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Transmission of the Tetragrammaton in Judeo-Greek and Christian Sources

In the second century BCE, the grandson of Ben Sira noted in the prologue to his translation that « those words said in the original Hebrew do not have the same force [οὐ γὰρ ἰσοδυναμεῖ] when translated into another tongue » and « more than that, even the Law, the Prophets and the other books are very different in the original » (vss. 21–26)[1]. This idea has proven remarkably true regarding the translation of theonyms used for the God of the Bible[2]. The prominent Christian scholar Origen, about four centuries later, maintained that only attributes of God can be translated into other languages, whereas divine names are inherently powerful and effective only when uttered in Hebrew, independent of their actual meaning[3]. The 11ᵗʰ century Karaite, Tobias ben Moses of Constantinople, regarded the Tetragrammaton as untranslatable into Greek and Arabic « because there is nothing like it in those languages »[4].

These Jewish and Christian sources reflect a long train of thought that presumes a degree of untranslatability of sacred texts with special emphasis on theonyms, especially the personal name of God in Hebrew, the Tetragrammaton. It will be shown below how this untranslatability resulted in the Tetragrammaton making its way into Greek literature and Bible translations in a variety of ways and at different times.

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[1] The translation is taken from Natalio Fernández Marcos, *Non placet Septuaginta* : *Revisions and New Greek Versions of the Bible in Byzantium*, in : *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions : Studies in Their Use in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, eds. Nicholas de Lange, Julia G. Krivoruchko, Cameron Boyd-Taylor, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 2009, p. 39.

[2] *Theonym* literally means "divine name". In this article, it is used in plural to include titles and epithets that are common nouns, having special use in reference to God, and in singular for *the* theonym of the one God of the Bible, the Tetragrammaton, which is a proper noun.

[3] Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1:25, 26; 5:45. Cf. Plotinus, *Enneads* IV, 4, 40-45. Shawn W.J. Keough, *Divine names in the Contra Celsum*, in : *Origeniana nona : Origen and the religious practice of his time ; Papers of the 9th International Origen Congress, Pecs, Hungary, 29 August–2 September 2005*, eds. Gyorgy Heidl, Robert Somos, Peeters, Leuven-Walpole, MA 2009, p. 205-215.

[4] למען כי אין לו בלשונם שם כמוהו, Tobias ben Moses, *Otzar Nechmad*, edited by the Academy of the Hebrew Language, *Ma'agarim : The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*, <http://maagarim. hebrew-academy.org.il>. Accessed 26 Aug. 2018. Cf. Zvi Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium*, AMS Press, New York, 1968, p. 423.

Trans-cultural diffusion of a theonym :
The case of the Tetragrammaton in the Old Greek/Septuagint context

The rendering of the Tetragrammaton as *κυριος* (and sometimes *θεος*) has been regarded for a long time as a kind of *Septuagintalism* (or, *Septuagintism*)—that is, a special inherent characteristic of the Old Greek/Septuagint text that was followed or imitated in other literature as well. However, the current consensus has shifted towards the view that at least the Pentateuch was not produced under the proscription against rendering the Tetragrammaton in the same way the translators represented the proper names of humans or other divinities[5] While representations of the Tetragrammaton were eventually replaced with *κυριος* (and *θεος*), the echo of the earlier practice remained for centuries (see fig. 6)[6].

According to the view of E. Tov and others, the use of the proper noun *ιαω* in 4QpapLXXLev[b] « reflects the original, pre-Christian rendering of the Tetragrammaton, preceding *κυριος* »[7]. If this is correct, then the earlier view that, « in the Greek translation of the Old Testament, Jewish scholars used the Greek term *kurios* to render

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[5] Austin Surls considers that this shift was already underway among Hellenized Jews by the early first century CE : « Unfortunately, the common noun *κύριος* had eclipsed the divine name יהוה among non-Hebrew speakers by the time of Christ » (*Making Sense of the Divine Name in the Book of Exodus : From Etymology to Literary Onomastics*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, IN 2017, p. 199). This view may be only a part of the whole picture during that time. Frank Shaw discreetly emphasizes the fact that « there was no "original" form but different translators had different feelings, theological beliefs, motivations, and practices when it came to their handling of the name » (*The Earliest Non-Mystical Jewish Use of Iαω*, Peeters, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, MA 2014, p. 271). Origen observed this change in the use of Bible theonyms during his time : « The majority of Christians do not even use in their prayers the names applied to God which are found in the divine scriptures [*τοῖς ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς κειμένοις ὀνόμασι καὶ τεταγμένοις ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*]. But the Greeks speak in Greek, and the Romans in Latin ; and so each one according to his language prays to God and sings his praises as he is able » (*Contra Celsum* 8:37 ; translation by Henry Chadwick). While Origen's statement applies to « the majority of Christians » (οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν) of his day, apparently a relatively small number still used some Hebrew theonym(s).

[6] Pavlos Vasileiadis, *The god Iao and his connection with the Biblical God, with special emphasis on the manuscript 4QpapLXXLev[b]*, « Vetus Testamentum et Hellas », Vol. IV, 2017, p. 21–51 ; Anthony Meyer, *The Divine Name in Early Judaism Use and Non-use in Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek*, PhD dissertation, McMaster University, 2017, p. 201–202. Summing up all the available information, Rolf Furuli recently concluded that « there is much evidence that Yehōwā generally was used and pronounced in the last centuries BCE and until Jerusalem was destroyed in 70 CE » (*The Tetragram—Its history, its use in the New Testament, and its pronunciation*, Awatu Publishers, Larvik (Norway), 2018, p. 94). See figs. 1 and 2 for *LXX* manuscripts in which the *nomen sacrum* κς (*κυριος*) was used for both *Adonai* and the Tetragrammaton, while *αδωναι* was sometimes also used for *Adonai*.

[7] Emanuel Tov, *Septuagint and Other Ancient Greek Translations*, in : *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Books of the Bible*, eds. Michael D. Coogan, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011, p. 308. See, also, Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible*, Brill, Leiden-Boston, MA 2015, p. 153–154 ; Jan Joosten, *Le dieu Iaô et le tréfonds araméen des Septante*, in : *Eukarpa/Εὔκαρπα, Études sur la Bible et ses exégètes : En Hommage À Gilles Dorival*, eds. Mireille Loubet, Didier Pralon, Les Éditions du Cerf, Paris, 2011, p. 115–119.

both *Adonai* and yhwh » is no longer tenable[8]. Furthermore, the argument that « this use was carried over into the Greek New Testament » needs to be re-evaluated. This may have broad-ranging implications for understanding the theological intent of New Testament authors, especially concerning what is taken by some to be « a kind of divine ambiguity in the use of the … term [κυριος] to apply both to God and to Jesus Christ »[9].

While rendering the Tetragrammaton as *κυριος* certainly contributed to this « divine ambiguity », the available evidence for this divine « anonymization » points to a date after the appearance of early Christianity. Some time, quite early in the history of the Christian Church, the Tetragrammaton was replaced with special contracted forms, the *nomina sacra*. A second stage involved the "systematic" treatment of all occurrences of *κυριος* and other terms as *nomina sacra*, irrespective of whether they referred to the Tetragrammaton or Jesus. This latter step is posited to the second half of the second century CE[10]. To a discerning reader such as the late fourth century Evagrius Ponticus, the incongruity between reading *Adonai/κυριος* and writing the Tetragrammaton was made *καταχρηστικῶς*, that is « with improper use, inaccurately », by both Hebrew speaking Jews and Greek speaking Christians[11].

Circumlocutions in lieu of the Tetragrammaton were mainly used to denote (a) extreme reverence towards the Divinity and/or (b) the philosophical notion of the anonymity of God. Such practices led to the "suppression" of the theonym[12]. R. Laird Harris commented on what he described as a "strange" situation by saying that « not to use the name of God seems to profane it just as the coarse use of the Name would

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[8] Eugene A. Nida, Charles R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, Brill, Leiden, 2003/[1]1969, p. 25.

