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Aspects of rendering the sacred Tetragrammaton in Greek

Abstract: This article[1] recounts the persistent use of the sacred Tetragrammaton through the centuries as an "effable," utterable name at least in some circles, despite the religious inhibitions against its pronunciation. A more systematic investigation of the various Greek renderings of the biblical name of God is provided. These renderings are found in amulets, inscriptions, literary works, etc., dating from the last few centuries B.C.E. until today. It will be illustrated that some forms of the Tetragrammaton were actually accepted and used more widely within the Greek religious and secular literature since the Renaissance and especially since the Modern Greek Enlightenment. Furthermore, it is asserted that for various reasons there is no unique or universally "correct" rendering of the Hebrew term in Greek. Of special note are two Greek transcriptions of the Tetragrammaton, one as it was audible and written down by a Greek-speaking author of a *contra Judaeos* work in the early 13th century in South Italy and another one written down at Constantinople in the early 17th century—both of them presented for the first time in the pertinent bibliography.

Keywords: Tetragrammaton, Greek Bible, Divine names theology, Bible translations, Biblical God.

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Introduction

The name of God

The sacred Tetragrammaton (Heb. יהוה), commonly pronounced Yahweh (יַהְוֶה) or Jehovah (יְהֹוָה), "has always been regarded as the most sacred and the most distinctive name of God," it is "His proper name par excellence." This name holds the most prominent status within the Hebrew Scriptures in comparison to other appellations or titles attributed to God. While the Bible mentions several epithets of God, "it also speaks of *the* name of God in the singular." In theological terms, the "names of God" are considered "not of human invention, but of divine origin, though they are all borrowed from human language, and derived from human and earthly relations."[2] They are regarded of special value because it is God himself that made them known to humankind and, as a result, "they contain in a measure a revelation of the Divine Being."[3]

1 Originally presented at the joint 2014 International Meeting of the European Association of Biblical Studies and the Society of Biblical Literature held July 6–10 at the Univeristy of Vienna in Austria.

2 Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 49.

3 Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 47. Motyer adds: "It is worth remarking that the Bible knows nothing of different 'names' of God. God has only one 'name'—Yahweh. Apart from this, all the others are titles, or descriptions. This fact is often imperfectly grasped" (*Revelation*, 7, n. 18).

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Nevertheless, the pronunciation of the biblical name of God became later a persistent taboo. Biblical interpretations, philosophical influences, and religious ordinances within Judaism and subsequently Christianity silenced the utterance of the name. The earliest indication for the non-pronunciation of the divine name par excellence among Jews appeared in the third–to–second century B.C.E. By the third century C.E. the utterance of the sacred Tetragrammaton was a capital offence. It is generally held that the name "disappeared" for some centuries before its *de novo* discovery by Renaissance humanists.

Hiding the name, obscuring the identity

The silencing of the divine name's pronunciation

The HB/OT notion concerning the identity of God is presented in a quite uniform way—the outline of the divine personality as described in the Torah pervades the whole Bible. Concerning the use of the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew *text* of the Bible *per se*, it is observable that 'the treatment of the Tetragram can be divided between a minimizing tendency and an expansive one.'[4] These tendencies were neither uniform nor sequential. Similar has been the case with the *textual transmission* of the Hebrew Bible.

The Jews had continued to use the divine name from ancient times without any restriction.[5] Archaeological evidence indicates that even their neighbouring nations knew and actually pronounced the name of the Israelite deity. However, some developments in the history of the Jewish people during the last few centuries B.C.E. inverted this common practice.[6] The pronunciation of the divine name (both in Hebrew and Greek) in the oral tradition and in the written transmission of the Greek OG/LXX presented an increasing drift towards non-pronunciation. The major factors that contributed to this silencing process were the following: (a) Greek philosophical notions and patterns of thought that heavily influenced and transformed fundamental biblical conceptions,[7] (b) the enforced Hellenisation of the Palestine Jews,[8] (c) syncretistic and Gnostic theological interpretations,[9] (d) the development of exclusivistic-elitistic mentalities,[10] (e) religious-magical practices that entailed notions like the hypostatisation of divine characteristics and the paganisation of the deity's identity,[11] and (f) the increased sense of moral degradation.[12] Finally, the uttering of the divine name became "a taboo that had very far-reaching consequences."[13]

Despite the fact that 'many of the members of the Qumran sect must have been familiar with the exact vocalization' of the Tetragrammaton, a tendency to avoid its public pronunciation is noticeable within this

4 Ben-Dov, *Elohistic Psalter*, 83.

5 Schiffman, *Sectarian law*, 133; Suriano, "Tetragrammaton", 752; Andrade, "The Jewish Tetragrammaton", 7, 9, 17.

6 "There was a time when this prohibition [against using the divine name] was entirely unknown among the Jews in Egypt as well as in Babylon, not to mention Palestine. [...] Neither in Egypt, nor in Babylonia, did the Jews know or keep a law prohibiting the use of God's name, the Tetragrammaton, in ordinary conversation or greetings. Yet, from the third century B.C.E. till the third century A.C.E. such a prohibition existed and was partly observed" (Marmorstein, *Old Rabbinic Doctrine*, 18, 19; Rösel, "Names of God", 601). See, also, *Wisdom of Sirach* 23:9b.

7 "That God has no name was taught by Aristotle, Seneca, Maxim of Tyre, Celsus, and Hermes Trismegistus" (Marmorstein, *Old Rabbinic Doctrine*, 17). See, also, Sæbø et al, *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*, 168; Runia, *Exegesis*, 76; Daniélou, *Gospel message*, 327, 339, 340. Also, Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 5:12.82; 4 Baruch 6:9/13.

8 See, for instance, *2 Maccabees* 6:1–9; Ben Zeev, "Jews", 367–390.

9 Schiffman, *From Text to Tradition*, 76; Marmorstein, *Old Rabbinic Doctrine*, 17, 18; Gertoux, *The Name of God*, 106, 107. See, also, the *Gospel of Truth* 38:25; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 1:5.2; Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies* 5:26.1; Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion* 1:445; Augustine of Hippo, *The Harmony of the Gospels* 23:31.

10 National (i.e. Judaism vs. the pagan nations) or sectarian (i.e. priestly cycles of the Temple and other prominent religious groups vs. the common people or magical practices) elitism-exclusivism led to the entrenchment of the use of the Tetragrammaton. For example, see Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 2:276; Andrade, "The Jewish Tetragrammaton", 3–6, 13, 16.

11 Smith, *God in Translation*; Ringgren, "Hypostasen". See, also, *Against Celsus* 1:14[25]; McDonough, *YHWH at Patmos*, 111–116; Stroumsa, "A nameless God", 231, 232.

12 "The priests, seeing the decline of faith and fear of God, considered neither themselves nor their contemporaries worthy of proclaiming or of hearing the name of God" (I. H. Weiss, as quoted by Marmorstein, *Old Rabbinic Doctrine*, 20).

13 Beekes, *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics*, 88.

community that appeared in the second half of the second century B.C.E.[14] First in the oral speech and then within their writings, conservative rabbinic, priestly and scribal cycles promoted the use of metonymic terms so as to avoid any mention of the Tetragrammaton, even of other divine names as well. The reference to God was mostly made by various forms of anonymous address such as "God" and "Lord" and subsequently by circumlocutional substitutes as "Heaven," "the Holy One," "the Place," and "the Name."[15] These appellations were by no means innovative ways of addressing God but they came up as part of a Jewish reverential nomenclature towards the end of the Second Temple period.

The Christian understanding of God carries the fundamental notion that He is the one and same in both the HB/OT and the NT texts.[16] However, in the subsequent post-Nicene trinitarian contemplation on the definition and the interrelation of theo-ontological terms such as φύσις (nature), οὐσία (essence), ὑπόστασις (substance), and πρόσωπον (person), there was an attempt to reconcile the biblical *deus revelatus* and the philosophical *deus absconditus*. Any name used to describe the *essence* of God would not be acceptable—a philosophical dilemma not found in the Hebrew Scriptures.[17] Basil of Caesarea, writing in the mid fourth century C.E., inferred that God's "operations (or, energies) come down to us, but His essence remains beyond our reach."[18] Early in the sixth century C.E., a more thorough theology of the name of God is explicated in the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus and especially in the work *On the Divine Names*. Two centuries later, John of Damascus tried a quite more balanced approach to this theology.[19] Eventually, the Christian God could be described at the same time as God with no name, God with many names,[20] and God with all the names.[21]

In fact, church fathers and Christian writers in general seem to have been constantly attracted to the discussion of the divine names and especially of the Tetragrammaton.[22] Virtually all systematic discourses on theology contain a chapter dedicated to reflection on this issue. The earliest Christian use of the divine name (third-to-fifth centuries C.E.) was made in reference to the deity worshiped by the quasi-Jewish and quasi-Christian Gnostic movements, by Christian "sects," and by the Jews and the Samaritans. Only a few times is the divine name explicitly connected with the God of the Bible. Influential theological trends developed within a range varying between an apophatic, distanced, Platonic/Middle Platonic deity (mainly the Father) and a historical, revealed, of the "old dispensation" God (usually meant the Son). Inside Judaism, the so-called "paganization of Iao" that was spread among Gnostic religious currents and non-Jewish magicians seems to have also influenced some Jews who were ignorant of the biblical identity of the God of their forefathers.[23]

Regarding the silence imposed on the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton, despite "the recurrent Jewish claim that the Name was ineffable" the indications denote that it was "still being pronounced by

14 Schiffman, *Sectarian law*, 134, 143; Rösel, "Names of God", 601; Furuli, *Role of Theology*, 168, 169, 173, 177; Andrade, "The Jewish Tetragrammaton", 8.

15 Stroumsa, *A nameless God*, 231; Rösel, "Names of God", 601, 602.

16 Konstantinou, *Αποκρυπτογραφώντας*, 37–57; Vasileiadis, «Το ιερό Τετραγράμματο», 91.

17 Regarding the naming of the essence of God, compare Athanasius of Alexandria, *On the Councils of Arminium and Seleucia* 34, 35 (PG 26:753; NPNF-2 4:469) with Anastasius' Sinaita sayings in *Guide (Viae Dux*, "De Etymologia"; PG 89:85; CPG 7745). See, also, Foutz, "Exodus 3:14 and the Divine Name"; Grenz, *The Named God*, 291–341.

18 «Αἱ μέν γάρ ἐνέργειαι αὐτοῦ πρός ἡμᾶς καταβαίνουσιν, ἡ δέ οὐσία αὐτοῦ μένει ἀπρόσιτος» (Basil of Caesarea, *Letter 234: To Amphilochius*; PG 32:869A; NPNF-2 8:274).

19 John of Damascus, *An exposition of the orthodox faith* 1:12 (PG 94:845, 848; NPNF-2 9:14); idem, chap. 9. See, also, Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* 1:13.11.1.

20 Theodore II Doukas Laskaris, the third Emperor of Nicaea (1254–1258), collected 700 "names" of God in his work *On Theonymies* (*Περί Θεωνυμίας*; PG 140:763–770).

21 For instance, see Gregory of Nazianzus, *Fourth Theological Oration: Second Oration on the Son* (*Oratio 30*) 17–19; *Dogmatic Poems 29: Hymn to God*.

22 See Gieschen, "The Divine Name"; Vasileiadis, "The pronunciation", 12, 13.

23 Bohak, "The Impact of Jewish Monotheism", 7.

some Hellenistic Jews" and also by non-Jews as late as the third century C.E.[24] However, the impact of dominant rabbinic conceptions and proto-orthodox Christian theologies made the Tetragrammaton virtually inaudible inside both Jewish and Christian communities.[25] It became an amassingly settled position that it is impossible for God to have a personal name.[26]

Nevertheless, one way or another, the proper name of God never ceased from use. This is also implied by the fact that more than 60 different utterable renderings of the sacred Tetragrammaton in Greek are attested during the previous twenty centuries (see Appendix A).[27] The monopoly of the longstanding and widely-applied "official" substitution practice ended in the Latin-speaking world at the beginning of the second millennium C.E. when Renaissance humanism and especially the studies on the Hebrew language provided the qualifications so that the *Hebraica veritas* was rediscovered by Christians. First the Roman Catholics, then the Protestants, and, not long after, Eastern Orthodox Christianity became acquainted to differing degrees with the proper name of God. Similar was the case among the Jews and especially the Jewish converts to Christianity. Gradually the name was used more widely among the English- and German-speaking peoples and later on among the Greeks and the Slavs.

Rendering the sacred Tetragrammaton in Greek: A long-standing quest

A unique, universal rendering of the Tetragrammaton is not possible

Having a history as a written language of more than 3,000 years, Hebrew has been manifoldly transformed.[28] Throughout this period, Jewish populations living both in the Palestine and throughout the Diaspora had been speaking distinct varieties of the Hebrew language. Also, there had been periods that Hebrew seriously declined as a spoken language. Furthermore, fundamental, inherent differences exist between the Indo-European and the Afroasiatic language families.[29] Moreover, the methods used for rendering terms from one language to another have varied. Keeping all these parameters in mind, two questions are posed:

24 Bohak, "The Impact of Jewish Monotheism", 4, 5. The same argument may be supported for the Mandaeans throughout the fifth-to-eighth centuries C.E. (see Vinklát, "Jewish Elements", 208, 209). At the same period the avoidance of pronouncing the name of the Jewish God was generally known (Gager, *Curse Tablets*, 112–115). "In part as a result of the growing impact of Christianity," "non-Jews' usage of the Name was so common that [R.] Samuel (early third cent. [C.E.]) decreed that "one who hears the Ineffable Name uttered by a non-Jew need not tear (his garment)," and his contemporary, R. Hiyya, explained that "one who hears the Ineffable Name uttered by a non-Jew in our times need not tear (his garment), for were we to do so the whole garment would be full of tears,"" notes G. Bohak ("The Impact of Jewish Monotheism", 10, 11).

25 Sixtinus Amama noticed: "Concerning the origin of the practice of the superstition it is rather to be assigned as Jewish. Nevertheless, I see that Christians do the same not out of superstition but out of imitation" (*Anti-Barbarus biblicus*, Amstelodami, 1628, p. 585).

26 "This unbiblical doctrine of late antiquity that God has no name has found champions up to the modern period" (G. Kittel and G. Friedrich (eds.), *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publ., 1995/[1]1967, Vol. 5, p. 250).

27 These renderings include among others Ἰαῶ, Ἰαοὺ, Ἰευώ, Ἰεωά, Ἰηουά, Ἰαβά, Ἰωβὰ, Ἰεωβὰ, Γεοβά, and Ἰαχωβᾶ (Vasileiadis, "The pronunciation", 16–20).

28 Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, 50, 51, 86.

29 More than a century ago it was aptly noted: "The pronunciation of Hebrew by the modern German Jews, which partly resembles the Syriac and is generally called 'Polish', differs considerably from that of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, which approaches nearer to the Arabic. The pronunciation of Hebrew by Christians follows the latter (after the example of Reuchlin), in almost all cases. The oldest tradition is presented in the transcription of Hebrew names in Assyrian cuneiform; a later, but yet in its way very important system is seen in the manner in which the LXX transcribe Hebrew names with Greek letters. As, however, corresponding signs for several sounds (ט, ע, צ, ק, ש) are wanting in the Greek alphabet, only an approximate representation was possible in these cases. The same applies to the Latin transcription of Hebrew words by Jerome, according to the Jewish pronunciation of his time" (W. Gesenius and E. Kautzsch (eds.), A. E. Cowley (transl.), *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, Oxford University Press, [2]1910, p. 32 [§6b]). "The phonology of Greek and Latin is very different from that of Hebrew, and these languages do not possess graphemes that can exactly represent the sounds of Hebrew" (Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, 80).

