries of Psalms (4Q171, 4Q173, 1Q16), invoke the necessity of the righteous to keep faith in God despite the apparent successes of the evil Wicked Priest and the Man of the Lie. God would give the righteous their due as well as the wicked. The theme of suffering and God's mercy, kindness, and justice is also found in *Hodayot*. CD and S include a number of regulations for the initiates. These writings constitute a testimony to the community's religious fervour and to the quest of the members for absolute purity. The members had to comply with religious observances and practices engineered to achieve the highest possible level of compliance with divine Laws. In a lifestyle totally dominated by dedication to their God and their beliefs, what was the approach of the community to the divine name represented by the Tetragrammaton?

At the start of our research on the use of the Tetragrammaton and its substitutes in the non-biblical Qumran documents, it became immediately obvious that the divine name was used much less in these documents than in the Hebrew Bible. As mentioned above, in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts, the Tetragrammaton appears once in every 472 words; whereas, in the MT, the ratio is once every 72 words. Donald W. Parry also observed that

... although the Qumran sectarians were thoroughly versed in the Hebrew Bible, they were systematic in avoiding common usage of the Tetragrammaton and Elohim in their compositions. Rather, they used a variety of techniques to avoid common usage of the Tetragrammaton and Elohim in their compositions.[80]

The word frequency for *YHWH* occurrences in Qumran includes alternations (substitutions) for יהוה such as הואהא (1QS VIII, 13) and Tetrapuncta (1QS VIII, 14). In a paper presented to the 15th World Congress of Jewish Studies, entitled *Names of God in Qumran Scrolls*, Arieh Amihai noted 344 occurrences of the Tetragrammaton in Qumran non-biblical scrolls. [81] The name *YHWH* appears 20 times when preceded with dicolons, 38 times in paleo-Hebrew script, 26 times with the Tetrapuncta, and once with a Tetrapuncta in the form of four strokes. The drop in occurrences of the Tetragrammaton is suggestive of deliberate avoidance of the Tetragrammaton or of the non-biblical status of the scrolls in the community.

After establishing comprehensive tables of alternations for every Qumran scroll, I listed scrolls that did not feature the Tetragrammaton in the Qumran non-biblical manuscripts. An excerpt is provided below.

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[80] Donald W. Parry, "Linguistic Profile of the Non-Biblical Qumran Texts: A multidimensional approach," in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection* (ed. García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert Tigchelaar; *STDJ* 61; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 217-241. *YHWH* was no. 19 in the list of occurrence of names in Qumran; whereas, it was no. 1 in the HB.

[81] Arieh Amihai, "Divine names in Qumran Scrolls" (paper presented at the 15th World Congress of Jewish Studies, Hebrew Univrsity of Jerusalem, August 2-6, 2009), 1-6.

Table D7 – (1QS) 1Q Rule of the Community (Manual of Discipline)1Q28 (4Q258-4Q259)

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
1QS II, 15	Deut 29:19	a5 אל (*El*) (*God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
1QS II, 16	Deut 29:19	a5 אל (*El*) (*God)* for יהוה (*LORD*).	Yes	Yes
1QS VIII, 13	Isa 40:3	a9 הואהא *(He)* for יהוה (*LORD*).	Yes	Yes
1QS VIII, 14	Isa 40:3	a12 •••• for (Tetragrammaton) יהוה. (*LORD*).	Yes	Yes
4Q259 III, 3-4	Isa 40:3	a11 אמת (*truth*) for יהוה (*LORD*).		Yes

Table D8 - 1Q Rule of Benedictions (Appendix B to 1QS) 1Q28b=1QSb

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
1QSb III, 1	Num 6:26	a1 אדוני (*Lord*) for יהוה. (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
1QSb V, 25	Isa 11:2	a5 אל (*El*) (*God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes

Table D6 - 1Q Mysteries (1QMyst) (1Q27, 4Q299-301)

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
1Q27 1II, 11		a32 אל (*El*) (*God*) (paleo-Hebrew) in paleo-Hebrew	Yes?	Yes
4Q299 3aII-b, 12	Exod 15:3	a9 הוא (*He*) for יְהוָה (*LORD*)	Yes?	Yes

As we can see in the above texts, writing traditions such as the Tetrapuncta and paleo-Hebrew *El* figured among the alternations exhibited in these scrolls. I divided the group of texts characterized by the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton into two groups

called A and B.[82] Group A includes only square script alternations and Tetrapuncta; whereas, Group B covers alternations that occur when writing traditions change, such as paleo-Hebrew.

Our research shows that the most recurring alternation in quotations of scriptural units was the name *El* for *YHWH*. Tetrapuncta alternations for *YHWH* were used as frequently as *El*, although these two styles were popular in different periods.

How are we to explain the fact that there were still 344 occurrences (bracketed words are excluded) of the name *YHWH*? A number of scrolls exhibited the name *YHWH* without alternations. Some writing traditions, such as dicolons, also emphasized and alerted to the presence of the Tetragrammaton. An investigation on the nature of texts which display deliberately the name *YHWH* in the Dead Sea Scrolls is outside of the scope of this thesis, but still needs to be studied.

THE TRADITION IN THE MASORETIC TEXT AND IN THE COMMUNITY AT QUMRAN REGARDING THE AVOIDANCE OF THE DIVINE NAME

In this section, we will consider why the ancient Israelites felt a need for alternatives to the Tetragrammaton. The Aaronic priestly blessing used by the priests with a three-fold repetition of the divine name (Num 6:24-26), conferred peace and prosperity upon Israel.

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[82] Group A: CD (CD is a medieval copy); overlapping fragments: 4Q266; 4Q269; 1QS *Rule of the Community*; overlapping fragments: 4Q259; 1QSb 1Q Rule of Benedictions; 1QM (*War Scroll*); overlapping fragments: 4Q491; 4Q492; 4Q285: overlapping fragment 11Q14 11Q *Sefer ha-Milhamah*; 4Q428 *Hodayot*; 4Q504 -506 4Q Words of the Luminaries[a]; The Coming of Melchizedek 11Q 13 11QMelch Melchizedek. Scrolls displaying the alternation of •••• for יהוה: 1QS; 4Q175; 4Q176 (4Q176 f3:1 is a reconstruction); 4Q248; 4Q306; 4Q391; 4Q462; 4Q524.
Group B: 1Q27 The book of Secrets (*El*): overlapping fragment 4Q299; 1QH[a], 1Q35, (Thanksgiving Hymns) (*El*); 3Q14 Unclassified fragment (*El*); 4Q180 4QAges of Creation A (*El*); 4Q258 overlapping fragment with 1QS; 4Q267, 4Q268 Overlapping fragments with CD A and B (*El*); 4Q406, (*Elohim*); 4Q413 Composition Concerning divine Providence (*El*); (6Q15) (*El*) (Overlap with 4QDamascus Document); (6Q18) 6QpapHymn; (*El*).

In verse 27, *YHWH* blesses the people of Israel speaking directly in the first person singular after the triple repetition of his name. The prayer was used on the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur) and the practice probably continued at least until 198 B.C.E., the date of the death of the High Priest Simeon the Just.[83] G. W. Buchanan claims the "divine name was pronounced so that people could hear it every day of Atonement, even as far as Jericho."[84]

In the Bible, the prohibition against pronouncing the divine name in vain forms part of the Ten Commandments. The restrictions concerning the utterance of the divine name underlines the reverence attached to the name of the LORD.

> Thou shalt not take the name of the LORD thy God in vain; for the LORD will
> not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain (Exod 20:7; Deut 5:11).

This commandment prohibits uttering the divine name in the context where the name is used needlessly: *in vain*. The words *in vain* appear to refer to activities not solely dedicated to prayers and worship; however, various readings are possible. Rose suggests that the prohibition may cover a range of applications, such as the use of the name in magical practices.[85] The verse may also condemn the false swearing of oaths in which the divine name is invoked.

> And ye shall not swear by my name falsely, neither shalt thou profane the
> name of thy God: I am the LORD (Lev 19:12).

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[83] Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh,* 86, n. 46, refers to M. Reisel's claims "since the death of the High Priest Simeon the Just the other priests no longer considered themselves worthy to pronounce the Tetragrammaton distinctly and completely in the daily priestly blessing." 86.

[84] Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh,* 86, n. 49, references G. W. Buchanan, *The Consequences of the Covenant* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), p. 316. n. 5.

[85] Rose, "Names of God," 1006.

Elsewhere in Leviticus, to appeal to the name in a false swearing was a profanation of its sanctity and amounted to blasphemy. Blessings, curses, and proscription of sorcery were other examples where the use of the Name was forbidden.

> And ye shall not swear by my name falsely, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God: I am the LORD (Lev 19:12).

Parke-Taylor states that some understand the expression *in vain* as "synonymous with the term evil*.*" When a sorcerer uses the name of the divinity, he gained a degree of power over him. The opposite was also believed to be true: "to be called by his name" meant to be owned by him.[86] However, from the verses below, it would seem that the prohibition concerning the use of the Tetragrammaton did not apply systematically. Was a proper way swearing and making an oath being communicated?

> Thou shalt fear the LORD thy God, and serve him, and shalt swear by his name (Deut 6:13).

> Thou shalt fear the LORD thy God; him shalt thou serve, and to him shalt thou cleave, and swear by his name (Deut 10:20).

REASONS FOR FORBIDDING THE USE OF THE NAME YHWH

Parke-Taylor notes a number of causes for the prohibition of the use of the Name *YHWH*. Among them was the desire to escape magical practices. Another motivation for the ancient Israelites was the attempt to avoid any profanation and defiling of the divine name. The punishment for blaspheming the Name was death.

> He that blasphemes the name of the LORD, will surely be put to death and all the congregation shall surely stone him; as well the stranger as he that is born in the land, when he blasphemes the name of the LORD, shall be put to death (Lev 24:16).

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[86] Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh,* 13.

Opinions are divided on the exact grounds for this death sentence. According to

Philo, as a rule the name should not be pronounced at all and any one violating this

prohibition would incur the death penalty.[87] The Septuagint agrees with his judgment and

interprets the verse as an inflexible prohibition against the utterance of the

Tetragrammaton.[88] The eastern official Aramaic version of the *Torah*, Targum Onkelos,

supports this position as well; whereas, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, a western Targum of the

Torah, interprets the verse as applying to someone blaspheming while pronouncing the

divine name.

> But whoever should pronounce the name of the Lord shall indeed by
> executed (Lev 24:16) (*Targum Onkelos*).

> But whoever should pronounce and blaspheme the name of the Lord shall
> indeed by executed (*Targum Jonathan*).[89]

The systematic avoidance of the pronunciation of the name had already become

characteristic in the Second Temple Period. Ludwig Blau claims that the use of the name

was then substituted with *Adonai*. By 300 B.C. the name YHWH was not being pronounced

in its original form.[90]

In the First Temple period, no hesitation existed about the pronunciation of the

Tetragrammaton. Schiffman points out that since the name appears in every day matters in

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[87] Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Use of Divine Names," in Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983), 133
[88] See footnote 22 in Schiffman, "The Use of Divine Names," 134.
[89] "*Targum Onkelos*, *Jonathan* and the *Writings*," (trans. Eldon Clem, Accordance Bible Software, OakTree Software, Inc., 2014, version 4.0 TARG-E).
[90] Ludwig Blau, "Tetragrammaton," *JE* (ed. Isidore Singer et al; 12 vols; New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1905), 12:118-120.

the Lakhish letters, it can be assumed it was a normal part of common speech.[91] Therefore,

the avoidance of use of the divine name extended from a prohibition in the Ten

Commandments to utter the name in vain to a death penalty for swearing an oath using the

divine name or acting in a way that was considered as blasphemy. In the Qumran

community, the prohibition on pronouncing the divine name had become much more

generalized and severe than the evidence documented for the avoidance of the

Tetragrammaton in the Second Temple Period. A few examples below illustrate how

complete and generalized the prohibition of the divine name had become in the Qumran

community.

1QS constitutes a type of manual describing rules and regulations to be followed by

the new initiates in the Qumran community as well as by the rest of the members. In 1QS

VI, 27–VII, 2, the prohibition with respect to pronouncing the divine name is that one

cannot utter the name at any time and any failure to observe this rule is followed with

expulsion of the member "never again to return to the party of the *Yahad."*

The charter rules that:

> Anyone who speaks aloud the M[ost] Holy Name of God (בשם הנכבד)
> [whether in ...] or in cursing or as a blurt in time of trial or for any other
> reason, or while he is reading a book or praying, is to be expelled, never again
> to return to the party of the *Yahad* (1QS VI, 27-VII, 2).

As this prohibition makes clear, the judgment does not take into consideration

extenuating circumstances such as involuntary or impulsive lapses. Schiffman cites four

cases where the prohibition about the divine name applies. The first two involve using the

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[91] Schiffman, "Use of Divine Names*,"* 133. For examples of Lakhish letters refer to N. H. Torczyner, "Te'udot Lakhish" (1940), no. 2 (p. 26); no. 3 (p. 53); no. 4 (p. 106), no. 5, (p. 127); no. 6 (p. 138); no. 8 (p. 174); no. 9 (p. 176); no. 12 (p. 184); no. 21 (restored).

divine name in a legal context: swearing an oath and cursing using the divine name. The third one applies to the use of the name in self-defence: the divine name cannot be used as a means to escape from danger. Interestingly, the use of the name is also banned during prayers and religious activities—one cannot pronounce the name of God during scriptural readings and benedictions. The only kind of oath permitted is by "the curses of the covenant."[92]

> A man must not swear either by Aleph and Lamedh (*Elohim*) or by Aleph and Daleth (*Adonai*), but rather by the oath of those who enter into the covenant vows. He must not make mention of the Law of Moses, because the Name of God is written out fully in it, and if he swears by it, and then commits a sin, he will have defiled the Name[93]   (CD XV, 1-3).

The rationale for that standard is that when one swore by any divine name or the *Torah* but did not fulfill his oath, it amounted to blasphemy, an extremely serious crime. Schiffman explains the prohibition of swearing by the *Torah* of Moses in two ways. First, it could be provoked by a fear of accidentally blaspheming the name of Moses; second, it could simply be stemming from the prohibition of oaths in the name of God since the *Torah* contains the name of God.[94]

At Qumran, the refusal to make an oath using the divine name for fear of profanation had become enshrined in the customs of the community. The sectarian community only used an oath based on imprecation, which did not involve the divine name.

The Qumran community had a similar attitude toward curses. They rejected all forms of curses for these two reasons. First, the Qumran community prohibited the use of

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[92] Schiffman, "Use of Divine Names," 137.
[93] Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 68.
[94] Schiffman, "Use of Divine Names," 137.

the Tetragrammaton and second, the efficacy of the curse required the invocation of a

deity, hence the prohibition of the use of the Tetragrammaton in this concept.

The utterance of the Tetragrammaton might also have been used to escape from

danger. The practice that is found in texts such as the *Sefer Harazim* and in the Hellenistic

magical literature constitutes a form of magical practice.[95]

In scriptural reading and benedictions, the prohibition expressed in 1QS VI, 27-VII 2

refers to the public reading of Scripture in which the reader might read or pronounce the

Tetragrammaton as written. Pronunciation would automatically cause the permanent

expulsion of the member from the sect. The severity of the penalty is indicative of the

gravity of the offense. As we have seen from the examples above, to pronounce the

Tetragrammaton constituted a severe offense punishable by expulsion.

Two attitudes emerged from this overview of the prohibition to utter the divine

name. In the MT, the use of the Tetragrammaton seems, at first, to have been fairly common

and frowned upon only when it was done, *in vain* such as in cases of curses or magic.

Blasphemy was a crime, which entailed the death penalty. The use of the Tetragrammaton

decreased in the latter books of the Bible, even though the name was still written out in

full.[96] In Qumran, however, the avoidance of the divine name was much more marked. An

improper use of the Tetragrammaton entailed a severe penalty, whether the violation was

involuntary or not. Additionally, all oaths were taken on the "curses of the covenant" so as

to avoid any possibility of blasphemy. The divine name called for such reverence that it

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[95] Schiffman, "Use of Divine Names," 142.
[96] In Chron, the Tetragrammaton is mentioned once in 1 Chr 21:3. In comparison, we found 131 occurrences of the Tetragrammaton in Sam and Kgs.

could not be used in judicial oaths or in oaths of adjuration sworn to secure the return of lost or stolen property, probably because of the potential fear of blasphemy.

The prohibitions listed above generated, in the Qumran community, an avoidance of the Tetragrammaton. This circumvention is shown through an array of alternations when they quoted the sacred name in Qumran scrolls. The next step in the research was to compile the array of alternations used in the texts not featuring the Tetragrammaton and then to itemize and analyze them.

CHAPTER 4: GROUP A ALTERNATIONS AND ANALYSIS

SCROLLS CHARACTERIZED BY THE AVOIDANCE OF THE TETRAGRAMMATON

Following an overview of the sociolinguistic context in the HB and in the Dead Sea

Scrolls related to the Tetragrammaton, this chapter focuses on the research process, its

findings, and applications. The starting point for the research was the realization that in the

Qumran non-biblical manuscripts, the Tetragrammaton appeared to be used much less

often proportionately than in the HB. As mentioned earlier the Tetragrammaton occurred

about 6.6 times more often in the HB than in the Dead Sea Scrolls. What was the reason for

the drop in usage? A partial answer to the question was provided by our research on the

Dead Sea Scrolls, the community at Qumran and the Tetragrammaton, which indicated that

a relationship existed between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the community at Qumran. The

information gathered from scrolls such as CD, S, *Hodayot* reveals that members of the

Yahad lived a life governed by stringent rules in a quest for purity. As we saw in the

previous section, members were prohibited from uttering the Tetragrammaton and the

penalty for any transgression was very severe. Members who contravened this rule were

permanently expelled from the community without recourse.

The first step of my research was to gather all the biblical quotations collected by

Lange and Weigold and to create a corpus of alternations. A methodology was then

established to determine which alternations were to be retained or excluded. Based on the

selection of alternations, I recorded alternations in a "Key of Alternations," which

comprised the scrolls involved in our study at Qumran. Some scrolls in Qumran non-

biblical manuscripts displayed the Tetragrammaton without alternations, some displayed the Tetragrammaton with a mixture of alternations, and a third group did not feature the Tetragrammaton.

The next stage involved determining all the scrolls which do not feature the Tetragrammaton in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts and which display alternations for the Tetragrammaton. Our research focused on finding the characteristics of alternations in that corpus.

The final stage of our research was to investigate possible applications of the findings on the basis of the names appearing in this particular corpus. Moreover, since the pool of quotations appearing in texts circumventing the Tetragrammaton included paleo-Hebrew for divine names, such as *El* or *Elohim*, I investigated the distribution of the paleo-*El* or *Elohim* in the document to determine if they are either clustered together or do not display any particular organization.

ESTABLISHING A CORPUS OF SCROLLS CIRCUMVENTING THE TETRAGRAMMATON: *YHWH, THE INEFFABLE NAME*

The initial step of discovery of alternations in the Dead Sea Scrolls produced a diversified corpus. The majority of scrolls did not display the Tetragrammaton. However, some manuscripts showed occurrences of no alternations for *YHWH* (4Q524; Temple Scroll, 11Q19-21, 4Q365a) or, in some cases, a mixture of no alternations and of substitutes for the Tetragrammaton (4Q380-381; A Collection of Royal Psalms).

I then decided to focus on the group of texts that did not feature the Tetragrammaton. The research revealed that in these texts, which are otherwise written in

square script, some included writing traditions such as the Tetrapuncta and paleo-Hebrew; whereas, others did not. Although there was some measure of overlap between the groups, I decided to identify two Groups: Group A and Group B. The decision to divide this corpus into two groups was because the paleo-Hebrew *El* or *Elohim* was not always an alternation to a scriptural quotation; whereas, in Group A alternations stem from scriptural units featuring the Tetragrammaton quoted in Qumran texts.

Group A[97] examines the nature of the texts in this group and gives an overview of the syntactical and lexical alternations to the Tetragrammaton quoted in scriptural units. This group includes the writing tradition consisting of the Tetrapuncta as a form of alternation.[98] Group B includes writing traditions, such as the use of paleo-Hebrew *El* and (rarely) *Elohim* as forms of alternations.[99] The results of the findings of this group will be summarized.