[9] Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. Third revised and expanded edition, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, MN 2012, p. 132 ; Eugene Nida, Charles R. Taber, *The Theory*, p. 25.

[10] For the "second stage" of this development, see Scott Charlesworth, *Early Christian Gospels : Their Production and Transmission*. Papyrologica Florentina, 48, Edizioni Gonnelli, Firenze, 2016.

[11] « Τὸ τετραγράμματον, ἀνεκφώνητον ὂν παρ᾽ Ἑβραίοις, ὃ καταχρηστικῶς παρὰ μὲν αὐτοῖς Ἀδωναῒ καλεῖται, παρὰ δὲ ἡμῖν Κύριος » (*In ΠΙΠΙ {יהוה}* ; Paul de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*, 2nd edition, Horstmann, Göttingen 1887 [reprinted by Olms, Hildesheim 1966], p. 229–230). The closest comment of Origen, on which Evagrius obviously based his comment (or, at very least, shared with him a common exegetical tradition) is this : « Ἔστι δέ τι τετραγράμματον ἀνεκφώνητον παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πετάλου τοῦ χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀναγέγραπ ται, καὶ λέγεται μὲν τῇ «Ἀδωναῒ» προσηγορίᾳ, οὐχὶ τούτου γεγραμμένου ἐν τῷ τετραγραμμάτῳ· παρὰ δὲ Ἕλλησι τῇ «Κύριος» ἐκφωνεῖται » (*Selecta in Psalmos* [Dub., fragmenta e catenis] 12:1104). Eusebius was able to check the Hebrew text and see whether κυριος corresponded to the Tetragrammaton or *Adonai* : « Τηρητέον δὲ, ὅτι ἐν τῷ, Κύριε, καταφυγὴ ἐγενήθης ἡμῖν, τὸ, Κύριε. οὐ διὰ τοῦ τετραγράμμου φέρεται παρ᾽ Ἑβραίοις, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ συνήθων γραφομένων στοιχείων, τῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπ ίνης προσηγορίας ταττομένων, εἴποτε τὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις δεσπότην, κύριον καλοῦμεν. Κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὸ Ἀδωναῒ ἡρμήνευται εἰς τὸν Κύριον, τοῦ τετραγράμμου ὀνόματος, ὃ τὴν ἀπόρρητον τοῦ Θεοῦ θεολογίαν σημαίνει, μὴ κειμένου κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν λέξιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δεσπότου μάλιστα εὐκαίρως ὠνομασμένου, εἰς παράστασιν τοῦ κήδεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ φροντίζειν τῶν αὐτοῦ οἰκετῶν, ὧν καὶ καταφυγὴ τυγχάνει » (*Commentary on Psalms* 89|90:1; PG 23:1128C). The definition of « καταχρηστικῶς » was taken from the *Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek* (edited by Franco Montanari, 2015).

[12] Austin Surls, *Making Sense*, p. 197.

have done »[13]. One of the consequences of this development has been that « in popular Christian theology the personhood of God is less prominent than it ought to be because God is not referred to by his personal name »[14].

This also means that we may properly talk about "two Septuagints." A. Pietersma distinguishes between the Septuagint-as-produced, a patently Jewish production, and the Septuagint-as-received, accepted at some point in its reception history as the *Vetus Testamentum* of the Christian Church[15]. If the "Septuagint-as-produced" originally included Greek forms of the Tetragrammaton, then it follows that A.G. Deissmann's conclusion that « the Bible whose God is named Yahweh is the Bible of a nation, the Bible whose God is named *κύριος* [LORD] is a universal Bible » is proved void[16].

In this case, both Jews of the land of Israel and the ones living in the Diaspora, along with proselytes, would have been familiar with scribal practices that signaled the existence of the special theonym within the sacred scriptures in Greek. Indeed, the early phases of Christianity may have also developed using Greek Bible copies that included forms of the sacred Tetragrammaton (either in Greek or in Hebrew) and this did not diminish at all the universal character of the God of the Bible. As a consequence, there would have been little place—if at all—for a Tetragrammaton-to-*κύριος* Septuagintalism within the early compositions of the New Testament[17]. Especially for Jewish Christians, and also for a minority of knowledgeable Christians of the centuries that followed, the role of the Tetragrammaton and who it represented were quite clear[18].

Origen, who wrote the Tetragrammaton in all the Greek versions used in the *Hexapla, including the Septuagint*, testifies to "early Christian habits" of using—or at

[13] R. Laird HARRIS, *The Pronunciation of the Tetragram*, in : *The Law and the Prophets : Old Testament Studies Prepared in Honor of Oswald Thompson Allis*, ed. John H. SKILTON, Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, Nutley, NJ 1974, p. 215–224 : 215. Austin SURLS, *Making Sense*, p. 197.

[14] David CLINES, *Yahweh and the God of Christian Theology*, « Theology », LXXXIII/695, 1980, p. 323-330 : 323. And he adds : « One result of the absence of Yahweh from Christian consciousness has been the tendency to focus on the person of Christ as the exclusive manifestation of deity. Jesus has become, both in many circles of Christian piety, and in some academic theology, virtually the whole horizon of the divine," a kind of "Christomonism » (p. 328).

[15] William A. ROSS, « LXX Scholar Interview : Dr. Albert Pietersma », <https://williamaross.com/2017/04/10/lxx-scholar-interview-dr-albert-pietersma>. Retrieved 6 Jun. 2018.

[16] « Die Bibel, deren Gott Jahveh heißt, ist die Bibel eines Volkes ; die Bibel, deren Gott *κύριος* [HERR] heißt, ist die Weltbibel » (Adolf Gustav DEISSMANN, *Die Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus*, « Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum », XI, 1903, p. 174). Indeed, a universal message tied specifically to the Tetragrammaton can already be seen in Isa 56:3–8; cf. Bezalel PORTEN, *The Religion of the Jews of Elephantine in Light of the Hermopolis Papyri*, « Journal of Near Eastern Studies », XXVIII/2, 1969, p. 116–121 : 117.

[17] Regarding the choices made by the Septuagint translators, Jan JOOSTEN confessed that « one is led to speculate, and at times one is led to admit one doesn't know » (*Pillars of the Sacred : Septuagint Words Between Biblical Theology and Hellenistic culture*, « Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok », LXXXIII, 2018, p. 14).

[18] For a discussion about the term and the identity of "Jewish Christians," see Annette Yoshiko REED, *Jewish-Christianity and the History of Judaism*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2018, p. XV, 10.

least reading—the Tetragrammaton within their Bible copies[19]. N. de Lange observed on this :

> There is some evidence that Origen's *Hexapla* also represented *kyrios* by the tetragram in square Hebrew characters : this is how it is written in all the Greek columns of the Milan palimpsest of the *Hexapla* (Ambrosian Library, O 39 sup.), while another palimpsest fragment has it written in roughly similar Greek letters ΠΙΠΙ. The latter form is also found in some Hexaplaric notes in the margins of various Septuagint manuscripts. It is a reasonable inference that the tetragram in square Hebrew letters was a feature of the manuscripts from which the columns of the *Hexapla* were copied. It has been further inferred that all of the manuscripts used for the *Hexapla* (including the Septuagint) were Jewish manuscripts, since Christian scribes would hardly have replaced *Kyrios* by the Hebrew tetragram. The use of this device in undoubtedly Christian manuscripts of the *Hexapla*, coupled with the occurrence of a palaeo-Hebrew double *yod* in a Christian mosaic, makes it impossible to state with absolute certainty that any other Greek manuscript containing the Hebrew tetragram must be Jewish, but there is surely a very strong presumption in this direction[20].

There is evidence that the existence of the Tetragrammaton within the Septuagint copies and other popular works like *onomastica* and Bible commentaries made the theonym accessible and familiar to a wider Christian public for some centuries CE. (see fig. 5)[21]. Actually, « some sort of popular knowledge of it in its Greek form, whether wittingly or unwittingly » is evidenced from "pagan" sources already during the closing centuries BCE[22].

