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Source: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Oct., 1944), pp. 257-259

Published by: [University of Chicago Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/542999>

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explanation of the text itself with its many difficult allusions." But not so others; a common view is that here we have the accession of the youth (which McNeille had alleged too soon) as king or as vizier: he stood in the king's place. Siegfried urges that the imperfect of the verb means that the event was yet future: *qui successurus erat*. Now, beyond a doubt, the phrase can mean this. "To stand in one's place" is good Hebrew for succeeding to his position or throne. And the imperfect would express the future from the point of the narrative. But, on the contrary, the Hebrew does not demand such interpretation. The crux of the matter is the reference in the suffix on **תהתיר**. It is idle to invoke English usage and point out that "the youth" is the nearest antecedent. Nonetheless, such identification gives the one interpretation harmonious with the theme of the passage. The youth continued to stand in his own place, that is, remained poor and humble. It may be objected that Siegfried's interpretation is more in harmony with the tense of the verb; for "continuing to stand" we should expect a participle. Whatever force there may be in this is obviated by the fact that the imperfect is employed in this force by Koheleth (e.g., 3:13, 14, 15, 22).

Verse 16 is relatively simple. There was no

end of all the crowds at whose head the old king was enthroned; nonetheless, later generations will give no thought to him. The passage, then, translates:

- 13 Better is a poor and wise youth than an old and foolish king who does not know enough to take advice,
- 14 even though he had come from prison to the throne, though, too, in his own kingdom he was born in poverty.
- 15 I saw all the living who move about busily under the sun, among them that youth, who continued in his own station in life—
- 16 there was no end of all the people: all whom he ruled; yet those who come later will never give him a happy thought.

The passage is a logically coherent unit. The king had every advantage. He rose from the most menial circumstances to a throne where for long years he was ruler of seemingly endless crowds of people; he ruled the youth also. But the youth had nothing, as wealth and power are commonly appraised: he was poor, and he continued poor to the end. For this is precisely the author's comparison: wealth and power along with foolishness, as against wisdom along with nothing at all. And, he says, the latter is better!

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THE TETRAGRAMMATON: AN OVERLOOKED INTERPRETATION

WILLIAM A. IRWIN

THE problem of the tetragrammaton has been given renewed attention in recent months. In this *Journal*, III (1944), 1-8, Raymond A. Bowman advanced the view that the name is derived from a root meaning "to speak"; and in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LVII, 269 ff., Julian Morgenstern adduces the usage of Second Isaiah to show that the word *hû* was understood as a divine title. In this he was anticipated by Samuel I. Feigin, whose discussion in his *Missitrei Heavar*¹ is such as to merit its being presented to readers who may not have seen it in the Hebrew original. He says (pp. 355 and 430-31):

"The name Yahweh is an imperfect from **היה** in the ancient form which had *pathah* with

the preformative *yod* and *waw* as the second radical instead of the later *yod*. It appears also as the first person **אֶהְיֶה** when God speaks on his own behalf [Exod. 3:14; Judg. 6:16; Hos. 1:9].

"Perhaps, too, the participial form of the verb **היה**, namely **הוּא** [Hû], is used to signify Yahweh.² Compare, 'I, I am He [Hû], and

² [The form is a passive participle with stative meaning. As **יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה** is contracted to **יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה**, so **הָיָה** (later **הָיָה**) was contracted to **הָיָה** and finally **הוּא**, probably under the influence of the third person pronoun. While **הָיָה** expresses the existence of temporary things (Eccles. 2:22) and **הָיָה** (Exod. 9:3) expresses God's power acting temporarily, the passive form **הוּא** expresses constant existence which is befitting as an epithet of God. For the passive participle expressing constant action compare *'ahûzê hereb* (Song of Songs 3:8), "constant holders of sword"; *bâquah*

¹ New York: Hebrew Publication Society of Palestine and America, 1943.