CHARACTERISTICS OF GROUP A DOCUMENTS

The main characteristic of Group A documents is the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton. Group A consists mostly of texts featuring alternations in square script or in Tetrapuncta. A number of documents in Group A fall in a category that Parry and Tov call "texts concerned with religious law."[100] These texts focus on the prescriptive and descriptive aspects of religion as perceived by a specific religious community. They provide

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[98] Complete list of Qumran scrolls displaying the alternation of ●●●● for יהוה: 1QS; 4Q175; 4Q176; 4Q196, 4Q248; 4Q306; 4Q382, 4Q391; 4Q462; 4Q524.

 [99] Group B: 1Q27 The Book of Secrets (*El*): overlapping fragment 4Q299; 1QH[a], 1Q35, (Thanksgiving Hymns) (*El*); 3Q14 Unclassified fragment (*El*); 4Q180 4QAges of Creation A (*El*); 4Q258 overlapping fragment with 1QS; 4Q267, 4Q268 Overlapping fragments with CD A and B (*El*); 4Q406, (*Elohim*); 4Q413 Composition Concerning divine Providence (*El*);(6Q15) (*El*) (Overlap with 4QDamascus Document); (6Q18) 6QpapHymn (*El*).

various types of rules governing the life of the members of the *Yahad* community,

describing the organization and operation of the community and are considered as legal

documents. None of the texts related to religious laws and rules mention the

Tetragrammaton.

   Other scrolls featuring an avoidance of the Tetragrammaton include 1Q Rule of

Benedictions (1Q28b), a scroll that depicts ceremonies and reflects ideological concepts

associated with the *Yahad* community.[101] The texts are composed of blessings addressed to

all members. The group believed they would someday be joined to angels and that they

would win an ultimate victory over all their enemies.

   Although some texts in Group A are classified in different genres, such as sapiential

and poetic and liturgical texts, they contain instructional material, which was part of the

religious library.[102] Group A is mostly comprised of sectarian texts, according to Tov's

classification, but he classifies not all of the texts under "sectarian nature," for instance,

1Q27, 4Q299 (The Book of Secrets), 3Q14 (unclassified) are questionable for a variety of

reasons, such as insufficient data.[103] In other words, some texts included in this study

because of the absence of Tetragrammaton may not have been sectarian. What is the

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[100] Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *Texts Concerned with Religious Law,* vol. 1 of the *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader (*Leiden: Brill*, 2004). See: CD, 4Q266; 4Q269; 4Q270; 1QS, 4Q259; 1QSa; 1QM; 4Q491; 4Q492; 4Q285: overlapping fragment 11Q14 Sefer ha-Milhamah 4Q394-4Q399 4QMMT[a-f,]

[101] 4Q504 and 4Q506 are classified by A. Lange, with U. MIttmann-Richert, D in the general genre "Poetic and Liturgical Texts" and in the subclass "Collection of Daily Prayers." 1QSb is classified in "Collections and Texts Concerned with Covenantal Ceremonies." See A. Lange with U. Mittmann-Richert,"*Annotated List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified by Content and Genre*" (DJD 39; ed. E. Tov; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 136, 137.

[102] CD, 1QS, 1QSb, 4Q171, 4Q256, 4Q257, 4Q258, 4Q259, 4Q266, 4Q267, 4Q269, 4Q298, 4Q400, 4Q401, 4Q403, 4Q405, 4Q406, 4Q418, 4Q427, 4Q428, 4Q433a, 4Q461, 4Q511, 11Q17, 11Q19.

[103] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 281-285.

definition of sectarian nature according to Tov? He claims a sectarian nature is associated with the authorship of the document in Qumran with the "data on the presumed authorship by the Qumran community recorded as y(es) or n(o)."[104]

Additionally, according to Tov, the decisive test to determine a Qumran document is the combination of paleo-Hebrew used for a divine name and the Qumran scribal practice style. However, he defines the Qumran scribal practice style as a group of texts "closely related to the Qumran community since it includes virtually all commonly agreed upon sectarian writings." [105] The definition of "sectarian" associated with the Qumran scribal practice style, and the identification of "sectarian" rests on a predetermined group of texts qualified as sectarian. However, this definition does not take into account the possibility that texts could be reflecting sectarian tenets and have originated in locations other than Qumran.

However, scholars are divided on the issue of "sectarian nature." Tigchelaar agrees overall with Tov about the existence of a close connection between the *plene* style as characteristic of texts that "have been traditionally considered as sectarian" and points out that manuscripts with full spellings and distinctive *plene* forms are in the majority.[106] However, do all scrolls reflecting the so- called Qumran scribal practice belong to a sectarian community residing at Qumran? Did all the scrolls originate or were copied in Qumran, and was the scribal practice characteristic of the scribal style in Qumran? Tigchelaar reports that "even though there may be a special scribal practice, this cannot be

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[104] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 278.
[105] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 261.
[106] Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Assessing Emanuel Tov's 'Qumran Scribal Practice'" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Productions of Texts* (ed. S. Metso, et. al.; *STDJ* 92; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 173-207.

connected exclusively to a Qumran community." Some commonly acknowledged sectarian

texts like 4Q258 (4QS[b]), 4Q162 (4QpIsa[b]), and 4Q169 (4QpNah) are not penned according

to Qumran scribal practice. Some texts related to the Qumran scribal practice, like 4QQoh

(4Q109) preceded the founding of Qumran and must have been brought from outside to

Qumran.[107]

The approach I will take in this thesis is to consider as sectarian documents, texts

concerned with religious law and scrolls related to the ideology of the *Yahad*. Usually, such

documents mention the *Yahad* in the contents of the scrolls. However, I consider, along

with Schofield, that a sectarian document could have been authored in a place other than

Qumran based on *plene* or defective style, or of the presence of paleo-Hebrew writing.

When I consider an overlapping fragment of D or S, the fragment is regarded to belong to

the same manuscript and since D and S are unquestionably sectarian documents, the

fragments are classified as sectarian. To venture a hypothesis on the origin of a scroll, I take

into consideration elements such as linguistic profiles, *scriptio plene*, mixed or defective,

dates, scribal interventions, paleo-Hebrew writing for divine names, and terminology,

which is characteristically sectarian, such as *El* alternations.

ALTERNATIONS TO THE TETRAGRAMMATON IN GROUP A

The first group of alternations for manuscripts featuring the Tetragrammaton in

scriptural units, but not in Qumran quotations, involves alternations in square script and in

Tetrapuncta. The study of alternations to quotations of scriptural units shows a number of

alternation practices used to circumvent the Tetragrammaton in the Qumran texts. Don

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[107] Tigchelaar, "Assessing Emanuel Tov's 'Qumran Scribal Practice'," 9.

Parry identified nine categories in legal texts documenting the systematic and programmatic avoidance of the Tetragrammaton in legal texts. In the list, he included: 1) substitution of pronouns for the Tetragrammaton, 2) replacing the Tetragrammaton with the title *El*, 3) lack of proper antecedent, 4) scriptural paraphrases, 5) change of attributions, 6) use of surrogates, 7) apocopation of scriptural phrases, 8) Ellipses of the Tetragrammaton in Scriptural citations, and 9) non-usage of revelatory formulas.[108] I am continuing his study with instances of programmatic avoidance of the Tetragrammaton in texts concerned with religious law, and additionally in poetic and liturgical and exegetical genres.

TEXTS CONCERNED WITH RELIGIOUS LAW

This section covers those documents characterized by the avoidance of the Tetragrammaton, which were not included in Parry's research. The documents are classified in genres, such as texts concerned with religious law, poetic, and liturgical texts. All the documents are classified by Tov as sectarian documents.[109]

See below a list of circumventions featured in Qumran non-biblcal manuscripts that do not feature the Tetragrammaton, which are used in quotations of Dead Sea Scrolls Biblical Texts.

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[108] Donald W. Parry, "Notes on the Divine Names Avoidance in Scriptural Units of the Legal Texts of Qumran," in "*Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies*" (STDJ 23; eds. Joseph M. Baumgarten, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 437-449.
[109] Tov, *Scribal Practices,* 278. In Appendix 1, Tov records that the "sectarian nature" is based on the "presumed authorship" by the Qumran community.

1. *Damascus Document* (CD)

יָבִיא יְהוָה עָלֶיךָ וְעַל־עַמְּךָ יָמִים (*The LORD will cause to come on you and on your people, days*)(Isa 7:17)

יבוא עליך ועל עמך ·ימים (*Days are coming upon you, and your people.*)(CD VII, 11)

In Isa 7:17 the subject of the hifil verb is *YHWH*; whereas, in CD VII, 11 the subject of

the Qal verb is *days*. The object of the hifil becomes the subject of the qal, and, as a result,

the name *YHWH* was avoided. I designated this alternation as 0 because *YHWH* is not

replaced by any substitution.

רֹעִי וְעַל־גֶּבֶר עֲמִיתִי נְאֻם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת (*My shepherd and the man loyal to Me—so says the LORD of Hosts*) (Zech 13 7)

רועי ועל גבר עמיתי נאם אל (*My shepherd, and the man loyal to me—so says God.*) (CD XIX, 8)

אל (*God*) is an alternation for יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת (*Lord of Hosts*). This alternation is

designated as a4.[110]

בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהוָה (*Blessed are you, LORD*) (Ps 119:12).

בָּרוכ אתָ אונ הו (Blessed are you, Almighty God) (4Q266 11 9)

אונ הו (Almighty God) is an alternation for יְהוָה (LORD). a8.

4Q266 11 9 does not make any reference to the Tetragrammaton. Baumgarten

claims that, based on its occurrence in a later text, *Mishnah Sukkah*, "אונ הו is clearly a

surrogate for the Tetragrammaton."[111] Others, such as Lauterbach, dispute this

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[110] For a key of alternations, refer to pages 19-20.
[111] Joseph M. Baumgarten, "A New Qumran Substitute for the divine name and Mishnah Sukkah 4.5," *JQR* 83 (1993): 1-5.

interpretation pointing out that הו is an abbreviation serving as a substitute for the Tetragrammaton.[112] Tov remarks that in the *Mishna, R. Judah* used a phrase for

אָנָא   יְהוָה.[113] Amihai suggests that this formulation might be due to a scribal mistake, which could have wiped out part of the name and, as a result, created a new form of alternation.[114]

2. (1QS) 1Q Rule of the Community (Manual of Discipline) (1Q28)

As in the case of the Damascus document, the *Rule of the Community* is essentially a charter for the *Yahad.* However, there are discrepancies between both texts, for example, regarding celibacy and marriages. The authorship of the text is a matter of debate. Tov classifies 1QS as a sectarian document, in other words, in a category of texts created in Qumran, and Schofield contends it was written earlier in a separate development.

אַף־יְהוָה וְקִנְאָתוֹ (*The anger of the LORD and his Jealousy*) (Deut 29:19)
אף אל וקנאת (*The anger of God and his Jealousy*) (1QS II, 15)

El (God) is an alternation for YHWH. a5

וְהִבְדִּילוֹ יְהוָה לְרָעָה (*The LORD shall separate him unto evil*) (Deut 29:20)
ויבדילהו אל לרעה (*God shall separate him unto evil*) (1QS II, 16)

El (God) is an alternation for YHWH. a5

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[112] Jacob Z. Lauterbach, "Substitutes for the Tetragrammaton," *PAAJR* 2 (1931): 39-67.
[113] Tov, Scribal Practices, 239.
[114] Amihai, "Divine Names," 9.

פַּנּוּ דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה (*Prepare the way of the LORD*)(Isa 40:3)

פנו דרך •••• (*Prepare the way of the LORD*) (1QS VIII, 14)

Tetrapuncta (••••) is an alternation for *YHWH*. a12.[115]

יְבָרֶכְךָ יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמְרֶךָ (*May the LORD bless you, and keep you.*) (Num 6:24)

יברככה בכול טוב וישמורכה (*May He bless you with every good thing and preserve you.*)(1QS II, 2)

The stem of the verb remains the same, but the expressed subject is removed. This alternation is not taken into account "0", because the name *YHWH* is represented as a change in person and is not explicitly replaced with another substitution.

פַּנּוּ דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה (*Prepare ye the way of the LORD*)(Isa 40:3).[116]

לפנות שם את דרך הואהא(*there to prepare the way of the Lord.*)(1QS VIII 13)

Howard claims that it is an error to see in the pronoun הואהא a surrogate for the Tetragram. Howard suggested it was more likely that הואהא is possibly an abbreviation for

הוא האלוהים.[117] I concur with his opinion. הואהא (*God) is an alternation for YHWH* a9.

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[115] For a.12 alternations, refer to Appendix B. There are twenty-three Tetrapuncta alternations •••• for יהוה. Scrolls displaying •••• Tetrapuncta alternations for יהוה: 1QS; 4Q175; 4Q176; 4Q248; 4Q306; 4Q382; 4Q391; 4Q462; 4Q524.

[116] George Howard, "The Tetragram and the New Testament," *JBL* 96 (1977): 63-83.

[117] As an alternation of הואהא for the Tetragrammaton in 1QS 8:13. In 4Q259 III, 3-4, instead of הואהא, a variant is given: (האמת) the truth is a alternation for LORD. הואהא is not to be understood merely as a 3rd per. pron. in this case. This form is closer to הוא, which refers to God. Howard, "Tetragram and the NewTestament," suggests that it stood for "He is *Elohim* (הוא האלוהים)." In his paper on "Names of God in Qumran Scrolls," Arieh Amihai suggests as well that this expression may not have a specific meaning and may be used as an alternative for pronouncing the Tetragrammaton.

פַּנּוּ דֶּרֶךְ יְהוָה   (*Prepare ye the way of the LORD.*) (Isa 40: 3)

לפנות שמ[ ]ה את דרך האמת(*to prepare ther]e the way of the Truth.*) (4Q259 III, 3-4)

אמת Truth is an alternation for *YHWH*. a11.

3. *War Scroll* 1QM(ilhamah) (1Q33)

The War Scroll depicts the conflict between the Sons of Light, the members of the Yahad, and the Sons of Darkness. The Sons of Light are pitted in a battle against the *Kittim* of Assyria and will ultimately win in the battle opposing them to the *Kittim* in the seventh and final confrontation, thanks to the intervention of the protection of the God of Israel. As in the previous examples, this text is also related to the *Yahad.*

וְהָיְתָה לַיהוָה הַמְּלוּכָה.(*And the kingdom shall be the LORD's.*)(Obad 2:1)

לאל ישראל המלוכה *So the kingship shall belong to the God of Israel.*)

אל ישראל   (*God of Israel*) is an alternation for יהוה (*LORD*). a10.

כִּי יְהוָה   אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הַהֹלֵךְ עִמָּכֶם. (For the LORD your God is he that goeth with you)
(Deut 20:4)

כיא אלוהיכם הולך עמכם (for your *God* goes with you) (1QM X, 4)

אלוהיכם (*God*) is an alternation for יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם (*the LORD your God*). a7

רוּמָה יְהוָה (*Rise up, LORD*) (Ps 21:14).

רומה אל אלים (*Rise up, rise up, O God of gods.*) (1QM XIV, 16)

אל אלים (*O God of gods*) is an alternation for יהוה (*LORD*). אל אלים is a
superlative in this context and stands clearly as an alternation for יהוה. a13.

יְהֹוָה עֲשֵׂה לְמַעַן שְׁמֶךָ (*Act, O LORD, for the sake of Your name.*) (Jer 14:7)

ואתה אל הצּדק עשיתה לֹמֹעַן שמכה. (*You, O God of righteousness, have acted for the sake of Your name.*) (1QM XVIII, 8)

אל הצּדק (God of righteousness)is an alternation for יהוה (*LORD*). a14.

4. 4Q Sefer ha-Milhamah (4Q285) and 11Q Sefer ha-Milhamah (11Q14)

4Q Sefer ha-Milhamah is an ambiguous text about a figure called the Leader of the Congregation, which could be translated in two ways depending on the pointing: either the Leader of the Congregation was put to death or the Leader of the Congregation will have him (the enemy leader) put to death. The manuscript is classified as a sectarian writing by Tov. As in the *War Scroll,* the narrative ends with the victory against the *Kittim* (the enemy). A fragment of 4Q285 was found in cave 11 and was recorded as 11Q14.

יְבָרֶכְךָ יְהֹוָה וְיִשְׁמְרֶךָ (*The LORD bless you and protect you!)* (Num 6:24)

יברך אתכם אל עליון (*May the Most High God bless you*) (11Q14 1 II, 7)

אל עליון (*the Most High God*) is an alternation for יהוה (*LORD*). a17.

יָאֵר יְהֹוָה פָּנָיו אֵלֶיךָ (*May the LORD make his face shine upon you.)* (Num 6:25)

ויאר פניו אליכם (*May he make his face to shine upon you.)* (11Q14 1 II, 7)

Alternation of a pronominal marker for יְהֹוָה. a17. No alternation as pronominal markers are excluded from our research as forms of alternation.

Collections and Texts Concerned with Covenantal Ceremonies

1. *1Q Rule of Benedictions 1QSb:*

This scroll comprises a collection of blessings related to the *Yahad*. As in the *War Scroll* and 4Q Sefer ha-Milhamah, the community harboured the belief that they would ultimately be victorious over their enemy. This scroll is classified by Tov as having a "sectarian nature."

יִשָּׂא יְהוָה פָּנָיו אֵלֶיךָ (*The LORD lift up his countenance upon you.*) (Num 6:26)

ישא אדוני פניו אליכה (*May the Lord lift up his countenance upon you.*) (1QSb III, 1)

אדוני (*Adonai*) (*Lord*) is an alternation for יהוה (*LORD*). a1.

2. *4Q Words of the Luminaries 4QDibHam (4Q504-506)*

The scroll comprises a collection of prayers; this writing is classified by Tov as sectarian.

לְהָפֵר בְּרִיתִי אִתָּם כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם (*and to break my covenant with them: for I am the LORD their God*) (Lev 26:44-45)

להפר בריתכה אתם כיא אתה אל חי. (*and to break Your Covenant with them. Surely You alone are the living God.*) (4Q504 1-2RV, 8-9)

אל חי (living God) is an alternation for יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם (*the LORD their God*) a20.

1. *11Q Melchizedek (11QMelch) 11Q13*

The scroll 11Q13 displays Melchizedek, as a heavenly saviour or as a divine being. This writing is classified as an exegetical text or a thematic *pesher*, but the Tetragrammaton appears in *pesharim*, such as the *Florilegium* where it is systematically replaced with *El* in 11Q13.[118] The text is classified by Tov as being sectarian in nature.

כִּי־קָרָא שְׁמִטָּה לַיהוָה (*for the remission proclaimed is of the LORD*) (Deut 15:2)

כיא קרא [שמטה לֹאֵ]ל (*for it has been proclaimed] a remission of God)* (11Q13 II, 2-4)

אל (God) is an alternation for יהוה (*LORD*). a5.[119]

These examples represent all the occurrences of alternations of the name YHWH appearing in scriptural units and quoted in the Dead Sea Scrolls that I identified based on Lange and Weigold's and retained on the basis of my methodology.[120]

GROUP A FINDINGS

Group A is constituted of Qumran scrolls selected based on the circumvention of יהוה in quotations of scriptural units featuring the Tetragrammaton. Group A is comprised of alternations in square script and of the writing tradition Tetrapuncta as a replacement for

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[118] A. Lange with U. Mittmann-Richert,"Annotated List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified by Content and Genre,"130.
[119] The above list is an exhaustive list of scriptural units' alternations in square script and in Tetrapuncta.
[120] Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations*.

the divine name in a scriptural unit.**121**

A pattern emerges from alternations in the Group A corpus.[122] The most common alternation in this group of texts is *El* (God) or a phrase where *El* is associated with attributes, such as אל אלים (god among gods) (4Q285 8 4; 11Q14 1 II, 7), or אל ע]ליון (most high God) (4Q285 8 4; 11Q14 1 II, 7), or אל ישראל (God of Israel) (1QM VI, 6). I found twenty-six occurrences of *El* used as alternations for יהוה in texts comprising Group A, when I include all phrases containing *El* compounded with attributes. [123] When we compute occurrences of Tetrapuncta used as a replacement for יהוה in Group A, 23 occurrences of Tetrapuncta alternations for יהוה are tallied.

Other forms of divine names used as substitutes for *YHWH* in Group A are: *Adonai* (2x) (a1), *Elohim* (1x) (a15), and און הו (Mighty One) (1x) (a8). Other substitutes consist of הואהא, הוא (LORD) (2x) (a9), alternation of the divine attribute האמת (truth) (1x) (a11), and Mechizedek (1x) (a22).