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[19] Johanna W. H. van Wijk-Bos, *Writing on the Water : The Ineffable Name of God*, in : *Jews, Christians, and the Theology of the Hebrew Scriptures*, eds. Alice Ogden Bellis, Joel S. Kaminsky, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta 2000, p. 56. According to Anne Pasquier, Christian manuscripts of the *LXX* may have preserved special forms of the Tetragrammaton as late as the second century CE (*Invocation et glorification du Nom divin dans le Livre sacré du grand Esprit invisible ou Évangile égyptien (NHC III,2; NHC IV,2)*, in : *Mystery and Secrecy in the Nag Hammadi Collection and Other Ancient Literature: Ideas and Practices*, eds. Christian H. Bull, Liv Lied, John D. Turner, Brill, Leiden, 2011, p. 127).

[20] Nicholas de Lange, *Japheth in the Tents of Shem : Greek Bible Translations in Byzantine Judaism*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 2015, p. 74. See figs. 3–4 ; our thanks to Schmidt Werner from the library of the University of Würzburg for providing physical access to Giovanni Mercati's *Psalterii hexapli reliquiae*.

[21] Pavlos Vasileiadis, *Iao*, p. 41–51 ; Id., *Το Ιερό Τετραγράμματο και η Πρόσληψή του στη Μεσαιωνική Γραμματεία* [*The Sacred Tetragrammaton and its Reception in the Medieval Literature*], PhD dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece 2017, p. 41–43 ; Frank Shaw, *The Earliest*. Austin Surls stated : « Two earlier onomastica of probable Jewish origin freely used Ἰαὼ in their name explanations. This shows that at least some Jews in the pre-Christian era were comfortable with uttering an explicit form of the divine name » (*Making Sense*, p. 77).

[22] Frank Shaw, *The Earliest*, p. 107.

Translations of the New Testament in Semitic and Other Languages

The question of the Tetragrammaton in New Testament texts entails a two-level approach. One level is the conceptual and the other is the textual. The former concerns the synchronic, conjectural representation of the acts described as well as the reproduction of the *ipsissima voces,* while the latter regards the diachronic transmission and preservation of the texts. Conclusions on both levels mutually affect one another.

On the conceptual level, while some maintain that Jesus and his disciples observed the proscription against speaking the Tetragrammaton, others have concluded that « it is possible that in oral speech Jesus and the disciples vocalized the divine name»[23]. Some have gone as far as to suggest that « Jesus did not know the Jewish fear of pronouncing God's name »[24].

On the textual level, the Tetragrammaton has not been found in any surviving Greek manuscripts of the New Testament. Does this mean that the Christian authors opted to use terms like *θεος* and *κυριος* to translate the Tetragrammaton ? For the time being we cannot give a definitive answer. As discussed above, it seems improbable that the Tetragrammaton-to-*κυριος* convention—as a kind of Septuagintalism—existed when the New Testament texts were authored. The earliest surviving copies of the New Testament use the *nomina sacra*, a scribal convention for rendering terms like God and Lord, that expanded rapidly and widely along with the rapid increase of Christian Bible copying. But it becomes obvious from the parallel development of the Old Greek/Septuagint tradition that this practice first appears only in the second century CE and without following a strictly uniform pattern[25].

Although the support for the use of the Tetragrammaton in Greek New Testament manuscripts is lacking, it is often possible to identify where *κυριος* reflects the Tetragrammaton[26] in contrast to where it reflects Hebrew terms such as *adoni* used of mortal men and angels. Several scholars have attempted this undertaking and some

[23] Cf. Sean M. McDonough, *YHWH at Patmos*, Mohr Siebeck, Tubingen, 1999. Daniel Block, *Who Do Commentators Say "the Lord" is ? The Scandalous Rock of Romans 10:13*, in : *On the Writing of New Testament Commentaries: Festschrift for Grant R. Osborne on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, eds. Stanley E. Porter, Eckhard J. Schnabel, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2013, p. 173–192 : 182.

[24] Hans Conzelmann, *Jesus. The Classic Article from RGG {Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart} Expanded and Updated*, Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1975, p. 54–56. See also : Pavlos Vasileiadis, *To ιερό Τετραγράμματο : Μια ιστορική και φιλολογική προσέγγιση του ονόματος του Θεού* {*The sacred Tetragrammaton: A historical and philological approach to God's name*], « Δελτίο Βιβλικών Μελετών », XXVIII/2, 2010, p. 85–87 ; Id., *The Pronunciation of the Sacred Tetragrammaton: An Overview of a Nomen Revelatus that Became a Nomen Absconditus*, « Judaica Ukrainica », II, 2013, p. 9–12 ; Id., *Iao*, p. 41–51.

[25] Rolf Furuli, *The Tetragram*, p. 142–191 ; Frank Shaw, *The Earliest*, p. 273–301 ; Lloyd Gaston, *Paul and the Torah*, University of British Columbia Press, 1987, p. 117–118, 131 ; George Howard, *The Tetragram and the New Testament*, « Journal of Biblical Literature » XCVI/1, 1977, p. 63–83 ; Id., *The Name of God in the New Testament*, « Biblical Archaeology Review » IV/1, 1978, p. 12–14, 56 ; Id., *Tetragrammaton in the New Testament*, in : *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. D.N. Freedman, Doubleday, New York 1992, Vol. 6, p. 392–393.

[26] Or, in some instances, possibly the divine epithet *Adonai*.

examples are shown in the table below, with the result being an average of 64.4 instances of the Tetragrammaton in the Gospels[27] :

Gospels	**Bartsch**	**Bullinger**	**Darby**	**Kilpatrick**	**Wilson**
Matt	19	19	18	18	13
Mark	7	10	10	8	7
Luke	37	38	34	37	28
John	5	4	2	4	4
Total :	**68**	**71**	**64**	**67**	**52**

In the early 16th century, polyglot editions of the Bible, like the *Complutensian Polyglot* (1514), made the discrepancy in rendering the Hebrew Tetragrammaton in the Old Testament visible to more readers in other languages (see fig. 7). In this period, Tyndale represented the Tetragrammaton in his English translation of the Old Testament with "LORD" in capital letters, explaining that in these instances « it is in Hebrew Jehovah, Thou that art ; or, He that is »[28]. Although there was an acceptable, widely recognizable form of the Tetragrammaton in English, and the place of the theonym was definitely known in the original sacred texts, Tyndale chose in the vast majority of cases not to use it and to replace it with generic epithets. For various reasons, this practice has been followed by most Bible translators even today. Although the sacred Tetragrammaton is clearly present throughout the original Hebrew text of the Old Testament, most translators have opted to replace it partially or fully in their translations.

The opposite phenomenon has taken place in the handling of the Tetragrammaton within some New Testament translations. Hebrew versions of the New Testament, many of which are only found in manuscript form, often render the Greek κυριος with the

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[27] Hans-Werner BARTSCH, *L'emploi du nom de Dieu dans le Christianisme primitif*, in *L'analyse du langage théologique Le nom de Dieu*, ed. Enrico CASTELLI, Editions Montagne, Aubier, 1969, p. 185–200 ; Ethelbert W. BULLINGER, *The Companion Bible*, 1922 ; reprinted, Kregel Publications, Grand Rapids, MI 1993, Appendices p. 141–142 ; John-Nelson DARBY, *Le Nouveau Testament*, Version nouvelle, Vevey, 1859, p. ix–x ; Robert Dick WILSON, *The Names for God in the New Testament*, « The Princeton Theological Review », XIX/3, 1921, p. 392-433; George D. KILPATRICK, *"Kurios" in the Gospels*, in : *L'Évangile, hier et aujourd'hui : Mélanges offerts au professeur Franz-J. Leenhardt*, Labor et Fides, Geneva, 1968, p. 65–70.

[28] Henry WALTER, *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scriptures by William Tyndale*, University Press, Cambridge, 1848, p. 408 ; reprinted by Gervase E. DUFFIELD (ed.), *The Work of William Tyndale*, Courtenay Press, Sutton, 1964, p. 46.