there is no god with me' (Deut. 32:39) with the verse in Isaiah, 'I, I am Yahweh, and beside me there is no saviour' (Isa. 43:11). The word *Hû* in Deuteronomy means Yahweh. The same meaning attaches to the verse, 'I, I am He [*Hû*] who wipes out your transgressions for my own sake, and your sins I will not remember' (Isa. 43:25), namely, 'I am Yahweh.' So likewise, 'I, I am He [*Hû*] who comforts you' (Isa. 51:12), namely, 'I, Yahweh, comfort you.' Also in the verses, 'I, Yahweh, am the first, and with the last I am He [*Hû*]' (Isa. 41:4), 'I am He [*Hû*]', and none can deliver from my hand' (Isa. 43:13), 'And unto old age I am He [*Hû*]', and unto gray hairs I will carry' (Isa. 46:4), 'I am He [*Hû*]', I am the first, yea I am the last' (Isa. 48:12)—in all these verses one can interpret 'I am Yahweh.' Also the verse, 'For my mouth, it [*Hû*] has commanded, and his spirit, it [*Hû*] has gathered them' (Isa. 34:16), which Professor David Yellin explains as an ellipsis for 'His mouth, it has commanded' (*Higrê Migrâ* on Isaiah [1939], p. 36) is to be interpreted, 'For the mouth of Yahweh'; *Hû* serves in place of Yahweh.

"Also some proper names which end in *Hû* are to be explained as compounded of the participle of *יהי*, standing for Yahweh, and another element. At times *Hû* is shortened still further. Compare, for example, Abihû, son of Aaron, and Abiyahu or Abiyah, king of Judah. Both are one, but in Abihû the name of God is expressed by the participle of *יהי*,

(Isa. 26:3), "it is constantly trusting"; *haššēdādah* (Pss. 137:8) "the professional robber"; *ʿāqār we-ʿāzûb* (Deut. 32:36) "permanent ruler and helper." The use of intransitive verbs in passive participle to express stative meaning is common in the Mishnah.

For another contraction of *י* compare *כִּי*, "branding," from *כָּרִי* (Isa. 3:24). For contraction of *נ* compare *רִית* (Mesha Stone, l. 12) for *רִינִית* "gazing stock." For contraction of *ע* compare *רִית* for *רִיעִית* "friendship."

For other examples of contraction of *י* compare *שָׁחַר*, "swim," from *saḥw* (Gesenius-Buhl, 16th ed., p. 781), *אָחַר* "pasture" from *ʿaḥw*, which is still found in Aramaic *אֲחַרָּה* (Onqelos Gen. 41:2, 18).

Compare also *יִרְחָא* "it will be" (Eccles. 11:3) for *יִרְחֵא* with additional *א*.—S.I.F.]

while in Abiyah the name of God appears in the regular form. The name is to be interpreted as 'Yahweh is my God.' So too, *Elīhû* (I Chron. 26:7; 27:18), *Elīhu* (Job 32:2, 5, 6; 34:1; 36:1; I Sam. 1:1; I Chron. 12:20), and *Elijah* [*ʿEliyāh* and *ʿEliyāhû*]: the interpretation of both is 'Yahweh is my God.'

"The name Solomon, too, is to be explained as compounded of *Shālôm* and *Hû*, 'Peace of Yahweh,' but the name of Yahweh is written as the participle *Hû*, which can be shortened to *Hû*, and, finally, *waw* falls out and only *he* with *mappiq* is left, from which at length the *mappiq* also falls out as if a pronominal suffix were before us. And, indeed, Nathan called Solomon by the name *Jedidiah* (II Sam. 12:25), for the two names have the same meaning, 'The peace of Yahweh' and 'Beloved of Yahweh.' Compare the names *Shelemiah* and *Shelemiahû*, in which the tetragrammaton is preserved in shortened form.

"Sometimes the name is compounded of two divine names. The name *Dôdāwāhû* (II Chron. 20-37) is compounded of *Dôd* and *Hû*, and even the *waw* connecting the two names is preserved. But in the name *Dôdô* (I Chron. 11:12, 26, etc.) not alone is the *waw* connecting the names lost but also the root *Hû* is contracted to *ô*, as at the beginning of names *Yahû* is reduced to *Yô*.³

"The *Dwdh*, mentioned in the stela of Mesha, the *ʿrl* of which Mesha carried into the city of Ataroth and dragged before Chemosh in Keriath (Inscription of Mesha, ll. 12-13), was, it seems, compounded of *Dwd* and an abbreviation of the participle of *יהי*, signifying Yahweh. We have here a divine name compounded of *Dwd* and *Hû*, but each one appearing in its own right. Professor Albright in his latest book, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1942), explains *ʿrl* as a proper name, *Uriel*; *Dwdh* he explains as *dodah* with *mappiq*—her *dod*, namely of Ataroth (p. 218, n. 86). But he gives a completely new meaning to the word *dwd*; that it is 'chief.' Against this one may note that the noun does not appear with this meaning anywhere in Hebrew. . . . Accord-

³ [For two deities used as a personal name compare *ʾI-lī-ū-šamaš*, *ʾI-lī-ū-šin*, *ʾSin-ū-šamaš* (see J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung* [1939], p. 135).—S.I.F.]