In the "Tables of Alternation" for Group A manuscripts, *Adonai* and *Elohim* occur much less frequently than *El* and Tetrapuncta.[124] Therefore, from these data, it appears that the substitution of *Adonai* or *Elohim* for the Tetragrammaton was very limited and

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infrequent in Group A scrolls.[125] Group A manuscripts show the emergence of a vocabulary related to divine names that did not correspond to standard MT usage: Qumran non-biblical manuscripts exhibited characteristic features. An example of this practice is featured in 1QS III, 24 where the phrase אל ישראל (god of Israel) appears. There is only one MT occurrence in Ps 68:35 of אל ישראל (god of Israel); whereas, we find 196 occurrences of אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל[126] (the God of Israel). It can therefore be assumed that the form אל ישראל *El Israel* is a departure from the MT and characteristic of the Second Temple language. Other examples of common references to *El*, which are characteristic in the Second Temple language, include אל אלים (God among gods),

אל הצדק (the Righteousness of God), and אל הדעות (God of knowledge.)[127]

Tov claims that a specific characteristic of sectarian nature texts is the combination of divine names in paleo-Hebrew and of Qumran scribal practice style. All the texts in Group A exhibiting divine names in normal (square) script, were written according to the Qumran scribal practice (i.e. *scriptio plena*) and alternations for the Tetragrammaton were either syntactical restructurings of a quotation to circumvent the Tetragrammaton, or lexical substitutions, such as *El*. The writing tradition Tetrapuncta constitutes, as well, a frequent form of alternation for *YHWH* and indicates the deliberate desire of the

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[125] See Group A: CD (CD is a medieval copy); overlapping fragments: 4Q266; 4Q269; 4Q270. 1QS Rule of the Community (Manual of Discipline) with overlapping fragment 4Q259;);1QSb (Priestly blessings in the last days); 1QM (*The War Scroll*)with overlapping fragments 4Q491; 4Q492;4Q285with overlapping fragment (11Q14 11Q *Sefer ha-Milhamah*); 4Q428; *Hodayot*; 1QHᵃ;4Q504 -506 (4Q Words of the Luminariesᵃ); 11QMelch (11 Melchizedek). Group A Scrolls displaying the alternation of ●●●● for יהוה: 1QS; 4Q175; 4Q248; 4Q306; 4Q391; 4Q462; 4Q524.

[126] אֱלֹהֵי is a plural form of אל even though it is translated (KJVS) as a singular.

[127] See Qumran notes אל הדעות.

community to circumvent the use of *YHWH.* (Examples can be found in1QS VIII, 14; cf. Isa 40:3.)

Scrolls in Group A reflect ideological concerns associated with the operation of the *Yahad*, such as community, eschatological and war rules, poetic and liturgical texts, and thematic commentaries. Documents featuring Tetrapuncta constituted different genres. The list includes: exegetical texts (4Q175, 4Q176), a historical text (4Q248), some unclassified documents (4Q306, 4Q462), but also some parabiblical texts (4Q391) and 4Q Words of the Luminaries[a] (4Q504), a compilation of prayers of various sorts. The Tetrapuncta occurs five times in alternations in DSS biblical manuscripts.[128] Most of the texts are classified by Tov as having a "sectarian nature."[129] His definition of sectarian nature links Qumran and sectarian texts. In that case, these alternations would suggest that the community created a terminology related to divine names to emphasize and undergird their distinctive ideological stand.

Schiedewind contends that Qumran Hebrew operated as a sociolinguistic means for the speakers to differentiate themselves and their language from other Jewish communities.[130] However, his conclusions emphasize the connection between these texts and Qumran and the style peculiarities displayed in Qumran Hebrew. For most of the scrolls in the list, the link between Qumran Hebrew and some of the texts seems established. However, if along with Schofield, we assume that there were other sectarian communities than Qumran, the usage of a specific terminology for divine names, such as *El*

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[128] These data were communicated to me by Prof. Abegg in a private conversation.
[129] 4Q391 and 4Q248 constitute exceptions.
[130] Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew," 235-252.

as a replacement for the Tetragrammaton in Qumran non-biblical scrolls associated with the *Yahad* and the use of the Tetrapuncta may have been part of a distinctive language popular at Qumran, but may also have been found in other sectarian communities which entertained a dialogic connection with Qumran since the *El* and Tetrapuncta alternations were found in other works in the DSS reflecting sectarian ideology.

CHARACTERISTICS OF GROUP B AND ALTERNATIONS[131]

Group B profiles a different nature of alternations at the level of writing traditions.

As in Group A, texts in Group B do not feature the Tetragrammaton. The paleo-Hebrew

script used for the writing of divine names *El* and *Elohim* is a distinctive characteristic in

Group B, which is not found in Group A.

Whereas Group A is largely composed of "texts concerned with religious law," the

collection of texts in Group B is more diverse in genre: poetic and liturgical texts (1QHᵃ;

4Q400-407; 11Q17; Mas1k; 6QpapHymn), religious law texts (6Q15; 4Q267; 4Q268),

sapiential texts (1Q27; 4Q413), and parabiblical texts (4Q180a.)

The combination of texts seems at first sight to be a medley of genres. These

documents are literary texts reflecting the theological approach of the community: poetic

and liturgical texts, exegetical commentaries and sapiential teachings.[132] The mixture of

genres is different than Group A, which features a stronger weighting in poetic and

liturgical texts. Additionally, Tov classified some texts, which are part of Group B, as non-

sectarian, some because of the lack of necessary data, but others because of an

orthographic and morphological style, which did not conform to the definition of the

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[131] Group B: 1Q27 The book of Secrets (*El*): overlapping fragment 4Q299; 1QHᵃ, 1Q35, (Thanksgiving Hymns) (*El*); 3Q14 Unclassified fragment (*El*); 4Q180 4QAges of Creation A (*El*); 4Q258 Overlapping fragment with 1QS; 4Q267, 4Q268 Overlapping fragments with CD A and B (*El*); 4Q406, (*Elohim*); 4Q413 Composition Concerning divine Providence (*El*); (6Q15) (*El*) (Overlap with 4QDamascus Document); (6Q18) 6QpapHymn; (*El*).

[132] As indicated in the "Abstract," this study focuses on the avoidance of theTetragrammaton: in other words, it specifically focuses on scrolls which do not display the Tetragrammaton and displays alternations such as *El* and other forms of circumventions for the Tetragrammaton. 1QpHab features *YHWH* in paleo-Hebrew and is not part of the scrolls included in our study.

"Qumran scribal practice." Some scrolls listed as sectarian (1Q35; 4Q258) do not display

the Qumran scribal practice style. Therefore, I would think that the designation "sectarian"

might be interpreted as scrolls linked with the *Yahad* or reflecting some ideology related to

the *Yahad,* but penned in a different place than Qumran. Some of the texts in Group B

include overlapping fragments of manuscripts listed in Group A. Alternatively, 1QH[a]

features mostly texts with square scripts alternations, however in the middle section are

found three paleo-Hebrew occurrences of *El* in an hymn attributed to the Maskil and called

the Creation Hymn. I usualy put the overlapping fragments in Group B when scrolls exhibit

divine names in paleo-Hebrew, but since there were only three instances of paleo-Hebrew

in 1QH[a] and a large number of hymns, it became a judgment call whether to put the scroll

in Group A or Group B.

USE OF PALEO-HEBREW IN QUMRAN

This section on paleo-Hebrew constitutes a background to the use of paleo-Hebrew

at Qumran and the rationale for its use in non-biblical Qumran scrolls. Two different scripts

are displayed in Group A and Group B: square script in Group A, and paleo-*El* and *Elohim* in

Group B. The appearance of the paleo-Hebrew script, which developed from the early

Hebrew script, is evidenced in fragments from the late third century B.C.E. to the middle of

the first century C.E.[133]

A startling feature of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls was the appearance of

paleo-Hebrew in divine names. At first, it was thought that the use of paleo-Hebrew forms

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[133] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 238.

for divine names was confined to non-biblical scrolls.[134] Then, it was discovered that

complete biblical scrolls were written in paleo-Hebrew. At Qumran were found fragments

of twelve biblical texts written in paleo-Hebrew. The texts were dated to a relatively late

period. Fifty years separated the writing of entire scrolls in the paleo-Hebrew script in the

archaic and Hasmonean periods and the writing of divine names in paleo-Hebrew

characters in the Herodian period.[135]

Paleographical examinations show that a revival of the paleo-Hebrew script

occurred in the Hasmonean period, and it is generally assumed that texts were transformed

then from the square script to the paleo-Hebrew script. Tov and Siegel associate the writing

of divine names in paleo-Hebrew in non-biblical manuscripts featuring Qumran scribal

practice to an authorship at Qumran.[136] The use of paleo-Hebrew was part of my decision

to create two classes of scrolls in my study in order to determine differences between the

two kinds of scrolls. An application of my research was to determine whether scrolls, which

featured paleo-Hebrew, were more likely to originate from Qumran than the ones showing

alternations in square script and Tetrapuncta.

The paleo-Hebrew biblical manuscripts must have been all brought to Qumran

because there was no indication that Scripture texts written in paleo-Hebrew characters

were written at Qumran or by Qumran scribes.[137] However, the practice of enhancing the

reverence associated with divine names with a "sacred" script may have stemmed from the

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[134] Patrick W. Skehan, "The Text of Isaiah at Qumran,"*CBQ* 17 (1955): 42-43.
[135] See in Tov, *Scribal Practices,* 246 a footnote on R. L. Edge, "The use of Palaeo-Hebrew in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Paleography and Historiography" (Ph. D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1995), 357.
[136] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 246.
[137] Jonathan P. Siegel, "The Employment of palaeo-Hebrew characters for the divine names at Qumran in the light of Tannaitic Sources*," HUCA* 42 (1971*)*: 159-72.

paleo-Hebrew scripture scrolls brought to Qumran. Siegel examined certain Tannaitic sources in light of the corpus of Qumran texts, which exhibit the phenomenon of paleo-Hebrew divine names. He endeavoured to show how both "normative and sectarian" Jewish scribes translated a significant theological convention into a scribal convention. The paleo-Hebrew may have served to underline the reverence in the material (poetic and liturgical, sapiential, parabiblical, and religious law texts). An additional rationale for the paleo-Hebrew script was to prevent erasures of divine names.

GROUP B FINDINGS

In Group B, characterized by the omission of the Tetragrammaton, *El/Elohim* in paleo-Hebrew script occurs 22 times.. The chart below details paleo-Hebrew alternations found in all Qumran non-biblical manuscripts characterized by the absence of Tetragrammaton. It lists the number of paleo-Hebrew occurrences in each document.

Poetic and liturgical texts	Texts concerned with religious law	Sapiential texts	Parabiblical texts	Unclassified
1QHa VII, 38 (1x); 1QHa IX, 28 (1x); 1QHa X, 36 (1x)	4Q267 3 7 (1x); 4Q267 9 I, 2 (1x); 4Q267 9 IV, 4 (1x); 4Q267 9 V, 4 (1x)	1Q27 1 II, 11(1x)	4Q180 1 1 (1x)	3Q14 18 2 (1x)
1Q35 1 5 (1x)	4Q268 1 9 (1x); 6Q15 3 3 (1x); 6Q15 3 5 (2x)	4Q413 1-2 2; 4Q413 1-2 4 (2x)		

4Q406 1 2 (1x); 4Q406 3 2 (?); 4Q258 IX, 5c 8; 4Q258 VIII, 4aii, 4cf 9 (2x)			
6Q18 6 5 (1x); 6Q18 8 5 (1x); 6Q18 103 (reconstruction)			

1QH^a is an example of a text that displays paleo-Hebrew alternations. It includes alternations in square script and paleo-*El.*

The results in Group B show that in the above texts paleo-*El* and paleo-*Elohim* were used as alternations for the Tetragrammaton. As opposed to alternations in Group A, Paleo-*El* and *Elohim* were writing tradition forms of alternations for the Tetragrammaton. The ancient script added to the reverence related to the divine name.

El, Adonai and (occasionally) *Elohim* were also featured as substitutes for the Tetragrammaton in square script quotations of scriptural units in the texts in Group B. Divine name lexical alternations from quotations of scriptures were, however, restricted to the square script. The chart below shows quotations of scriptural units in scrolls belonging to Group B.   It lists lexical alternations in scrolls listed in the paleo-Hebrew group. As indicated, although these scrolls feature paleo-Hebrew for divine names, they also include references to divine names in square script. References to scriptural units occur in passages where divine names are written in square script.

Alternation	Scroll reference
"he" for the Tetragrammaton ההאוא for יהוה *(LORD).* a9	4Q299 3a II-b 12 (Exod 15:3)
(*Adonai*) ארני *(Lord)* for (*YHWH*) יהוה *(LORD)* (6x) . a1	1QHᵃ V, 15; 1QHᵃ VI, 19; 1QHᵃ VIII, 26; 1QHᵃ XIII, 22; 1QHᵃ XVIII, 16; 1QHᵃ XIX, 35-36
אל (God) for יהוה· *(LORD)* 2x (square script). a5	1QHᵃ XIX, 32; 1QHᵃ XXII, 34

DATES

An examination of dates was then conducted as an element to establish whether

some texts were sectarian. For example, if a specific style (paleo-Hebrew in the use of

divine names) appears to be a trend in Qumran from the later third of the 1st century B.C.E

to the first half of the 1st century C.E., dates can be used as an element along with other

indicators to determine the origins of a scroll. Dates also highlight the fact that the use of

paleo-Hebrew was not an ancient remnant of Hebrew, but was actually revived by scribal

practice. Group A documents were generally dated earlier than Group B documents. With

respect to the assumed dates of the texts at Qumran, Tov had emphasized that paleo-

Hebrew scripts:

> … rather than predating the use of the square scripts. . .were written at a
> relatively late period, possibly but not necessarily as a continuation of the
> earlier tradition of writing in the early Hebrew script. They were concurrent
> with the use of the square script, as can be proved by a paleographic
> examination of the paleo-Hebrew script.[138]

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[138] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 246.

A comparison of the two groups of texts shows earlier dates, in general, for the first group of texts written in square script (Group A), and later dates for the second group (Group B), where divine names, such as *El* and *Elohim*, appear in paleo-Hebrew. In documents completely written in square script, Tov records seven of the fourteen texts in the first half of the 1st century B.C.E. (50-1 B.C.E.). Conversely, 4Q504 was dated 150 B.C.E.; 1Q28b was recorded to 125-75 B.C.E. 1Q28, 1Qsa, and 4Q266 were dated 100-50 B.C.E.; 4Q428 (125) 100-50 B.C.E. A single scroll 11Q14 was dated after 1 C.E. (30-50 C.E.). CD A and B are not taken into consideration because they are medieval documents.

In texts showing divine names in paleo-Hebrew, out of 13 texts, six (46%) are dated from the beginning of the 1st century C.E. and another four (30%) were dated in the range 30-1 B.C.E. Most of the texts in Group B are dated between 30-1 B.C.E. and the beginning of the first century C.E. (76%).

The table above raises a question. Since Qumran evidently had a particular scribal practice, how are we to explain that scrolls dated from the same period (30-1 B.C.E.) are not all written in the same style? When we examine the careful scribal edits made in the scrolls, which obviously vie for consistency, is it possible that two scribal practices coexisted—one characterized by square writing and the other by writing divine names in paleo-Hebrew? Would it not be expected that paleo-Hebrew writing for divine names would have replaced the use of square script when the trend started to become popular in Qumran?

In order to look for patterns for dates in scrolls in Group A and Group B (scrolls characterized by the circumvention of the Tetragrammaton), I created three charts below.

Each chart features dates for every scroll in square script, with Tetrapuncta alternations (Group A) and for all scrolls exhibiting paleo-*El* and *Elohim* (Group B).

The first chart displayed dates for scrolls in Group A, which constituted documents written in square script. Group A alternations are in square script.

Group A

Scrolls	Assumed Date[139]	Overlapping fragments	Assumed Dates of Overlapping Fragments
CD A and B alternations	Geniza 10th century	4Q266; 4QDa[140]	100-50 B.C.E.
	Geniza B 11th or 12th century	4Q269; 4QDd	30-1 B.C.E.
1Q28; 1QS	100-50 B.C.E.	4Q259; 44QSe	50-25 B.C.E.
1Q28b; 1QSb	125-75 B.C.E.		
1QSa	100-50 B.C.E.		
1Q33; 1QM	30-1 B.C.E.	4Q491; 4QMa	30-1 B.C.E.
		4Q492; 4QMb	50-1 B.C.E.
4Q285	30-1 B.C.E.	11Q14; 11Q; Sefer ha-Milhamah	30-50 C.E.
1QHa	30-1 B.C.E.	4Q428	(125) 100-50 B.C.E.
4Q504	200-100 B.C.E.		
11Q13	75-25 B.C.E.		

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[139] The dates are quoted from Brian Webster, "Chronological Index of the texts from the Judean Desert," (DJD 39; ed. Tov; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 351-451.
[140] See comment by Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 242. "Note that 4QDa,d,e,f do not use the paleo-Hebrew characters for *El* and that the text 4QDb (4Q267) writes *El* in both the paleo-Hebrew and the square script."

This table features all Tetrapuncta alternations in Group A with dates and names of scrolls where alterations appeared.

Scrolls	Assumed Date	Scrolls	Dates
1QS (1Q28)	100-50 B.C.E	4Q175 (4QTest)	125-100 B.C.E.
4Q248 (4QHistTextA)[141]	168 B.C.E.	4Q306 (4Q Men of People)	150-50 B.C.E.
4Q391 (pap psEzek^e)	150-100 B.C.E.	4Q462 (4QNarr C)	50-25 B.C.E.
4Q524 (4QT^b)	150-125 B.C.E.		

The second group of scrolls (Group B), characterized by the circumvention of the Tetragrammaton, is comprised of sectarian and non-sectarian texts and features paleo-Hebrew for *El* and *Elohim.*

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[141] Wise, Abegg and Cook, *New Translation,* 347.

Group B

Sectarian Document	Assumed date	Sectarian Document	Assumed date
1Q27 (1QMyst) The book of Secrets	no data	4Q180 (4QAges of Creation A)	30-68 C.E.
1QHᵃ (Thanksgiving Hymns)	30-1 B.C.E.	4Q267; (4QDᵇ) *El* is written in paleo-Hebrew and in square script	30-1 B.C.E
1QHᵇ (1Q35); (Thanksgiving Hymns)	100-50 B.C.E.[142] or B.C.E 15 (Tov's estimate)	4Q268 (4QDᶜ)	1-30 C.E.
3Q14 (3Q (Unclassified fragments)	Unknown	6QpapHymn (6Q18)	30 B.C.E.-68 C.E.

Non-sectarian documents	Assumed date		
4Q406 (4QShirShabbᵍ)	Unknown		
4Q413 (4QDivProv)	30 B.C.E-68 C.E.		
4Q258 (4QSd)	30-1 B.C.E.		
6Q15 (6QD)	1-100 C.E.		

What do the charts show? Tetrapuncta usually appear to be dated earlier than the square alternations, except in one case: 4Q462 (50-25 B.C.E.). From the data recorded, it is clear than in most cases Tetrapuncta alternations predate the square script alternations. As for square script and paleo-Hebrew alternations, although they often seem to be concurrent in the period 30-1B.C.E., paleo-Hebrew alternations occur more frequently in

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[142] 4QHᵇ (100 – 50 B.C.E.); This is the date assigned by Eileen Schuller in "4QHodayot and 4QHodayot-like, 4Q427-432, 4Q433, 433a, 440 " (DJD 29; ed. Tov; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 74. Tov gives b. 15 as a mid-point date for 1Q35 in "Appendix 1- Characteristic Features of the Qumran Scribal Practice," in *Scribal Practices,* 281.

the C.E. than the square script alternations. The trend toward paleo-Hebrew alternations seems to have been a later development.

The next step is an application of the study on divine names to determine the sources of documents. In order to form some educated guesses on the origins of the documents, we look at a number of data such as dates, linguistic profiles, scribal hands, Qumran scribal practice style, as well as the use of divine names.

CHAPTER 6: APPLICATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS: TEXTUAL ORIGINS AND CHARACTERISTICS

STUDY OF CLUES INDICATIVE OF SCROLLS ORIGINS

In this section, I will investigate an application of the alternation study on divine names. Is the use of alternations in paleo-Hebrew or in square script contributing to the information on scrolls' origins? The corpus of texts using the *El* alternation is compiled based on criteria of the circumvention of the Tetragrammaton. Two forms of divine names alternations characterize it. First, texts in square script (Group A) displaying alternations to scriptural quotations and Tetrapuncta alternations are listed. Second, are texts displaying writing traditions alternations such as paleo-*El* (paleo-*Elohim*) (Group B).