Tetragrammaton itself or by a substitution, such as a cluster of three *yods*[29]. Syriac translations followed a similar practice by using a special form of the term "Lord," *Māryā or Moryo* —as opposed to *mārā* —when translating the Tetragrammaton (see fig. 13)[30].

Beginning in the 16th century, editions with renderings or representations of the Tetragrammaton in the New Testament circulated in European languages[31]. Starting in

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[29] For instance, *Yᵊhōwâ* in Hebrew characters in : Giovanni Battista Jona (Judah Jona Galileo), *Quatuor evangelia Novi Testamenti ex Latino in Hebraicum* (1668, published by the College of Propaganda Fidei ; see fig. 8) ; Anton Margaritha, *Evangelio Matthaei* (1533 ; see fig. 9) ; Elias Hutter, *Novum Testamentum* (1599). Manuscripts of New Testament translations in Hebrew include : Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Héb. 131 (16th–17th century ; see fig. 10) and London, British Library, Sloane 237 (16th–17th century ; see fig. 51) which have *Yᵊhōwâ* ; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Héb. 132 (17th century), which uses a cluster of three *yods* (see fig. 11). Cf. Jacob Z. Lauterbach, *Substitutes for the Tetragrammaton*, « Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research », II, 1930–1931, p. 39–67. Johann Kemper of Krakow, a Jewish convert to Christianity, translated the gospels in the 18th century from Syriac into Hebrew and used יהוה as well as *Jehova* in his parallel Latin translation (for example, Uppsala University Library O Cod Hebr 32, fols. 6v–7r). An example of the awareness of the semantic distinction between *Adonai* and the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew versions of the New Testament can be seen in the manuscript Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Ebr. 530, frag. 11. On fol. 1r (Luke 1:8) the scribe wrote *Adonai*, erased it, and then wrote the Tetragrammaton over the (still clearly visible) erasure (see fig. 12).

[30] Regarding the use of this special term for God in the Syriac New Testament, A.-G. Martin commented : « *Morio* est un mot spécialement utilisé pour désigner YHWH dans l'Ancien Testament. Dans le Nouveau Testament, c'est *moran* gui est employé pour désigner Jésus-Christ. [...] *Morio* s'emploie : 1) dans les citations de l'Ancien Testament. 2) dans des expressions tirées de l'Ancien Testament comme «ange du seigneur». 3) Il se trouve en plus forte proportion que le reste du Nouveau Testament dans les Actes, 1 Corinthiens et même plus massivement dans l'épître de Jacques où *moran* ne se trouve que lorsqu'il est question du ministère de guérison qui est compris comme celui de Jésus-Christ. [...] Pour résumer l'emploi de *morio* pour rendre κυριος dans le Nouveau Téstament, on peut dire que ce mot se trouve dans les citations de l'Ancien Testament, mais il peut aussi désigner Dieu d'une manière plus générale comme celui qui dirige les hommes et l'Eglise. Mais Jésus Christ peut aussi être nommé *morio* pour souligner sa divinité et la continuité de son action avec le Dieu d'Israël » (*La Traduction de kyrios en Syriaque*, « Filologia Neotestamentaria », XII, 1999, p. 25–54). See, for example, the Syriac translation of the New Testament prepared by J.W. Childers, J. Prather : « In the Peshiṭta version of the Hebrew Bible, the term *Māryā*, "the Lord," represents the tetragram, the name of the Lord God. Where this form occurs in the Peshi ta text of John, the English translation uses the capitalized "the Lord." By contrast, in the many places where the simple form *mārā* occurs, the English translates it in various ways, including "lord," "master," and "sir." John's fondness for ambiguity often makes it difficult to determine clearly just how exalted a particular instance of "lord" is intended to be, when the speaker is addressing Jesus. Consequently, the notes identify places where the underlying term is *mārā*, 'lord' » (English translation by Jeff W. Childers, James Prather ; text prepared by George Anton Kiraz, *The Gospel of John according to the Syriac Peshitta Version with English translation*, Gorgias Press 2014, p. xxviii–xxix). See fig. 14 for an image of the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus which explains in the marginal notes that *Māryā* is equivalent to *pipi* (lit. *pypy*, from the Greek πιπι) in Syriac (see Rolf Furuli, *The Tetragram*, p. 137–138 for a discussion of the interpretation *hehe* of the Syriac term). This Syriac form of *pipi* for the Tetragrammaton appears also in the Syrohexaplaric form of the book of Numbers in London, British Library Ms. L Add 14437 (=SyrBL14437, fols. 1–46).

[31] Eran Shuali, *Why Was the New Testament Translated into Hebrew ? An Introduction to the History of Hebrew Translations of the New Testament*, « Open Theology », II, 2016, p. 511–522.

1539, a number of Martin Luther's New Testament editions included the rendering of the Tetragrammaton in German as HERR « not only for citations of the Old Testament in the New, but also when he believed the New Testament writers alluded to the Tetragrammaton in free composition. » Thus, the special status of the Tetragrammaton was visibly signaled « in both Testaments, from one end of the canon to the other »[32].

Numerous non-Western translations of the Old Testament, and even some of the New Testament, use pronounceable renderings of the Tetragrammaton such as Jehovah, Yahweh and the like[33]. Modern New Testament translations in Western languages with some representation of the Tetragrammaton include *Lord* (vs. "Lord" and "lord") in the *Holy Bible, New Living Translation* (2004), *yhwh* in Claude Tresmontant's *Les Évangiles* (1991), and *Ihvh* with *adonai* written above it in André Chouraqui's *La Bible* (2007)[34].

[32] R. Kendall Soulen, *The Divine Name(s) and the Holy Trinity : Distinguishing the voices*, Volume 1, Westminster John Know Press, Louisville, KY 2011, p. 92–93. See fig. 15 (Martin Luther's, *Biblia, das ist die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch*, 1548). Luther observed : « Thus you now understand what it is to take God's name in vain, that is (to recapitulate briefly), either simply for purposes of falsehood, and to allege God's name for something that is not so, or to curse, swear, conjure, and, in short, to practice whatever wickedness one may. Besides this you must also know how to use the name [of God] aright. For when saying : Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God, in vain, He gives us to understand at the same time that *it is to be used properly. For it has been revealed and given to us for the very purpose that it may be of constant use and profit.* Hence it is a natural inference, since using the holy name for falsehood or wickedness is here forbidden, that *we are, on the other hand, commanded to employ it for truth and for all good*, as when one swears truly where there is need and it is demanded » (*Concordia Triglotta : The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church*, German-Latin-English, edited by Friederich Bente, Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, MO 1921, p. 599 ; italics added). Cf. *Targum Onkelos* and *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* on Exod 20:7.

[33] See Aloo O. Mojola, *Name of God in Modern Non-Western Bible Translations*, in : *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, ed. Geoffrey Khan, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2212-4241_ehll_ EHLL_COM_00000556>. First published online : 2013. New Testament translations published by Bible Societies that use a form of the Tetragrammaton include : *Ke Kauoha Hou a Ko Kakou Haku e Ola'i, a Iesu Kristo* (in Hawaiian, American Bible Society, Oahu, Hawaii-New York, 1835) ; *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (in the Choctaw language, American Bible Society, New York, 1848) ; New Testament (in Cherokee, American Bible Society, New York, 1860) ; *Intas-Etipup Mat u Iesu Kristo, Natimarid Uja, im Natimi Imyiatamaig Caija* (in Aneityum, New Hebrides, British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1863) ; *Ama-Lémrane Ama-Fu ma o-Rábbu de o-Fūtia-Ka-Su Yīsua Masīa* (Temne New Testament, British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1868) ; *Ekonejeu Kabesi ni Dokuj Iesu Keriso* (in Nengone, British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1870) ; *Te Nu Tetemanti, ae ana Taeka Ara Uea ao ara Tia Kamaiu are Iesu Kristo, ae Kaetaki man Taetaen Erene* (in Kiribati, American Bible Society, New York, 1909/¹1901) ; *Ntestamente Yipia ya Nkambo Wetu ni Mupurushi Yesu Kristu* (in Chiluva, The National Bible Society of Scotland 1904) ; *Testament Vau Ki Nawota Anigida Go Tea Maumaupauri Yesu Kristo* (in the language of Nguna-Tongoa, New Hebrides, British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1912) ; *Injili Mar Mathayo* (The Gospel According to St. Matthew in Dholuo, British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1914) ; *Öbufa Testament Öböñ ye Andinyaña nyïn Jesus Christ* (in Efik, National Bible Society of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1949) ; *Embimbiliya Li Kola* (in Umbundu, Sociedade Bíblica em Angola, Luanda, 1963) ; *Arorutiet ne Leel ne bo: Kiptaiyandennyo Jesu Kristo Yetindennyo* (in Kalenjin, Bible Society in East Africa, Kenya, 1968) ; *Nkand'a Nzambi i sia vo Luwawanu Luankulu Y'olu Luampa* (in Kikongo, reprinted by the United Bible Societies, Nairobi, Kenya, 2004).