ingly it seems preferable to explain ׃ל as an object of the cult which stood in the eyes of Mesha for Yahweh, and he dragged it before

⁴ [*Ibid.* For הָאֵל as the divine name see James A. Montgomery, "The Hebrew Divine Name and the Personal Pronoun הוּ " (*JBL*, LXIII [1944], 161–63). Professor Montgomery adduces other examples where הָאֵל stands for Yahweh. The phrase אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה (II Kings

Chemosh his god. Dwdh, then, is the name of a deity, Dawidhu = Dawid + Hu."⁴

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2:14) is possibly to be read אֵיפֹה הָיָה , "Where is Hû," namely, Yahweh. Very instructive is the verse Jer. 5:12, where לֹא הָיָה , "there is no Hu," is parallel to denying Yahweh.—S.I.F.] (Montgomery's article appeared since the above was written.—W. A. I.)

THE ORIGIN OF ׃ĒLÔH , "GOD," IN HEBREW

SAMUEL I. FEIGIN

AS is well known the name ׃Ēlôh , "God," is explained either as an enlargement of ׃Ēl or as derived from a special root ׃lh .¹ It seems to me that we have in ׃eloh a compound name of ׃Ēl , "God," and ׃ah a shortened form for ׃ahyeh , "I shall be," the designation of Yahweh in the first person (Exod. 3:14; Judg. 6:16; Hos. 1:9). As Yahweh the third person is related to ׃ehyeh , originally ׃ahweh the first-person *qal* of the root *hwy*,² also ׃ah abbreviation of ׃ahyeh in the first person is related to yāh shortened form of Yahweh in the third person.³ The ׃a which was lost in the combination is recompensated by lengthening the vowel ā , as the lost a^o is recompensated by lengthening the preceding vowel in syllables ending with ׃ . Thus bara^o became barā , "he created"; $\text{ra}^š$, "head," became rāšim , "heads," finally rôš ; and ya^mar , "he will say," becomes *yāmar , finally yōmar , so also ׃ela^h became ׃elāh .

The form ׃elāh is preserved in Aramaic and in Hebrew becomes, as usual, ׃Ēlôh . In cuneiform both forms are preserved ilāhi and iluḥa .¹

For such a combination of deities compare Dwdh,⁴ namely, Dawid + Hu.⁵ In the same region is found also Ishtar-Kemosh.⁶ It is in-

teresting to note that in both cases the other element precedes the element of the national deity, Ishtar before Kemosh, Dawid before Hû = Yahweh. Moreover, both may have some connection with the deity of love, Ishtar being the well-known deity of love in Babylonia and the West, and Dawid, judging from the name dôd , means love also.

Whether Dwdh was regarded as a separate deity or was only a manifestation of Yahweh as god of fertility is hard to decide.

The two elements of ׃el and ׃ah , of which the name ׃elāh = ׃Ēlôh is compounded, may have been originally two special deities, ׃el being the deity of earth and ׃ah = Yahweh the deity of heaven and the national deity of the Hebrews in general and of Israelites in particular.⁷ But Professor G. Cameron pointed out to me that ׃Ēl may have been a kind of determinative "god" in general and has no specific designation as "god of the earth."

The singular ׃Ēlôh , pronounced ׃Ēlôah , is used in plural form ׃Ēlôhîm , originally "gods," but later "God" in the singular. This interchange between "god" and "gods" to designate the same divinity was found also in the old period in ilAmurru , "the god Amurru" and ilAmurru (DINGIR.DINGIR.MAR.TU). Also, Ba^al appears as $\text{Be}^alîm$, Ashtôreth as Ashtârôth , Anath as Anāthôth , the manifestations of the deity in various places and in various functions.⁸

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⁷ Cf. the interesting article of Professor G. Levi della Vida, "El ׃elyon in Genesis 14:18–20," *JBL*, LXIII (1944), 1–9.

⁸ Cf. W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1940), p. 161.

¹ See Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch* (16th ed.; 1915), p. 39.

² See *Missitrei Heavar*, p. 355, and above, p. 257. The origin of it is "I shall be with you," as is explained in Exod. 3:12.

³ For yāh being shortened from Yahweh see Gesenius-Buhl, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

⁴ Mesha Inscription, l. 12.

⁵ See *Missitrei Heavar*, pp. 430–31, and also above, p. 258. Professor Irwin calls my attention to the compound deity ntyhwh (A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century* [1923], No. 44:3).

⁶ Mesha Inscription, l. 17.