(a) May we assume that a Hebrew term would have one, and only one, pronunciation spanning across all Palestinian and diasporic Jewish populations throughout this long period? (b) If this were the case for the term in its source language, would there be a basis for the possibility of a unique rendering in the target languages? The answer to both questions is obviously negative for any term, the sacred Tetragrammaton included. J. Krašovec apposes with clarity the most important factors concerning the complexities in the translation of the Hebrew biblical names:

> "The uniformity or the variety of the forms of biblical proper names are both attributable to several factors in the original and in translations: uniform prototypes, different linguistic backgrounds, the existence of different dialects, phonetic variation in the course of transmission, multiple textual traditions, the more or less extensive use of the names in communities constituting living traditions, active and intentional alterations, different Bible translators, and different approaches among the original translators. [...] More important seems to be the individuality of phonetic systems of the most influential ancient languages in the transmission of the biblical texts, i.e., of Hebrew/Aramaic, Greek, and Latin. On the one hand, the Greco-Latin alphabets are inadequate for rendering some Semitic sounds, insofar as these alphabets do not have exact equivalents for Semitic gutturals or sibilants. [...] On the other hand, the pre-Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible caused translators many phonological problems, because originally it did not contain vowel sounds. Concerning the incredible number of variant forms of biblical proper names, the situation is similar in the LXX. Orthography and phonetics in Hellenistic Greek and in late classical Latin are beset with the difficulty that consonants and especially vowels were subject to widespread changes. Between 330 BCE–200 CE there was no fixed orthography. [...] Since translators were free in their transliteration of biblical names, many alternative forms developed in the spelling of names. [...] Since the Greek and Latin alphabets are inadequate for transliteration, authors of Greek and Latin Bibles were utter grammatical and cultural innovators."[30]

Attempting to translate the Tetragrammaton

As it will become more obvious in the following paragraphs, the rendering of Hebrew terms into Greek has proved to be a rather complicated task depending on a number of factors. This fact is adequately observable in the history of the translation of the Tetragrammaton within the Greek biblical text.

The original Greek translation of the divine name has proved to be a heavily debated subject.[31] A constantly great amount of scholarly effort has been put in this question, especially as a result of more recent discoveries that challenged previously long-held assumptions.[32] More specifically, W. G. von Baudissin (1929) maintained that right from its origins the LXX had rendered the Tetragrammaton by κύριος, and that in no case was this latter a mere substitute for an earlier αδωναι. Based on more recent evidence that had become available, P. Kahle (1960) supported that the Tetragrammaton written with Hebrew or Greek letters was retained in the OG and it was the Christians who later replaced it with κύριος. S. Jellicoe (1968) concurred with Kahle. H. Stegemann (1969/1978) argued that Ιαω /i.a.o/ was used in the original LXX. G. Howard (1977/1992) suggested that κύριος was not used in the pre-Christian OG. P. W. Skehan (1980) proposed that there had been a textual development concerning the divine name in this order: Ιαω, the Tetragrammaton in square Hebrew characters, the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew characters and, finally, κύριος. M. Hengel (1989) offered a similar scheme for the use of κύριος for the divine name in the LXX tradition. Evolving R. Hanhart's position (1978/1986/1999), A. Pietersma (1984) regarded κύριος as the original Greek rendering of the Tetragrammaton in the OG text. This view was supported later by J. W. Wevers (2005) and M. Rösel (2007). Moreover, Rösel argued against the Ιαω being the original LXX rendering of the Tetragrammaton. G. Gertoux (2002) proposed that the replacement of the Tetragrammaton by אדני was

30 Krašovec, "Transmission", 2, 9–11, 26.

31 For a recent approach and an overview of the renderings of the Tetragrammaton in the OG/LXX tradition, see Eidsvåg, "Paleo-Hebrew Tetragram", 86–88. Also, De Troyer, "The Pronunciation of the Names of God", 152–163.

32 "Recent textual discoveries cast doubt on the idea that the compilers of the LXX translated the tetragrammaton YHWH by kyrios. The oldest LXX MSS (fragments) now available to us have the tetragrammaton written in Heb characters in the Gk text. This custom was retained by later Jewish translators of the OT in the first centuries A.D." (H. Bietenhard, "Lord," in the *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, C. Brown (gen. ed.), Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1986, Vol. 2, p. 512).

gradual between 300 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. and that Ιαω was an Aramaic substitute* for the Tetragrammaton used from 200 B.C.E. until the middle of the second century C.E., at a time when the scribal practice of the *nomina sacra* appeared. K. De Troyer (2008) argued that θεός was the original rendering of the Tetragrammaton in Greek and only later κύριος became the standard rendering following the more extensive use of אדני; obviously some Jews read Ιαω in their Greek Bible at least until the first century B.C.E. L. Perkins (2008) suggested that Ιαω was a secondary change to the original κύριος. G. D. Kilpatrick (1985), E. Tov (1998/2004/2008), J. Joosten (2011), and A. Meyer (2014)[33] concluded that Pietersma's arguments are unconvincing. More particularly, Tov has supported that the original translators used a pronounceable form of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton (like Ιαω), which was later replaced by κύριος, while Greek recensions replaced it with transliterations in paleo-Hebrew or square Hebrew characters. R. Furuli (2011), after comparing the various proposals, argued that κύριος did not replace the Tetragrammaton before the Common Era and the LXX autographs included the Tetragrammaton in some form of Ιαω. Truly, the hard evidence available supports this latter thesis.

Tracing back the available renderings of the Hebrew term in Greek, four major practices may be identified:

i. non-translation,
ii. translation,
iii. transliteration, and
iv. transcription.

(i) Non-translation

The term "non-translation" is used to describe the use of original Hebrew terms within the text of the Greek translations. Concerning the divine name, this practice was applied (a) out of extreme reverence towards the proper name of God, (b) as a result of the conception that the "iconic" representation of the divine names actually embodies the deity's power,[34] or (c) as a blind reproduction of existing manuscripts that included such distinguishable terms.[35]

An early evidence of such a practice is the use of the Tetragrammaton written in the paleo-Hebrew script within the Hebrew text written with Aramaic ("square") letters. Such cases are found in the Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs^{a}, first half of the first century C.E.) and in biblical passages cited in the Commentary on Habakkuk Scroll (1QpHab, second half of the first century B.C.E.).[36] This characteristic of the Qumran community is attested in Aramaic[37] and Greek texts. In particular, the Greek Minor Prophets scroll (8ḤevXII), an "early Jewish revision of the OG"[38] found at the Judean Desert and dated to the end of the first century B.C.E., contains 28 Tetragrammata (fully or partially preserved) written in paleo-Hebrew letters. It is attested also in Oxyrhynchus papyri and other revisions of the OG, like the versions made by Aquila, Symmachus,

33 Meyer, "Reassessment of spacing features in early Greek MSS".

34 Janowitz, "Theories of Divine Names".

35 Gallagher, "Religious provenance", 304.

36 See Appendix B, image 01. This feature "is shared with another twenty-three Qumran texts, mainly nonbiblical" and with biblical scrolls that include 2QExod^{b}, 4QExod^{j}, 4QLev^{g}, 4QDeut^{k2}, 4QIsa^{c} (Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, 55, 142, 143; idem, *Scribal Practices*, 239, 240, 261–273; idem, *Textual Criticism*, 56, 103, 205; Ulrich, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 117–120). Tov explains: "The Qumran scribes had a special approach towards the writing of divine names, especially the Tetragrammaton" (Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, 119, 421–427). Also, Capes, "YHWH texts", 121.

37 4QpsDan^{a} ar (4Q243) (Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 240).

38 More precisely, 8ḤevXII "attests the recension commonly referred to as Proto-Theodotion or καιγε" (Ulrich, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 231; Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, 342, 343, 363).

*Added note: Coming from the Hebrew term Yahu.

and Theodotion.[39] In the fourth century C.E. it was still well known the existence of such manuscripts.[40]

Furthermore, the use of the Tetragrammaton written in the square Aramaic script within the Greek biblical text is attested in a magnificent papyrus roll of Deuteronomy (P.Fouad 266[b]).[41] The text of this papyrus is an early Jewish revision of the OG that originated in Fayum, Egypt, and is dated to the middle of the first century B.C.E.[42] The first scribe left spaces indicating where the divine name was to be filled in and the second scribe wrote these Tetragrammata. Following this scribal practice, the Tetragrammaton in the Hexapla was probably written in Aramaic script, rather than translated or written in paleo-Hebrew script. Whether out of incompentence or on purpose, the divine name was written in Greek sources as πιπι, representing graphically the square script form of the Tetragrammaton.* Such examples are the Milan Palimpsest (Rahlfs 1098, dated to the ninth century C.E.)[43] that preserves the Hebrew form יהוה, whereas the Cairo Genizah Palimpsest T-S 12.182 (Ralhfs 2005, dated to the seventh century C.E.) already uses the graecised form πιπι.[44] Moreover, it is attested that in the fourth century C.E. some Greek-speaking readers, who were not acquainted with the Hebrew, even pronounced as /pi.pi/ the square script Tetragrammata found at their Bible copies.[45] Eventually, this graecised term was transliterated in the Syriac script within the Syro-Hexapla that was prepared in the early seventh century C.E.[46]

(ii) Translation

Translation involves converting a message expressed in the source language into a message with the same meaning in the target language. As regards the Tetragrammaton, what is the meaning of it? Despite the fact that it is a proper name, should we expect that it would carry a clear, meaningful notion? And if there is a recognisable meaning, should the name be transliterated-transcribed or be pronounced according to the translation of its meaning?

39 See Appendix B, images 02 and 05. In the list given by Tov (*Hebrew Bible*, 357, n. 28) should be added the P.Oxy. 77.5101 (Rahlfs 2227), a LXX Psalms scroll dated to the late first or early second century C.E. (D. Colomo and W.B. Henry, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri LXXVII*. The Egypt Exploration Society, 2011, pp. 1–11). Concerning the Hexaplaric column of Theodotion, see Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 127, 128, 212; Regarding the palimpsests-fragments of Aquila, see Olszowy-Schlanger, "Hebrew script", 281, 282; Gallagher, "Religious provenance", 285, 286, 303.

40 Origen, *In Psalms* 2:2 (PG 12:1104); Jerome, *Preface to the Books of Samuel and Malachi* (PL 28:550); see Gallagher, "Religious provenance", 300, 302; Howard, "The Tetragram", 73, 74; Andrade, "The Jewish Tetragrammaton", 9.

41 See Appendix B, image 03.

42 Papyrus Fouad 266[b] (= Rahlfs 948, papyrus roll of Deuteronomy, mid first century B.C.E.) is a prominent evidence of the use of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton within the LXX Bible text (cf. De 25:14–18). For a list of all the suggested datings of the P.Fouad 266, see Furuli, *Role of Theology*, 190. Three publications have been made of it: (a) *New World Translation of the Christian Greek Scriptures*, New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, 1950, pp. 12, 14. (b) Fr. Dunand, "Papyrus Grecs Bibliques (Papyrus F. Inv. 266). Volumina de la Genèse et du Deutéronome," *Études de papyrologie, Société royale égyptienne de papyrologie*, Vol. 9 (1971), p. 151, pl. IX. (c) Z. Ali and L. Koenen, *Three rolls of the early Septuagint Genesis and Deuteronomy: A photographic edition (Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen)*, Bonn: R. Habelt, 1980, pp. 76, 77.

43 Ambrosian Library O 39 sup. (= S.P. 11.251). E. Gallagher has argued convincingly that *Christian* scribes might have produced paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammata within their biblical manuscripts, in addition to the attested use of the forms יהוה and πιπι.

44 Jenkins, "First column", 90, n. 13. Other Hexaplaric manuscripts that use this graecised Tetragrammaton are Q (= Codex Marchalianus; Vat. gr. 2125, dated to the sixth century C.E.), 86 (= Barberinus graecus 549, 9th/10th century C.E.), 88 (= Codex Chisianus; R. VIII. 45 Chigi Lib., 10th/11th century C.E.), 234[margin] (= Greg. 1404, Pantokratoros monastery 234, ninth century C.E.), and 264 (= Codex Ottobonianus gr. 398, 10th/11th century C.E.) (Metzger, *Manuscripts*, 35; Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 220; Busto Saiz, *La traducción de Símaco*, 75; Hatch & Redpath, *Concordance*, 2:1135, 3:126, 212).

45 Jerome comments: "The ninth, τετράγραμμον [= Tetragram], which they considered ανεκφώνητον, that is, unspeakable, and it is written with these letters, Iod, He, Vau, He. Certain ignorant ones, because of the similarity of the characters, when they would find it in Greek books, were accustomed to read ΠΙΠΙΙ" (Jerome, *Letter 25, To Marcella*; PL 22:428, 429; transl. Metzger, *Manuscripts*, 35. n. 73).

46 This phenomenon is observable, for instance, throughout the margins of the most important witness to the Syro-Hexapla, Codex (Syrohexaplaris) Ambrosianus (MS. C. 313 Inf.), dated to the eighth century C.E. (Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 220, 221).

* Added note: The presence of the Tetragrammaton in square Hebrew characters within the Greek Bible resulted in the development of a kind of "graphological translation," aiming to transfer neither a semantic content nor a corresponding sound but only a 'graphic substance,' as far as the four letters יהוה were "interpreted as Greek ones and read as ΠΙΠΙ" (Louw, Transformations in the Septuagint, 76). There is evidence of the πιπι form within A. Rahlfs' Septuaginta in the footnotes of Isa 48:14; 58:5; 64:8. For an interesting case of textual criticism that testifies indirectly to the πιπι reading within the Greek text, see Montgomery, "A Survival of the Tetragrammaton in Daniel"; for similar cases see, also, Maillet, The Servant Songs, 132 and Sibinga, The Old Testament Text of Justin Martyr, 52–59. It is also possible that this is implied in a comment made by Basil of Caesarea (To Amphilochius, On the Holy Spirit 18.44; PG 32:869; NPNF-2 8:28). In the early 17th century, the Chian scholar Leo Allatius in his Latin notes to the Pseudo-Eustathius' of Antioch Commentary on the Hexaemeron (Ὑπόμνημα εἰς τὴν Ἑξαήμερον) mentions the visual similarity between the Greek rendering and the original Hebrew term and comments on the silence of pronouncing the Tetragrammaton (PG 18:785D, 1054CD).

Within the Bible, Hebrew names in many cases have a meaning attached to them. The biblical writers follow the use of a proper name with an explanation of its meaning in support of their narrative.[47] Etymology is neither the main nor the sole source of providing the meaning. Other factors like punning, paronomasia, assonance, etc. play major roles. Nevertheless, the personal names are kept untranslated.[48] For example, if the name Jesus was not transcribed but translated according to its meaning it would be uttered in English "Saviour" or, according to its fuller form, "Yeho[wah] Is Salvation." This practice is not followed by the biblical translators except only for prophetical names—names that are not essentially proper but convey a special message regarding the named person.

Furthermore, the history of the transmission of the Greek *nomina divina* found transcribed within the LXX text shows that their usage have never been uniform nor consistent owing to various reasons. Scarce remainings of such inconsistencies can still be found within the editions of the LXX.[49]

The most prominent cases of the sacred Tetragrammaton's translation are discussed below:

(a) κύριος /ˈki.ri.os/, pronounced /ˈku.ri.os/ in the early Hellenistic Greek.

Strictly speaking, the Greek term κύριος (also δεσπότης /ðe.ˈspo.tis/) is neither a translation nor an exact synonym of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton.[50] It is a *substitute* term, an epithet that became noun, functioning in the late copies of the LXX as a proper name.[51] The term κύριος is not a Greek equivalent of the יהוה because it lies outside of the semantic domain of the Hebrew term and is not related to any of its possible etymologies. It is obvious that if κύριος had actually been used in the original LXX translation, this was not a welcomed translational choice for more than two or three centuries. In all extant OG/LXX manuscripts as late as the middle of the first century C.E. the term κύριος is not used but rather Hebrew and Greek forms of the Tetragrammaton.[52] Either the original translators themselves or the revisers/recensionists/scribes of the OG/LXX preferred to utilize terms and scribal practices that singularised the reference to the God of Israel, who was at the same time the universal Dominator. It is evident that this practice was reversed very early in the Christian era at the latest.[53] The subsequent use of the contracted forms of the original *nomina sacra* κ[ύριο]ς and θ[εό]ς within Christian manuscripts probably reflects the Jewish practice of replacing the Tetragrammaton by ה[הו]י.[54]

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47 See, for example, Ge 3:20; 25:26; 1Sa 25:25; 2Sa 12:24, 25; Ru 1:20, 21. Additionally, see Mt 1:21; Joh 1:42; Ac 4:36.