[34] See fig. 16 (a sample from André Chouraqui's *La Bible*). Within the text of the four Gospels, the *Englishman's Bible* edited by Thomas Newberry (New Testament, 1870) marks the use of the Tetragrammaton in the form *Jehovah* 45 times in the marginal notes, while the Demotic Greek

Recovering the Tetragrammaton in the Modern Greek New Testament

It has long been recognized that Jesus did not declare his message in Greek, but in Aramaic or Hebrew. This means that « an inquiry into the more original linguistic form of his words will often help to show the cultural context of his teaching ». Additionally, « some words, when they are translated back into Hebrew become clearer than they were in Greek », resulting in « an appreciable gain, and one that exegetes of the New Testament should welcome »[35]. As J. Joosten noted, « the retranslation of New Testament terms and expressions into Hebrew and Aramaic can never be entirely free of speculation, » but he added that « the principle, however, upon which such retranslation is attempted is sound »[36].

Such a case is the problem of determining when *κυριος* is meant for the Tetragrammaton in the New Testament. Light can be shed on this by translating the New Testament into Hebrew. One of the first scholars to attempt this in the Greek linguistic environment was the Greek humanist scholar and Latin archbishop of Thebes Simon Atumanos (1310/18–1383/86) who translated the Greek New Testament into Hebrew in the late 14th century[37].

More recently, this issue was discussed *en passant* by H.T. Duckworth in his comments on the translational choices made by Alexandros Pallis in his New Testament translation (*GOAP*)[38]. Remarkably, two Greek Orthodox versions of the New Testament

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NTMSK-13 has *ΚΥΡΙΟΣ* 62 times and *HBNW-G* has *ιεχωβα* 68 times. [*NTMSK-13* : Spyros Karalis, *Η Καινή Διαθήκη—Μεταγλώττιση,* Εκδόσεις Βίβλος, Athens 1991 ; 3rd revision in 2013 ; *HBNW-G* : *Αγία Γραφή—Μετάφραση Νέου Κόσμου,* Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, Warwick, NY 2017]. For a list of 44 translations of the New Testament from 17th to 20th centuries that use the form *Jehovah*, see Anthony Byatt, *The Theological Importance of the Name Jehovah*, in : *"Your Word is Truth" : Essays in Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures (1950, 1953)*, eds. Anthony Byatt, Hal Flemings, Golden Age Books, Malvern, UK 2007/¹2004, p. 134-172 : 159-163.

[35] Jan Joosten, *Aramaic or Hebrew behind the Greek Gospels?*, « Analecta Bruxellensia », IX, 2004, p. 101 ; Pavlos Vasileiadis, *Aspects of rendering the sacred Tetragrammaton in Greek*, « Open Theology », I, 2014, p. 56-88 : 64.

[36] Jan Joosten, *Varieties of Greek in the Septuagint and the New Testament*, in : *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. James Carleton Paget, Cambridge University Press 2013, p. 39. Pinchas E. Lapide commented : « A corrective back-translation to the Hebrew original is both linguistically and theologically advisable, as Delitzsch demonstrated in his editions of the New Testament » (*Hebrew in the Church : The Foundations of Jewish-Christian Dialogue*, Grand Rapids, MI 1984, p. 194).

[37] Kenneth Setton, *The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance*, « Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society », C/1, 1956, p. 51. Atumanos's manuscript with the translation of the New Testemant was never published and has now been lost according to Jean Carmignac (*Hebrew Translations of the Lord's Prayer : An Historical Survey*, in : *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies : Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor*, ed. Gary A. Tuttle, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, MI 1978, p. 19, 75 n. 76). The rendering of the Tetragrammaton in his surviving Greek Old Testament as Ὀντωτὴς, Ὀντουργὸς and Οὐσιωτὴς are extremely rare cases of such a practice in the history of the Bible translational activity in Greek.

[38] Henry T. Duckworth commented on the use of the term "Lord" in the Greek text of Luke 1:68 : « ὁ Κύριος. The original is *Κύριος* without the article, which represents the tetragrammaton YHVH, i.e. *Yahveh* (or *Yahweh*), "Jehovah". Ὁ Κύριος would rather represent *Adon* or *Adonai*. [...] The use of

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in Modern Greek include a number of instances in which the Tetragrammaton is represented in the body of the main text. Early editions of the New Testament translated by Panagiotis Trempelas (*NTPT*) included the form *ιεχωβα* (later replaced with *θεος*, followed in the *NTPTD*) while the *NTNS* has the form *γιαχβε* (see fig. 17)[39]. The *HBNW-G*, the Greek version of the New Testament of the Jehovah's Witnesses, has *ιεχωβα* 237 times[40]. The third revised edition of the Protestant *NTMSK-13* uses *ΚΥΡΙΟΣ* in capital letters in 181 instances in the body of the text and several more in the footnotes, attempting to create a semantic distinction between the Tetragrammaton and the title "Lord"[41]. The Greek Orthodox *NTTK* also includes the form *γιαχβε* in several footnotes, while the interdenominational *NTTGV* uses *γιαχβε* in the glossary.

Ways of Transmission of the Tetragrammaton in Greek

The inquiry into the Tetragrammaton can result in more questions than definite answers. M. Suriano summarized the issue as follows : « The Tetragrammaton continues to represent a challenge to Hebrew scholars due to the uncertainty regarding (a) the divine name's etymology, (b) its original pronunciation, and (c) the origins of the deity to which the name applies »[42].

such forms as Ἰεχωβᾶ or Ἰαβὲ would be quite alien to Romaic [i.e. Modern Greek], hospitable though the genius of the language certainly is » (*Notes on Alexander Pallis' Romaic version of the New Testament Canticles*, W. Hefer and Sons, Cambridge 1906, p. 18). *GOAP* : Alexandros PALLIS, *Η Νέα Διαθήκη κατά το Βατικανό Χερόγραφο μεταφρασμένη, Μέρος πρώτο*, The Liverpool Booksellers' Co., Liverpool, 1902 ; only the four Gospels were translated, and the second revised edition was published in 1910.

[39] Luke 19:14 ; Rev 11 : Chapter introduction. *NTPT* : Panagiotis N. TREMPELAS, *Η Καινή Διαθήκη μετά συντόμου ερμηνείας,* Αδελφότης θεολόγων Ο Σωτήρ, Athens, ¹1951. *NTPTD :* Marios DOMOUCHTSIS et al, *Η Καινή Διαθήκη με σύντομη ερμηνεία. Απόδοση στην κοινή νεοελληνική,* Αδελφότης θεολόγων Ο Σωτήρ, Athens, 2011, rendering from Katharevousa to Demotic Greek of P. TREMPELAS's version. *NTNS* : Nikolaos J. SOTEROPOULOS, *Η Καινή Διαθήκη με μετάφραση στη δημοτική,* Εκδόσεις Ο Σταυρός, Athens, 2001. *NTTGV* : *Η Καινή Διαθήκη, Το πρωτότυπο κείμενο με μετάφραση στη δημοτική*, Hellenic Bible Society, Athens ; major revision of the 1ˢᵗ edition (1985) in 1989.