In Group B characterized by paleo-*El* (*Elohim*), texts are in square script, embedding writing of divine names in paleo script. As noted earlier, some square script documents classified in this group sometimes have overlapping documents exhibiting paleo-Hebrew, for example, cave 4 copies of 4QD^a, 4QD^b, 4QD^c, and 4QD^d.

Using criteria such as dates, genres,[143] linguistic profile, sectarian content and *scriptio plena*, individual scribal interventions, and scribal schools,[144] I highlight, through

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[143] Genres are based on Armin Lange with U. Mittmann-Richert, "Annotated List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified by Content and Genre," (DJD 39*;* ed. Tov; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 115-165.

the lens of paleo-Hebrew or square script for divine names, elements suggestive of origins and of scribal practice in Qumran or in some other location.

In the following section, an examination will be conducted of the scrolls composing Group A and Group B to determine if information about scribal hands, linguistic analysis, Qumran scribal practice, sectarian nature, and divine names written in paleo-Hebrew or in square script may lead to the identification of the origins of scrolls. For texts displaying paleo-Hebrew for divine names and *scriptio plena* and sectarian content, I examine if the evidence supports Tov's claim regarding characteristics of texts written in Qumran. For texts using divine names in square script, I use a combination of data including scribal hands, linguistic profiles, dates, alternations to the Tetragrammaton, among other sources of information.

INVESTIGATION ON ORIGINS OF TEXTS

THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT (CD), AND PARALLEL OVERLAPPING FRAGMENTS 4Q266, 4Q267, 4Q268, AND 6Q15

The *Damascus Document,* a medieval copy found in the Cairo Geniza, is a distinctive document. CD A and B are dated from the 10th -11th century and from the 12th century C.E.;

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[144] According to Tov, the most characteristic feature of Qumran Hebrew is "*scriptio plena*" or "full writing." The use of the letter *waw* and *yod* indicates vowels such as long and short *holem*, *sureq*, *qibbus*, *qames*, *hatup, hatep qammes* and, sometimes, *vocal shewa*. Also characteristic is the use of the "he" and "aleph" as final vowel letters. In other words, the system is characterized by a tendency toward full phonetic spelling and the use of elongated forms with ה and א. For a more extensive definition of full, mixed, or defective style, refer to Abegg, "The Linguistic Analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls: More than (Initially) Meets the Ey*e,*" in "*Methods and Theories in the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls*" (ed. M. Grossman; Cambridge: Eerdsmans, 2010), 48-68; see also Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986); Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew," 235-52; Tov, *Scribal Practices,* 261.

whereas, the overlapping fragments found in cave 4, 5 and 6 are dated from the 1ˢᵗ century

B.C.E. A number of overlapping fragments were found in Qumran, among them are 4Q266-

4Q269 and 6Q15. These texts belong to the Parry and Tov's genre "Texts Concerned with

Religious Law*."*

An examination of the scrolls reveals a number of differences between the scrolls

highlighted below. The CD A and B versions do not display any paleo-Hebrew script in

contrast with overlapping fragments, such as 4Q267 and 4Q268. However, not all

fragments listed as overlapping display the same writing traditions. 4Q267 and 4Q268

exhibit both paleo-Hebrew and square script for *El.* In 4Q267, *El* is written four times in

paleo-Hebrew (4Q267 3 7; 4Q267 9 I, 2 3; 4Q267 9 IV, 4 4; and 4Q267 9 V, 4). 4Q267 does

not exclude normal square script. *El* appears in square script in 4Q267 2 5 7 (twice), 13,

and in 4Q267 9 IV, 11. It is noteworthy that *El* in square script in 4Q267 9 IV, 11 appears on

the same fragment 4Q267 9 IV as 4Q267 9 IV, 4 4 featuring paleo-*El*. In 4Q267 7 6, *El* is

again written in square script. Another overlapping fragment that features paleo-Hebrew

displays more internal consistency. 4Q268 1 9 exhibits one instance of *El* written in paleo-

Hebrew, but no instance of *El* in square script.

Other manuscripts of CD from Cave 4, such as 4Q266, 4Q269 and 4Q270 do not

display any instances of paleo-*El*. El appears in square script in 4Q266, 4Q269 and 4Q270.

In CD A and B the texts display all divine names in square script. The alternation pattern

reflects those of other "sectarian" scrolls, namely, they avoid the Tetragrammaton with

alternations such as *El* and הוא. Dating appears to be a decisive element to explain

differences in scripts and style between CD and the 4QD versions. Obviously, the two

groups of documents can be attributed to different scribal schools on the basis of dates. CD is a medieval copy; whereas, the other 4Q parallel scrolls range from the 1st century B.C.E. to the 1st century C.E.

The use of the square script in CD suggests that scribes in the medieval period observed the Rabbinic prohibitions about writing in paleo-Hebrew script (*m. Yad* 4.5; *b. Sanh.* 21b),[145] which forbade the use of paleo-Hebrew script for biblical texts. It can be assumed that the prohibition spread to paleo-Hebrew writing of divine names.

A scribal school policy seems, in the case of CD, a determining element in selecting the script for writing divine names. The practice used in CD displays neither common *plene* forms such as לוא (no), כול (all), אדוני (Lord), אלוהים (God), nor paleo-Hebrew. Just as the medieval copies were probably written in the scribal school fashion favored by Karaites at that time, a scribal school used paleo-Hebrew characters for divine names in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[146]

Tov defined criteria for the following system characterizing a "Qumran scribal school.". They include: (1) the presence of specific writing materials (animal skins and papyrus); (2) the use of paleo-Hebrew writing for divine names; and (3) a specific orthographic and morphological system, distinct from the Masoretic style, which applied to a spectrum of *plene* styles.[147] 4Q266, 267, 268 and 270 are all written with the orthography and the morphology of the "Qumran scribal practice style."[148] There are, however,

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[145] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 247.
[146] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 245.

inconsistencies in styles between the various overlapping 4Q scrolls that need to be explained. Some show paleo-Hebrew for divine names while others do not.

An examination of the dates of the overlapping fragments gives some clues concerning the potential factors for the discrepancies. 4Q266 is dated in the range 100-50 B.C.E.,[149] a time when square Hebrew script was the hallmark of Hebrew style. We combine the following elements. The square script was common between 100-50 B.C.E., the linguistic full orthography profile, which appears to be very similar to 1QH[a], and the absence of paleo-*El*.[150] The logical conclusion is that 4Q266 was likely to have been copied by a scribal school using the same template as one of the three identifiable scribal hands in 1QH[a], 1QH[a]: Hand A. However, it is difficult to determine the origin with complete certainty. 4Q266 presents a picture of mixed full orthography style and of mixed style, close to the one exhibited in 1QH[a]. The alternation pattern to *YHWH* is unique: a8; alternation of אונ הו for יהוה. We could surmise that this overlapping text with CD was created in Qumran on the basis of the orthography style and of the similarity with 1QH[a] Hand A. However, it is noteworthy that in 4Q266, as in 4Q267, 268, and 269, no reference to the *Yahad* can be found in these fragments, whereas, 4Q270 displays two allusions to the community.

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[147] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 279-288. See Appendix 1: "Characteristic Features of the Qumran Scribal Practice."
[148] 4Q269 constitutes a special case. We will return to this later.
[149] The date was suggested by Webster who based it on the original editors (DJD 39).
[150] Tov seems to use the term "sectarian nature" for a document whose authorship is from Qumran and sometimes defines texts as "sectarian nature" when they are written in Qumran scribal practice style. He claims that Qumran scribal practice applies to texts generally considered as sectarian. For Tov, the combination of Qumran scribal practice and of divine names in paleo-Hebrew indicates that the scroll was sectarian. He posits that if a scroll is sectarian, it was authored in Qumran. See also Abegg, "Methods and Theories," 54.

There are internal discrepancies between 4Q266 and 1QS, which also describes a community organization. Moreover, 1QS is written in a full orthography style similar to 1QIsa[a]. In the table "Biblical Manuscripts from Qumran," the linguistic profile for non-biblical manuscripts shows a similar combination of mixed *plene* and defective style for 1QIsa[a] and 1QS.[151] In 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSb, as well as 4Q175, we have a helpful clue to determine a relationship with Qumran. An individual was identified as the scribe of 1QS. His distinctive hand was also recognized in other manuscripts, such as the biblical Texts 4QSam[c] and1QIsa[a]. This scribe was systematic and consistent in his scribal habits; he did not use paleo-Hebrew for divine names and substituted Tetrapuncta as an alternation to the Tetragrammaton. The scribe was probably active around 100 and 80 B.C.E.,[152] a period characterized by square script. The activity of this scribe indicates that 1QS and 1QIsa[a] were edited or penned in Qumran. Unfortunately, there is no similar evidence to correlate the Qumran location and a scribal connection for 4Q266.[153]

The situation is even less clear in 4QD[a] (4Q267) and 4QD[b] (4Q268), dated 30-1 B.C.E. and 1-30 C.E. respectively. Around these dates, a paleo-Hebrew trend for divine names had emerged at Qumran and was then employed by scribes in non-biblical manuscripts. The confusion stems from the fact that 4Q267 exhibits mixed scribal patterns. In 4Q267 9 IV 4, *El* (God) is in paleo-Hebrew in במ[עשי אל, (deeds of God) and in the same

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[151] Abegg, "Linguistic Analysis," 54.

[152] Patrick Skehan, "The Divine name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll and in the Septuagint," *BIOSCS* 13 (1980): 14-44*.*

[153] Steudel states that "two scribes may have produced a single manuscript," she highlighted the two manuscripts as 1QH[a] and 4QD[a]. See A. Steudel, "Assembling and Reconstructing Manuscripts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (vol. 1; ed. Peter Flint and James Vanderkam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 519.

fragment on line 11 אל (God) is written in square script: אל (God) [באי ברית] (covenant of

God). At 4Q267 9 V 4, we find that *El* is in paleo-Hebrew: ברית אל (covenant of God). The

unusual erratic combination of paleo-Hebrew and square script for the name *El* in one

fragment (4Q267 9) might be due to a scribal error. There were only two scribal

corrections for 4Q267 and none in 4Q268 as opposed to 4Q266, which displayed 52 scribal

interventions. In effect, we do not have enough data to make a solid assumption. It is

noteworthy that 4Q267 displays the Qumran scribal practice style. Therefore, on the basis

of the additional strong component of alternation of אל (God) (covenant of God) (for יהוה)

in paleo-Hebrew, a Qumran location may be suggested for 4Q267.

In 4Q268 1 9, *El* is written in paleo-Hebrew in this cave 4 version of D fragment, and

it was in the same construct as in 4Q267 9 IV, 4: אל [במעש[י] (deeds of God). The use of

paleo-Hebrew is consistent for *El* (God) in 4Q268, which features as well "Qumran scribal

practice" morphology and orthography, specifically the *scriptio plena*, and the paleo-script

for divine name. Therefore, a Qumran origin can be assumed for 4Q268. Interestingly, this

line overlaps with the same line in CD I, 1-2 where אל appears in square script.

4Q269 constitutes a special case. The text does not exhibit paleo-Hebrew characters,

although it is dated 30-1 B.C.E., the same period as 4Q267; There is some question about

whether it was written in the Qumran scribal practice. The different script on this parallel

text as well as the questionable Qumran scribal practice identification may support the

theory of Schofield who suggests that Qumran was not the only place for the *Yahad*'s

activities and that other sectarian communities existed characterized by numerous

exchanges among the different locations.[154] The *Yahad* was a broad and diverse group, which shared textual and legal traditions, but was not necessarily located solely at Qumran. Schofield's theory may explain why 4Q269, which was dated in the same period as 4Q267, was written in a style that did not fully conform to the "Qumran style practice." It may have been penned by a scribal school in a location other than Qumran.

With respect to 6Q15, we observe a mixture of scripts; whereby, paleo-*El* appears in one fragment and in another *El* is in square script.[155] One paleo-*El* does not need to be mentioned because it is a reconstruction (6Q15 3 4). However, the two other occurrences of paleo-*El* are clearly marked (6Q15 3 5). In 6Q15, the name of God in square script does not appear in the same fragment as the three paleo-*El*.[156] 6Q15 is written in (*scriptio plena*) but no one has yet made a judgement about the writing style. Tentatively, we could suggest a Qumran origin.

<div align="center">

1Q Mysteries (1QMyst) (1Q27; 4Q299-301)

</div>

1Q27 is classified as a "Sapiential text" under the subgenre "Sapiential Instructions." It displays the characteristic style of paleo-Hebrew writing for *El* in 1Q27 (1Q27 1 II, 11 for paleo*El* and in 1Q27 2 1, a reconstructed *El* is in square characters). However, there are four occurrences of El in square script in 4Q299.

1Q27 is associated with a question mark for "sectarian nature" by Tov indicating that he cannot safely establish sectarian content because1Q27 does not make any internal reference to the *Yahad*. However, Qumran scribal practice is attested in the text with

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[154] Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 220-271.
[155] Parry and Tov, eds., "Texts Concerned with Religious Law," 177. See also, 6Q15 3, 4, 5.
[156] Parry and Tov, eds., "Texts Concerned with Religious Law,"176-178.

scriptio plena orthography. No date was assigned by Tov to this scroll and none could be found in Webster. We tentatively assume that 1Q27 is a text penned in Qumran on the basis of the paleo-Hebrew El and of the *scriptio plena*.

4Q299 3 II, 12 displays as an alternation for the Tetragrammaton, the pronoun "He" (הוא for יהוה). The text is written in *scriptio plena* (4Q299 3 II, 12) (4Q Mysteries[a]) is dated at 3 C.E.

Although the sectarian content cannot be ascertained, the combination of paleo-Hebrew for *El* and the *scriptio plena* orthography point to a Qumran origin for 1Q27. The absence of paleo-Hebrew in 4Q299 could be suggestive of another origin than Qumran, especially at a time when paleo-Hebrew for divine names was popular.

(1QS) 1Q Rule of the Community (Manual of Discipline) (4Q258-4Q259)

1QS was the first S text discovered. It was published by M. Burrows in 1951 as the *Manual of Discipline*. 1QS is the longest and best preserved manuscript of S. *Rule of the Community* is listed under Parry and Tov's genre "Community Rules." 1QS as well as 4Q259 feature "Qumran scribal practice."[157] As indicated in the analysis of the origin of 4Q266, a Qumran scribe was a pivotal figure in establishing a link between 4Q266 and Qumran with his edits. However, it is noteworthy that 1QS linguistic profile is similar to 1QM. Moreover, in 1QS 2 16 is found a reference to the Sons of Light, a common phrase in 1QM. Therefore, there is internal evidence of a connection between 1QS and 1QM (*War Scroll*).[158]

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[157] Tov, *Scribal Practices,* 245
[158] Abegg, Methods and Theories, 54.

4QS^d (4Q258) shows a sectarian reference, since it mentions the *Yahad* and displays

two instances of paleo-*El*, but 4Q258 is written in a defective style more characteristic of

biblical Hebrew than of the *plene* style used in Qumran. This is a striking departure from

the Qumran *scriptio plena* style and suggestive of another scribal source or origin. 4Q258 is

therefore an unusual case, since it combines a defective style with instances of paleo-*El.*

Until now, paleo-Hebrew was associated with Qumran. Does that fact suggest that paleo-

Hebrew was used for divine names in other parts of Palestine since the defective style

would appear indicative of another origin than Qumran?

With respect to the transmission history of S (1QS) and Cave 4 versions 4Q258 and

4Q259, a scholarly debate highlights two different points of view. On the one hand, Metso

suggests that there was an original, unpreserved version of S from which emanated two

main lines of textual traditions, one represented by the 4QSD material (4Q258) and the

other represented by 4Q259. Schofield, on the other hand, contends that 4QS^d (4Q258) and

4QS^e (4Q259) were earlier traditions and underwent a separate development and that 1QS

was the Qumran copy.[159] She also proposes a hypothetical reconstruction concerning

Jerusalem as a likely candidate as the source for Cave 4 versions, in particular for 4Q259.

Based on the fact that 4Q258 contained a number of variant recensions differing

from1QS and on Metso's subsequent conclusion that 4Q258 was an earlier distinctive

version, 4Q258 is a version that may have reflected an earlier development, a conclusion

shared by Schofield. 4Q258 does not fit the mold of the Qumran style, since it contains

predominantly *defective* spelling; therefore, I suggest that the manuscript may have been

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[159] Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad*, 130.

penned in a different location. However, we are faced with a dilemma. 4Q258 exhibits two

cases of paleo-*El*[160] and is dated 30-1 B.C.E. by Tov, who contends that the "Qumran Scribal

Practice style" as well as the use of paleo-Hebrew for the writing of divine names is a

characteristic style of Qumran.[161] We are thus presented with two options. First, a scribal

school in another location during that period used the same paleo-Hebrew script for divine

names as in Qumran. In that instance, the use of paleo-Hebrew for *El* was not associated

with Qumran. The second option might be that the defective style was not necessarily

associated with a location other than Qumran. This line of reasoning would be contrary to

the majority of established cases of Qumran as a place that created, edited, or penned

scrolls combining paleo-Hebrew and *plene* writing. Therefore, it seems logical to conclude

that the text originated in a location other than Qumran.

4Q259, as well, does not seem to have originated in Qumran because of the

following facts. Instead of the Sage's Hymn (1QS 10-5 11, 22), the scribe of 4Q259 has

appended a calendrical work. 4Q319 (4QOtot) establishes a correlation between certain

jubilee periods and other information relevant in Jerusalem's temple. This text may have

roots in an earlier time when some *Yahad* members were involved in the priestly rotations

since the information would be of interest to members living in Jerusalem. The lack of

paleo-*El* would support Schofield's suggestions that the orthographic practices described

by Tov (i.e. *plene* style) may have been known elsewhere, making this system part of a

wider phenomenon that Ulrich labels more neutrally as "Palestinian scribal practice" or

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[160] Parry and Tov, eds., "Texts Concerned With Religious Law," 56-59; Col. VIII (Frgs. 4a ii, 4c-f), line 9; Col. IX (frg. 5 i).
[161] Tov, *Scribal Practices,* 245.

"Second Temple practice."[162] Schofield suggests the possibility of a Jerusalem tradition for

the development of 4Q259.[163] Our determination of an origin other than Qumran rests on

Schofield's assumptions of other origins for 4Q258 and 4Q259.

<center>THE WAR SCROLL OR MILHAMAH (1QM) 1Q33 4Q491-496</center>

The *War Scroll* (1QM) has been classified under the genre "Texts concerned with

Religious Law" and in a subsection called "Eschatological Rules."[164] It is also known in Cave

4 editions 4QM[a]-4QpapM[f] (4Q491-4Q496). 1QM is written in square script and exhibits

both a sectarian nature and the characteristics of "Qumran scribal practice." It is dated

30-1 B.C.E. 1QM and the overlapping fragment 4Q491 exhibit the combined characteristics

or sectarian language and Qumran scribal practice, as defined by Tov.

Was 1QM a Qumran scroll although it was found in the library with a number of

overlapping fragments? I suggest that the evidence indicates an origin other than Qumran,

although it is not a clear-cut case. If we look at the linguistic profile, both 1QM and 1QS

display the same full orthography *plene* forms, such as אלוהים (God), חודש (month), חוק

(statute), חושך (darkness), כוהן (priest), כוח (strength), כול (all), לוא (not), מושה

(Moses), קודש (holy), רואש (head) and, שלוש (three). They also exhibit mixed forms such

as ראש for 1QM and וען for 1QS. This similarity is strongly suggestive of the same scribal

school for both scrolls and clearly refers to Jerusalem.[165]

> ... from battle with the enemy to enter the congregation in Jerusalem, they
> shall write, "Rejoicings of God in a peaceful return." (1QM III, 11).

As is the case for 1QS, 1QM refers to Jerusalem. It can be assumed from 1QS that

Jerusalem was a home for some *Yahad* members where S traditions were kept and, at least

partially developed, as 1QM III, 11 indicates. This common environment is suggestive of a

common scribal school in the initial development of the scrolls, which may explain the

similarity in linguistic style between 1QS and 1QM. However, we know that 1QS was

connected with Qumran because of the intervention of the Qumran scribe, but we have no

such proof for 1QM. Additionally, although references to the *Yahad* community abound in

1QS and in the 4Q versions, this is not the case for 1QM. The dating range of the scroll is

another argument against a Qumran origin. The period 30–1 B.C.E. was a time of revival at

Qumran for writing divine names in paleo-Hebrew.[166] Tov claimed that the combination of

scriptio plena and divine names in paleo-Hebrew were a clue for a Qumran scroll. However,

1QM does not feature any paleo-Hebrew.