48 Giving the basic definition of "proper name," Van Langendonck states: "[It is] a noun that denotes a unique entity at the level of 'established linguistic convention' to make it psychosocially salient within a given basic level category [pragmatic]. The meaning of the name, if any, does not (or not any longer) determine its denotation [semantic]" (*Theory and Typology of Proper Names*, 6). Cunningham observes: "There is a particular class of words which, by definition, cannot be translated: pure proper names. […] Pure proper names are transliterated […] by definition, have no semantic equivalents" ("On Translating the Divine Name", 425, 426; see also Daams, "Translating YHWH 'Elohim", 227, 233; Grenz, *The Named God*, 271–280). In a work that was attributed to John Chrysostom is mentioned that Ιαω is "an appellation of God" that the Hebrew translators "left untranslated" (*Exposition on Psalms*, Ps 104; PG 55:653; Sp.: see CPG 4551).

49 See, for example, the use of these terms within the Greek LXX text: αδων/אדון ("Lord") in Jer 41[34]:5; αδωναι/אדני ("Lord", addressing God) in 1Sa 1:11 and Ez 36:33, 37 MS. B; αδωναιος/אדני ("Lord", addressing God) in Jg 13:8; 16:28; ελωαι/אלוהי ("my God") in 1Sa 1:11; σαβαωθ/צבאות ("Sabaoth", used as a title of God) in Jos 6:17; 1Sa 1:3, 11, 20; 15:2. For a detailed study of these instances, see Simotas, *Αἱ ἀμετάφραστοι λέξεις*.

50 Capes, *Old Testament Yahweh texts*, 39.

51 Debrunner, "Zur Uebersetzungstechnik der Septuaginta", 69–78; Eidsvåg, "Paleo-Hebrew Tetragram", 94, 95; Stroumsa, "A nameless God", 232–235. It is interesting that more than 50 times the combined *nomina divina* "אלהים יהוה" are rendered in the late LXX copies as «κύριος κύριος». The term θεός is also used sometimes within the LXX in places where the MT contains the Tetragrammaton. As regards the scrolls from Qumran, only in non-biblical manuscripts are found Hebrew terms equivalent to "God" replacing the Tetragrammaton (Rösel, "Names of God", 601). Interestingly, Philo distinguished ὁ Ὤν as the proper name of God and κύριος and θεός as the major titles of the "Father of the Universe" (*On Abraham* 121, 124; Greek text and translation by F. H. Colson, *Philo Vol. VI (Loeb Classical Library)*, Harvard University Press, 1984, Vol. 6, pp. 62, 63). This interpretation disseminated among the church fathers.

52 For a detailed presentation of these manuscripts, see Vasileiadis, "Jesus, the New Testament, and the sacred Tetragrammaton". This fact calls into question older conclusions based on the early dating of the practice of non-pronunciation in public of the Tetragrammaton.

53 Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, 203, 204; Howard, "The Tetragram", 74, 75.

54 Gertoux, *The Name of God*, 125, 126.

Moreover, if κύριος was the original choice of the Alexandrian Bible then this metonymic term would be part of a syncretistic attempt to reconcile the notion of the personal (aka "tribal") God of the Hebrew Scriptures with the Hellenistic concepts of the supreme deity. In a functionalist approach, it is evident that in such a case the LXX successfully served a considerably different *Skopos* than the original biblical text, it constituted a marked theological shift.

Did Jesus, his early movement, and consequently the NT authors follow this practice? During the last decades this question comes again increasingly frequently in the research foreground. The answer is not as obvious as it may seem.[55] Bearing in mind that κύριος in the late LXX copies is used to render more than twenty corresponding Hebrew terms or term combinations of the HB,[56] in a similar manner the term κύριος does comprise richer information in the Greek NT.

(b) ὁ Ὤν /o on/.

Philo was the first to declare about God that 'in the sacred scriptures is called "He that Is" as *his proper name*.'[57] Actually, these two words used by the LXX do not render the sacred Tetragrammaton. The text in Exodus reads: «Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Ὤν [MT: אהיה אשר אהיה] ... Ὁ Ὤν [אהיה] ... Κύριος [יהוה]» (Ex 3:14, 15). This appellation is an *hapax legomenon* in the LXX. In this verse the Alexandrian translators did not translate the original text literally as «Ἐγώ Εἰμι ὅ/ὅς Εἰμι ... Ὁ Εἰμί» or «Ἐγώ Ἔσομαι ὅ/ὅς Ἔσομαι ... Ὁ Ἐσόμενος».[58] The Platonizing LXX rendering attempts to explain the text as a reference to God's aseity, that is, his underived existence, and his eternity and unchangeableness.[59] Few centuries later, during the second century C.E., the translations of Aquila and Theodotion tried to overcome this inadequacy by rendering literally this phrase as «Ἔσομαι Ἔσομαι» ("I Will Be I Will Be). Much later, Jewish versions followed this earlier tradition and rendered the phrase as «Ἔσομαι ὃς Ἔσομαι ... Ἔσομαι ... Ὀντωτὴς», that is "I Will Be Who I Will Be ... I Will Be ... The Existence Giver" (*Graecus Venetus*, end of 14th century).[60] Similarly, in Medieval Greek it was translated as «Νὰ Εἶμαι ὃς Νὰ Εἶμαι ... ὁ Ἐϊέ ... ὁ Κύριος», that is "I Will Be Who I Will Be ... Eie ... the Lord" (*Constantinople Pentateuch*, 1547).[61]

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55 See Vasileiadis, "The pronunciation", 9–12; idem, «Το ιερό Τετραγράμματο», 85–87; J. A. Fitzmyer, "Κύριος," in H. Balz and G. Schneider (eds.), *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament*, Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans Publ., 2004, Vol. 2, p. 330; Grenz, *The Named God*, 259–262. Concerning the oral use of the divine name by early Christians, McDonough notes that "Jewish Christians could possibly have used the name YHWH when (and if) they spoke Hebrew" (*YHWH at Patmos*, 98). Regarding the early text of the Christian Scriptures, Howard supported the thesis that the original texts of the New Testament preserved the Tetragrammaton (either in Hebrew scripts or in a Greek transliteration) in citations and allusions of the OT (Howard, "The Tetragram"; idem, "The Name of God"; idem, "Tetragrammaton"). Shedinger proposed that the Syriac *Diatessaron*, composed some time after the middle of the second century C.E., may provide additional confirmation of Howard's hypothesis (*Tatian and the Jewish Scriptures*, 136–140). Additionally, within the Syriac *Peshitta* is discernible the distinction between κύριος rendered as ܡܪܝܐ (*marya*, which means "lord" and refers to the God as signified by the Tetragrammaton; see Lu 1:32) and ܡܪܳܐ (*maran*, a more generic term for "lord"; see Joh 21:7).

56 Muraoka, *A Greek-Hebrew Aramaic Two-way Index to the Septuagint*, 72.

57 «Ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς γραφαῖς κυρίῳ ὀνόματι καλεῖται ὁ Ὤν» (*On Abraham* 121.3; L. Cohn and P. Wendland (eds.), *Philo of Alexandria, Opera quae supersunt*, Berlin: G. Reimer, 1896, Vol. 4, p. 23; transl. F. H. Colson). See McDonough, *YHWH at Patmos*, 80–84.

58 The term אהיה is translated in the LXX with «ἔσομαι» in other instances, like Ex 3:12 and Ez 14:11.

59 Konstantinou, *Ρήμα Κυρίου κραταιόν*, 182, 183. For instance, see Plato, *Timaeus* 37c–38b. In the *Liturgy of St. Basil*, the anaphora begins with the address to the Father as "He that is" («ὁ Ὤν»), and such a reference is also made in the *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*.

60 O. Gebhardt (ed.), *Graecus Venetus. Pentateuchi, Proverbiorum, Ruth, Cantici, Ecclesiastae, Threnorum, Danielis versio Graeca, ex unico, Bibl. s. Marci Venetae codice nunc primum uno volumine comprehensam atque apparatu critico instructam*, Lipsiae: F. A. Brockhaus, 1875, p. 112.

61 *Pentateuchus Hebraicus, Hispanicus, Barbaro-Graecus, Constantinople, in domo Eliezeris Berab Gerson Soncinatis*, 1547. The Greek transliteration is taken from Dirk C. Hesseling, *Les cinq livres de la loi (le Pentateuque): traduction en néo-grec publiée en caractères hébraiques à Constantinople en 1547, transcrite et accompagnée d'une introduction d'un glossaire et d'un fac-simile*, Leiden: Van Doesburgh-Harrasowitz, 1897, p. 115. J. Krivoruchko notes: "Apart from the Hebrew text with parallel [popular "vulgar"] Greek and Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) translations, the Pentateuch also contains Targum Onkelos and Rashi" ("The Constantinople Pentateuch", 255). It is also noteworthy that the Tetragrammaton is rendered in Greek as κύριος and is written with Hebrew letters as קיריוש /ˈki.ri.os/ (the similar form קיריס /ˈki.ris/ occurs regularly in the Aramaic of the Targums), while in the Ladino column the substitute יי is used, a form already used in rabbinic literature (Aslanov, "The Judeo-Greek and Ladino columns", 391, 396).

It has been proposed that the phrasal title «ὁ Ὢν καὶ ὁ Ἦν καὶ ὁ Ἐρχόμενος» found in the Book of Revelation almost five times[62] represents an expansive rendering of the Hebrew אהיה אשר אהיה. However, apart from an obvious contextualisation, if the Greek title was to be explained ontotheologically with Platonic overtones this would be far beyond the notion of the active and rigorous God described in the prophetic book.[63] From such a perspective, the "I Am" ("אני הוא") divine declarations in the HB/OT might be preferable not to be understood as references to God's bare existence and static beingness nor Jesus' "I Am" («Ἐγώ εἰμι», not «ὁ Ὢν») sayings as expressions of a blatant divine self-identification.

(c) Ὀντωτής /on.to.ˈtis/, Ὀντουργός /o.ntur.ˈɣos/, Οὐσιωτής /u.si.o.ˈtis/.
These terms were selected to render the Tetragrammaton by the author(s) of the *Graecus Venetus*, published at Constantinople at the end of the 14th century. In every place where יהוה is found in the HB it is translated consistently by one of these three terms—primarily with Ὀντωτής. The coinage of these neologisms is an indication of an arduous and scrupulous attempt to render the original text into Greek—and more specifically, they are part of renderings that are used to denote the varying nuances between the verbs "be" and "become."[64] These names convey to the reader the notion of the One who is creating the living creatures, "the Existence Giver."[65]

(d) Αὐτοφυής /au.to.fu.ˈes/, pronounced /af.to.fi.ˈis/ since the early centuries C.E.
This term had been used earlier to describe Greek deities and it was used subsequently in Greek theological writings to describe God. The Alsatian Reformer Martin Bucer (1491–1551) utilised the transliterated term Autophyis (Autophyes) as a rendering of the Tetragrammaton in his Latin translation of the Psalms.[66] Again, the underived existence and being the source of his own existence is denoted by this term.[67]

Other terms like Ἀόρατος /a.ˈo.ra.tos/ and Αἰώνιος /e.ˈo.ni.os/ have been used occasionally in Christian literature to render the Tetragrammaton as metonymic terms or translational substitutes, especially in *onomastica sacra*. These terms emphasize aspects of the Divinity, particularly the divine invisibility, transcendence, and eternal living.[68]

(iii) Transliteration

One method of translating proper names is by transliteration, which is the mapping of a word from one alphabet into another. Transliteration is not concerned with representing the exact sounds (phonemes) of the original—it only strives to represent the characters accurately. B. Kedar-Kopfstein notes that "theory and practice of translation agree on the principle that proper names should be transliterated."[69] All the available information from the last few pre-Christian centuries and during the first Christian millennium shows that transliteration was the dominant method adopted. The transliteration of Hebrew names into Greek in the LXX presents a varying degree of fidelity compared to the putative Hebrew pronunciation.[70] A major reason for this phenomenon is that the forms of the original terms themselves are usually not stabilised—especially

62 Re 1:4, 8; 4:8 (reversed order); 11:17; 16:5 (without «ὁ Ἐρχόμενος»). Cf. Re 17:8, 10, 11.
63 For a review of the whole range of the proposed interpretations, see McDonough, *YHWH at Patmos*, 187–231.
64 Aslanov, "La place du Venetus graecus", 166.
65 Friedländer, *Essays on the writings of Abraham ibn Ezra*, 20, 21. Terms with similar meaning are "ὁ Οὐσιῶν" /o u.si.ˈon/ and "ὁ Οὐσιοποιός" /o u.si.o.pi.ˈos/ (Palmroot, *Dissertatio philologica de nomine Dei*, 27, 28). This hiphil meaning of God's name was also emphasised by R. Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–1164).
66 *Psalmorum libri quinque ad Ebraicam Versi*, Argentoratum, 1529, "Ad lectorem": "Autophyes." See, also, Wright, *Martin Bucer*, 170, 171 and Sæbø et al, *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*, 469.
67 The term «ὁ Αὐτοών» /o af.to.ˈon/ that means "the Self-Existent" has a similar connotation (Palmroot, *Dissertatio philologica de nomine Dei*, 27, 28).
68 Vasileiadis, «Το ιερό Τετραγράμματο», 96.
69 Kedar-Kopfstein, "The Interpretative Element in Transliteration", 57, 58.
70 See Knobloch, "Hebrew Sounds in Greek Script".

in a literary corpus such as the Holy Scriptures, written during a very long period of time.[71] Furthermore, grammatical changes in both languages made the transliteration an even more complicated issue.[72]

This means, in general, that each of the letters of the Tetragrammaton might be transliterated as being consonant or vowel (including dipthongs) in a number of possible combinations. Using a letter-to-letter correspondence this process could result in forms like Ἰεωέ, Ἰεουέ, Ἰεωά, Ἰαωά, Ἰευέ, Ἰεβέ, Ἰαβά, but also Ἰευά, Ἰεουά, Ἰαουέ, Ἰεβά, Ἰοβά, Ἰαβέ, etc. Some of these forms were used more widely than others, while some of them represent rather conjectural reconstructions. In Latin, during the 12th century the Sephardic Jew and convert to Christianity scholar Petrus Alphonsus (11th–12th cent.) followed by the Italian theologian Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135–1202) and Pope Innocent III (1160/1161–1216) familiarised the transliterated term ieve.[73]

It is remarkable that according to Ecclesiastes 11:3 (MT) the term /yih.weh/ (יִהְוֶה), if it is read meaning "He will [prove/come to] be"[74] («ἔσται», LXX, meaning "will be"), was actually vocalised /ye.hu.aˈ/ (יְהוּא) before the Common Era,[75] a form very similar to the English /yæ.ho.wah/[76]—as well to the Greek renderings Ιεωα /i.e.o.ˈa/ and Ιεουα/Ιηουα/Ιευα, all of them read /i.e.u.ˈa/.[77] It is probable that Josephus might have had this form in his mind when he cites that the sacred name of God consists of "four vowels."[78] Compared to the LXX transcription conventions and the Greek renderings of typical theophoric names such as Jesus, this form seems to be a fine candidate to be the current Hebrew pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton during the Second Temple period. In such a case, the earliest *nomen sacrum* ιη /ie/ could initially apply to

71 For example, four Hebrew forms of the name Jesus found in the Bible are: (a) יהשוע which is transliterated as yhswʿ, (b) יהושע as yhwsʿ, (c) ישוע as yswʿ, and (d) ישו as ysh.