[40] According to a note on p. 1868 of the *HBNW-G* (ed. 2017), the use of the Tetragrammaton in all these passages is supported by Hebrew translations of the New Testament.

[41] These footnotes are found in : Matt 1:21 ; 22:44 ; Mark 12:36 ; Luke 20:42 ; Acts 2 :34. This distinction purports to be based on the Syriac, as explained in the Introduction : « In every place that ΚΥΡΙΟΣ (LORD) in capital letters is found, it corresponds to the Syriac (Aramaic) text of the New Testament (e.g. Peshitta or Old Syriac version with Aramaic term MARYA, that corresponds with the Hebrew YAHWEH. In places where the term «Κύριος» (Lord) is mentioned, it corresponds in Aramaic with the terms Mar, Mari, Maran, that correspond in Hebrew with the terms Adonai or Adon » (Gr. : « Όπου αναφέρεται η λέξη "ΚΥΡΙΟΣ" με κεφαλαία, αντιστοιχεί στο συριακό (αραμαϊκό) κείμενο της Καινής Διαθήκης (π .χ. Πεσιττά ή αρχαία συριακή μετάφραση) με την αραμαϊκή λέξη ΜΑΡΓΙΑ, η οποία αντιστοιχεί με την εβραϊκή ΓΙΑΧΒΕ. Όπου αναφέρεται η λέξη "Κύριος", στα αραμαϊκά αντιστοιχεί με τις λέξεις, Μαρ, Μάρι ή Μαράν, οι οποίες αντιστοιχούν στα εβραϊκά με τις λέξεις Αντονάι ή Αντόν »). However, the Syriac *Māryā* is used both for the Tetragrammaton and *Adonai* (e.g. Gen 18:26, 27, respectively).

[42] Matthew SURIANO, *Tetragrammaton*, in : *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, Brill, Leiden-Boston 2013, p. 752.

If any of the parameters of this equation changes, then the result is different conclusions[43].

Depending on various combinations of circumstances, understandings, and motivations, the Tetragrammaton has been transmitted in Greek mainly by (a) non-translation, (b) semantic translation, and by (c) conversion of scripts that includes both transliteration and transcription[44].

The **non-translation** of the Hebrew theonym occurred when scribes preserved the original term in Hebrew script or in something that was meant to resemble Hebrew script. For instance, within the Greek text of the Old Greek, the Tetragrammaton is found in both square (Aramaic) script and paleo-Hebrew script (see figs. 18–22). The "Greek" term πιπι shows up centuries later, resulting from the attempt to copy the original Hebrew term יהוה (*YHWH*) by scribes who were not adequately acquainted with Hebrew or who were concerned that their audience of readers would not be (see figs. 23–27). The choice of non-translation of the Tetragrammaton within Bible translations in Greek was the *main* Jewish practice, and was also retained in the Christian transmission of Hexaplaric material from the second century BCE and even as late as the 10th century CE[45]. This choice made it possible for the reader to decide for himself how to read the theonym in private or in public[46].

Other symbolic *surrogates* replacing the Tetragrammaton were also used, such as the *tetrapuncta* [⋯] and various Hebrew letters combinations, such as יי and eventually ה׳ for "Hashem" ("the Name")[47]. J. Lauterbach's monumental article on substitutions for the Tetragrammaton in Jewish Hebrew manuscripts documents no less than eighty-three different combinations and forms[48]. These surrogates are found in environments that explicitly restrained the oral, and to some extent the written, use of the Tetragrammaton. These surrogates also made their way into Greek contexts, such as P.Oxy.VII.1007 (Rahlfs 907) and the transliteration קירְיֹוש for κυριος ("Lord") in the Judeo-Greek translation included in the *Constantinople Pentateuch* (1547).

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[43] For a presentation of the various aspects of this discussion, see Pavlos VASILEIADIS, *Iao*, p. 20–37.

[44] For an extended discussion of these categories, see Pavlos VASILEIADIS, *Aspects of rendering*, p. 60–71 ; ID., *Iao*, pp. 37–38. Similar issues have faced the translators in rendering the Tetragrammaton in non-Western Bible translations (Aloo O. Mojola, *Name of God*).

[45] « On the basis of this textual material it is now necessary to assert the fact that from the second century BC until the eighth century AD the Tetragrammaton remained in Greek-Jewish translations of the Old Testament. The retention of the Tetragrammata is the obvious and conscious confession of the diaspora Jew to his God and Lord ! » (Siegfried SCHULZ, *Maranatha und Kyrios Jesus*, « Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und Kunde der Älteren Kirche », LIII.3/4, 1962, p. 125–144 : 130. For an updated list of such material, see Pavlos VASILEIADIS, *Το ιερό Τετραγράμματο*, p. 41–43.

[46] A possible modern parallel may be the notice made in the Preface of *The Old Testament, An American Translation* : « Anyone, therefore, who desires to retain the flavor of the original text has but to read "Yahweh" wherever he sees LORD or GOD » (The University of Chicago Press 1927, p. viii).

[47] For the latter form, see fig. 28.

[48] Jacob Z. LAUTERBACH, *Substitutes for the Tetragrammaton*, « Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research », II, 1930–1931, p. 39–67.

The **semantic translation** presupposes either a specific understanding of the meaning of the theonym or a theologically motivated selection of special characteristics or roles of the Divinity[49]. The former refers to attempts at transferring the putative meanings of the Tetragrammaton, such as the term *ων* (as a rendering of the Tetragrammaton, outside Exod 3 :14), *αυτοφυής, οντωτής/ οντουργός/ ουσιωτής* and, for some interpreters, even the phrasal theonym *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος* found in the book of Revelation[50].

The latter refers to *surrogates* used in place of the actual theonym, i.e. epithets or titles such as the terms *κύριος/ θεός/ δεσπότης, βασιλεύς/ παμβασιλεύς* or special scribal conventions like the *nomina sacra* κς/θς.[51] In this case the issue that arises is that « any epithet by which God is habitually known draws attention to one particular aspect of the divine character »[52].

Regarding the **conversion of scripts**, it was mainly realized through **transliteration**, that is a letter-by-letter matching from Hebrew or Aramaic to Greek. Such a graphemic conversion attempted to represent the sounds *of the characters* of a term, ideally in the most accurate and unambiguous way. For the Tetragrammaton, such vocalic attempts are the forms *ιαω, ιωα, ιενε, ιεβε, ιαουε, ιαβε, ιεωα, ιεουα, ιαωε, ιαουα*, etc.[53]

[49] For instance, Franz Rosenzweig and Martin Buber, in works explaining their choice for the representation of the Tetragrammaton within the text of their Bible translation, « argued strongly for a translation of the name of God », because, for them, « untranslated, the name of God is meaningless » (Johanna VAN WIJK-BOS, *Writing on the Water*, p. 56). At the same time, "Lord" was an unsatisfactory translation for Martin Buber because « it replaces a name with a title, or a concept, where one must rather read an attribute that describes adequately what is disclosed in the name ». Franz Rosenzweig, also rejected it because « he considered YHWH to reveal a God who is above all relational, and "Lord" is the word of "a false relation, a ruling and not a helping, an overseeing and not an assisting" » (Ivi, p. 56–57).

[50] As regards the semantic load of the Tetragrammaton, Walther ZIMMERLI wrote : « This revelation of Yahweh's name is a revealing of Yahweh himself ; it comes to certain people, binds itself to them, and for the sake of its oath remains loyal to them. It is not to be viewed as a distant light standing in the heavens, but rather as a gift to be received, as one receives grace. *It intends to be grasped*, as one grasps a hand » (*I Am Yahweh*, John Knox Press 1982, p. 11 ; italics added). The use of *ο ων* as an equivalent of the Tetragrammaton, although it did not make its way into Bible translations in Greek, affected the exegetical literature and iconography of the Christian East. It is interesting that the most renown Bible translation in French during the 18th century, the *Bible de Port-Royal* prepared by Louis-Isaac Lemaistre de Sacy (1613–1684), translated the Tetragrammaton in Exod 6:3 with the phrase *JE SUIS CELUI QUI EST* ["I am he who is"] as found in Exod 3:14, while in the footnote it explained that it means the Hebrew term *Jehova*.