In 1QM the dominant alternation is אל (God) for יהוה, followed with אל אלים (God

of Gods) (3x) for יהוה, אלוהים (God) (2x) for יהוה אלוהים (Lord God), אל ישראל (God of

Israel) (13x) for יהוה, and אל הצּדק (Justice of God) (1x) for יהוה. The alternation patterns

coincide with the patterns recorded in Group A findings, which highlight the fact that the

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[165] Abegg, "Methods and Theories," 54.
[166] Schofield, From Qumran to the Yahad, 280.

main alternation in Group A is אל (God) for יהוה. Alternations in 1QM and 1QS differ

markedly. 1QM, however, comprises *El* alternations recorded in texts not mentioning the

Tetragrammaton. 1QS on the other hand displays different alternations. הואהא ,הוא (He,

God) for יהוה·•••• for יהוה. The Tetrapuncta edit made in Qumran is probably associated

with the fact that 1QS is an earlier document (100-50 B.C.E.). Would the similarities in

linguistic style and the references between 1QM and 1QS support the hypothesis that both

documents originated from the same location, but that 1QS was brought at an earlier date

to Qumran and developed in Qumran? It is difficult to draw a conclusion about the origin of

the 1QM scroll because we are faced with conflicting elements. We could make an

assumption based on the common full orthography pattern. IQS and 1QM may have been

authored originally by the same scribal school. But 1QM does not feature paleo-Hebrew in

30-1 B.C.E. when paleo-Hebrew was in vogue in Qumran for divine names. Did some old

scribe stubbornly keep up the square writing style for divine names in Qumran? The

example of the 1QS scribe indicates that this scribe was consistent in his edits as is shown

by his insertion of Tetrapuncta, an alternation popular in his epoch and common in the rest

of his edits. If we assume consistency on the part of scribes working in a particular

environment, 1QM probably would have been likely to feature paleo-Hebrew as a Qumran

scroll for divine names. Since it did not and since it does not mention the *Yahad*

community, it is possible to surmise that 1QM was not developed in Qumran but brought

over to the library.

The Hodayot fall under the genre "Poetic and Liturgical Texts" and are classified by Parry and Tov under the subgenre "*Hodayot* and *Hodayot-like* texts." The *Hodayot* constitute a collection of compositions dated to the mid-2nd century B.C.E.[167] Linguistic studies have shown that the language of the *Hodayot* is characterized by *scriptio plena*.[168] In addition, the sectarian content links the *Hodayot* to other writings associated with the *Yahad*. *Hodayot* contains numerous references to the *Yahad*. Three paleo-*El* alternations are found in 1QH[a] and one paleo-*El* in 1QH[b] (1Q35). Although *Hodayot* was included in the list of texts which do not display the Tetragrammaton, one doubtful occurrence of the Tetragrammaton showing the reconstruction of two letters can be found in one of the overlapping fragments 4QH[c] (4Q429) 6 2.

Three scribal hands were detected in the *Hodayot* manuscripts. In the *editio princeps*, the first scribe wrote from 1QH[a] II 12 – XIX 25a (middle). The so-called second hand continued from 1QH[a] XIX 25b-28. The lines between XIX 29 and XXVIII 15 show a third scribal hand. Eileen Schuller, in her reconstruction, she made every attempt to organize the manuscripts by scribal hand whereas Sukenik had used other criteria.[169]

First scribe or Hand A: *El* in paleo-Hebrew 1QH[a] VII 38 God of Truth

                             El in paleo-Hebrew 1QH[a] IX 28 God of Knowledge

                             El in paleo-Hebrew 1QH[a] X, 36 My God

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[167] For general information on the *Hodayot,* see Patrick Skehan, "The Divine Name," 14-44*.*
[168] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 278.
[169] Eileen M. Schuller and Carol A. Newsom, "The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QHa," (*SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature* 36; ed. Rodney A. Werline; Atlanta: SBL, 2012.)

Second scribe or Hand B: No mention of *El* appeared in the section assigned to the second scribe.

Third scribe or Hand C: *El* is written in square script.[170]

El is in paleo-Hebrew in 1QHᵇ (1Q35) 1 line 5. The fragment overlaps with 1QHᵃ XV, 34.

> א [אל   Fo]r [You are an eternal] God (1QHᵇ 1 5)
>
> כי אל עולם אתה For You are an eternal God (1QHa XV. 34)

In the passages attributed to the first scribe are found all the paleo-*El* examples in 1QHᵃ. All the paleo-*El* appears between columns 7 and 10. In passages displaying paleo-Hebrew, no instances of *El* in square script could be spotted. However, outside of these columns, all occurrences of *El* were in square script in 1QHᵃ. It should be mentioned that this organization was from a reconstruction by Schuller in DJD 40. A large number of scribal interventions appear in the *Hodayot*, with a scribal intervention every 11 lines. The first scribe was consistent in style and in the treatment of divine names in sections where the paleo-*El* is exhibited.[171] In the three quotations 1QHᵃ VII, 38; 1QHᵃ IX, 28; and 1QHᵃ X, 36, the names are consistently in paleo-Hebrew and no reference to *El* in another script can be spotted. The three paleo-Hebrew references are: 1QHᵃ VII, 38 אל אמת (God of truth), 1QHᵃ IX, 28 אל הדעות (God of knowledge); 1QHᵃ X, 36 אתה אלי (You, my God). The first scribe may have used the paleo-Hebrew writing in this section to underline the reverence associated with such hymns as the "Hymn of Creation" and "Teacher's Hymns."

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[170] 1QHᵃ 19:32, 20:12, 20:13, 20:14, 21:17, 21:32, 22:34, 24:34, 25:32, 26:33.
[171] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 22.

Two alternation patterns coexist in the texts written by the first scribe: the use of divine name alternations such as *Adonai* (a1) (1QH^a V, 15; XV, 31) and *El* (a5) (1QH^a XIV, 32) in square script for scriptural quotations and the systematic use of paleo-*El* in the middle section from columns 7 to10. The other scribes used the square script and the characteristic *El* alternation pattern in 1QH^a. The third scribe used *Adonai* (a1) (1QH^a XIX, 35-36) and *El* (a5) (1QH^a XIX, 32; XXII, 34). A number of options are possible. The first scribe may have adopted for part of his transcription a writing style that was becoming trendy in Qumran in that period. Alternatively, the other sections were written from different sources or from different locations. The third scribe merely used the standard scribal school style in the location where they were working.

In *Hodayot*, the name *Adonai* appears seven times as an alternation. However, *Adonai* is only counted as one occurrence because it is part of a recurrent formulaic incipit.

Scripture base	*Hodayot*	Alternation
Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10	1 data point for: 1QH^a V, 15; 1QH^a VI, 19; 1QH^a VIII, 26; 1QH^a XIII, 22, XVIII, 16; XIX, 35-36; 4Q428 12 I, 4	אדני (*Lord*) for יהוה (*LORD*)
	1QH^a I, 26; 1QH^a II, 34; 1QH^a XV, 25[172]	אל (*God*) for יהוה (*LORD*) paleo-hebrew (3x)[173]
Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10	1QH^a XIX, 32; 1QH^a XXII	אל (*God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)
	1QH^b; 1Q35 I, 5	אל (*God*) in paleo-Hebrew

[172] Numbering is from Parry and Tov, "Poetic and Liturgical Texts," (*DSSR* 5; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

[173] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 243. In Table 1, Tov quotes four references to *El* in paleo-Hebrew, I (Suk.=Puech IX) 26; II (X) 34; VII (XV) 5; XV (VII) 25. Tov cites Sukenik VII 5 (DJD 40=15:8), but Sukenik only references three occurrences found in DSSHU.

Abegg compiled the most frequent seventeen terms displaying the use of the letters *waw* and *yod* to indicate vowels, which is a characteristic of DSS Hebrew and of Qumran Hebrew, in order to illustrate a spectrum of full orthography, mixed orthography and defective orthography in the Non-biblical Manuscripts in Qumran. In his linguistic profiles, 1QH[a] Hand A, and 1QH[a] Hand B share a number of of *plene* forms; however, 1QH[a] Hand A displays a larger component of mixed orthographic style than 1QH[a] Hand B.[174] The discrepancy is suggestive of a different scribal approach for each part. If 1QH[a] is associated with the Qumran site, the differences in style between 1QH[a] and 1QH[b] raise a number of questions. 1QH[a] Hand B may have come from a location different from 1QH[a] Hand A or the scribe may have retained some specific personal writing characteristics. Another option is that the document may be a copy and both scribes had different *Vorlagen*.

With respect to 1Q35, because Tov indicated some uncertainty about the Qumran Scribal Practice for the scroll, it could initially suggest that 1Q35 had a different origin than 1QH[a] which was written in the Qumran Scribal Practice style. However, in determining a Qumran origin for 1Q35, we take into account the presence of paleo-Hebrew (Both documents are dated from 30-1 B.C.E), indications of Qumran Scribal Practice (לוֹא, suffix spelled כה). Moreover, both 11QH[a] and 1Q35 feature a sectarian content: they are both lists

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[174] Abegg, "The Linguistic Analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Methods and Theories in the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Maxine Grossman; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 48.

of personal prayers and psalms that may have been composed by the Teacher of Righteousness.[175]

<center>UNCLASSIFIED FRAGMENT 3Q14</center>

3Q14 is an unclassified fragment in Hebrew. Because of the lack of sufficient data, in spite of the paleo-Hebrew *El* (3Q14 18 2), because 3Q14 is so fragmentary, no hypothesis can be made about the origins of the scroll or the underlying system in paleo-Hebrew divine name usage.

<center>4Q AGES OF CREATION A (4QAGESGREAT A) 4Q180</center>

As in the case of 11Q13, 4Q180 constitutes a thematic *pesher* featuring Qumran scribal practice. It is dated from 30-68 C.E. and exhibits a paleo-*El*. It is written in *plene* style as well and, according to Tov's definition, because of the combination of "Qumran scribal practice" and paleo-Hebrew for divine names, this scroll is associated with the Qumran location. However, the scroll does not make any reference to the *Yahad.*

<center>4QSEFER HA-MILHAMAH (4QSM) 4Q285, 11Q SEFER HAMILHAMAH (11QSM) 11Q14</center>

Parry and Tov list 4Q285 under the general genre "Texts concerned with religious law" and under the subgenre of "Eschatological rules." 4Q285 and 11Q14 do not employ the Tetragrammaton and use *El Elyon* (the God Most High) as an alternation. *El Elyon* represents an unusual type of alternation since it is only exhibited in 4Q285 and 11Q14 in our list of alternations for Qumran non-biblical manuscripts' quotations from scripture. 4Q285 is dated to 30-1 B.C.E. and 11Q14 is dated to 30-50 C.E. Both texts are characterized

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[175] This was pointed out to me in a privage discussion with Prof. Abegg on 11/18/14.

by a Qumran scribal practice and a sectarian content and do not exhibit paleo-Hebrew script for divine names.

The relationship between 1QM and 4Q285 has been established by a linguistic analysis of their unique shared vocabulary.[176] Initially, we surmised a source other than Qumran for 1QM. A relationship is established between 1QM and 4Q285. The common vocabulary, the use of unusual divine names, such as *El Elyon* and the dates suggest that 1QM, 4Q285 and 11Q14 may have developed in a location other than Qumran. A possibility is Jerusalem, according to the model of related sectarian branches developed in parallel, which has been suggested by Schofield.

4Q Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4QShirShabb9) 4Q406

A fragment (4Q406 1 2-5) of 4QShirShabb[g] shows an unusual divine name alternation, the only paleo-Hebrew *Elohim* in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts.[177] Carol Newsom translated *Elohim* "God-like beings."[178] In all other ShirShabbat songs, although *El* is used at times, the divine name appearing most frequently is *Elohim*. The script for all divine names is the square Hebrew script. 4QShirShabb[g] constitutes the only instance the paleo-Hebrew script is displayed for a divine name in any of the Shirshabbath scrolls.

The dates of other related scrolls vary significantly. The different dates would suggest that different scribes may have worked in the ShirShabbath compositions. *Elohim*

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[176] Abegg, "Messianic Hope and 4Q285: Reassessment," *JBL* 113 (1994): 81-91.

[177] Tigchelaar, "Annotated Lists of Overlaps and Parallels in Non-biblical Texts from Qumran and Masada," (DJD 39; ed. Tov; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 307. 4QShirShabb[g] (Q406) is classified under the genre "Collection of Prayers and Liturgical Texts for Festivals." No date has been assigned to 4Q406. Tov recorded a non-sectarian category for 4Q406 on account of the lack of data because 4Q406 is in an extremely fragmentary state.

[178] Parry and Tov, "Poetic and Liturgical Texts," 415.

is an unusual alternation in the group of scrolls, which were just examined but occurs

several times in 4QShirShabb scrolls. Additionally, some minor discrepancies were noted in

the linguistic profiles of *plene* writing of 4Q403 and 4Q405, which may be suggestive of

changes in scribal school policies or of a number of scribal hands.[179]

In conclusion, inconsistencies in the use of divine name scripts and dates may be

indicative of several scribal interventions. The occurrence of *Elohim* as a divine name in

paleo-Hebrew is unusual in *El* scrolls. Tov indicates in his appendix that there are no data

with respect to the Qumran Scribal Style for 4Q406. As a result, Shirshabbath was probably

not written in Qumran, in spite of the presence of divine names in paleo-Hebrew for two

reasons: because of the unusual name Elohim, which is unique in scrolls circumventing the

Tetragrammaton and because of the lack of data recorded by Tov with respect to the

Qumran Scribal Practice.[180]

4Q WORDS OF THE LUMINARIES 4QDIBHAM (4Q504)[181]

4Q504 is one of the Group A texts that is unusual in Group A for a number of reasons.

It does not belong to the genre "Texts concerned with religious law," but is classified as a

"poetic and liturgical text."

4Q504 exhibits Qumran scribal style. An interesting feature about 4Q504 is that it is

dated prior to the settlement of Qumran at the beginning of the 1st century B.C.E. The date

150 B.C.E is an earlier date than the one ascribed to the oldest surviving manuscripts of the

undisputed sectarian writings, but earlier than the dates generally accepted by

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[179] Abegg, "Methods and Theories," 55.
[180] Tov, *Qumran Scribal Practices,* 283.
[181] Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *A New Translation*, 522.

archaeological evidence for the settlement at Qumran.[182] On the basis of archaeological

investigations, Qumran settlement was dated from 100 B.C.E. to 73 or 74 C.E.[183] We

assume, therefore, that 4Q504 was brought to Qumran from another location. This

evidence casts some doubt on the identification of the Qumran scribal practice, since

4Q504 predates the Qumran settlement. Additionally, 4Q504 and 4Q506 do not contain any

references to the *Yahad*.

Some critics of Tov's hypothesis have claimed that the *plene* writing style Tov had

named "Qumran scribal practice" might be more accurately called "Second Temple scribal

practice."[184] In fact, Tov's hypothesis about a scribal style linked to the Qumran location is

questionable if we assign other origins to scrolls such as 1QM, 4Q285 and 11Q14. A

comparison of the linguistic profile of 4Q504 displaying full orthography with other

documents such as 1QS or 1QM indicates that 4Q504 displays fewer terms as *plene* than

1QM and 1QS and is closer to 4Q511. However, because 4Q504 is written in a *plene* style, it

may undermine the claim of a "Qumran scribal practice" that is characteristic of Qumran. In

conclusion, because of the date traditionally given to the text, 4Q504 could not have been

penned in Qumran as the settlement did not exist then.

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[182] Webster, "Chronological Index of the Texts in the Judaean Desert," (DJD XXXIX, Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 372.
[183] Magness, Archaeology of Qumran, 68.
[184] Tigchelaar, "Assessing Emanuel Tov's 'Qumran Scribal Practice,'" 173-207

6QᴘᴀᴘHʏᴍɴ 6QHʏᴍɴ (6Q18)

6Q18 is classified by Tov as a document exhibiting a sectarian nature and written in the Qumran scribal practice orthography.[185] The text is dated 30 B.C.E.–68 C.E., a time of revival for the paleo-Hebrew script. Three instances of paleo-Hebrew *El* are displayed in 6Q18. Two paleo-*El* appear in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts at 6Q18 6 5; 6Q18 8 1; and 6Q18 10 3.[186] However, because of the lack of sufficient data, it is difficult to suggest an origin for this text even though the date, nature, existence of full *scriptio plena*, and paleo-Hebrew combination suggest a Qumran location.

11Q Mᴇʟᴄʜɪᴢᴇᴅᴇᴋ (11Q13)

11QMelch Melchizedek (11Q13)[187] is dated 75-25 B.C.E., in other words, in a period in Qumran that predated the use of paleo-Hebrew for divine names. The fragments are written in square script. 11Q13 is classified by Tov as a sectarian document. Some of the terminology used in the text appears to confirm his assessment; for instance, the text is woven with sectarian language terms, such as קדושי אל (Holy ones of God), בני אל (Sons of God), אל ידין עמים (A divine being will judge the people).[188] Tov also classified the document in the Qumran scribal practice category.

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[185] 6Q18 is classified under the genre "Poetic and Liturgical Texts" and under the sub-genre as "Exorcisms" by Lange and Mittmann-Richert.

[186] 6Q18 10 3 is a reconstruction.

[187] 11Q13 is classified in the "Thematic Pesharim" genre (Commentaries on a theme) and is listed by Lange and Mittmaan-Richert under the genre "Exegetical texts" in "Pesharim Thematic Pesharim." However, Fitzmyer prefers the text to be identified as an example of an "eschatological midrash," which is an existing classification in the Qumran documents.

[188] Abegg, "Qumran Notes" lists a number of sectarian language examples. Cf. 11Q13 II, 4; II, 9; II, 11; II, 12, II, 14.

The divine names in 11Q13 include *El* and Melchizedek as an alternation for the Tetragrammaton. 11Q13 uses a distinctive writing style similar to *Pesharim* in the same category, such as 4QFlorilegium (4Q174), which usually quote the Tetragrammaton. The name Melchizedek is charged with ambiguity and double meanings. Etymologically, it may be used as a reference to the Tetragrammaton. The longing and hope for salvation and the terminology using *El* for the Tetragrammaton are quintessentially in the Qumran sectarian style, although the scroll does not feature any reference to the *Yahad*. In conclusion, although it is a hypothesis, based on sectarian language, divine name terminology characterized by *El,* Qumran scribal practice,[189] this text fits the mold of other texts that are considered to have been written in Qumran.

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[189] See some *matres lectionis* and long suffixes characteristic of Qumran scribal practice found in 11Q13: כיא, עש[ותמה, עוונותיהמה, אליהמה, המה, לוא.

Based on the available evidence, we have suggested origins for the following

scrolls.[190] The collection of the scrolls was defined by the following rules: a group of

Qumran non-biblical manuscripts that did not display the Tetragrammaton and used *El* as

the leading alternation for the Tetragrammaton was compiled. It was then divided into two

subsets, Group A and Group B. Group A was characterized by scrolls which were written in

square script and displayed alternations to scriptural units mentioning the name *YHWH*

and by the writing tradition of Tetrapuncta alternations, whereas, Group B focused on

scrolls featuring paleo-Hebrew alternations for the names *El* or *Elohim*.

Qumran origins	Non-Qumran origins
1Q27	4Q299
1QS Text was edited in Qumran and may have been developed in Qumran	4Q259; 4Q258;
1QSb	
	4Q285; 11Q14;
	1Q33? 4Q491? 4Q492?
4Q180	
1QHᵃ	4Q428?
1Q35	
4Q266?, 4Q267, 4Q268	4Q269

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[190] Some of our conclusions are tentative and could change with the discovery of other Hebrew scrolls from other locations. Additionally, it would be important to have a clear definition of a sectarian document based on elements, such as a sectarian terminology in texts considered as sectarian. Tetrapuncta, an alternation dating mostly to the Hasmonean era, were not included in this part of the study. According to Tov, these texts were probably written in Qumran scribal practice. 1QS VIII, 4; 4Q175 I, 19; 4Q176 1-2 I, 6, 7, 9; 1-2 II, 3; 8-10 6 8 (twice), 10; 176 3 1; 4Q462 7 12; 4Q524 6-13 4, 5. The Tetrapuncta appears to be a practice used as well in the following Qumran texts, not written in the Qumran scribal practice: 4Q248, 4Q306 3 5; 4Q391 36, 52, 55, 58, 65. Some scrolls featuring Tetrapuncta were found in other locations (XHev/Se6) dated around 30 B.C.E.-68 C.E. The date and the location are different from those of the rest of the documents, but I do not have enough data to make informed guesses on the origins of documents based on Tetrapuncta alternations.