72 All of the three Hebrew letters that compose the sacred four-letter name have a distinct peculiarity: they are consonants that they were gradually used (already testified by the ninth century B.C.E.) to represent vocalic sounds, called *matres lectionis*. Additionally, two of them (ו /w/ and י /y/, allophones of /u/ and /i/ respectively) are used as semi-vowels (Murtonen, *Hebrew in Its West Semitic Setting*, 87, 88). "The Greeks correctly assumed that the Phoenician letters were acrophonic: the first sound of the name provided the sound value of the letter. In the case of the very first Phoenician letter, called *ʔalp 'ox,' this led the Greeks, who lacked a phoneme /ʔ/, to assume that the sound value of the letter was /a/. Greek also did not have a phoneme /j/ ([j] was merely an allophone of /i/), so the letter *yɔ:d 'hand' was taken as acrophonic for /i/. The vowel /u/ was provided by Phoenician *waw 'hook' (although a doublet letter had to be created for the Greek phoneme /w/). Of the two Phoenician h-like sounds, Greek chose the more marked one (*ħɛ:t) to stand for the Greek rough breathing, which made Phoenician *he: 'hey!' (=Greek ἦ /ɛ́:/ 'hey!') available for the vowel /e/. For the final vowel, /o/, no obvious Phoenician model was available, and the Greeks adopted the remaining letter that to them sounded as if it was vowel-initial, [*]ʕɛ:n 'eye,' perhaps by default, perhaps because the Greek word for 'eye' (ὀφθαλμός /ophthalmós/) starts with an o-" ("Europe Alphabets, Ancient Classical," in the *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, 2nd ed., Oxford: Elsevier Pergamon, 2006, Vol. 4, pp. 270, 271). From the Semitic letter ו originated two letters of the Ancient Greek alphabet: the vowel letter υ /u/→/y/→/i/ and its consonantal doublet digamma ϝ /w/, which disappered between the eigth and fourth centuries B.C.E. However, Koiné and Modern Greek has no semi-vowels similar to the Hebrew י and ו or to their English counterparts y and w. Within the Greek language, the majority of the letters that were used for the transcription of the Tetragrammaton—that is, the letters υ, ι, η, ο, ω, β, and γ—had their own historical adventures.

73 See, for example, Petrus' Alphonsus *Liber contra Judeos* (Abbaye Notre-Dame de Cîteaux, MS. 230, f. 55v), Joachim's of Fiore *In Apocalipsim* (Venetia, 1537, 33v–38r), and Pope Innocent III's *Sermon 4* and a comment in Psalms (PL 217:467–470, 1101) .

74 Davidson, *The Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*, 51, n. 3e.*

75 This is indicated by Qumran documents where הוא is written so as to read הואה (cf. Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, 140; Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 23, 57).

76 Gertoux, *The Name of God*, 244.

77 See Reisel, *The Mysterious Name of Y.H.W.H.*, 74, 75. The Greek renderings starting with /ie-/ are in accordance with the biblical yhwh-theophoric names, in which yᵉhô- and yô- are used as prefixed elements and -yāhû and -yāh as suffixed elements (Fowler, *Theophoric personal names*, 32–38).

78 Josephus, *Jewish War* 5:5.7 (H. Thackeray, *Josephus III (The Loeb Classical Library)*, Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 272, 273). Although Thackeray in the 'uncertainty' of the identity of the four-vowel word proposes Ἰαυέ (or Ἰαουέ) /i.a.u.ˈe/, a more probable implication is the vocalic form Ἰεωά/Ἰεοά /i.e.o.ˈa/ (very similar to Ἰωά /i.o.ˈa/), or Ἰεουά/Ἰευά /i.e.u.ˈa/ (Ἰεουέ/Ἰευέ /i.e.u.ˈe/ is a letter-to-letter vocalic transcription but it does not follow the usual transcription of the Hebrew names that end with ה; see Gertoux, *The Name of God*, 214).

* Added note: Also, Gesenius' Hebrew-Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament (transl. S. Pr. Tregelles), Grand Rapids: Baker Book House Comp., 1996, p. 219 (Strong's no 1933).

both the Father and the Son.[79]

As demonstrated in Appendix A, considering many of the possible transcription combinations we may conclude that a number of words previously characterised as *nomina barbara* are actually various Greek renderings of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton.[80] For the reasons mentioned above, the translational renderings have proven to be quite fluid.[81]

(iv) Transcription-borrowing

Transcription maps the sounds of one language to the best-matching script of another language. Actually, it is a rather phonological attempt to reconstruct the original pronunciation. Regarding the Tetragrammaton, the attempts to reconstruct an "original" or at least an acceptable form according to grammatical and syntactical rules of the Hebrew language have been numerous. Besides, even today, there are no standardised transliteration methods in Greek.

In ancient times the transcription of the names was not usually uniform—not even the original terms retained a unique stabilised form. For example, Hebrew forms of the common theophoric name Jesus יהשוע were transcribed (or transliterated) in Greek in more than fourteen ways.[82] It is obvious that in Hebrew the name Jesus was never pronounced as the Modern Greek Ιησούς /i.i.ˈsus/ or similar. Regarding the Greek rendering, the vowel η was pronounced /e/ in the Koiné Greek, the general Greek dialect used from the third century B.C.E. to the fourth century C.E. Only by the third century C.E. it started to sound like ι /i/. The form Ἰησοῦς was used uniformly by the Christians, while the Jews increasingly reduced the use of this name from the second century C.E. onwards.

Changes in the Greek language affected the transcription options for rendering the Tetragrammaton in Greek. As an example, the pronunciation of the letter χ—that in Ancient Greek was an aspirated velar stop /k^h/—became gradually a fricative /x/. This transformation allowed the Koiné Greek and later dialects to represent to a certain degree the Hebrew consonant ה. Similarly, in Ancient Greek the letter γ represented a voiced velar stop /g/ but later it developed and became a voiced fricative /j/ [ɟ]. These changes of the Greek language combined with the improvements in the knowledge of the Hebrew led to the appearance of renderings such as Γεχαβά, Ἰεοβάχ/Ἰεωβάχ, Ἰεχβά, Ἰεχωβᾶ, Ἰεχωβάχ, Ἰεωβά/Ἰεοβά, and Γεχοβά. Later forms are including Ἰαχβέ, Γιαχβέ, and Γιαχβὲχ.[83]

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79 See L. Hurtado, "Nomina Sacra in Early Graffiti (and a Mosaic)", August 18, 2011, http://larryhurtado.wordpress.com/2011/08/18/nomina-sacra-in-early-graffiti-and-a-mosaic/; J. R. Wicker's "Pre-Constantinian Nomina Sacra in a Mosaic and Church Graffiti," *Southwestern Journal of Theology*, Vol. 52, no. 1 (Fall 2009), p. 31 [21–41]; De Troyer, "The Pronunciation of the Names of God", 160; Roberts, *Manuscript, society, and belief*, 36; Stroumsa, "A nameless God", 238, 239.

80 A. Deissmann's "Greek Transcriptions of the Tetragrammaton" and B. Alfrink's "La Prononciation 'Jehova' du Tétragramme" are two articles that remain very enlightening contributions on this issue. See, also, D. N. Freedman and M. P. O'Connor, "יהוה YHWH" in the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdman Publ., 1986, Vol. 5, pp. 509, 510.

81 For example, regarding the changes of the Greek language, by the Christian era the sound of the letter β had moved from the voiced bilabial plosive /b/ to the voiced labiodental fricative /v/. Similar was the case with the letter υ when it was inside a diphthong (αυ, ευ, ηυ); despite being a vowel it began to function as consonant /v/ during the same period. The consonantal sound of the voiced palatal fricative /j/ was rendered constantly as ι /i/ (Murtonen, *Hebrew in Its West Semitic Setting*, 88).

82 That is, Ἰεσούα, Ἰασσούου, Ἰεσοῦς, Ἰεσῶα, Ἰεσσωά, Ἰησούου, Ἰησίου, Ἰησού, Ἰησοῦς, Ἰησουέ, Ἰωσούᾳ, Ἰωσούας, Ἰωσηέ, and Ιευσυο. For Ἰεσῶα, see Theodoret of Cyrus, *Commentary on Isaiah* 61:10 ("Ἰεσσωὰ" in PG 81:473; 84:1004; "Ιεσῶα" in J.-N. Guinot, *Théodoret de Cyr. Commentaire sur Isaïe* (1984), Vol. 3. Also, in the Bible is found the similar form וישוה that is rendered in the LXX as Ἰεσουά /i.e.su.ˈa/ (Ge 46:17) and Ἰσουά /i.su.ˈa/ (1Ch 7:30); Ισβά /is.ˈva/ is rendered in Modern Greek translations, and in English ones Ishuah (KJV) and Ishvah (RSV). See, also, Hatch & Redpath, *Concordance*, 82). For Ἰησού, see Ilan, *Lexicon*, 126–133. For Ἰησουέ, see 1Ch 7:27, LXX. For Ἰωσούᾳ, see *Inscriptions of Aphrodisias*, 11.55. "List of Jews and godfearers" http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007/iAph-110055.html; for Ἰωσούας, see O. Gebhardt, *Graecus venetus* (1875), 553. For Ἰωσηέ, see 1Sa 6:14, 18; 2Ki 23:8, LXX Lucian (P. De Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonicorum*; BDB no. 3091). For Ιευσυο, see Siamakis, *Το Αλφάβητο*, 507, 508.

83 For an overview of the Greek transcriptions of the Tetragrammaton, see Vasileiadis, "The pronunciation", 20.

Furthermore, many transcribed names were graecised, as for example Ἀβραάμης (Ἄβραμος; אברהם→Ἀβραὰμ), Ἰάκωβος (יעקב→Ἰακώβ), and Ἰησοῦς. This graecisation process is aiming to "normalize" foreign terms, that is, to naturalise their transcription by adapting a Greek morphology. Regarding the Tetragrammaton, such normalisation would result in forms like Ἰαβάς, Ἰώβαχος, Γιεχωβάς, Γιαχωβάς, Ἰαχωβάς, Ἰεχωβάς, Ἰαβές, even Ἰάων, etc. However, it is observable that archaic and ancient Bible names are not usually normalised in this way but they keep a more "primitive" transcriptional form that is usually indeclinable.[84] This is true for the majority of the Greek renderings of the Tetragrammaton.

(a) The forms Ιαω /i.a.o/ and Ιαου /i.a.u/.

The Greek rendering Ιαω /i.a.o/ (Lat. Iao /ja.o/ and Iaho /ja.ho/) had been the most common, wide-spread, and ancient pronunciation of the Hebrew/Aramaic divine name that is evidenced in Greek and Latin sources.[85] It has been suggested that this form of the divine name was: (a) an approximate vocalic transliteration of the original four-letter יהוה as /yæ.ho.w/ having the final ה dropped as being inaudible,[86] (b) a literal transliteration of the late three-letter divine name יהו (/yæ.ho/ or /yæ.hu/)[87] and thus only "part of the Tetragrammaton"[88] (and, also, later on as the reborrowing term יאו),[89] or (c) a translational equivalent that originated or was " fueled" from other semantic domains.[90] The last two cases would allow the use of Ιαω as a substitute name in place of the fully spelled Tetragrammaton, aiming to "protect" the sacredness of the complete name.

Texts within literature produced by pagan writers, church fathers and Gnostic writers, magic amulets, and apotropaic formulas make by far the most extensive use of this form of the divine name. As F. E. Shaw adequately proved, Ιαω was widely used already during the last few centuries B.C.E. in a non-mystical manner.[91] However, the most outstanding appearance of the form Ιαω is in the text of Leviticus (3:12; 4:27) in the 4QpapLXXLev^{b}, an OG fragment dated from the first century B.C.E.[92] There is evidence indicating that the use of this phonetic rendering within the Bible copies may have lasted for the next few centuries.[93] As a result, this form is found predominantly in Greek writers of the patristic period.[94] Moreover, it is deduced that the divine name was still effable, that is pronounceable, during the first century C.E.[95] However, there is scarcity of extant Bible copies that include the Greek translation of the Tetragrammaton, probably as a result primarily of the intolerance shown during the centuries of the Common Era towards whatever was considered heretical and deviating by the Jewish and Christian authorities and in the earlier times by their opponents or persecutors.[96]

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84 McDonough referred to "the tendency to treat divine names conservatively and preserve the archaic form" (*YHWH at Patmos*, 117).

85 See Appendix B, images 04 and 06–10. Also, Vasileiadis, «Το ιερό Τετραγράμματο», 95, 96; W. Fauth, *Jao-Jahwe und seine Engel*. Added note: This form is not used as a prefix in theophoric names, that is, forms like Ιαω- or Iaho- are not to be found.

86 McDonough mentions Yahôªh and Yahûªh as "possible vocalizations" and Ιαω as their "Greek transliteration" (*YHWH at Patmos*, 119, 120).

87 De Troyer, "The Pronunciation of the Names of God", 153. Gertoux proposes that the Aramaic yaw was translated in Greek as iau→iao→iaue→iave (*The Name of God*, 90–92, 105). As a matter of fact, a few "archaically"-spelled proper names that are ending with ה, such as Solomon שלמה and Shiloh שלה, have their last letter pronounced [ˈo].

88 Urbach, *The Sages*, 126. J. Joosten observed: "À la différence des formes Ιαβε ou Ιαουε, Ιαω ne semble pas refléter une vocalisation possible du tétragramme" ("Le dieu Iaô", 114).

89 Bohak, "The Impact of Jewish Monotheism", 8.

90 Such a case had been the paretymology of Ιαω from the Greek verb ἰάομαι (imper. ἰῶ, aor. ἰησάμην, that means to "heal, cure, in pres. and impf., attempt to cure, treat, of persons or bodies, etc" (*LSJ Lexicon*:51090). For an extensive discussion on this paretymology-pun, see J. Moles, "Jesus the Healer in the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and Early Christianity," in *Histos*, Florida State University, Vol. 5 (2011), pp. 127–131 [117–182].

91 Shaw, *The Earliest Non-mystical Jewish Use of Ιαω*.

92 See Appendix B, image 04. The text of 4QpapLXXLev^{b} "belongs unquestionably in the OG tradition" and 'reflects the OG better than the manuscript tradition contained in the later uncial manuscripts,' that is "it probably reflects a version antedating the text of the main manuscript tradition of the LXX" (Ulrich, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 231; Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, 345, 363).

93 G. Quispel, *Gnostica, Judaica, Catholica*, 400; Vasileiadis, "Jesus, the New Testament, and the sacred Tetragrammaton".

94 Vasileiadis, «Το ιερό Τετραγράμματο», 87–92.

95 Rösel, "Die Übersetzbarkeit des Gottesnamens", 91; De Troyer, "The Pronunciation of the Names of God", 153, 163.

96 Reynolds & Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 50; Vasileiadis, "Jesus, the New Testament, and the sacred Tetragrammaton".

(b) Using the vocalic pattern /e|o|ø–a|e|o|u|ø–a/.

There is a distinct group of vocalisations of the Tetragrammaton that use a /e|o|ø–a|e|o|u|ø–a/ pattern that includes either vowels or vowels combined with consonants. Typical examples are the "traditional" forms Ἰεοβά /i.e.o.ˈva/ and Ἰεχωβᾶ /i.e.xo.ˈva/.[97]

Across the centuries, no development in the knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures appears within Byzantine theology, "except for a small number of outstanding scholars who nourished their interest in Jewish Scripture and exegesis."[98] During the 12th and 13th centuries, in a time when the knowledge of the Hebrew language among Christian theologians was yet uncommon, there survive some rare indications of contemporary pronunciations of the Tetragrammaton. These were attempts to render the Tetragrammaton phonetically and more accurately according to the Masoretic vocalisation system.[99] Below, two Greek renderings of the divine name make their debut in the field of the Tetragrammaton studies.

The form Γεχαβά /je.xa.ˈva/ in the early 13th century C.E.