[51] The epithets *παμβασιλεύς* (the "All-King" or "Omni-King") and *βασιλεύς* ("King") were used in place of the Tetragrammaton by ps-Apollinarius in his *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* in the fourth century CE.

[52] David CLINES, *Yahweh and the God of Christian Theology*, p. 323.

[53] Some forms of the Tetragrammaton in Greek would create a conflict by homophony with already existing similar proper names of humans. For instance, if *yhw* was transliterated as *ιωα* it would resemble Ιωαα in 1 Chr 26:4, *LXX* ; Heb. יוֹאָח (yôʾāḥ); Joah, *NRSV* [*New Revised Standard Version Bible: The New Oxford Annotated Bible, Fully Revised Fourth Edition,* Oxford University Press, 2010/¹1989]; Ἰωὰχ, *HBNV* [Neofytos Vamvas et al, *Η Αγία Γραφή, Τα Ιερά Κείμενα Μεταφρασθέντα εκ των Θείων Αρχετύπων*, British and Foreign Bible Society, Oxford 1850]; Ιωάχ, *HBNW-G*, *HBTGV* [*Η Αγία Γραφή, Μετάφραση από τα Πρωτότυπα Κείμενα*, Hellenic Bible Society, Athens ¹1997]. Actually, this form exists, for example, in the lemma « Ιωα : αόρατος » in the Codex Coislinianus 1 (fol. 4r) of the 6th century CE (Matthias HOHLENBERG,
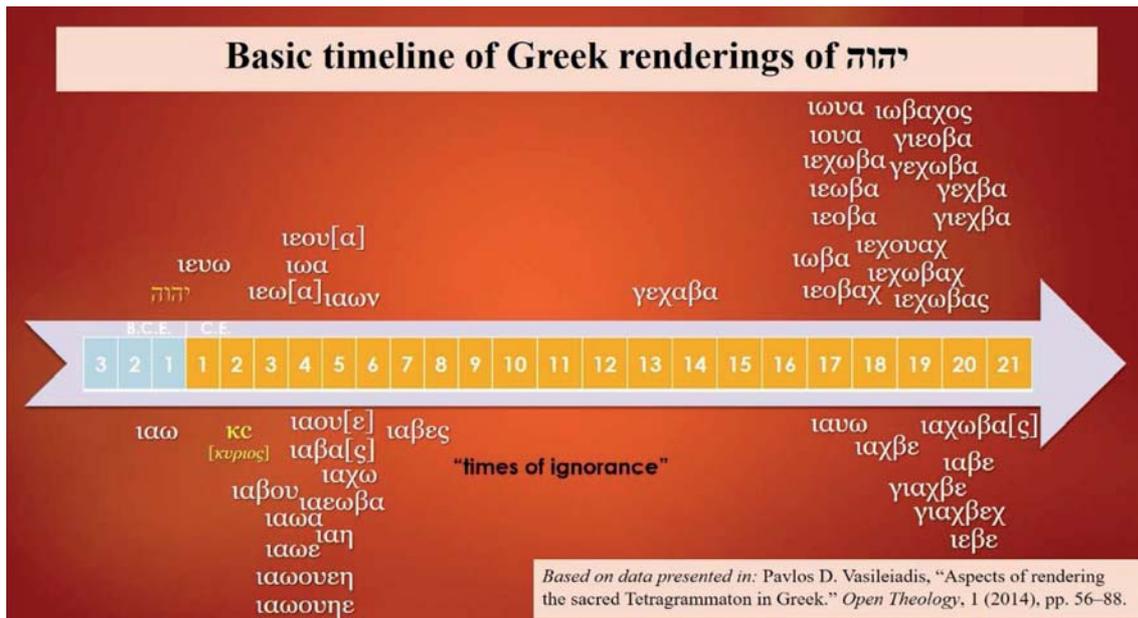
Basic timeline of Greek renderings of יהוה according to the "hard" evidence

Consonantal transcriptions, such as *γχβχ* and *ιχβχ*, are not pronounceable in proper Greek[54].

The other type of conversion was realized through **transcription**, that is, by rendering phonetically the presumed Hebrew or Aramaic acoustic pronunciation *of the theonym*. It displays a one-to-one relationship between symbols and sounds and at times may coincide with transliterated forms. Such cases are the forms *ιαω, ιεουα, γιεχουα, ιεοβα/ ιεωβα, ιεχωβα/ γεχωβα, γιαχωβα, ιαβε/ γιαχβε/ γιαχουε,* etc.[55] The majority of these "transcribed" forms appear after the rebirth of Hebrew studies in the Christian world and were influenced by the vocalized Masoretic Text. The form *ιαω* had been the most popular pronounceable Greek rendering of the Tetragrammaton beginning in the third or second century BCE in Jewish soil, until about the ninth century CE in Christian literature, and remains a well-recognizable term even today[56]. This kind of rendering of the Tetragrammaton, in contrast to the semantic translation, allows a person to refer to God "consistently and exclusively" and enables him to attach to this personal proper name what he deems to be the most persuading meaning[57].

Fragmentum libri Nominum Hebraicorum antiquissimum, e codice Pariensi, 1836, p. 81 ; Frank SHAW, *The Earliest*, p. 305 ; see fig. 38). Other such cases might be *ιωας* and *ιηου*.

[54] Pavlos VASILEIADIS, «Γιαχβέ» (Yahweh), in *Μεγάλη Ορθόδοξη Χριστιανική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια,* Στρατηγικές Εκδόσεις, Athens, 2011, vol. 5, p. 212–217 : 212.

[55] See figs. 29–37 for sources that use transcriptional forms in Greek.

[56] For instance, a 19th century American dictionary prepared for school usage defined Ἰαώ as « the name of God, Jehovah » (John PICKERING, *A comprehensive lexicon of the Greek language, adapted to the use of colleges and schools in the United States*, 1846, p. 638). For the earliest use of this form see Frank SHAW, *The Earliest* and Vasileiadis, *Iao*. See fig. 39 for a phylactery with *ιαω* from the provenance of Egypt, 2nd–3rd century CE.

[57] Austin SURLS argued that « יהוה does not have a transparent etymology and that the Exodus narrative fills out its "meaning" » (*Making Sense*, p. 191, 202).

For a number of reasons already discussed elsewhere, « there is no unique or universally "correct" rendering of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton in Greek »[58]. Instead, there is evidence for more than a hundred different renderings of the Tetragrammaton in Greek, including both transcriptions and transliterations[59]. These Greek renderings, like other loanwords from Hebrew and Aramaic within the Greek text of the Septuagint, « sometimes were incorporated into the morphological system of Greek … while others were not »[60]. Also, the long and short Greek vowel distinctions were not kept uniformly due to diachronic linguistic changes. These various forms of the Tetragrammaton were used in different periods in both orthodox and "unorthodox" ways—both in mainstream cultic practices and in magical arts (see fig. 40). Clearly, the efforts of official religious authorities to discourage or forbid such usage proved ineffective.

Modern Greek Bible translations have used a variety of forms of the Tetragrammaton (see fig. 41)[61]. More precisely, the form ιεοβα, a vocalic form that uses soft /v/ β for *waw*, was first used by N. Vamvas in his *Ψαλτήριον* (1831) and the subsequent editions of his complete Bible, as well as by A. Karavas in his *Το Ψαλτήριον* (1835). The form ιεχοβαχ, using χ to render both *he*'s, appeared in D. Paparigopoulos's *Σολομώντος Άσμα Ασμάτων* (1869). The most common form of the Tetragrammaton since the 17th century, ιεχωβα—a mixed form that uses long /o/ ω and soft /x/ χ (the /k / sound of Classical Greek was eliminated in the early centuries CE) for the middle *he*— was used by Th. Voreas in his *Υπόμνημα εις τον εκατοστόν τρίτον Ψαλμόν* (1899) and extensively by the complete Bible translation *Μετάφραση Νέου Κόσμου* (1993). A similar form to the previous one that renders *yod* by γι instead of the traditional ι is γιεχωβα, which appeared in K. Kallinikos's *Ο ιερός Ψαλτήρ* (1925) and in K. Friliggos's *Το Βιβλίο του Ιώβ* (1930). More recently, the popular form of the Tetragrammaton, γιαχβε, appeared in A. Chastoupis's *Holy Bible* (*Η Αγία Γραφή*, 1960) and in N. Sotiropoulos's *New Testament* (*Η Καινή Διαθήκη*, 2003).