Qumran origins	Non-Qumran origins
4Q413?	
	4Q504
	4Q406
6Q15?	
6Q18?	
11Q13	

CHARACTERISTICS OF TEXTS EXHIBITING SQUARE SCRIPT AND PALEO-HEBREW FOR DIVINE NAMES IN A

DOCUMENT (GROUP B)

Another application of the research is to examine the way divine name paleo-Hebrew writings are integrated with the square script. Was there an underlying rationale in the combination of paleo-Hebrew and square Hebrew for divine names? When did the scrolls display both the square script *El* and the paleo-*El* or *Elohim* in a document? Was it arbitrary and left to the discretion of scribes? If we look at scrolls displaying paleo-Hebrew, we find a range of occurrences. The findings concerning the existence of a system in the display of occurrences of paleo*El* or *Elohim* and of square *El* or *Elohim* are not clear cut in documents in Group B.

With respect to overlapping fragments of CD, 4Q267 is a unique instance. *El* is written in paleo-Hebrew (4Q267 3 VII; 9 I, 2). *El* in paleo-Hebrew script and *El* in square script are featured on the same fragment (4Q267 9 IV, 4; 4Q267 9 IV, 11), but usually paleo-Hebrew and square script are not located in the same fragment. In 4Q267 9 V, 4, *El* is

in paleo-Hebrew, but it is written in square script in 4Q267 2 5, 7, 13. The overlapping

fragment 4Q267 is dated from 30-1 B.C.E.

4Q268 (4Q268 1, 9) (1-30 C.E.) is characterized by *El* in paleo-Hebrew. 6Q15 (1-100

C.E.) displays an occurrence of paleo-Hebrew *El* (frg. 3) as well as a square script *El* (frg. 5),

but the two instances of *El* are found in different fragments.

1Q27 (1Q27 1 II, 11) (no data about date) shows an *El* in paleo-Hebrew. In 1Q27 2 I,

El is in square script, but both letters are doubtful and may constitute the end of a word

ישׂראל (Israel). There are not enough data to determine if paleo-*El* was used in a consistent

manner.

Concerning 1QS and overlapping fragment 4Q258 (30-1 B.C.E.), *El* is in square script

in 1QS, but is in paleo-Hebrew in 4Q258 VIII 9; IX, 8.

1QH^a (30-1 B.C.E.) displays three paleo-*El* (1QH^a VII, 38 [God of Truth], IX, 28 [God

of Knowledge], 1QH^a X, 36 [My God]). Three paleo-*El* are found between columns 7 and 10.

Within these columns, no other mention of *El* was found. Outside of columns 7-10,

numerous mentions of *El* in square script dot the text. 1Q35 1, 5 (100-50 B.C.E.) displays

one paleo-*El;* no occurrence of *El* in square Hebrew was found in 1Q35.

3Q14 (no date) is too fragmented to make any judgement. It is also unclassified in

Tov's appendix.

4Q180 (4Q180 1, 1) (30-68 C.E.) features a paleo-*El.* No mention of *El* was found in square script.

In 4Q406 1, 2, one paleo-*Elohim* was found. 4Q406 is in an extremely fragmentary state and no other occurrence of *El* was found in square script in the fragment. Outside of 4Q406 (from 4Q400 to 405), I noted numerous occurrences of *El* and *Elohim* in square script.

4Q413 (4Q413 1_2 2, 4) (30 BCE-68 C.E.) displayed two examples of paleo-*El.* No other instances of *El* appeared in the document.

6Q18 6, 5; 6Q18 8, 1; 6Q18 10 3 (30 B.C.E.-68 C.E.) are written in paleo-Hebrew.[191]

From the examples above, except for 4Q267, which represents a unique occurrence of paleo-*El* featured in the same fragment as a square script *El*, paleo-*El*, and square *El* do not occur in the same fragment. In 1QH[a] all occurrences of paleo-*El* are located within three columns and are not associated with any square script *El*. In 4Q406, a paleo-*Elohim* was not linked to any other mention of *El* or *Elohim* in this very fragmentary document. However, many occurrences of *Elohim* and *El* in square script were found in the other scrolls from 4Q400 to 4Q405. Additionally, in the period 30 B.C.E.-68 C.E.[192] numerous scrolls displaying paleo-Hebrew divine names and a Qumran scribal practice style were connected with Qumran, no date for 4Q406 was found, which may support the argument of another origin for that fragment.

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[191] 6Q18 10 3 is a reconstruction.
[192] The dates are quoted from Brian Webster, "Chronological Index of the texts from the Judean Desert," (DJD 39; ed. Tov; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 351-451.

This overview suggests that different scribal approaches can be detected in the scrolls, but that, in general, scribes tended not to employ paleo-*El* and square script *El* in the same document. In conclusion, depending on the scroll, the differentiation between square *El* and paleo-*El* in texts where paleo-*El* was written was more or less marked.

This project conducted research on *YHWH*: The Ineffable Name. The first part

involved the compilation of a corpus of scriptural units quoting the Tetragrammaton and

passages in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts featuring these quotations. The research

revealed three different kinds of documents in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Some featured the

Tetragrammaton without any alternation, some included the mention of the

Tetragrammaton as well as alternations, and a group of scrolls was characterized by the

circumvention of the Tetragrammaton. I focused on the third group in the Dead Sea Scrolls

and divided it into two groups: Group A and Group B. Group A was comprised of

alternations in square script and Tetrapuncta; whereas, Group B featured alternations in

paleo-Hebrew for the Tetragrammaton. Applications of the study, such as the use of divine

names, along with other elements to determine scrolls origins were investigated.

Additionally I analyzed distribution patterns of paleo-*El* and paleo-*Elohim* in Group B to

determine whether paleo-*El* and square script *El* were distributed in Qumran non-biblical

scrolls in a way indicative of a systematic approach.

In the collection phase of the project, I used Lange and Weigold corpus for building a

body of quotations involving the Tetragrammaton from the *Torah* to the *Nevi'im* and I

identified in the Dead Sea Scrolls quotations with alternations to the Tetragrammaton.[193]

This part of the research generated tables of alternations to scriptural units in Qumran

non-biblical manuscripts. The following tables were created: "Appendix B: Key of

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[193] Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations.*

alternations," "Appendix C: Tables of alternations organized by alternation types," and "Appendix D: Alternations per scrolls organized in Qumran order."

The tables produced a synoptic overview of divine names' alternations in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts. They show that in some scrolls, the mention of the Tetragrammaton was elaborately circumvented and that divine names' alternations varied depending on the scrolls. Some texts referred to the Tetragrammaton by the name itself and/or used alternate divine names and others displayed no variation in the divine names used in quotations of scriptural units. My preliminary study on alternations of the name *YHWH* in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts covered divine name alternations in "sectarian or non sectarian" scrolls and in various genres, from exegetical texts to apocalyptic and eschatological texts. The "Tables of Alternations" revealed that Qumran non-biblical manuscripts used alternations for divine names that were different from the ones appearing in DSS biblical manuscripts, a fact which might be indicative of different traditions.[194] The language in Qumran manuscripts may have constituted a distinctive and specific linguistic usage in Qumran or may have reflected the terminology used in the Second Temple period.

In the second part of this research, I focused on a specific group of Qumran non-biblical manuscripts characterized by a programmatic avoidance of the Tetragrammaton. The objective of the thesis was to determine what alternation patterns predominated and what practical applications the study could have with respect to identifying the sources or

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[194] I am grateful to Prof. Abegg for allowing me to use for my study his compilation of alternations in DSS biblical mss. The comparison of alternations in Qumran and in DSS biblical mss highlighted the specific character of the language used in Qumran. See, Schniedewind, "Qumran Hebrew," 235-252.

origins of the documents. The alternation patterns involved not only lexical and syntactical alternations but writing traditions as well, such as paleo-Hebrew *El* and *Elohim* and Tetrapuncta. Documents displaying writing traditions were then examined to determine how writing traditions, such as paleo-Hebrew *El*, were integrated into documents displaying an avoidance of the Tetragrammaton.

The corpus of scrolls was then divided into two groups. In Group A, I found that the most common alternation was the alternation *El* for the Tetragrammaton. The study also showed that the Tetrapuncta, which was used to circumvent the name *YHWH,* was a frequent alternation. The second group, Group B, specifically focused on documents which featured paleo-Hebrew *El* and *Elohim*. The study revealed that the paleo-*El* (and *Elohim*) were most popular in the Qumran non-biblical manuscripts from the latter third of the 1st century B.C.E. to the end of the 1st century C.E. One scroll, 1QH^b constituted an outlyer because it was dated by Eileen Schuller to 100-50 B.C.E.

The study looked into two applications of the research on divine names. The first involved using the findings on divine name alternations as an additional tool to investigate origins of scrolls, the second considered the distribution of divine names in paleo-Hebrew in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Was the usage of paleo-Hebrew governed by strict rules and was it systematic? To that end, I examined texts featuring paleoHebrew *El* and *Elohim* within the context of overlapping fragments and parallel documents. To determine origins, I used an array of components such as dates, scribal school and scribal intervention, the "Qumran scribal practice style," and the combination of paleo-Hebrew and *scriptio plena* for divine names. I also integrated linguistic profile comparisons and internal evidence, such as the

mention of the *Yahad* in texts and specific sectarian usage. Following Schofield, I assumed that Qumran was not the only location for the *Yahad*. There were other branches sharing the same ideological tenets that existed in locations such as Jerusalem or Jericho. On the basis of these criteria, it was possible to make some educated guesses whether the texts were authored (or edited and developed) in Qumran or had come from other locations. As an example, 1QS is a text featuring the same linguistic profile as 1QM. Because of the common features of the linguistic profile, it might be assumed that 1QS and 1QM were created in the same scribal environment in a location other than Qumran. However, since 1QS displayed a scribal intervention from an identified Qumran scribe, it shows that the text was edited in Qumran.

As for 4Q258, the text displays paleo-Hebrew. However, the linguistic profile shows that it is written not in the Qumran scribal practice style but in a defective style. We are then wondering if 4Q258 may have originated from another location because of the defective style inspite of the writing in paleo-Hebrew of the divine name.

However, it should be kept in mind that a number of these assumptions rest on Tov's claim of the association of Qumran practice style and of paleo-Hebrew divine names as an acid test for the identification of the connection of a document with Qumran. If we were to dismiss the Qumran scribal practice *plene* style as a usage which might have existed in Palestine in the Second Temple period, the only element connecting such a scroll with Qumran would be the paleo-Hebrew script used for divine names, and that would lead to the conclusion that 4Q258 was a Qumran document. We should keep in mind, however,

the case of 4QShirShabb[g] that seems not to have originated in Qumran, inspite of the paleo-Hebrew instance of *Elohim*.

Other tools to identify a link with the *Yahad* community would involve a study of the language in the scrolls. For example, the use of *Yahad* is a definite reference to the community.[195]   The study of the sectarian terminology and language offers additional evidence regarding the nature of a document as a sectarian document.

To determine if the writing of divine names in scrolls combining paleo-Hebrew script and square script was governed by rules, an examination was conducted of the scrolls in Group B. In short, it depended on the scroll. In some scrolls, no square *El* was found in texts featuring paleo-*El*, in others the segregation was less marked (except in 4Q267), paleo-*El* and *El* in square script were not usually seen in the same passage or fragment. These facts suggest that individual scribal initiative or possibly scribal school policy (4Q258, 4Q406) determined the organization of paleo-*El* and *El* in square script in scrolls. This area remains to be further investigated.

In summary, this thesis makes a contribution in several areas: initially, it identifies scriptural passages displaying alternations to the Tetragrammaton in the Qumran non-biblical manuscripts. It determines alternations from the *Torah* to *the Neviim* in the *Dead Sea Scrolls*, designates them and itemizes them by types and by scrolls. The tables created show that Qumran non-biblical manuscripts display distinctive alternation profiles. Some

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[195] The term *Yahad* is found in 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSb, 1QHab, 1QHa, 1Q31, 4Q164, 4Q171, 4Q174, 4Q177, 4Q181, 4Q252, 4Q254, 4Q255, 4Q256, 4Q257, 4Q258, 4Q259, 4Q261, 4Q263, 4Q265, 4Q270, 4Q284, 4Q286, 4Q287, 4Q288, 4Q402, 4Q408, 4Q414, 4Q427, 4Q431, 4Q472, 4Q477, 4Q502, 4Q511, 4Q512.

of them might be suggestive of a biblical nature. Some are distinctive because of a deliberate avoidance of the Tetragrammaton.

The research conducted on scrolls not featuring the Tetragrammaton shows that *El* and the Tetrapuncta were the substitutes most often used to circumvent the divine name, in square script in these scrolls. *Adonai* and *Elohim* were featured much less often. In manuscripts displaying instances of paleo-Hebrew *El,* the paleo-Hebrew was an important element in the identification of a connection with the Qumran community. The study of dates additionally corroborated the existence of a paleo-Hebrew trend in the Qumran writings in the period from the later third of the 1st century B.C.E. to 68 C.E. The information collected from the research contributed to inform hypotheses on origins of these scrolls. Additionally a study of the paleo-Hebrew distribution patterns in scrolls investigated different types of distributions of instances of *paleo-El* in scrolls.

The study also substantiates differences in concepts related to divine names between the Hebrew Bible and the non-biblical manuscripts used in Qumran. It highlights the existence of a distinctive terminology that may have been specific to the Second Temple period or characteristic of sectarian usage.

Overall, this study opens the door and provides the tools for further research on alternations in Qumran non-biblical scrolls, which mention the Tetragrammaton. The alternation tables facilitate the identification of alternation patterns in scrolls not using the Tetragrammaton. This study might lead to an examination of scrolls that display the Tetragrammaton in order to determine their nature, or genre, through the combination of

alternations. Research could examine as well how types of alternations could be used to determine genres. Texts in Group A, which did not feature the Tetragrammaton, mostly belonged to the genre "Texts concerned with religious law." Other documents, such as sapiential, poetic, and liturgical texts, involved instructional material for the community. In Group B, the collection of texts is more diverse. It includes poetic and liturgical texts, texts concerned with religious law, and sapiential texts. The collection even features a thematic *pesher* (4Q180) classified under "Parabiblical texts" and "Exegetical texts." However, in general, these texts were not "canonical." They are mostly related to the rules and regulations governing the Yahad and to instructional and liturgical material.

Additionally, a comparison between alternations patterns involving the name *YHWH* in Qumran non-biblical scrolls and in the MT would be instructive with respect to the "antilanguage" used in Qumran or the language used in Palestine and would illuminate the existence of different traditions in Qumran scrolls and in the MT.

Appendix A: Terms, Abbreviations, and Key Terms

Alternation: For the purpose of this study, an alternation, or substitution, to the Tetragrammaton is the metonym appearing in the place of the Tetragrammaton in a quotation from a biblical text used in one of the Qumran non-biblical manuscripts. Alternations can be divided into lexical and syntactical replacements for the Tetragrammaton and also writing tradition alternations. Several types of writing traditions are found in Qumran non-biblical manuscripts as replacements for the Tetragrammaton:

• Divine names written in paleo-Hebrew characters in texts written in square script.

• Four dots (called Tetrapuncta) in texts written in square script represent the Tetragrammaton. A variety of forms of Tetrapuncta is exhibited in the Qumran scrolls, among them: in XHev[196]/SeEschat Hymn four diagonal strokes replaced the four points; in 4QTanh (4Q176) and in 4Q Narrative C (4Q462) two clusters of two dots are written. 4QHistorical TextA (4Q248) features five strokes instead of four dots.[197]

• Dicolons: A dicolon followed by a space is systematically placed before the Tetragrammaton (written in the square script) in 4QRP[b] (4Q364), written in the Qumran practice of orthography and morphology (e. g. 14 3 [Exod 24:17]).[198]

DJD: Discoveries in the Judaean Desert:[199] These documents were accessed by means of

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[196] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 219.
[197] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 218.
[198] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 220.
[199] Tov, ed., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (*of Jordan*) (40 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955- 2009).

the Dead Sea Scrolls Accordance modules and Qumran Accordance modules.[200]

Dead Sea Scrolls Biblical Corpus, Canonical Order (DSSB-C): The Dead Sea Scrolls

Biblical Corpus consists of the books in the canon.

Key to Qumran non-biblical text numbers:

1-11: Number of the cave in Qumran

Q= Qumran Identification of the site

Name of the book: (e.g. CD)

Number of manuscript: 4Q285. (The first copy found in the archaeological excavations uses

the superscript [a] and the second [b].)

4Q285 1 5 refers to fragment 1, line 5 of 4Q285

4Q286 7 II 5 refers to fragment 7, column 2, line 5 of 4Q286

1QH[a] XI 2: column 11, line 2 of 1QH[a]

Lemma: In morphology and lexicography, a lemma is the canonical form, dictionary form,

or citation form of a set of words. In English, for example, *run*, *runs*, *ran*, and *running* are

forms of the same lexeme, with *run* as the lemma. *Lexeme*, in this context, refers to the set

of all the forms that have the same meaning, and *lemma* refers to the particular form that is

chosen by convention to represent the lexeme.[201] In this research, a *lemma* refers to the

quotation.

Midrash: Method of interpreting Scripture to elucidate legal points (Midrash Halakhah), or

to bring out lessons in a moralizing or edifying manner of the non-legal portions of the

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[200] Abegg, et al.; *Dead Sea Scrolls Biblical Corpus (Canonical Order) (DSSB-C)* (Grammatical tagging by Abegg, et al.; Trinity Western University; Oak Tree Software, Inc.; Version 2.4).
[201] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lemma_%28morphology%29 [(accessed April 12, 2014)].

Bible (Midrash Aggadah).[202]

MT: The Masoretic Text that was preserved in the Leningrad Codex dated 1008 or possibly 1009 C.E. and published in the *Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS).[203]

Overlapping fragment: Scroll fragment from one manuscript that contains the same textual material as another manuscript. Overlaps are being defined as copies of the same composition in DJD.[204]

Pesher (Commentary) From a Hebrew word meaning "interpretation." In Qumran texts, it usually occurs after a biblical quotation. As such, it refers to a particular technique of interpretation that may be related to midrashic exegesis. On the one hand, it had the result of creating a fixed literary structure, mostly known from the "continuous *pesharim*," on the other hand, the aim for members in Qumran was to read historical and eschatological events into the biblical prophecies, understanding them as describing their own situation on the verge of the eschaton.[205]

  – **Continuous *Pesher*:** Works that quote the "prophetic" book, verse by verse, each verse followed with its interpretation. For example, Commentary on Psalms 4Q171, 4Q173, 1Q16 constitute a continuous *Pesher*.

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[202] Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, eds., "Glossary" (vol. 1 of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Detroit: The Gale Group, 2008), 203.

[203] Karl Elliger, et al., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia,* (4th ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983). The Masoretic Text was accessed by the means of the BHS-W4 module: Oak Tree Software, "Accordance Bible Software," [cited April 12, 2013]. Online: http://www.accordancebible.com/

[204] Eibert Tigchelaar, "Annotated List of Overlaps and Parallels in the Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran and Masada," (DJD 39*;* Oxford: Clarendon*,* 2002), 287.

[205] F. F. Bruce and Emmanuelle Main, "Pesher," *EncJud* 16:9.

- **Thematic *Pesher*:** Thematic *Pesharim* collect quotations from different biblical books and their respective interpretations about a given topic.[206]

Qumran Library: Nearly 1000 scrolls, some intact but most badly fragmented, found around the area of Qumran in caves above the marl terrace, close to the ruins of an ancient community located by Wadi Qumran in the Judean Hills near the Northwest bank of the Dead Sea.

Classification of the contents of the Qumran Library by Dimant:

1. 30% of the library consists of the traditional Hebrew Bible. The only book of the Hebrew Bible not found at Qumran was Esther.
2. 25% of the library consists of texts explicitly related to the life and ideas of the community ("sectarian" literature").
3. 30% of the library consists of texts not explicitly related to the community, including, but not limited to, apocalyptic works.
4. 15% of the library consists of unidentified fragments.

Qumran Scribal practice: A great majority of the sectarian texts were copied in a distinctive orthographic and morphological style and with common scribal features.[207]

Second Temple Period: In Jewish History, the period dated between 586/7 B.C.E. and 70 C.E., when the Second Temple of Jerusalem existed. The Second Temple period ended with the First Jewish-Roman War and the Roman destruction of Jerusalem and the temple.

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[206] Lange and Mittmann-Richert, "Annotated List from the Judaean Desert Classified" (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), 115.
[207] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 267.

Sectarian texts: Texts explicitly related to the life and ideas of the community.