Nikolaos Hydrountinos (Nicholas of Otranto) at South Italy (1155/1160–1235) was a Greek Orthodox Christian learned figure who actively participated as an interpreter in the dialogues for the union of the Greek and Latin churches. He became abbot of the monastery of Casole under the name of Nektarios from 1219/20 onwards. He was well-acquainted with Latin and Hebrew languages, instrumental in his theological discussions with learned Jews while travelling through major Greek cities such as Constantinople, Thebes and Thessaloniki. The *scholia* he wrote in the biblical codex MS. Paris. gr. 3 demonstrate that he could read the Bible in the light of the Jewish exegesis. Nikolaos is perhaps the only Byzantine author of a dialogue *contra Judaeos*—a kind of religious literature that was quite common in Byzantium—which was based on real-life disputations, a ponderous treatise against the Jews (*Διάλεξις κατὰ Ἰουδαίων*), composed in South Italy and dated c. 1220.[100] It is extant as a monograph in the MS. Paris. gr. 1255, of which the main unit dates from the 14th century and was copied in the region of Otranto. It is consisted of 101 folios and contains the only known witness to the *Dialogue* of Nikolaos. The end of the text, which used to be on the mutilated part of the original manuscript, is now lost.[101] In this oral disputation between a Christian and a Jew, a reference is made to the sacred name of God rendered in Greek as Γεχαβά /je.xa.ˈva/.[102] This three-syllable word uses pairs of a consonant and a vowel each to render the original Hebrew four-consonant divine name. The last letter of the Tetragrammaton is considered voiceless. It is of interest to note that during the same period Herbert of Bosham (died c. 1194), an English Hebraist who used Jewish interpretations of the Bible to further

97 Regarding the pronunciation of the four-syllable Ἰεχωβά, the first two syllables are not contracted into one by uniting in pronunciation the two adjacent vowels ι and ε (called synizesis; in that case it would read /je.xo.ˈva/, a form almost identical to Γιεχωβά and Γεχωβά). See, also, Vasileiadis, «Το ιερό Τετραγράμματο», 97–99.

98 Fincati, "Τὸ ἰουδαϊκόν", 91.

99 Taking into account the current consensus, it would seem daring to note that it sounds quite odd the common explanation that the Masoretes vocalised the Tetragrammaton within the biblical text in a way so as to remind the reader not to pronounce the name "according to its letters" but to utter another word, commonly regarded to have been the term "Lord." This would imply two things: (a) at the time of Masoretes (7th–11th century C.E.) the "correct" pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton was available and known to a wide extent among the Jews, and (b) if the oral substitution of the Tetragrammaton had already been a practice for about eight or nine centuries then there would be no reason for such a scribal device—at least the Tetragrammaton might have been left unvocalised as had already been the case for such a long time. Additionally, the Masoretic manuscript tradition is not uniform either in the "apparatus" used to denote non-pronunciation or in the terms that are supposed to serve as substitutes for the Tetragrammaton. I think that such reasoning casts additional doubts on the hypothetical "qere perpetuum" explanation. See, also, Vasileiadis, «Το ιερό Τετραγράμματο», 95, n. 71; idem, "The pronunciation", 17, 18.

100 The Latin title is *Disputatio contra Judaeos*. See Fincati, "Τὸ ἰουδαϊκόν", 91, 98, 99; Külzer, *Disputationes graecae*, 192–195; Falkenhausen, "Jews", 289, 290.

101 Andrist, "The physiognomy", 577.

102 See Appendix B, image 11. «Ὑμῖν δὲ [ὦ Ἰουδαῖε] "ἁγιάσατέ μοι τὴν ἑβδόμην" ἐρρέθη, ἣν θαυμασίως πως καὶ σεπτῶς ἁγιάζετε· παντὸς γὰρ ἔργου ἀπέχεις σαυτόν, ὡς ὅτι κάλαμον οὐ λήψῃ πρὸς τὸ γράψαι κἂν "Γεχαβά", ἤγουν θεὸς κύριος, οἷα ἐν τῷ πετάλῳ τοῦ Ἀαρὼν ἐγέγραπτο, ἢ "κῶδες λὰ ἀδωνά", τοὐτέστιν ἅγιον τοῦ κυρίου» (Nikolaos Hydrountinos, *Adversus Judæos dialogi*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Grec 1255, fol. 24r). See, also, Chronz, *Νεκταρίου Διάλεξις κατά Ιουδαίων*, 29, 65.

the understanding of the Scriptures and consulted Jewish scholars, provided a very similar vocalisation in Latin, namely iohava /jo.xa.ˈva/.[103]

The form Ἰεοβάχ /i.e.o.ˈvax/ in the early 17th century C.E.

Following the centuries-long tradition of the *contra Judaeos* literature which was aiming to approach and convert Jews,[104] in the early 17th century the Greek Orthodox Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris (Cyril Lucaris, 1572–1638) used the spelling Ἰεοβάχ /i.e.o.ˈvax/ within his *Brief Treatise against Jews* (*Σύντομος Πραγματεία κατὰ Ἰουδαίων*).[105] This rare work is found in two manuscripts at the British Library (Harley MS. 5643 fol. 359r dated at 1600, and Harley MS. 1803 fol. 222r dated between 1602–1627) and in one manuscript at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (Codex no 5 fol. 100v/p. 200, Library of Byzantine and Modern Greek Philology, School of Philosophy, dated at the 18th century). It is very interesting that this work of Patriarch Cyril was the very first book that was printed in the first Greek printery at Constantinople, in 1627.[106]

Such renderings of the Tetragrammaton in Greek were based mainly on corresponding Latin terms, but it is also possible that they echoed older Greek phonetic renderings. For instance, in a form similar to the widespread Latin Iehova (Iehovah), the exact graecised term Ἰεχωβᾶ /i.e.xo.ˈva/ appeared formally in the Greek translation of the *Orthodox Confession of Faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East*.[107] This was drawn up by the Orthodox theologian and Metropolitan of Kiev Peter Mogilas (Petro Mohyla, 1596–1646) in 1638 as a reaction to the work of the Jesuits and the Reformed church among the Greek Orthodox populations. The *Confession* was corrected at provincial synods (1640–1642), approved by the four Eastern patriarchs (1643), standardised and formally approved at the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672. It was translated into Greek by the Cretan theologian and Archimandrite Meletios Syrigos, and printed at Amsterdam in 1666 under the auspices of the Phanariot Great Dragoman Panagiotis Nikousios.[108]

More phonetic renderings appeared and some of them were almost identical to Ἰεχωβᾶ, like Ἰεωβά, Ἰεώβά, Ἰεώββᾶ, and Ἰεοβά—all of them read /i.e.o.ˈva/. Early in the 19th century, during a period of hard struggles for the translation of the Bible in Modern Greek from the Hebrew text (instead of the traditional LXX) and the wider circulation among the pauperised common people, the Chian Greek Orthodox Archimandrite Neophytos Vamvas (1770–1856), with the assistance of the little-known English Hebraist

103 He mentions also the form iahove /ja.xo.ˈve/. Herbert of Bosham edited and added explanatory comments in the *Commentary on the Psalter* that was originally composed by Peter Lombard c. 1170–1177 (Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. E. inf. 6, fol. 124r). See De Visscher, *Reading the Rabbis*, 28.

104 The Spanish monk Ramón Martí (Raymundus Martini) used the spelling yohoua in his Latin work *Pugio fidei* (1278). The Genoese Carthusian monk Porchetus Salvagus (de Salvaticis) in his work *Victoria Porcheti adversus impios Hebraeos* (1303) used the form yohouah (repr. ed. Iohouah, Iohoua, Iohouha, and Ihouah). Two centuries later, the Franciscan Italian theologian Pietro Colonna Galatino (Petrus Galatinus) published his work *De arcanis catholicae veritatis* (1518) in which he used the form Iehoua.

105 See Appendix B, image 12.

106 Braude, "A Greek polemic", 12; Sathas, *Νεοελληνική φιλολογία*, 276.

107 See Appendix B, image 13. The title in the cover page of the first printed edition in Greek is *Ὀρθόδοξος ὁμολογία τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀνατολικῆς*, without any further publication information. Inside the book (p. 15), at the title is included «*τῆς πίστεως*» after «*ὁμολογία*». In the original Latin text the divine name is found within the phrase: "Ipse Iehoua per Prophetam dicens innuit" (Malvy & Viller, *La Confession Orthodoxe de Pierre Moghila*, 7). The Greek text mentions: «Τὸ μαρτυρᾷ ὁ αὐτὸς Θεὸς, ὀνομαζόμενος Ἰεχωβᾶ, διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος»; the Latin back-translation from Greek reads: "Deus ipsemet, cui Jehovæ nomen est, per Prophetam testificatur"; the English translation reads: "As God, whose name is Jehovah, doth himself testify" (transl. Ph. Lodvill, London 1762, p. 17). For an up-to-date overview of the information regarding the date and place of the Greek publication, see Mîrşanu, "Old News Concerning Peter Mogila's Orthodox Confession." For a comprehensible presentation of the historical circumstances under which the Orthodox Christian confessions appeared, see Heith-Stade, "Eastern Orthodox Ecclesiologies." The term Ἰεχωβά is already mentioned in the manuscript of the commentary on the Book of Revelation composed by the Artan Metropolitan Zacharias Gerganos in 1622/1623 (*Ἐξήγησις εἰς τήν τοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ὑψηλοτάτου Θεολόγου Ἀποκάλυψιν*, MS. Laud. gr. 77, fol. 112r).

108 Karmiris, *Δογματικά και συμβολικά μνημεία*, 2:582–592, 597; Maloney, *A history of Orthodox theology since 1453*, 34; Vasileiadis, "The pronunciation", 15, 16.

Isaac Lowndes (c. 1791–c. 1873), utilised the form Ἰεοβά in his translation of the book of Psalms.[109] As happened with the well-established *Authorised King James Version* (1611), Vamvas followed the practice of the sporadic use of the divine name within the subsequent editions of the Greek OT. The official church confession, numerous works written by theologians and clergymen, and especially the numerous copies of the Vamva's Bible translation were the primary factors that made the Greek form of the Tetragrammaton widely known among the Greek-speaking public.

(c) Using the vowels /a–a|e|o|u|ø–e/.

Another group of vocalisations of the Tetragrammaton follow a vocalic pattern of the form /a–a|e|o|u|ø–e/. The forms Ἰαβέ /i.a.ˈve/ and Γιαχβέ /jax.ˈve/ are among the most characteristic ones.[110]

The vocalisation Yahweh corresponds to a supposed Hebrew hiphil form of the root היה, that means "he causes to become."[111] It is a two-syllable word and usually no vowel accompanies the middle h (ה) of the rendered name. In contrast to the use of consonants (j and v, as in the Latin-originating Jahve or Jahveh), the common English term has been standardised in the form Yahweh that includes two semivowels (y, w) where the Greek Γιαχβέ uses, instead, a combination of a consonant and a vowel and a sole consonant (γι, β).

(d) Other forms.

Many more rare renderings of the Tetragrammaton follow neither of the above mentioned vocalic patterns. Such examples are Ιευω, Ιαυω, Ιαουω, Ιαεω, and Ιαχω.

The noteworthy form Ιωα /i.o.a/ is not an exact transliteration of the Hebrew term, as it seems to omit the second letter ה. However, the renderings of theophoric names show that this elimination was rather usual. For example, names such as יהודה→Ἰούδας and יוחנן/יהוחנן→Ἰωάννης are rendering after ι the Hebrew ו and not ה. This means that Ιωα may represent a rendering that follows the /ø–o–a/ vocalic pattern, which is very close to forms such as Ιεωα /i.e.o.a/ and Ιεουα /i.e.u.a/.*

Conclusions

In this article it was attempted to demonstrate that,

(a) Despite the various reasons that led to the silencing of the sacred Tetragrammaton, it long remained an utterable name, at least in some circles;

(b) A more systematic investigation of the various Greek renderings of the Tetragrammaton provides a better understanding of the methods that were used;

(c) There is no unique or universally "correct" rendering of the Hebrew name in Greek;

(d) The two Greek renderings of the Tetragrammaton presented for the first time here, namely Γεχαβά (early 13th century) and Ἰεοβάχ (early 17th century) are both following the /e–a|o–a/ vocalic pattern; and

(e) According to the available indications, a vocalic rendering pronounced /i.e.o.ˈa/ (/i.o.ˈa/), or /i.e.u.ˈa/ might probably have been the proper pronunciation of the full Tetragrammaton in Greek during the Second Temple period.

Further systematic investigation based on the provided transcriptions of the Tetragrammaton in Greek collated with specific Hebrew and Greek linguistic information may produce interesting conclusions that will enrich our understanding of the remarkable historic route of the divine name par excellence.

109 Neophytos Vamvas, *Ψαλτήριον, ἤ βίβλος τῶν Ψαλμῶν, μεταφρασθεῖσα ἐκ τοῦ ἑβραϊκοῦ πρωτοτύπου*, London: R. Watts, British and Foreign Bible Society, 1831. The Greek divine name is found in Ps 83:18 (p. 156). Also the similar form Ἰεωβὰ /i.e.o.ˈva/ is attested by the early 17th century (Sixtinus Amama, *De nomine tetragrammato*, 1628, p. 549).

110 Vasileiadis, «Το ιερό Τετραγράμματο», 96, 97.

111 Niehr, *The Aramaeans*, 96, 103. Gertoux pointed out that "he will be/become" is /yih.weh/ in Aramaic and /yih.yeh/ in Hebrew ("he causes to be/become" could be /ye.ha.weh/ in Aramaic), rejecting any attempt to reconstruct a pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton based on "the grammatical vocalization implied from its etymology" (*The Name of God*, 161, 211, 244).

* Added note: See, also, the use of Ιωα in Severus' of Antioch (early 6th cent.) Commentary on the Gospel of John (8:58) in Bibliotheca Vallicelliana gr. E. 40 fol. 153v l. 33 (Rome, 10th cent.).

Abbrevations

BDB Brown-Driver-Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Oxford [1]1907.
CPG *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, ed. M. Geerard, Turnhout 1974–2003.
HB Hebrew Bible.
KJV *King James Version*, 1611, commonly known as the *Authorised Version* (AV).
LXX Septuagint, the wider scriptural tradition of the Greek Jewish Scriptures, esp. transmitted as part of the early Christian canon.
MT Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible.
NPNF-1 *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series 1, ed. Philip Schaff et al., New York and Buffalo 1886–1900.
NPNF-2 *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series 2, ed. Philip Schaff et al., New York and Buffalo 1886–1900.
NETS *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under that Title*, [2]2009/2007.
NT New Testament.
NWT-G *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures*, 2008/[1]1997. In Greek.
OG Old Greek, the oldest recoverable form of the Greek Jewish Scriptures that is believed to be the original translation.
OT Old Testament.
PG *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1857–1887.
PGM Karl Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae Diegriechischen Zauberpapyri*, Vols. 1 & 2. Stuttgart: Teubner B.G., 1973–1974.
PL *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1844–1864.
RSV *Revised Standard Version*, Second Edition, 1971.
TGV *Today's Greek Version*, 1997. In Greek.

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Appendix A

Below are presented for each Greek transcription or transliteration of the sacred Tetragrammaton its pronunciation, the time of the earlier identified or attested use of it, and the corresponding references or sources. Unverified, conjectural types are marked with an asterisk (*).

