THE DIVINE TITLES 
\( \text{אדוני} \) in Proto-Isaiah and Ezekiel

Johan Lust

It is not without some hesitation that I present this paper to my colleague and friend Arie van der Kooij. As an eminent specialist in the Book of Isaiah and its text-critical problems, he undoubtedly knows more than I do about Adônay in that prophetic book. Moreover, it is difficult to add to the information and insights on this divine title or Name after the publication of Martin Rösel’s excellent monograph on the topic. Nevertheless it may be worthwhile to have a fresh look at the data from a special angle: the comparison between Isaiah and Ezekiel.

1. ‘Adônay’ (אדוני) and ‘Adônay yhwh’ (אדוני יהוה): The Data

The title or name אדוני Adônay occurs much more frequently in Ezekiel (222 times) than in Isaiah (48 times). The bulk of the attestations in Ezekiel are to be found in the typically prophetic framing formulas using the double name (217 times): the messenger formula נאם אלוהי יהוה ‘thus says Adônay yhwh’ (Ezek 122 times; Isa 8 times), and the oracular formula נאם אלוהי יהוה ‘oracle of Adônay yhwh’ (Ezek 81 times; Isa 2 times), in the introduction to a prophetic prayer or exclamation נאם אלוהי יהוה ‘Ah Adônay yhwh’ (Ezek 4 times; Isa 0 times), and exceptionally in the frequently recurring recognition formula ידכ אני אלוהי יהוה ‘know that I am Adônay yhwh’ (Ezek 5 times; Isa 0 times).

In Isaiah, the distribution of the double name is completely different. Most of the attestations are found outside the formulaic contexts: 15 times (out of a total of 25), in sharp contrast to Ezekiel (two times out of a total of 217). The formulaic occurrences are almost exclusively limited to the messenger formula (8 times: 7:7; 10:24; 22:15; 28:16; 30:15; 49:22; 52:4; 65:13). Much more frequently, and without any obvious pattern, the same formula is used with יהוה alone (30 times), and once

---

with הָאָדָם alone (21:16). The oracular formula (…) הָאָדָם is attested twice only with the double name (3:15; 56:8), and never with הָאָדָם alone. Moreover, Proto-Isaiah appears to have a predilection for the expanded form ‘Adôny yhwh Sabaoth’ (Isa 8 times, exclusively in Proto-Isaiah; Ezek 0 times). The distribution of הָאָדָם on its own is also remarkably different. Proto-Isaiah uses it 22 times (and Deutero-Isaiah once), whereas Ezekiel has it 5 times only. Meanwhile it should have become clear that Proto- and Deutero-Isaiah also differ from each other. Proto-Isaiah’s favourite phrase הָאָדָם is absent from Deutero-Isaiah, and הָאָדָם alone, found 22 times in Proto-Isaiah, occurs once only in Deutero-Isaiah.

1.1. ‘Ha-Adôn’ הָאָדָם: Form and Meaning

One of the distinctive characteristics of Isaiah is his use of הָאָדָם ‘ha-Adôn’, ‘the Lord’. He selects this form of the title five times, always in proto-Isaiah, and always followed by יְהוָה הַבּוּרָה יְהוָהSabaoth: Isa 1:24; 3:1; 10:16, 33; 19:4. Ezekiel does not use הָאָדָם or יְהוָה הַבּוּרָה. Indeed, the use of הָאָדָם is very rare in the Bible. In the other prophetic books one finds it only in Mal 3:1, without any further attributes or formulaic context. The Pentateuch contains two occurrences, in texts that are almost perfect doublets: Exod 23:1 and 34:23.

One wonders why the Book of Isaiah alternates the use of הָאָדָם, the form determined by the article, with הָאָדָם, a form without the article, in an exclusive combination with יְהוָה הַבּוּרָה. Modern translations barely distinguish between the two. For examples we may refer to the rsv and nbv, where both phrases are most often translated alike. The rsv usually reads: ‘the Lord, the LORD of hosts.’ The new Dutch translation nbv⁴ usually has: ‘God, de HEER van de hemelse machten.’ Some older versions, sticking closely to the Masoretic text, do note a difference. The Authorized Version systematically renders הָאָדָם יְהוָה הַבּוּרָה ‘the Lord, the LORD of hosts’, and הָאָדָם יְהוָה הַבּוּרָה ‘the Lord GOD of hosts’. Indeed, this translation does not distinguish between הָאָדָם and הָאָדָם, since it

---

² Isa 3:17, 18, 4:4; 6:1, 8, 11; 7:14, 20; 8:7; 9:7, 16; 10:12; 11:11; 21:6, 8, 16; 28:2; 29:13; 30:20; 37:24; 38:14, 16; 49:14. Note that the occurrences of הָאָדָם alone are particularly numerous in the so-called Immanuel book (Is 6:1–8:18, 6 times), whereas that section has the double name only once (7:7).
³ Rösel, Adonay, pp. 84–86.
⁴ nbv = Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling, published in 2004. Arie van der Kooij is a member of the steering committee.