*Yahad***:** The name of the community *Yahad* appears in 1QS (*Manual of Discipline* or *Community Rule*) and designates the sect that many scholars believe to have lived at Qumran. 1QS describes the fellowship and the daily lives of the initiates. 1QS has played an important role in my argument that members of the community were a part of the larger Essene movement**.**

Appendix B: Key of alternations

Symbol or alternation type	Alternation in DSS for יהוה in biblical quotation
a0	No alternation. The same wording used in the biblical allusion or quotation from MT and the biblical text from the Judean Desert (DSSB) and in the corresponding Qumran verse for a reference to the divine name
a1	אדוני for יהוה (*Lord* for *LORD*)
a2	יהוה for אדוני יהוה (*LORD* for *LORD* our *God*)
a3	יהוה אלהים for יהוה (*LORD God* for *LORD)*
a4	אל for יהוה צבאות (*God* for *LORD of Hosts*)
a5	אל for יהוה (*God for LORD*)
a6	אלהי אלהים for יהוה אלהים (*Lord, your God*) for (*LORD God*)
a7	אלהים (*God*) for יהוה אלהים (the *LORD God*)
a8	אונ הו for יהוה (*God Almighty* for the *LORD*)
a9	הוא, הואהא for יהוה (*He* for *LORD*)
a10	אל ישראל for יהוה (*God of Israel* for *LORD*)
a11	האמת for יהוה (*Truth* for *LORD*)
a12	•••• for יהוה (Tetrapuncta substitute for יהוה (*LORD* for *LORD*)
a12a	אלהים •••• for אלהים (*LORD God* for *Lord*)
a13	אל אלים for יהוה (*God of Gods* for *LORD)*
a14	אל הצדק for יהוה (*Righteousness of God for LORD*)
a15	אלהים for יהוה (*God for the LORD*)
a16	יהוה for יהוה צבאות (*LORD* for *LORD of Hosts*)
a17	אל עליון for יהוה ˙ (*God Most High* for the *LORD*)
a18	יהוה for יהוה אלוהים (*Lord* for the *LORD God*)
a19	שמך ישעי for יהוה (*Your name* is *my*

	deliverance for *LORD*)
a20	יהוה אלוהים for אל חי (*Living God* for the *LORD God*)
a21	יהוה אלוהים for אנוכי (*I myself for the LORD God)*
a22	מלכי צדק for יהוה (*Melchizedek for LORD*)
a23	יהוה (paleo-Hebrew) for יהוה (*LORD for the LORD*)
a24	יהוה (paleo-Hebrew) for אדוני (*LORD for the Lord*)
a25	יהוה (paleo-Hebrew) for יהוה אלוהים (*LORD for the LORD God*)
a26	Paleo-Hebrew Elohim (*God*) (paleo-Hebrew)
a27	יהוה אדוני (יהוה paleo-Hebrew) for אדוני (*LORD* (paleo-Hebrew) *God* for *LORD God*)
a28	יהוה צבאות (יהוה paleo-Hebrew) for יהוה צבאות (*LORD* [paleo-Hebrew] of *Hosts* for *LORD of Hosts*)
a29	יהוה for יהוה : (dicolon) (*LORD* for *LORD*)
a30	יהוה אלוהים for יהוה : (dicolon) (*LORD* for *LORD our God*)
a31	יהוה אלוהים for יהוה אלוהים : (dicolon) (*LORD our God* for *LORD our God*)
a32	אל (for יהוה) in paleo-Hebrew (*God for LORD*) (paleo-Hebrew)
a33	שם for יהוה (*Name* for *LORD*)

Table C-1: a0 No alternations יהוה (LORD)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Zeph 1:12	4Q170 1-2, 1
Isa 30:1	4Q163 21, 9
Isa 30:18	4Q163 23 II, 9
Isa 31:1	4Q163 25, 7
Ps 129:8	4Q173 4, 2 (reconstruction)
2 Sam. 7:11	4Q174 1-2i 10
Ps 2:2	4Q174 1-2 I, 18-19
Ps 11:1-2	4Q177 5-6, 7
Ps 13:2	4Q177 10-11, 8 (reconstruction)

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[208] The alternations should be read: Alternation X in Qumran used for divine name Y in quotation from the MT. Example: a21 Alternation of אנוכי (I, myself) for יהוה אלוהים (LORD our God)

S̩ccriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
יהוה אלוהים (LORD our God)	אנוכי (I, myself)

a0 No alternations יהוה (LORD)	
Scriptural verse (MT)	**Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)**
Ps 6:4	4Q177 12-13 I, 3
Exod 34:14	4Q368 2,6
Exod 29:18	11Q19 13, 12-13
Exod 29:41	11Q19 13, 12-13
Num 28:6	11Q19 13, 12-13
Num 28:13	11Q19 13, 12-13
Num 29:6	11Q19 13, 12-13
Num 29:12	11Q19 17, 11-12
Num 28:19	11Q19 17, 13
Num 29:36	11Q19 25, 4
Num 29:2	11Q19 25, 4
Num 29:8	11Q19 25, 13
Lev 1:9	11Q19 34, 14
Exod 30:14?	11Q19 39, 8?
Num 35:34	11Q19 51, 7
Deut 21:8	11Q19 63, 7
Ps 106:2	4Q380 1 I, 7-8
Ps 106:4	4Q380 1 I, 9
Ps 107:6	4Q380 2, 4

a0 No alternations יהוה (LORD)	
Scriptural verse (MT)	**Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)**
Ps 107:13	4Q380 2, 4
Ps 107:19	4Q380 2, 4
Ps 128:1	4Q528 1, 5
Exod 4:28	4Q158 1_2, 15
Exod 19:21	4Q158 5, 3
Exod 20:18 Samaritan Pentateuch	4Q158 6, 4
Exod 8:15	4Q365 2, 5
Exod 8:16	4Q365 2, 7
Exod 14:14	4Q365 6a I, 3
Exod 14:15	4Q365 6a I, 4
Exod 15:18	4Q365 6b, 3
Exod 15:19	4Q365 6b, 4
Exod 15:26	4Q365 6a II+6c, 12
Exod 39:1	4Q365 12b III, 2
Exod 39:1	4Q365 12b III, 6-7
Lev 11:1	4Q365 14, 1
Lev 11:44	4Q365 17a-c, 4; partial reconstruction
Lev 16:12	4Q365 21, 2
Lev 23:43	4Q365 23, 2

Lev 23:44	4Q365 23, 3
Num 9:23	4Q365 31a-c, 12
Num 17:22	4Q365 35 II, 5
Num 29:36	4Q366 4 I, 4
Num 30:1	4Q366 4 I, 8
Lev 13:1	4Q367 1a-b,14
Lev 19:1	4Q367 2a-b, 3
Lev 27:30	4Q367 3, 7
Lev 27:32	4Q367 3, 10
Exod 34:14	4Q368 2, 6
Deut 33:12	4Q522 9 II, 8
Ps 122:4	4Q522 22-26, 3
Jer 51:7	4Q386 1 III, 1

Table C-2: a0 No alternations צבאות יהוה (LORD of Hosts)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Nah 3:5	4Q169 3-4 II, 10

Table C-3: a0 No alternations יהוה אלוהים (LORD God)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Deut 30:2	4Q375 1 I, 2
Deut 14:1	11Q19 48, 8
Deut 14:2	11Q19 48, 10
Deut 12:25	11Q19 53, 8
Deut 13:6	11Q19 54, 16
Deut 13:17	11Q19 55, 9-10
Deut 13:19	11Q19 55, 14
Deut 18:13	11Q19 60, 21

Table C-4 a0 No alternations אנוכי (I, myself)

a0 No alternations אנוכי (I, myself)	
Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Deut 13:19	11Q19 55, 13

Table C-5 a1 Alternation of אדוני (Lord) for יהוה (LORD) (11x)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Num 6:26	1QSb III, 1
Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10	1QHª V, 15

Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10	1QHª VI, 19
Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10	1QHª VIII, 26
Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10	1QHª XIII, 22
Exod 15:11	1QHª XV, 31
Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10	1QHª XVIII, 16
Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10	1QHª XIX, 35
Isa 30:18	4Q163 23 II, 8
Ps 45:17	4Q408 3+3a, 6 {{יהֹוֹה}}אדני for יהוה
Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10	4Q428 12 I, 4

Table C-6 a2 Alternation of יהוה (LORD) for אדוני יהוה (LORD God)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Isa 30:15	4Q163 23 II, 3

Table C-7 a3 Alternation of יהוה אלהים (LORD God) for יהוה (LORD)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Deut 21:9	11Q19 LXIII, 8

Table C-8 a4 Alternation of אל (God) for יהוה צבאות (LORD of Hosts)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Zech. 13:7	CD XIX , 8

Table C-9 a5 Alternation of אל (God) for יהוה (LORD) (18x)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Exod 4:14	CD III, 8
Isa 54:13	CD XX, 4
Mal 3:16	CD XX, 19
Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10	1QS XI, 15
Deut 29:19	1QS II,15
Deut 29:20	1QS II,16
Isa 11:2	1QSb V, 25
Deut 33:21	1QM IV, 6
Hab 2:16	1QM IV, 7
Zech 14:13	1QM IV, 7
1 Chr 21:12	1QM XV, 3
1 Chr 21:12	1QM XIX, 11
1 Chr 21:12	1QH[a] XIV, 32
Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10	1QH[a] XIX, 32 אל הרחמים
Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10	1QH[a] XXII, 34 אל הדעות

1 Chr 21:12	4Q492 1, 10
Deut 15:2	11Q13 II, 4
Ps 7:9	11Q13 II, 11

Table C-10 a6 Alternation of אלהי אלהים (Lord your God) for יהוה אלהים (LORD God)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Deut 27:9	1Q22 1 II, 1

Table C-11 a7 Alternation of אלהים (God) for יהוה אלהים (Lord God)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Deut 20:4	1QM X, 4
Num 10:9	1QM X, 7
Deut 12:5	4Q375 1 I, 8

Table C-12 a8 Alternation of אונ הו (God almighty) for יְהוָה (LORD)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10	4Q266 11, 9

Table C-13 a9 Alternation of הוא הואהא (He) for יהוה (LORD)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Nah 1:2	CD IX, 5[209]
Isa 40:3	1QS VIII, 13
Nah 1:2	4Q270 6 III, 19
Exod 15:3	4Q299 3a II-b, XXII

Table C-14 a10 Alternation of אל ישראל (God of Israel) for יהוה (LORD)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Obad 2:1	1QM VI, 6
Exod 15:11	1QM X, 8

Table C-15 a11 Alternation of האמת (Truth) for יהוה (LORD)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Isa 40:3	4Q259 3, 3-4.

Table C-16 a12 Alternation of •••• for יהוה (LORD) (23x)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Isa 40:3	1QS VIII,14
Exod 20:18 Samaritan Pentateuch	4Q175, 1 1
Deut 33:11	4Q175, 1 19
Isa 40:2	4Q176 1-2 I, 6
Isa 40:3	4Q176 1-2 I, 7
Isa 40:5	4Q176 1-2 I, 9
Isa 49:14	4Q176 1-2 II, 3
Isa 54:5	4Q176 8-11, 6
Isa 54:8	4Q176 8-11, 10
	4Q248 1, 5
	4Q306 3, 5
2 Kgs 2:3	4Q382 9, 5
	4Q391 36, 1
	4Q391 36, 3
	4Q391 36, 4
	4Q391 52, 5
	4Q391 55, 2
	4Q391 58, 3
	4Q391 65, 5
	4Q462 1, 7

	4Q462 1, 12
Deut 18:1	4Q524 6-13, 4
Deut 18:2	4Q524 6-13, 5

Table C-17 a12a alternation of אלהים •••• (LORD your God) for אלהים (God)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Isa 54:6	4Q176 8-11, 8

Table C-18 a13 Alternation of אל אלים (God of Gods) for יהוה (LORD)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Ps 21:14	1QM 14, 16
Ps 21:14	4Q491 8-10 I, 13

Table C-19 a14 Alternation of אל צדק (Righteousness of God) for יהוה (LORD)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Jer 14:7	1QM 18, 8

Table C-20 a15 Alternation of אלהים (God) for יהוה (LORD)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Deut 13:18	4Q375 1 I, 3
2 Kgs 23:26	4Q375 1 I, 3
Isa 49:13	4Q176 1-2 II, 2

Table C-21 a16 Alternation of יהוה (LORD) for יהוה צבאות (LORD of Hosts)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Isa 5:24	4Q162 2, 7
Zech 3:9	4Q177 10-11, 2

Table C-22 a17 Alternation of אל עליון (God most High) for יהוה (LORD)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Num 6:24	4Q285 f8, 4
Num 6:24	11Q14 1 II, 7

Table C-23 a18 Alternation of יהוה (LORD) for יהוה אלוהים (LORD God)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Deut 16:8	11Q19 17, 16

Table C-24 a19 Alternation of שמך ישעי (Your name, My deliverance) for יהוה (LORD)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Ps 18:3	4Q381 f24a+b, 7

Table C-25 a20 Alternation of אל חיֹ (Living God) for יהוה אלוהים (Lord God)

Lev 26:44	4Q504 1-2RV, 8-9

Table C-26 a21 Alternation of אנוכי (I, myself) for יהוה אלוהים (LORD God)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Deut 13:4	11Q19 54, 12

Table C-27 a22 Alternation of מלכי צדק (Melchizedek) for יהוה (LORD)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Isa 61:2	11Q13 2, 9

Table C-28 a23 Alternation of (יהוה paleo-Hebrew)(LORD) for יהוה (LORD)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Zeph 2:2	1Q15 1, 3
Zeph 2:2	1Q15 1, 4
	11Q5 18 3, 14, 15; 11Q5 19 4, 6, 7, 11, 13, 16; 11Q5 24 3, 6, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17; 11Q5 26 9; 11Q5 27 4; 11Q5 28, 5 (20x)
Isa 11:3	4Q161 8-10, 13
Ps 37:9	4Q171 1-2 II, 4
Ps 37:13	4Q171 1-2 II, 12
Ps 37:17	4Q171 1-2 II, 24
Ps 37:23	4Q171 1 3-4 III, 14
Ps 37:24	4Q171 1 3-4 III, 15
Ps 37:33	4Q171 3-10 IV, 7
Ps 37:34	4Q171 3-10 IV, 10
	4Q183 2, 1
	4Q183 3, 1
Mic 1:3	1Q14 1-5, 2
Hab 2:2	1QpHab VI, 14
Hab. 2:14	1QpHab X, 14
Hab 2:16	1QpHab XI, 10

Table C-29 a24 Alternation of יהוה (LORD) (paleo-Hebrew) for אדוני (Lord)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Ps 37:13	4Q171 1-2 II, 12

Table C-30 a25 Alternation of יהוה אלוהים (LORD God) (יהוה) paleo-Hebrew)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
	11Q5 28, 10

Table C-31 a26 Alternation of Paleo-Hebrew אלוהים (God)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
	4Q406 1, 2; 3, 2

Table C-32 a27 Alternation of יהוה אדוני (paleo-Hebrew) (Lord your God) for אדוני יהוה (the LORD God)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Mic 1:2	1Q14 1-5, 1 reconstruction

Table C-33 a28 Alternation of צבאות יהוה (יהוה paleo-Hebrew) (Lord of Hosts) for יהוה צבאות (Lord of Hosts)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Hab 2:13	1QpHab X, 7

Table C-34 a29 Alternation of יהוה : (: LORD) (dicolon :) for יהוה (14x)

Scriptural verse (MT)	Dead Sea Scroll verse (Qumran)
Exod 24:12	4Q364 14, 3
Num 14:20	4Q364 18, 5 4Q364 23 II, 15 (mostly reconstructed)
Deut 2:31	4Q364 24a-c, 3
Deut 3:20	4Q364 25a-c, 4
Deut 3:21	4Q364 25a-c, 8
Deut 9:22	4Q364 26a II, 2
Deut 9:24	4Q364 26a II, 5
Deut 9:25	4Q364 26be II, 2
Deut 10:1	4Q364 26be II, 3
Deut 10:4	4Q364 26be II, 9
Deut 10:11	4Q364 28a-b, 3
	4Q364 K 2

	4Q364 R 2
	4Q364 T 1

Table C-35 a30 Alternation of : יהוה (LORD) for יהוה אלוהים (LORD God) (dicolon)

Deut 2:36	4Q364 24a-c, 13

Table C-36 a31 Alternation of : יהוה אלוהים (LORD God) for יהוה אלוהים (LORD God) (dicolon)

Deut 9:7	4Q364 26a I, 4 reconstructed אלוהיכה
Deut 1:6	4Q364 20a-c, 9 reconstructed
Deut 1:21	4Q364 21a-k , 8 reconstructed
Deut 2:37	4Q364 24a-c , 15
Deut 10:11	4Q364 28a-b, 7 reconstructed
?	4Q364 T 1

Table C-37 a32 Alternation of אל (God) (for יהוה) (LORD) in paleo-Hebrew

	1Q14 12, 3
	1Q14 1-5, 2
	1Q27 1 II 11
	1QHa I, 26
	1QHa II, 34
	1QHa XV, 25
	1Q35 1, 5
	3Q14 18, 2
	4Q180 1, 1
	4Q183 1II, 3
	4Q267 3, 7
	4Q267 9 I, 2
	4Q267 9 IV, 4
	4Q267 9 V, 4
	4Q268 1, 9
	4Q413 1-2, 2
	4Q413 1-2, 4
	6Q15 3, 3 6Q15 3, 5 (2x)
	6Q18 6, 5 6Q18 8, 5 6Q18 10, 3

Table C- 38 a33 Alternation of שם (Name) for יהוה (LORD)

Ps 26:12	1QHª X 32

Table D1 - The Damascus Document (CD) Geniza A + B, 4Q266-272

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature[210]	Qumran Scribal Practice
CD VII, 11	Isa 7:17	0 for (Tetragrammaton) יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	questionable?
CD IX, 5	Nah 1:2	a9 הוא *(He)* for (Tetragrammaton) יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	questionable?
CD XIX, 8	Zech 13:7	a4 אל (*El)* (*God*) for יהוהצבאות (*Lord of Hosts)*	Yes	questionable?
CD XX, 4	Isa 54:13	a5 אל (*El*) (*God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	questionable?
4Q266 11, 9	Ps 119:12 (4Q90 1-2: 12); 1 Chr 29:10	a8 אונ הו (*God almighty*) (abbreviation for for יהוה) (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
4Q267 f9 I, 2		a32 אל *El God)* (paleo-Hebrew)	Yes	Yes

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q267 9 IV, 4		a32 אל *El God)* (paleo-Hebrew)	Yes	Yes
4Q267 9 V, 4		a32 אל *El God)* (paleo-Hebrew)	Yes	Yes
4Q268 1, 9		a32 אל *El God)* (paleo-Hebrew)	Yes	Yes

Table D2 – 1Q Pesher to Micah (1QpMic) 1Q14

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
1Q14 1-5, 1	Mic 1:2	a27 יהוה אדוני (paleo-Hebrew) (*LORD, your God*) for אדוני יהוה (*God the LORD*) reconstruction	Yes	Yes
1Q14 1-5, 2	Mic 1:3	a23 יהוה (paleo-Hebrew (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
1Q14 12, 3		a32 אל (*El*) (*God*) in paleo-Hebrew	Yes	Yes

Table D3 – 1Q Pesher to Habakkuk 1QpHab

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
1QpHab VI, 14		a23 יהוה paleo-hebrew))(*LORD*) for יהוה) (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
1QpHab X, 7		a28 יהוה צבאות (paleo-hebrew) for יהוה צבאות *(Lord of Hosts)*	Yes	Yes
1QpHab X, 14		a23 יהוה (paleo-Hebrew)) (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
1QpHab 11,10		a23 יהוה (paleo-hebrew) (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes

Table D4 – 1Q Pesher to Zephaniah (1QpZeph) 1Q15

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
1Q15 1, 3		a23 יהוה (paleo-Hebrew) (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD)*	Yes	no data
1Q15 1, 4		a23 יהוה (paleo-Hebrew) *(LORD)* for יהוה *(LORD)*	Yes	no data

Table D5 - 1Q Words of Moses [DM (apocr Moses (1QDM) Sayings of Moses[a])] 1Q22

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
1Q22 1 II, 1 [211]	Deut 27:9	a6 אלוהי [אלוהי]ך (*LORD Your God)* for יהוה אלוהים (*LORD God*) Reconstruction	Sectarian nature irrelevant	Yes?