01. Possible Greek transcriptions of יהוה using only vowels

Ἰεωά / Ἰεοά (Ἰηωά / *Ἰηοά) / Ἰεωοᾶ	/i.e.o.ˈa/	3rd–4th cent. C.E.	Ἰεωά: PGM P II 16; P VII 531. Ἰεοά: G. B. Passeri, *Thesauri gemmarum antiquarum astriferarum*, 1750, Vol. 2, p. 263 (No. 80). Ἰηωά: J. Śliwa, "Lost Magical Gem from the Fayum: An Attempt to its Reconstruction and Lecture," *Etudes et Travaux* vol. XXVI.2 (2013), pp. 681, 682. Ἰεωοᾶ: L. Shadwell, *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 1859, p. 61.
*Ἰεωέ / *Ἰεοέ (*Ἰηωέ / *Ἰηοέ/ *Ἰεωή / *Ἰεοή)	/i.e.o.ˈe/	1847	/ieoe/: J. Du Verdier & J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Nova methodus Hebraica punctis Masoreticus expurgata*, 1847, p. 887.
Ἰεωουά (*Ἰηωουά) / Ἰεωυά	/i.e.o.u.ˈa/ (or /i.e.o.ˈva/)	1618	Ἰεωουά, Ἰεωυά: N. Fuller, *Miscellaneorum theologicorum, quibus non modo scriptureae divinae*, 1618, p. 489.
Ἰεουά (Ἰηουά)	/i.e.u.ˈa/	3rd–4th cent. C.E.	Ἰηουά: PGM P II 16; P VII 531. Ἰηουά, Ἰεουά: *Onomasticon sacrum* (Codex Coislinianus 1, MS. dated to the 7th cent. C.E., see Appendix B, image 10).
*Ἰεουέ (*Ἰηουέ) / Ἰευέ	/i.e.u.ˈe/ (later, /i.e.ˈve/)	1847	Ἰευέ: Στ. Καραθεοδωρή [St. Carathéodory], *Περί του εν Δελφοίς ΕΙ*, 1847, p. 46. See also Ἰεβέ below.
*Ιεϝε → Ἰευέ	/i.e.u.ˈe/ (later, /i.e.ˈve/)	–	*"Diachronic" Greek.* See Ἰεουέ above.
Ἰευώ (*Ἰηυώ)	/i.e.u.ˈo/ (later, /i.e.v.ˈo/)	1st–2nd cent. C.E.	Ἰευώ: Philo Biblius in his translation of Sanchuniathon, in Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praeparatio evangelica* 1:9.21; 10:9.12; Βικέντιος Δαμωδός [Vikentios Damodos], *Δογματική (Θεία και ιερά διδασκαλία)* 5:822.
*Ιαϝε → Ἰαυέ	/i.a.u.ˈe/ (later, /i.a.ˈve/)	–	*"Diachronic" Greek.* Reconstruction based on the erroneous reading y'wh instead of yhwh.[113] See Ἰαουέ below.
Ἰαωά / Ἰαωώα / *Ἰαοά	/i.a.o.ˈa/	3rd–4th cent. C.E.	Ἰαωά: PGM P VII 569. Ἰαωώα: J. Palmroot, *Dissertatio philologica de nomine Dei proprio et sanctissimo Iehovah*, 1700, p. 57.
Ἰαωϋά / Ἰαώυα / Ἰαωυά	/i.a.o.u.ˈa/ /i.a.ˈo.va/	1618	Ἰαωϋά: N. Fuller, *Miscellaneorum theologicorum, quibus non modo scriptureae divinae*, 1618, pp. 494, 495. Ἰαώυα: J. Palmroot, *Dissertatio philologica de nomine Dei proprio et sanctissimo Iehovah*, 1700, p. 57. Ἰαωυά: L. Cappel, *Critica Sacra*, 1650, p. 711.
*Ἰαουά	/i.a.u.ˈa/	–	
*Ἰαωέ / Ἰαωαί / *Ἰαοέ / *Ἰαοαί (*Ἰαωή / *Ἰαοή)	/i.a.o.ˈe/	3rd–4th cent. C.E.	Ἰαωαί: PGM P IV 955; P VII 520, 521.

113 Siamakis, «Αρχαιότατο χειρογράφο της Βίβλου».

01. Possible Greek transcriptions of יהוה using only vowels

*Ἰαουέ (*Ἰαουή) / Ἰαυέ / Ἰαυή	/i.a.u.ˈe/	3rd cent. C.E.	Ἰαου[έ]: Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 5:6.34.5. There are two varying readings: Ἰαού (Klotz, 1832) and Ἰαουέ (Stählin, 1906). R. Ganschinietz, in his enquiring article "Iao" in the *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (9.1:700.28) supports as original the shorter reading Ἰαού. Ἰαυέ: K. Σιαμάκης [K. Siamakis], *Σύντομο Λεξικό της Καινής Διαθήκης*, 1988, p. 14. Ἰαυή: W. Arnold, "The Divine Name in Exodus iii:14," *JBL*, Vol. 24, (1905), no. 2, p. 137.
Ἰαυώ / Ἰαουώ	/i.a.u.ˈo/ or /i.a.ˈvo/	1604	Ἰαυώ: J. Drusius, *Tetragrammaton, sive de Nomine Dei proprio, quod Tetragrammaton vocant*, 1604, p. 32. Ἰαουώ: C. J. Ball, "The true name of the God of Israel," *The Babylonian and Oriental record*, Vol. 3 (1889), p. 52.
Ἰαού	/i.a.ˈu/	4th cent. C.E.	PGM P XII 978.
Ἰαωουέη	/i.a.o.u.ˈei/	4th cent. C.E.	PGM P XII 190.
Ἰαωουηέ	/i.a.o.ui.ˈe/	4th cent. C.E.	PGM P XIII 820.
Ἰωΰα / Ἰωυά / Ἰουά	/i.o.u.ˈa/ (or /i.o.ˈva/)	1672	Ἰωΰα, Ἰωυά: J. B. Carpzov, *Dissertatio philologica de legitima Tetragrammatu* יהוה *lectione*, 1672, pp. C2, C4. Ἰωυά: M. Hiller, *De arcano Kethib et Keri*, 1692, p. 201. See Ἰωβά below.
Ἰωά (Ἰωαά)	/i.o.ˈa/	4th cent. C.E.	Ἰωά: PGM P IV 1041. Ἰωαά: PG 9:58, ftn. 75.
Ἰαώ / Ἰαῶ / Ἰάω / Ἰάο / Ἰαοό	/i.a.ˈo/ /i.ˈa.o/	1st cent. B.C.E.	Ἰαώ: 4QpapLXXLev[b]. See Appendix B, image 04. Ἰάω: Marcus Terentius Varro, *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum*, in John the Lydian, *De Mensibus* [*Περὶ τῶν μηνῶν*] 4:53.40; *Prayer of Jacob*: PGM P XXII.b. Ἰαῶ: Basil of Caesarea, *Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah* 7:193.4 (dub.). Ἰάο: PGM P IV 962, 983, 1012. Ἰαοό: J. Matani, *De Dei nomine juxta Hebraeos commentarius criticus*, 1767, p. 80.
Ἰαεώ	/i.a.e.ˈo/	2nd–3rd cent. C.E.	PGM P LIX; D. R. Jordan & R. Kotansky, "A Solomonic Exorcism," in *Koelner Papyri (P. Koeln), Band 8 (Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfaelischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sonderreihe, Papyrologica Coloniensia, Vol. VII/8)*, Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1997, no. 339, pp. 70–76 (3rd–4th cent.).
Ἰαεή	/i.a.e.ˈe/ (later /i.a.e.ˈi/)	4th cent. C.E.	PGM P IV 954.
Ἰαέ / Ἰαή	/i.a.ˈe/ (later /i.a.ˈi/)	1st–3rd cent. C.E.	Ἰαέ: *The Testament of Solomon,* C. C. McCown (ed.), Leipzig, 1922, p. 54. Ἰαή: Evagrius Ponticus, *Commentary on the Psalms* [*Εἰς Ψαλμοὺς*] 12.1104 (4th cent., it had been wrongly attributed to Origen).
Ἰεού / Ἰεοῦ / Ἰεύ	/i.e.ˈu/	4th cent. C.E.	Ἰεού: PGM P III 222, 223; P XIII 928, 978. Ἰεοῦ: *Pistis Sophia* 4:9.4, 5; 5:1.2; PGM P VII 476; P XIII 809, 931, 978. Ἰεύ: Philo Biblius in his translation of Sanchuniathon, in Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praeparatio evangelica* 1:9.21, in Cod. Par. Graecus no. 451, f. 205r.[114]

114 "Ieû, that is, the North Israelite pronunciation of Yáhû (Iaō in Greek). [...] Ieu reflects the typical North-Israelite and Phoenician dissimilation [...] Iαω and Iευ are doublets, the former reflecting the old southern, the latter the old North-Israelite pronunciation" (Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods*, 228).

01. Possible Greek transcriptions of יהוה using only vowels

Ἰεώ / Ἰεοώ	/i.e.ˈo/	1st–3rd cent. C.E.	Ἰεώ: *The Testament of Solomon,* C. C. McCown (ed.), Leipzig, 1922, pp. 54, 55. Ἰεοώ: J. Matani, *De Dei nomine juxta Hebraeos commentarius criticus*, 1767, p. 80.
Ἰεαέ	/i.e.a.ˈe/	1st–3rd cent. C.E.	*The Testament of Solomon,* C. C. McCown (ed.), Leipzig, 1922, pp. 54, 55.

02. Possible Greek transcriptions of יהוה using vowels and consonants

*Ἰεχωά / *Ἰεχοά	/i.e.xo.ˈa/	–	
*Ἰεχουά	/i.e.xu.ˈa/	–	
*Ἰεχωάς / *Ἰεχοάς	/i.e.xo.ˈas/	–	*Graecised form.*
*Ἰεχουάς	/i.e.xu.ˈas/	–	*Graecised form.*
*Ἰεωάς / *Ἰεοάς (*Ἰηωάς / *Ἰηοάς)	/i.e.o.ˈas/	–	*Graecised form.*
*Ἰεουάς (*Ἰηουάς)	/i.e.u.ˈas/	–	*Graecised form.*
Ἰεχουάχ	/i.e.xu.ˈax/	1847	Στ. Καραθεοδωρή [St. Carathéodory], *Περί του εν Δελφοίς EI*, 1847, p. 39, 81.
*Γιεχουά	/jex.u.ˈa/	–	
Γιεχβά	/jex.ˈva/	1977	Γ. Σκαρίμπας [G. Skarimpas], *Το ’21 και η Αλήθεια*, Κάκτος, 1977, Vol. 3, p. 163.
*Γιεβά	/je.ˈva/	–	
*Ἰεβά	/i.e.ˈva/	–	
*Γιεβάς	/je.ˈvas/	–	*Graecised form.*
*Ἰεβάς	/i.e.ˈvas/	–	*Graecised form.*
*Ἰεχβά / Ἰεχβᾶ	/i.ex.ˈva/	1981	Ἰεχβᾶ: Ἀ. Προκοπίου [A. Prokopiou], *Ο κοσμολογικός συμβολισμός στην αρχιτεκτονική του Βυζαντινού ναού*, Πύρινος Κόσμος, 1981, p. 66.
Ἰεχωβᾶ / Ἰεχωβά / Ἰεχοβᾶ / Ἰεχοβά	/i.e.xo.ˈva/	1623	Ἰεχωβᾶ: Peter Mogilas (Mohyla), *Ορθόδοξος Ομολογία της καθολικής και αποστολικής Εκκλησίας της Ανατολικής (Orthodox Confession of Faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East*, transl. by Meletios Syrigos), 1666, p. 24. Ἰεχωβά: Ζαχαρίας Γεργάνος [Zacharias Gerganos], *Εξήγησις εις την του Ιωάννου του Υψηλοτάτου Θεολόγου Αποκάλυψιν*, 1622/1623, MS. Laudianus Graecus no 77, fol. 112r. Asterios Argyriou (crit.ed.), Ἄρτος Ζωής, 1991, p. 261. Ἰεχοβᾶ: Π. Βράιλας Αρμένης [P. Vrailas Armenis], *Φιλοσοφικαί μελέται περί χριστιανισμού*, 1855, pp. 314, 317. Ἰεχοβά: Paolo Medici [Παύλος των Μεδίκων], *Θρησκεία και έθη Εβραίων* (Gr. transl. I. Στάνος [I. Stanos], 1755), p. 31.
Ἰεωβά / Ἰεὼβά / Ἰ$^{\epsilon}$ὼβᾶ / Ἰεοβά	/i.e.o.ˈva/	1628	Ἰεωβά: Νικόλαος Βούλγαρις [Nikolaos Voulgaris], *Κατήχησις ιερά*, 1681, p. 100. Ἰεὼβά: Sixtinus Amama, *De nomine tetragrammato*, 1628, p. 549. Ἰ$^{\epsilon}$ὼβᾶ: I. Lowndes [I. Λάουνδς], *Γραμματική της εβραϊκής γλώσσης*, Εν Μελίτη, 1837, p. 16. Ἰεοβά: N. Βάμβας [N. Vamvas], *Ψαλτήριον, ἤ Βίβλος τῶν Ψαλμῶν, μεταφρασθεῖσα ἐκ τοῦ ἑβραϊκοῦ πρωτοτύπου*, London: R. Watts, British and Foreign Bible Society, 1831, p. 156.

02. Possible Greek transcriptions of יהוה using vowels and consonants

Ἰεώχ	/i.e.ˈox/	3rd–4th cent. C.E.	D. R. Jordan & R. Kotansky, "A Solomonic Exorcism,"*Koelner Papyri (P. Koeln)*, Band 8 (Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfaelischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sonderreihe, Papyrologica Coloniensia, vol. VII/8), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1997, no. 338, pp. 53–69.
*Ἰεχουβά / *Ἰεουβά	/i.e.xu.ˈva/ /i.e.u.ˈva/	–	Ἰεχουβά: This is the rendering of יהבה (yhbh) by the TGV and N. Vamvas' translation (1Ch 7:34). NWT-G: Ιεουββά /i.e.u.ˈva/ or /i.e.u.'ba/, LXX: Ὀβά /o.ˈva/, LXX Lucian: Ἰαβά /i.a.ˈva/. Kethib: יְחֻבָּה /ye.hu.'ba/, Qere: וְחֻבָּה /we.hu.'ba/.
Ἰεχωβάχ / Ἰεχοβάχ	/i.e.xo.ˈvax/	1844	Ἰεχοβὰχ: Κ. Οικονόμος ο Εξ Οικονόμων [Konstantinos Oikonomos], *Περί των Ο' Ερμηνευτών της Παλαιάς Θείας Γραφής*, 1844, Vol. 1, p. 601; Δ. Παπαρρηγόπουλος [D. Paparrigopoulos], *Σολομώντος Άσμα Ασμάτων, Δράμα εις πράξεις πέντε μετά επιλόγου*, 1869, n.n. Ἰεχωβάχ: Ι. Βαλέττας [I. Valettas], *Ιστορία της αρχαίας ελληνικής φιλολογίας*, 1871, Vol. 2, p. 248.
*Ἰεχουβάχ	/i.e.xu.ˈvax/	–	
Ἰεχωβάς / *Ἰεχοβάς	/i.e.xo.ˈvas/	1998	*Graecised form.* Ἰεχωβάς: *Λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής, Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών*, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1998, «Ιαχωβάς».
*Γεχωβά / Γεχωβᾶ / Γεχοβά / *Γιεχωβά / Γιεχωβᾶ / *Γιεχοβά	/je.xo.ˈva/	1883	Γεχοβά: Δ. Λάτας [D. Latas], *Χριστιανική αρχαιολογία*, 1883, p. 331. Γεχωβᾶ: Α. Κουρτίδης [A. Kourtides], «Φρείδριχ Σχίλλερ», *Παναθήναια*, May 1905, p. 67. Γιεχωβᾶ: Κ. Καλλίνικος [K. Kallinikos], *Τα θεμέλια της Πίστεως*, 1924, p. 263. Γιεχωβά: Β. Βέλλας [V. Vellas], *Θρησκευτικαί προσωπικότητες της Παλαιάς Διαθήκης*, 1933, p. 71.
*Ἰεωβάς / *Ἰεοβάς	/i.e.o.ˈvas/	–	*Graecised form.*
*Ἰεωβάχ / Ἰεοβάχ	/i.e.o.ˈvax/	c. 1600	Ἰεοβάχ: Κύριλλος Λούκαρις [Cyril Lucaris], *Σύντομος πραγματεία κατὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐν ἁπλῇ διαλέκτῳ*, Harley MS. 5643, f. 359r. See Appendix B, image 12.
*Γεχωβάς / Γεχωβᾶς / *Γεχοβάς / Γιεχωβάς / *Γιεχοβάς	/je.xo.ˈvas/	1977	*Graecised form.* Γεχωβᾶς: Ν. Καζαντζάκης [N. Kazantzakis], Ταξιδεύοντας: Ιταλία, Αίγυπτος, Σινά, 1927, pp. 88, 93. Γιεχωβάς: *Νέα Εστία* [*Nea Estia*], no. 1211 (1977), p. 4.
*Γιεχουάχ	/je.xu.ˈax/	–	
*Γιεχωβάχ	/je.xo.ˈvax/	–	
*Γιεχουβά	/je.xu.ˈva/	–	
*Γιεχουβάχ	/je.xu.ˈvax/	–	
Γεχαβά	/je.xa.ˈva/	c. 1220	Νικόλαος Υδρουντινός [Nikolaos Hydrountinos], *Adversus Judæos dialogi*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Grec 1255, fol. 24r.
Γεοβά / Γιεοβά / *Γεωβά / *Γιεωβά	/je.o.ˈva/	1901	Γεοβά: Ν. Αμβράζης [N. Amvrazes], *Ο ραββίνος Ισαάκ Μ. πιστεύσας*, Εν Αθήναις, 1901, p. 20, 26. Γιεοβά: Κ. Φριλίγγος [K. Friliggos], *Κοέλεθ—Βιβλική Λογοτεχνία*, Vol. 2, 1951, p. 89.
Ἰαεωβά	/i.a.e.o.ˈva/	4th cent. C.E.	North Palestine. J. Gager, *Curse tablets and binding spells from the ancient world*, New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 168, 169; P. Mirecki, "The Coptic Wizard's Hoard," *The Harvard Theological Review*, Vol. 87, no. 4 (October 1994), p. 458.

02. Possible Greek transcriptions of יהוה using vowels and consonants

*Ἰαωβά / *Ἰαοβά	/i.a.o.ˈva/	early 2nd cent. C.E.	Yaova: *Ladder of Jacob* 2:17, 18 (Greek original, today extant only in the Slavonic *Tolkovaja Paleja*).[115]
*Ἰαβά	/i.a.ˈva/	4th cent. C.E.	PGM P IV 3016; G. B. Passeri, *Thesauri gemmarum antiquarum astriferarum*, 1750, Vol. 2, p. 260 (No. 60). Ἰαβά is rendered the Hebrew term יהבה (yhbh; 1Ch 7:34) in the LXX Lucian (P. De Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonicorum*). See also Ἰεχουβά above.
Ἰαβάς	/i.a.ˈvas/	4th–5th cent. C.E.	*Graecised form*. PGM P V 105. Used in 1Ch 4:3, LXX (NETS: "Iabas") to translate the term ידבש (ydbs) in the MT; "Idbash," (RSV).[116]
*Γιαβά	/ja.ˈva/	–	
*Γιαβάς	/ja.ˈvas/	–	*Graecised form*.
Ἰαυώ / Ἰαβώ	/i.a.ˈvo/	2nd–3rd cent. C.E.	Ἰαβώ: PGM P XIc. Ἰαυώ: C. J. Ball, "The true name of the God of Israel," *The Babylonian and Oriental record*, Vol. 3 (1889), p. 52.
Ἰαβού	/i.a.ˈvu/	2nd–3rd cent. C.E.	Beirut. J. Gager, *Curse tablets and binding spells from the ancient world*, New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 53–55.
Ἰαβέ / Ἰαβαί	/i.a.ˈve/	3rd–4th cent. C.E.	Ἰαβέ: PGM P VII 419; Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion (Adversus Haereses)* 2.86.9, 13. Ἰαβαί: Theodoret of Cyrus, *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* 83:460.15.
Ἰαβές			*Graecised form*. Anastasius Sinaita, *Questions and Answers* 40, PG 89:589. Cf. 1Ch 2:55, LXX (MT: יעבץ (y'bsʕ), BDB no. 3258).
Γιαβέ	/ja.ˈve/	1963	Ι. Καραβιδόπουλος [J. Karavidopoulos], *Θεολογία*, Vol. 34, no. 2 (April–June 1963), p. 276.
Ἰαχβέ	/i.ax.ˈve/	1888	Γ. Κωνσταντίνου [G. Konstantinou], *Λεξικόν των Αγίων Γραφών*, 1888, p. 439; Π. Μπρατσιώτης, [P. Bratsiotis], *Εισαγωγή εις την Παλαιάν Διαθήκην*, 1936, p. 657.
Ἰαχβὲχ	/i.ax.ˈvex/	1959	Π. Τρεμπέλας [P. Trempelas], *Δογματική της Ορθοδόξου Καθολικής Εκκλησίας*, 1959, Vol. 1, p. 166.
Γιάχβε / Γιαχβέ /	/ˈjax. ve/ /jax.ˈve/	1921	Γιάχβε: Κ. Καλλίνικος [K. Kallinikos], *Ο χριστιανικός ναός και τα τελούμενα εν αυτώ*, 1921, p. 395. Γιαχβέ: Β. Βέλλας [V. Vellas], *Θρησκευτικαί προσωπικότητες της Παλαιάς Διαθήκης*, 1933, p. 71.
Γιαχβὲχ / Γιαχββὲχ	/jax.ˈvex/	1959	Γιαχβὲχ, Γιαχββὲχ: Π. Τρεμπέλας [P. Trempelas], *Δογματική της Ορθοδόξου Καθολικής Εκκλησίας*, 1959, Vol. 1, p. 166.
*Ἰαχωά	/i.a.xo.ˈa/	–	
*Ἰαχουά	/i.a.xu.ˈa/	–	
*Ἰαχωάς / *Ἰαχοάς	/i.a.xo.ˈas/	–	*Graecised form*.
*Ἰαχουάς	/i.a.xu.ˈas/	–	*Graecised form*.
*Γιαχωά	/ja.xo.ˈa/	–	
*Γιαχουά	/ja.xu.ˈa/	–	
*Γιαχβά	/jax.ˈva/	–	

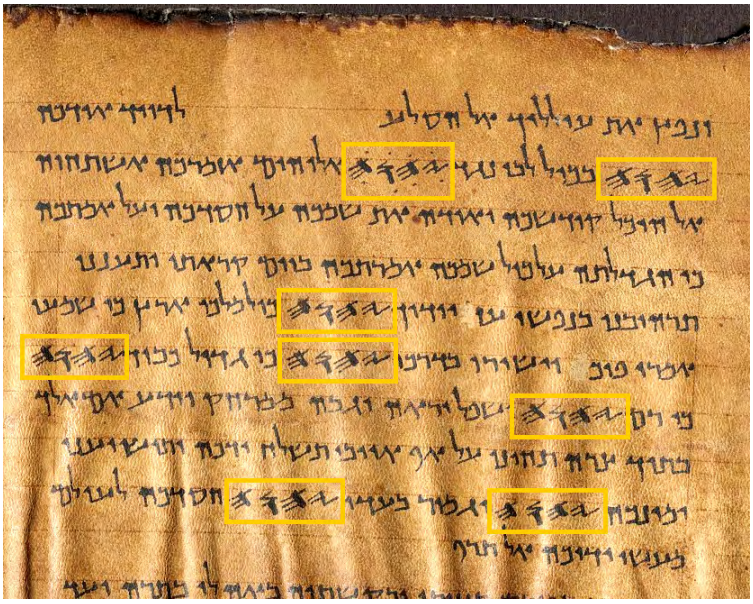
115 McDonough (1999) 75.
116 Hatch & Redpath, *Concordance*, 73.

02. Possible Greek transcriptions of יהוה using vowels and consonants

*Ἰαχβά	/i.ax.ˈva/	–	
*Ἰαχωβά / Ἰαχωβᾶ / *Ἰαχοβά	/i.a.xo.ˈva/	1883	Ἰαχωβᾶ: Ιγν. Μοσχάκης [Ign. Moschakes], *Μελέται και Λόγοι Εκκλησιαστικοί*, 1883, p. 249.
*Ἰαχωβάχ / *Ἰαχοβάχ	/i.a.xo.ˈvax/	–	
Ἰαχωβάς / *Ἰαχοβάς	/i.a.xo.ˈvas/	1998	*Graecised form.* Ἰαχωβάς: *Λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής, Ινστιτούτο Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών*, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1998, «Ιαχωβάς».
Γιαχωβά / Γιαχωβᾶ / *Γιαχοβά	/ja.xo.ˈva/	1969	Γιαχωβά: Γ. Μαγκλής [G. Magles] (Greek transl.), N. Καζαντζάκης [N. Kazantzakis] (French original), *Τόντα-Ράμπα*, εκδ. Καζαντζάκη, 1969, p. 64. Γιαχωβᾶ: *Νέα Εστία* [*Nea Estia*], no. 93 (1973), p. 397.
Γιαχωβάς	/ja.xo.ˈvas/	2008	*Graecised form.* Λ. Χρηστίδης [L. Chrestides], *Μόνολογκ*, εκδ. Καστανιώτη, 2008, p. 102.
*Γιαχουάχ	/ja.xu.ˈax/	–	
*Γιαχωβάχ / Γιαχοβάχ	/ja.xo.ˈvax/	–	
*Γιαχουβά	/ja.xu.ˈva/	–	
*Γιαχουβάς	/ja.xu.ˈvas/	–	*Graecised form.*
*Γιαχουβάχ	/ja.xu.ˈvax/	–	
Ἰώβαχος	/i.ˈo.va.xos/	1622	*Graecised form.* N. Fuller, *Miscellaneorum sacrorum libri duo, quintus & sextus*, 1622, p. 194.
Ἰωβά / Ἰουά / *Ἰοβά	/i.o.ˈva/	1618	Ἰωβά: J. Drusius, *Tetragrammaton, sive de Nomine Dei proprio, quod Tetragrammaton vocant*, 1604, p. 106. Ἰουά: N. Fuller, *Miscellaneorum Theologicorum, quibus non modo scriptureae divinae*, 1618, pp. 189, 495.
*Ἰώβε / *Ἰόβε	/i.ˈo.ve/	–	*Compare* Lat. Iovis → Jove /dʒəʊv/ (Jupiter)
Ἰεβέ	/i.e.ˈve/	20th cent.	I. Καμπελής [I. Kampelis], «Ιαβέ», in the *Νεώτερον Εγκυκλοπαιδικόν Λεξικόν (1948–1954)*, Vol. 9, p. 745. See also Ιευέ above.
Ἰάων	/i.ˈa.on/	4th cent. C.E.	*Graecised form.* PGM P XII 75.
*Ἰάως / *Ἰωάς / *Ἰεούς / *Ἰάους	/i.ˈa.os/	–	*Graecised form.* Ἰάως: Used in 1Ch 8:10, LXX (NETS: "Iaos") to translate the term יעוץ (y'hs$^{\varsigma}$) (MT; BDB no. 3263); RSV: Je'uz. LXX Lucian: Ἰωάς /i.o.ˈas/ (the same at 2Ch 34:8 for rendering the יואח in the MT (BDB no. 3098)), Codex Alexandrinus, TGV, Vamvas: Ιεούς /i.e.ˈus/, NWT-G: Ιεούζ /i.e.ˈuz/. Ἰεούς: Used in Ge 36:5, 14, 18, LXX (NETS: "Ieous") to translate the term יעוש (y'hs) in the MT (BDB no. 3266);[117] RSV: Je'ush. Josephus: Ἰάους /i.ˈa.us/, Codex Alexandrinus: Ιευς /i.e.ˈus/ or /i.ˈefs/, TGV, Vamvas, NWT-G: Ιεούς /i.e.ˈus/.
Ἰαχώ	/i.a.ˈxo/	2nd(?)/4th cent. C.E.	*De Virtutibus Lapidem, or The Virtues of Stones, attributed to Damigeron,* Cod. Vat. Graecus no. 578, f. 216.

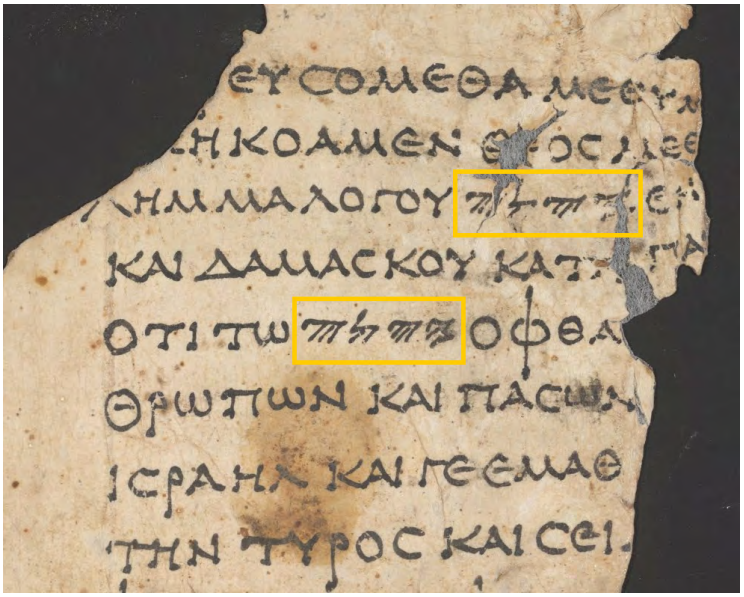
117 Hatch & Redpath, *Concordance*, 3:80, 85, 91.

Appendix B



http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-314640

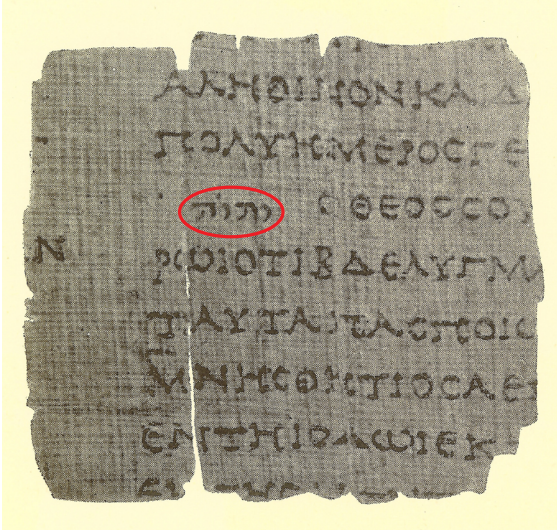
01. Eight paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammata used in Psalm 138 that is written with Aramaic script, dated to the first half of the first century C.E. It is noteworthy that the first two Tetragrammata (second line) are not found in the MT. The first one of them is found in the LXX but not the second one that is circled with dots.[118] (11QPsa / 11Q5 / B-314640, col. xxi)



http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-370936

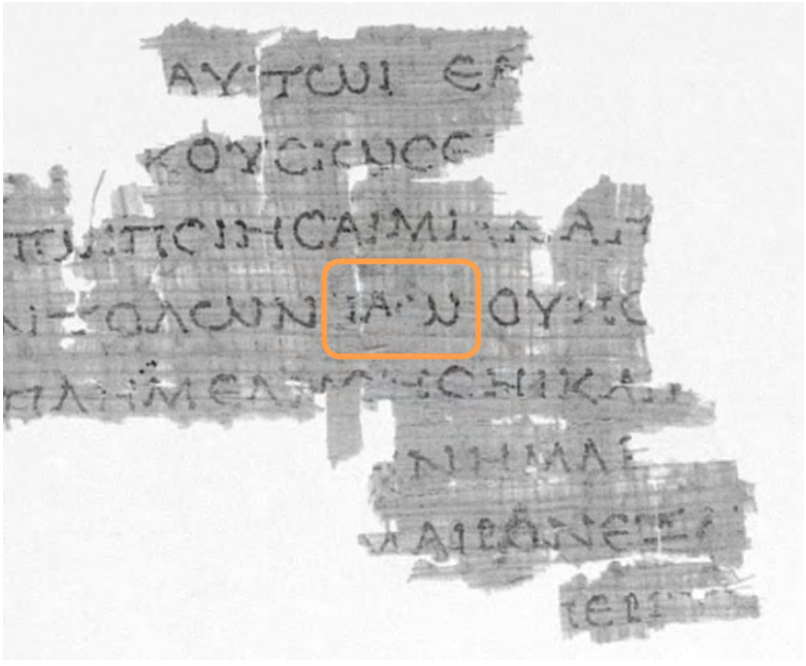
02. Paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammata presented here from Zechariah 8:23-9:2 within the Greek biblical text, dated between 50 B.C.E. and 50 C.E. (8ḤevXII gr / LXX$^{VTS\ 10}$ / Rahlfs 943 / B-370936, Plate 538, Frag. 1)

118 This marking was aiming to 'cancel the Tetragrammaton from *reading*, but not from *existence*' (Siegel, "Employment of palaeo-Hebrew", 161, 162). For English translation, see Abegg et al, *Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, 575.