Table D6 - 1Q Mysteries (1QMyst) (1Q27, 4Q299-301)

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
1Q27 1 II, 11		a32 אל (*El*) (*God)* (paleo-Hebrew) in paleo-Hebrew	Yes?	Yes
4Q299 3aII-b, 12	Exod 15:3	a9 הוא (*He*) for יְהוָה (*LORD*)	Yes?	Yes

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[211] Eibert Tigchelaar mentioned as well as substitutes for יהוה: 1Q22 II, 1, 6 and 1Q22 1 III, 6. See Qumran Notes, Accordance. OakTree Software. 10.4.2.1.

Table D7 – (1QS) 1Q Rule of the Community (Manual of Discipline) (4Q258-4Q259)

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
1QS II, 15	Deut 29:19	a5 אל (*El)* (*God*) for יהוה	Yes	Yes
1QS II, 16	Deut 29:19	a5 אל (*El*) (*God*) for יהוה	Yes	Yes
1QS VIII, 13	Isa 40:3	a9 הואהא (*He*) for יהוה	Yes	Yes
1QS VIII, 14	Isa 40:3	a̲12 •••• for (Tetragrammaton) יהוה. (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
4Q259 3, 3-4	Isa 40:3	a11 אמת (*truth*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes

Table D8 - 1Q Rule of Benedictions (appendix b to 1QS) 1Q28b=1QSb

Qumran verse	◌Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
1QSb III, 1	Num 6:26	a1 אדוני (*Lord*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
1QSb V, 25	Isa 11:2	a5 אל (*El*) (*God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes

Table D9 - 1Q War Scroll or Milhamah (1QM) 1Q33 4Q491-496

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
1QM IV, 6	Deut 33:21; Judg 5:11; 1 Sam 12:7; Mic 6:5: Hab 2:16	a5 אל (*El*) (*God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
1QM IV, 7	Zech 14:13	a5 אל (*El*) (*God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
1QM VI, 6	Obad 2:1	a10 אל ישראל (*God of Israel*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
1QM X, 4	Deut 20:2-4	a7 אלהים (*God*) for יהוה אלהים (*LORD God*)	Yes	Yes
1QM X, 7	Num 10:9	a7 אלהים (*God*) for יהוה אלהים (*LORD God*)	Yes	Yes
1QM X, 8	Exod 15:11	a10 אל ישראל (God of Israel) for יהוה (LORD)	Yes	Yes

1QM XIV, 16	Ps 21:14	a13 אל אלים (*God of Gods*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
1QM XV, 3	1 Chr 21:12	a5 אל (*El*) (*God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
1QM XVIII, 8	Jer 14:7	a14 אל הצֹדק (*Righteousness of God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
1QM XIX, 11	1 Chr 21:12	a5 אל (*El*) (*God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
4Q491 8-10 1, 13	Ps 21:14	a13 אל אלים (*God of Gods*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
4Q492 1, 10	1 Chr 21:12	a5 אל (*El*) (*God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes

Table D10 1Q Hodayot[a] 1QHa (1QH[a])

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
1 data point for: 1QHa V, 15; 1QHa VI, 19; 1QHa VIII, 26; 1QHa XIII, 22; XVIII, 16; XIX, 35-36; 4Q428 12 I, 4	Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10	a1 אדני (Lord) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
1QHa 10 32	Ps 26:12	a33 שם (*Name*) for יהוה (*LORD*)		
1QHa XIV, 32	1 Chr 21:12	a5 אל (*El) (God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
1QHa XIX, 32; 1QHa XXII, 34	Ps 119:12; 1 Chr 29:10	a5 אל (*El̲) (God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes

Table D11 1Q Hodayot[b] 1QH[b] 1Q35

1Q35 15		a32 אל (*El̲) (God*) (paleo-Hebrew) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	questionable?

Table D12 Unclassified Fragments 3Q14 3Q [212]

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature Practice	Qumran Scribal Practice
3Q14 18, 2		a32 אֵל (El) (God) (paleo-Hebrew for יהוה (LORD)	Blank	No data

Table D13 4Q Reworked Pentateuch^a 4Q158 (4QRP^a)

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q158 1-2, 15 4Q158 5, 3 4Q158 6, 4	Exod 4:28; Exod 19:21; Exod 20:18 (Samaritan Pentateuch)	a0 No alternation for יהוה (LORD)	Irrelevant	Yes

[212] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 243

Table D14 4Q Isaiah Pesher[a] 4Q161-163 (4QpIsa[a,b,c])

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q161 8-10, 13		a23 יהוה (Paleo-Hebrew) (*LORD*) (Tetragrammaton) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
4Q162 2, 7	Isa 5:24	a16 יהוה (Paleo-Hebrew) (*LORD*) (Tetragrammaton) for יהוה צבאות (*LORD of Hosts*)	Yes	No specific Qumran Scribal Practice forms
4Q163 21, 9	Isa 30:1	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes

| 4Q163 23 II, 3 | IQIsa[a] 24, 25 Isa 30:15 | a2 Alternation of יהוה (*LORD*) for אדוניָ יהוה (Is 30:15) (*LORD God*); supralinear correction made by ancient copyist in IQIsa[a] 24,25: אדוניָ יהוה (*the LORD your God*) | Yes | Yes |

4Q163 23 II, 8	Isa 30:18 1QIsaᵃ 24, 30	a1 אדני (*Adonai*) (*Lord*) for (Tetragrammaton) יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
4Q163 23 II, 9	Isa 30:18 1QIsaᵃ 24, 30	a0 No Alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
4Q163 25 VII	Isa 31:1	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes

Table D15 4Q Nahum Pesher (4QpNah) 4Q169

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q169 3 II, 10	Nah 3:5	a0 No alternation: יהוה צבאות (*LORD of Hosts*)	Yes	lack of sufficient information

Table D16 4Q Zephaniah Pesher (4QpZeph) 4Q170

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q170 1-2 I	Zeph1:12	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)		No sufficient data

Table D17 4Q Psalms Pesher[a] (4Qpps[a]) 4Q171-173

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q171 1-2 II, 4; 4Q171 1-2 II, 24; (reconstruction) 4Q171 1+3-4 III, 14; 4Q171 1+3-4 III, 15; 4Q171 3-10 IV, 7; 4Q171 3-10 IV, 10	Ps 37:9; Ps 37:17; Ps 37:23; Ps 37:24; Ps 37:33; Ps 37:34;	a23 יהוה (Paleo-Hebrew) (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes[213]	Yes
4Q171 1-2 II,12	Ps 37:13	a24 Alternation of יהוה (Paleo-Hebrew) (*LORD*) for אדוני (*Lord*)	Yes	Yes
4Q173 4, 2	Ps 129:8	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	no data

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[213] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 285

4Q173 5 IV 4QPs[b]5[214]		a32 אל (*El*) (*God*) in paleo- Hebrew[215]	Yes	no data

Table D18 4Q Florilegium [4Q Midr Eschat[a?]] 4Q174 (4QFlor)

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q174 1-2 I, 10	2 Sam 7:11	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
4Q174 1-2 I, 18-19	Ps 2:2	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes

Table D19 4QTestimonia 4Q175 (4QTest)

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q175 1 1; 4Q175 1, 19-20	Exod 20:18 Samaritan Pentateuch 4Q158 6, 4	a12 •••• (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
4Q175 1, 19-20	Deut 33:11	a12 •••• *LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes

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[214] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 267
[215] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 242

Table D20 4Q Tanhumim (4QTanh) 4Q176 a, 4Q176b 4Q Jubilees? (=4Q176 frags. 19-21)

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q176 1-2 I, 6	Isa 40:2	a12 •••• (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
4Q176 1-2 I, 7	Isa 40:3	a12 •••• (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*) .	Yes	Yes
4Q176 1-2 I, 9	Isa 40:5	a12 ••••(*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
4Q176 1-2 II, 3	Isa 49:13	a12 •••• (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*) .	Yes	Yes
4Q176 8-11, 6/1QIsa^a 45, 1	Isa 54:5	a12 ••••(*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*) [צבאות] is a reconstruction (4Q176 8_11, 7).	Yes	Yes
4Q176 8-11 VIII (2x)	Isa 54:6	a12 •••• (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*) . a12a •••• אלוהים (*LORD God*) for אלוֹהים (*God*).	Yes	Yes
4Q176 8-11, 10/1QIsa^a 45, 5-6	Isa 54:8	a12 ••••(*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes

4Q176 1-2 II, 2	Isa 49:13	a15 אלהים (*God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
4Q176 1-2 II, 3	Isa 49:13	a12 •••• (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes

Table D21 4Q Ages of Creation A (4QAgesGreat A) 4Q180

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q180 1 1		a32 Paleo-Hebrew אל (*El) (God)*	Yes	Yes

Table D22 4Q Historical Work [4QMidr Eschat^e?] 4Q183

Qumran verse	⊙Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q183 2 1		a29 Paleo-Hebrew (Tetragrammaton) (*LORD*)	Yes	no data
4Q183 1 II, 3		a32 Paleo-Hebrew אל (*El*) (*God*)	Yes	no data

4Table D23 Q Historical Text A (formerly Acts of a Greek King) 4Q248

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q248 1, 5		a12 •••• (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)		No

Table D24 4QSefer ha-Milhamah (4QSM) 4Q285, 11Q Sefer haMilhamah (11QSM) 11Q14

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
11Q14 1 II, 7; 4Q285 8, 4	Num 6:24	a17 אל עליון (*God most High*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes

Table D25 4Q Men of People who Err 4Q306

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q306 3, 5		a12 •••• (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Sectarian Nature?	

Table D26 4Q Reworked

Pentateuch[b] (4QRP[b]) 4Q364; 4Q Reworked Pentateuch[c] (4QRP[c]) 4Q365

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q364 14, 3; 4Q364 18, 5; 4Q364 24a-c, 3; 4Q364 25a-c, 4; 4Q364 25a-c, 8; 4Q364 26a I 4; 4Q364 26a II 2; 4Q364 26a II5; 4Q364 26b II+e, 2; 4Q364 26b II+e 3; 4Q364 26b II+e, 9	Exod 24:12 Num 14:20 Deut 2:31 Deut 3:20 Deut 3:21 Deut 9:7 Deut 9:22 Deut 9:24 Deut 9:25 Deut 10:1 Deut 10:4	a0 : (אלוהים) יהוה (*LORD God*), יהוה (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	blank	Yes

4Q365 2, 5; 4Q365 2, 7; 4Q365 6b, 3; 4Q4Q365 6aii+6c, 12; 4Q365 12b III 2; 4Q365 12b III 6-7; 4Q365 17a-c, 4; 4Q365 21, 2; 4Q365 23, 2; 4Q365 23, 3; 4Q365 35 II 5	Exod 8:15 Exod 8:16 Exod 15:18 Exod 15:26 Exod 39.1 Exod 39:5 Lev 11:44 Lev 16:12 Lev 23:43 Lev 23:44 Num 17:22	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	blank	Yes

Table D27 4Q Reworked Pentateuchd (4QRPd) 4Q366

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q366 4 I 4	Num 29:36	a0 No alternation יהוה (*LORD*)	Blank	No
4Q366 4 I 8	Num 30:1	a0 No alternation יהוה (*LORD*)	Blank	No

Table D28 4QReworked Pentateuche (4QRPe) 4Q367 (May belong to the same composition as 4Q364)

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal practice
4Q367 1a-b, 2	Lev 12:1	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	blank	No
4Q367 1a-b, 10	Lev 12:7	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	Blank	No
4Q367 2a-b, 3	Lev 19:1	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	Blank	No
4Q367 3, 7	Lev 27:30	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	Blank	No
4Q367 3, 10	Lev 27:32	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	Blank	No

Table D29 4Q Apocryphal Pentateuch A (4QapocrPent A) 4Q368

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q368 2, 6	Exod 34:14	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	?	?

Table D30 4Q Apocryphon of Moses^a (4QapocrMoses^a) 4Q375

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q375 1 I, 2	Deut 30:2	a0 No alternation for יהוה אלוהים (*LORD God*)	?	Yes
4Q375 1 I, 3	Deut 30:3	a7 אלוהים (*God*) for יהוה אלוהים (*LORD God*)	?	Yes
4Q375 1 I, 3	Deut 13:18	a15 אלוהים (*God*) for יְהוָה (*LORD*)	?	Yes
4Q375 1I, 3	2Kings 23:26	a15 אלוהים (*God*) for יְהוָה (*LORD*)	?	Yes
4Q375 1 I, 8	Deut 12:5	a7 אלוהים (*God*) for יהוה אלוהים (*LORD God*)	?	Yes

Table D31 4Q Non-Canonical Psalms A and B 4Q380-381

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q380 1 I, 8	Ps 106:2	a0 No alternation: יְהוָה (*LORD*)	Blank	No
4Q380 1 I, 9	Ps 106:4	a0 No alternation: יְהוָה (*LORD*)	Blank	No
4Q380 2 IV	Ps 107:6, 13, 19	a0 No alternation: יְהוָה (*LORD*)	Blank	No
4Q381 24a+b, 7	Ps 18:3	a19 שמך ישעי (*Your name my deliverance*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Blank	?

Table D32 4Q Paraphrase of Kings 4Q382

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q382 9, 5	2 Kgs 2:3	a12 ••••(*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Blank	Yes

Table D33 4Q Pseudo-Ezekiel[b] (4QpsEzek[b]) 4Q386

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q386 1 III, 1	Jer 51:7	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	no data	no data

Table D34 4Q papPseudoEzekiel[e] (4QpsEzek[e]) 4Q391[216]

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q391 36, 1 4Q391 36, 3 4Q391 36, 4 4Q391 52, 5 4Q391 55, 2 4Q391 58, 3 4Q391 65, 5		a12 •••• (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Blank	no data

Table D35 4Q Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4QShirShabb⁹) 4Q406

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q406 1, 2;		a26 Paleo-Hebrew Elohim (*God*)	Sectarian nature	Qumran Scribal practice no data

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[216] Stephen W. Marlen, ed. , in consultation with Martin Abegg, with Casey Toews. "An Index of Qumran Manuscripts" Oak Tree Sorftware. 2007. Version 4.2.

Table D36 4Q Apocryphon of Mosesc? (Formerly 4Q Morning and Evening Prayer) 4Q408

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q408 3+3a, 6	Ps 145:17	a1 {{יהוֹה}}אדני (*Lord*) for יהוה (*LORD*) {{יהוֹה}}is an erasure	Yes?[217]	No

Table D37 4Q Composition Concerning divine Providence 4Q413

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q413 1-2 II, 4 (2x)		a32 Paleo-Hebrew אל (*El*) (*God)*	?	no data

Table D38 4Q Narrative C 4Q462 462[218]

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q462 1 7; 4Q462 112		a12 (*LORD*) (2x) •••• for יהוה (*LORD*)	no data	Yes

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[217] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 278

Table D39 4Q Words of the Luminaries[a] (4QDibHam[a]) 4Q504

Qumran verse	biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q504 1-2 Rv 8-9	Lev 26:44	a20 אל חי (*Living God*) for יהוה םלוהיא (*LORD God*)	Yes	Yes

Table D40 4Q Prophecy of Joshua (4QapocrJoshc?) 4Q522

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q522 9 II, 8; 4Q522 22-26 III (reconstructions)	Deut 33:12 Ps 122:8-9	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)		Yes?

Table D41 4Q Temple Scroll 4Q524; 11Q Temple[a] 11Q19[a] 11QT

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q524 6-13 4	Deut 18:1	a12 •••• (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	?	Yes
4Q524 6-13 5	Deut 18:1	a12 •••• (*LORD*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	?	Yes
11Q19 XIII, 13	Exod 29:18, 41; Num 28:6, 13, 29:6	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	?	Yes
11Q19 XVII, 12	Num 29:12	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	?	Yes
11Q19 XVII, 13	Num 28:19	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	?	Yes
11Q19 XVII, 16 (reconstruction)	Deut 16:8	a18 יהוה (*LORD*)for יהוה אלהים (*LORD God*)	?	Yes
11Q19 XXV, 4	Num 29:36; Num 29:2	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	?	Yes
11Q19 XXV, 13	Num 29:8	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	?	Yes
11Q19 XXXIV, 14	Lev 1:9	a0 No alternation יהוה (*LORD*)	?	Yes
11Q19 XXXIX, 8	Exod 30:13	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	?	Yes
11Q19 XLVIII, 8	Deut 14:1	a0 No alternation: יהוה אלֹהים (*LORD God*)	?	Yes

11Q19 XLVIII, 10	Deut 14:2	a0 No alternation: יהוה אלהים (*LORD God*)	?	Yes
11Q19 LI, 7	Num 35:34	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	?	Yes
11Q19 LIV, 8	Isa 41:13	a0 No alternation: יהוה אלהים (*LORD God*)	?	Yes
11Q19 LIV, 12	Deut 13:4	a21 אנוכי (*I myself*) for יהוה אלהים (*LORD God*)	?	Yes
11Q19 LIV, 12-13	Deut 13:4	a0 No alternation: יהוה אלהים (*LORD God*)	?	Yes
11Q19 LIV, 16	Deut 13:6	a0 No alternation: יהוה אלהים (*LORD God*)	?	Yes
11Q19 LV, 9	Deut 13:17	a0 No alternation: יהוה אלהים (*LORD God*)	?	Yes
11Q19 LV, 14	Deut 13:19	a0 No alternation: יהוה אלהים (*LORD God*)	?	Yes
11Q19 LX, 21	Deut 18:13	a0 No alternation: יהוה אלהים (*LORD God*)	?	Yes

11Q19 LXIII, 6-7	Deut 21:8	a0 No alternation: יהוה (*LORD*)	?	Yes
11Q19 LXIII, 8	Deut 21:9	a3 יהוה אלהים (*LORD God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	?	Yes

Table D42 4Q Hymnic or Sapiential Work B 4Q528

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
4Q528 1 5	Ps 128:1	a0 No alternation: יְהוָה (*LORD*)		

Table D43 6QD (6Q15)

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
6Q15 3 5 (2x)		a32 Paleo-Hebrew אל (*El*) (*God*)	Yes	no data

Table D44 6QHymn (6QpapHymn) 6Q18 [219]

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
6Q18 6 5; 8 1		a32 Paleo-Hebrew אל (*El*) (*God*)	Yes	Yes

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[219] Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 242.

Table D45 11Q Psalms[a] Psalms Scrolls[a] (11QPs[a])

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
11Q5 18, 3; 11Q5 18, 14; 11Q5 18, 15;[220] 11Q5 19, 4; 11Q5 19, 6; 11Q5 19, 7; 11Q5 19, 11; 11Q5 19,13; 11Q5 19, 16;[221] 11Q5 24, 3; 11Q5 24, 6; 11Q5 24, 8; 11Q5 24,12; 11Q5 24, 13; 11Q5 24, 15;[222] 11Q5 24, 16 11Q5 24, 17 11Q5 26, 9 11Q5 27, 4 11Q5 28, 5		a23 יהוה (*LORD*) (Paleo-Hebrew) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Irrelevant ?	No
11Q5 28, 10		a25 יהוה (*LORD*) (Paleo-Hebrew) for יהוה אלֹהים (*LORD God*)	Irrelevant ?	No

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[220] Column 18 displays alternations in paleo-Hebrew in Syriac Psalm II. It is noteworthy that Syriac psalms are not part of the Hebrew Bible. However, this psalm features the paleo-Hebrew writing of *YHWH* as a substitute for the Tetragrammaton, in the same way it is used in Ps 145 and in other psalms considered as biblical.

[221] Col. XIX features an unknown psalm. The psalm displays the same alternations for LORD to paleo-Hebrew LORD than in other biblical psalms. See Sanders, DJD IV 1965, 76: "However, the text does not seem to have been part of a scroll of biblical psalms."

[222] Col XXIV displays a Syriac psalm as well. Sanders in DJD IV, 75, emphasizes the fact that 11QPs no III is a non-canonical psalm. However, he acknowledges that for the faithful at Qumran, it was seemingly as canonical as Ps 144 or Ps 142. The psalm displays the same type of alternations as biblical psalms. The Tetragrammaton is displayed in paleo-Hebrew.

Table D46 11Q Melchizedek 11QMelch 11Q13

Qumran verse	Biblical verse	Type of alternation	Sectarian Nature	Qumran Scribal Practice
11Q13 II, 2, 4	Deut 15:2	a5 אל (*El*) (*God*) for יהוה (*LORD)*	Yes	Yes
11Q13 II, 9	Isa 61:2	a22 מלכי צדק **(***Melchizedek)* for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes
11Q13 II, 11	Ps 7:9	a5 אל (*El*) (*God*) for יהוה (*LORD*)	Yes	Yes

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