Françoise Dunand. *Papyrus Grecs Bibliques (Papyrus F. Inv. 266) Volumina de la Genèse et du Deutéronome (Études de Papyrologie Tome Neuvième)*. Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1966. Plate IX.

03. A Tetragrammaton in square Aramaic script within the Greek biblical text of Deuteronomy 25:15–17, dated to the mid first century B.C.E. (P.Fouad 266[b] / Rahlfs 848 / LDAB 3451)

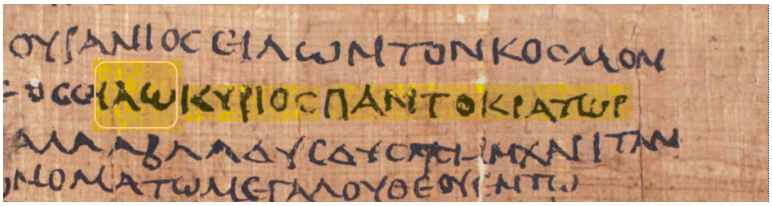


http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-298692

04. The form Ιαω in a papyrus manuscript fragment (No. 20) containing segments from Leviticus chapters 4 and 5 dated to the first century B.C.E. (4QpapLXXLev[b] / 4Q120 / Rahlfs 802)

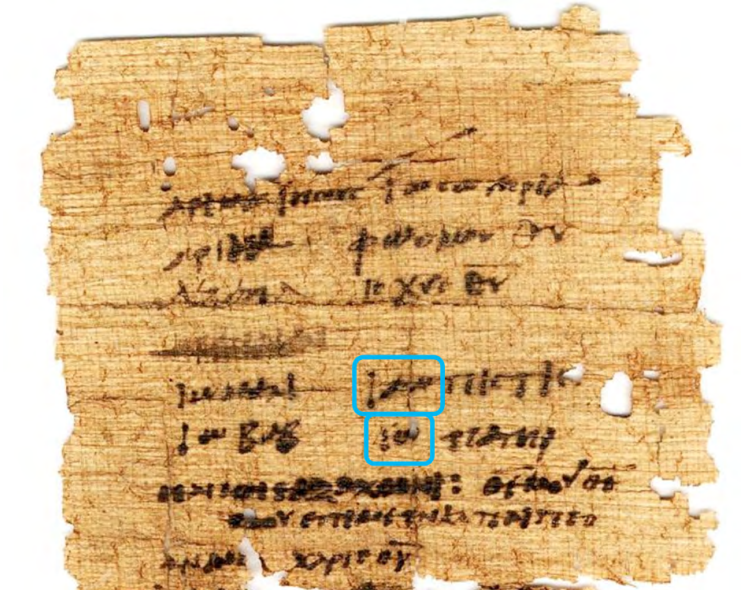
http://163.1.169.40/gsdl/collect/POxy/index/assoc/HASH017e/1b5c5b0d.dir/POxy.v0077.n5101.a.01.hires.jpg

05. Paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton extant in a LXX Psalms scroll within the Greek text, dated between 50 C.E. and 150 C.E. (P.Oxy.77.5101 / Rahlfs 2227)



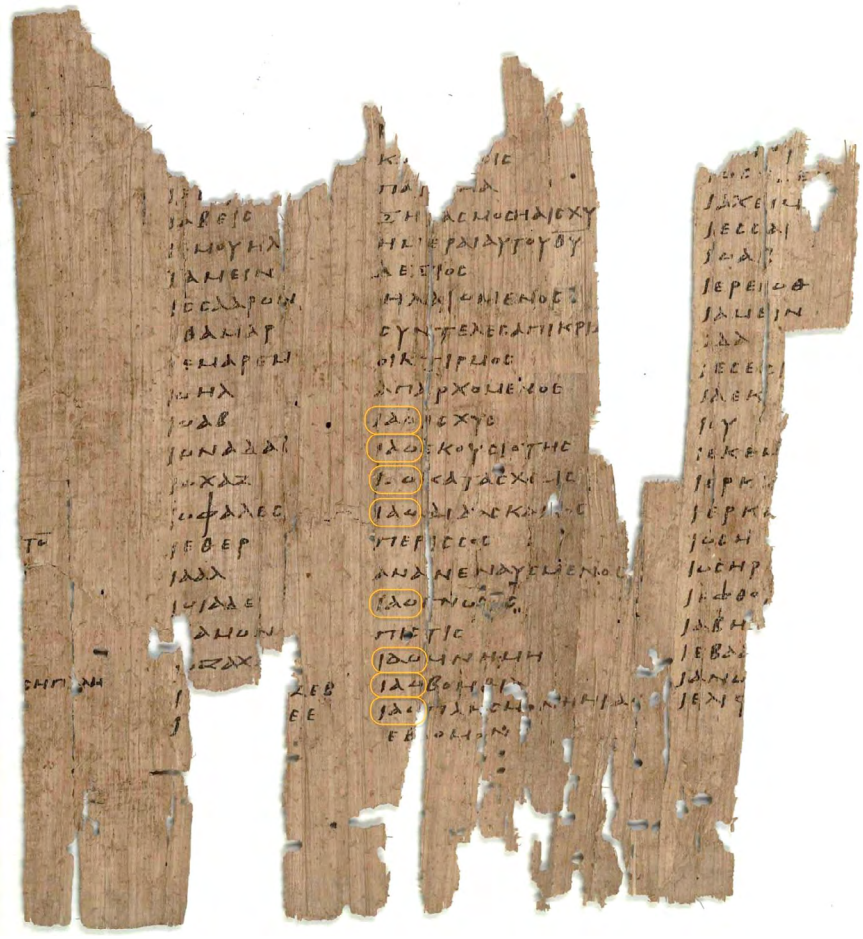
http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-1546/193_A.TIF

06. An amulet written on papyrus from Egypt containing the *nomina divina* Ιαω κύριος παντοκράτωρ, with κύριος uncontracted, dated from the second or early third century C.E. (PMich 3, 155 / inv. 193 / PGM LXXI)



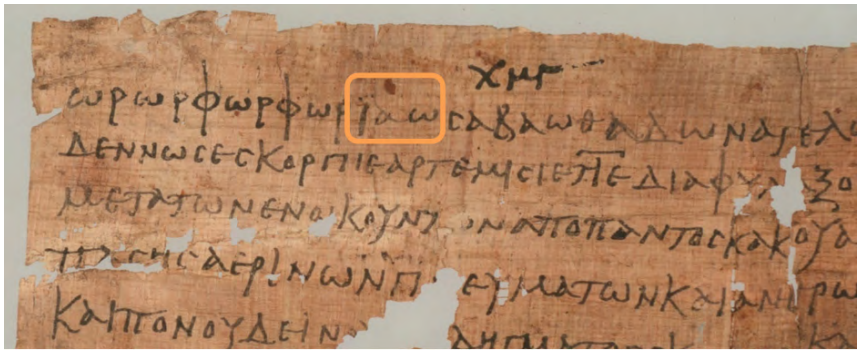
http://www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de

07. The forms Ιαω and Ιω used in lemmata of an *onomasticon sacrum*, in a leaf of the Heidelberg papyrus dated to the third-to-fourth century C.E. (P.Heid. Inv. G 1359 / VHP I 5)



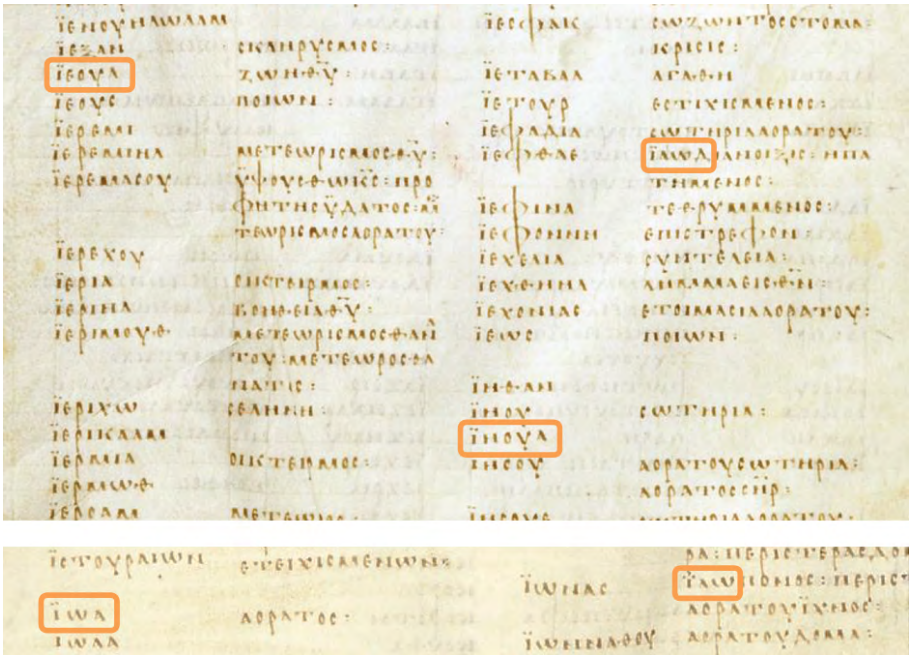
http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk

08. The form Ιαω in an *onomasticon* of Hebrew names, from Oxyrhynchus dated to the third to fourth century C.E. (P.Oxy.XXXVI 2745)



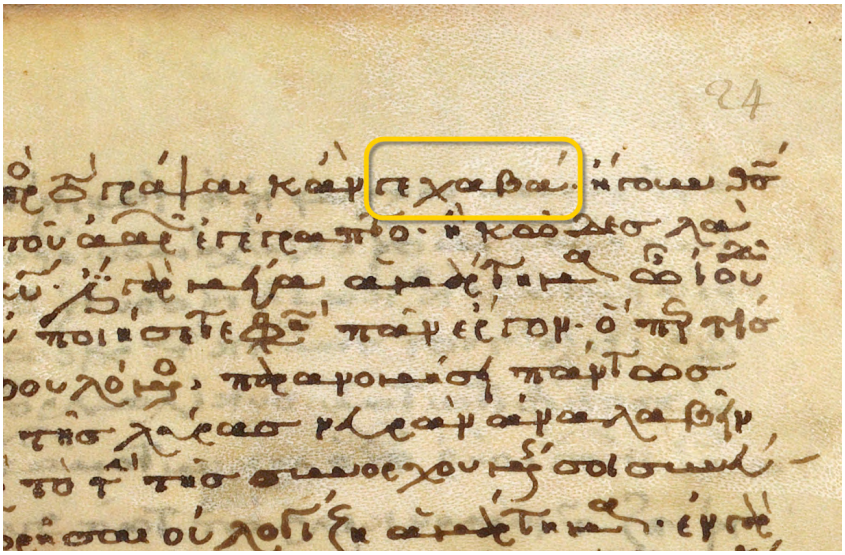
http://opes.uio.no

09. The divine names Ιαω σαβαωθ αδωναι written in a Christian amulet, from Egypt dated from the fourth to fifth century C.E. (P.Oslo Inv. 303)



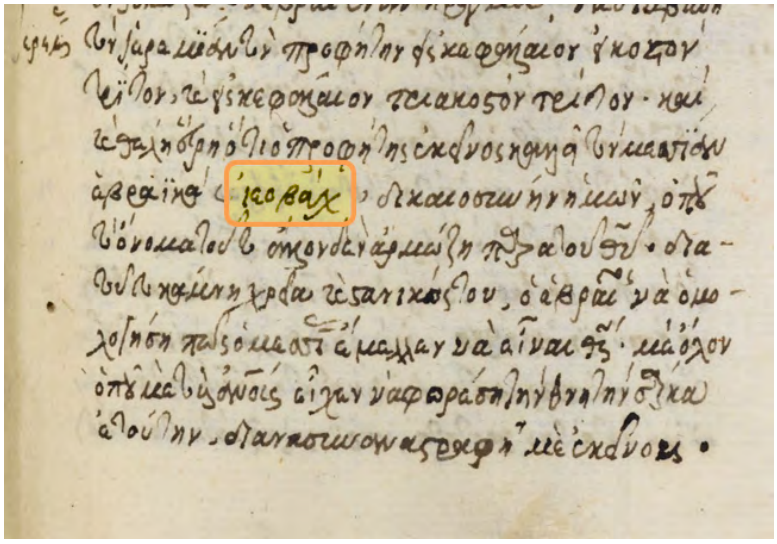
http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84683074/f14.image.r=Coislin%201.langFR

10. *Nomina sacra* and various forms of the Tetragrammaton like Ιαω, Ιηουα, Ιεουα, and Ιωα used in lemmata of an *onomasticon sacrum*, parchment dated to the seventh century C.E. (Codex Coislinianus 1 [ark:/12148/btv1b84683074], Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits)

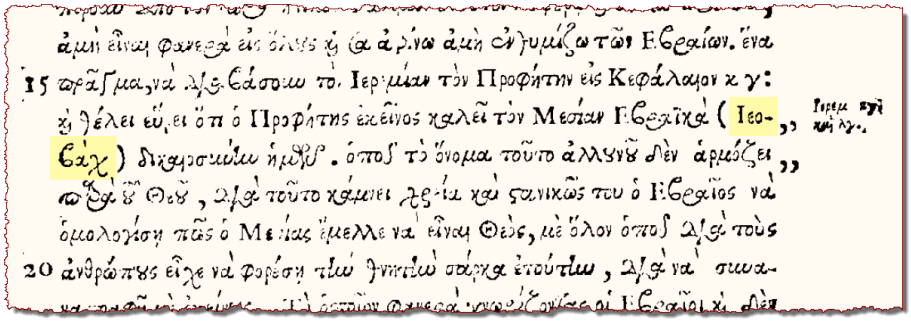


http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ead.html?id=FRBNFEAD000021325

11. The term Γεχαβά used in Nikolaos Hydrountinos' *Adversus Judæos dialogi*, written in the first half of the 13th century C.E. (MS. Grec 1255, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des manuscrits)

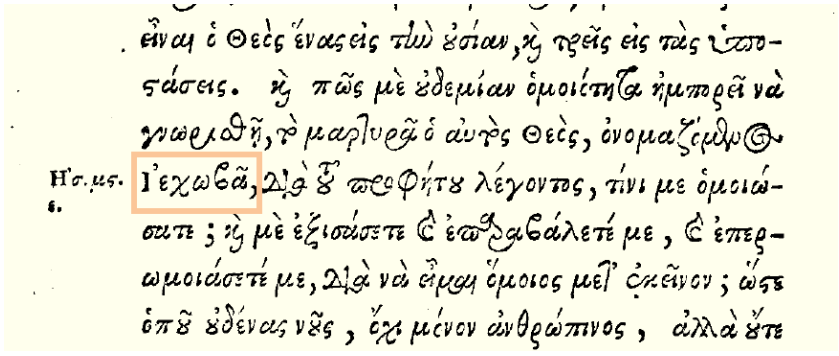


http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_1803_f222r



http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=V27861

12. The term Ἰεοβὰχ used by the then Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria Cyril III Lucaris and later Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople Cyril I, entitled *Σύντομος πραγματεία κατὰ Ἰουδαίων* [*A Brief Treatise against Jews*], (a) in manuscript (Harley MS. 1803, British Library, c. 1602–1627) and (b) published (Constantinople, 1627).



http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/php/pdf_pager.php?filename=%2Fvar%2Fwww%2Fanemi-portal%2Fmetadata%2F7%2F4%2Fd%2Fattached-metadata-165-0000030%2F147760.pdf&rec=%2Fmetadata%2F7%2F4%2Fd%2Fmetadata-165-0000030.tkl&do=147760.pdf&pageno=24&pagenotop=24

13. The form Ἰεχωβᾶ in the *Ορθόδοξος Ομολογία της Καθολικής και Αποστολικής Εκκλησίας της Ανατολικής* (*Orthodox Confession of Faith of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East*), translated from Latin to Modern Greek by Meletios Syrigos (Amsterdam, 1666, p. 24).