The Middle Ages and the renaissance of the Tetragrammaton : Special focus on the use γεχαβα by Nikolaos of Otranto's *Dialogue against the Jews*

By the Middle Ages, with rare exceptions, Jews completely refrained from uttering the Tetragrammaton and to some extent from even writing it, in certain contexts[62]. For

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[58] Pavlos VASILEIADIS, *Aspects of rendering*, p. 71.

[59] See Pavlos VASILEIADIS, *Aspects of rendering*, Appendix A.

[60] Julia KRIVORUCHKO, « Judeo-Greek », in : *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, eds. Lily KAHN, Aaron D. RUBIN, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2016, p. 194–225 : 201.

[61] See previous section that discusses the case for the New Testament translations in Demotic Greek.

[62] Rare exceptions to medieval Jewish avoidance of pronouncing the Tetragrammaton can be found primarily among Karaites and Kabbalists. See for example, the ninth and tenth century Karaite sources cited in Nehemia GORDON, « Does Scripture Really Only Have One Meaning » (M.A. thesis; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006), p. 24; idem., « Text-Correcting Qere, Scribal Errors, and Textual Variants in Medieval Hebrew Bible Manuscripts », forthcoming. See also Jonathan GARB, *Trance Techniques in the Kabbalah of Jerusalem*, « Pe'amim », LXX, 1997, p. 47–67 : 64 (Heb.); JOSEPH IBN ṢAYAḤ (16th century), *Responsa*, Question 47, Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Ms. Heb. 4°1446, fols. 117r–v ; ELEAZAR

example, an early printing of the Hebrew Bible produced by Soncino in Brescia, Italy in 1494 represented the Tetragrammaton as יְהֹוָד (*Yəhōwād*), with a *dalet* in place of the final *he* (see fig. 42)[63]. This was the edition used by Luther as the prototype for his translation of the Old Testament. A similar approach was taken in the *Constantinople Pentateuch* where the Tetragrammaton was written יְדֹוָה (*Yədōwâ*), with a *dalet* instead of the first *he*. In both cases, the relatively new medium of printed books may not have been deemed sacred enough to bear the Tetragrammaton, leading the printers to use substitutes that involved deliberate misspellings[64]. These misspellings may also have been intended to prevent a reader from accidentally pronouncing the Tetragrammaton the way it is written, a practice still employed today[65]. In addition to the Hebrew text, the *Constantinople Pentateuch* of 1547 also includes the Aramaic *Targum*, a Ladino translation, and a Judeo-Greek translation. As already mentioned, the last is noteworthy for representing the Tetragrammaton as קיריוֹש, a transliteration of *κυριος* (Lord) (see fig. 43)[66].

Wilkinson has termed the Middle Ages as "times of ignorance" concerning the Tetragrammaton in the Christian world. Most Christian Old Testament translations replaced the Hebrew theonym with vernacular equivalents of "Lord" (see fig. 44)[67]. This gradually came to an end when a renewed interest in the theonyms of the Hebrew Bible led to increasing attempts to reproduce the Tetragrammaton in Latin literature and Bible editions, such as Marsilio Ficino's *Hiehouahi* in 1475 (see fig. 45)[68]. Despite this

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Rokeach of Worms (13th century), *Sefer Hashem*, New York, Jewish Theological Seminary, Ms. 2367, fol. 173r ; cf. Joseph Dan, *History of Jewish Mysticism and Esotericism*, Zalman Shazar Center for the History of Israel, Jerusalem, 2011, vol. 6, p. 561 (Heb.).

[63] *Biblia Hebraica*, Soncino edition, Brescia, 1494, fol. 72v.

[64] A modern parallel can be found in rabbinical discussions about the permissibility of "erasing" divine names from computers, cf. David Auerbach, *Deleting the Digital Name of God*, « Tablet Magazine » <https://www.tabletmag.com/scroll/269413/deleting-the-digital-name-of-god>, published online 27 Aug. 2018.

[65] For example, the Hebrew edition of the Bible published by Koren Publishing, which prints the Tetragrammaton without any vowels.

[66] Nicholas de Lange et al, *Jewish Reception*, p. 43. J. Krivoruchko wrote about this valuable work : « The most remarkable Judeo-Greek text of the Ottoman period is the anonymous translation included in the Constantinople Pentateuch (1547). Printed by Eliezer Soncino, this edition included also the Targum and a Ladino translation. It is the longest existing Judeo-Greek biblical translation after the Septuagint. Unfortunately, few historical facts are known about its creation, and its dialectological profile is difficult to establish. Hesseling (1897a) published a Greek transcription of this Pentateuch ; see also the review by Belléli (1897) and the rejoinder by Hesseling (1897b) » (*Judeo-Greek*, p. 194–225).

[67] Robert J. Wilkinson, *Tetragrammaton : Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God*, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2015, p. 213–279. As already discussed, a notable exception is the transmission of Hexaplaric material, mainly found in marginal notes of Septuagint manuscripts, commentaries by Christian authors and *onomastica* (John D. Meade, *Hexaplaric Greek translations*, in : *The Hebrew Bible*, Vol. 1B : Pentateuch, Former and Latter Prophets, eds. Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, Brill, Leiden-Boston, 2016, p. 637–643). Fig. 44 includes images of Ms. Vat. gr. 2125 with Hexaplaric marginal notes explaining that the *nomen sacrum* κς is equivalent to the Tetragrammaton in the form πιπι and material from *onomastica* that include ιαω.

[68] Marsilio Ficino uses *Hiehouahi* in the Italian translation of his *De Christiana religione* (chapter "De Miracoli," 1474–75), *HIEHOVAHI* in his Latin *De Christiana religione* (chapter "De Miraculis," 1476), and *hae ho hai* is found in his *Opera* (1576, p. 1218).

process of "Lordization," a special case of semantic translation appears in the Greek translation of selected Old Testament books in Codex Marcianus gr. 7 (=377, *Graecus Venetus*, Venice) of the 14ᵗʰ century prepared by a Christian hand, probably of Jewish origin, well-versed in Hebrew and likely with the help of some Jewish scholars[69]. The Tetragrammaton is translated in every appearance by one of three terms : *οντωτής, οντουργός* or *ουσιωτής* and is usually followed by the *nomen sacrum* θc (see fig. 46). These terms roughly translate as "Maker of Being[s]" and "Maker of Existence," i.e. the Creator of everything.

While there may have been some attempts at disguising the Tetragrammaton to prevent it from being accidentally or intentionally pronounced, the opposite also took place. In 2015, attention was drawn to a rare case of a Greek rendering of the Tetragrammaton. It regards a transliteration of the Tetragrammaton as *γεχαβά* /je.xa.ˈva/ that appears in Nikolaos of Otranto's *Dialogue Against the Jews* (ca. 1220 ; see fig. 47)[70]. In L.M. Hoffmann's *editio princeps*, he translates *γεχαβα* back into Hebrew as גחבא[71]. Hoffmann explains the meaningless Hebrew form *gkhbʾ* גחבא with a translation into Latin as "clandestine." He seems to assume an error for *nekhbāʾ* נֶחְבָּא "hidden," based on the graphic similarity of *gimel* and *nun*. This would assume that the Greek abbot and author Nikolaos or his Jewish informant misread some unknown Hebrew source that called God the "Hidden One." Alternatively, this unknown Hebrew source itself could have had the *gimel/nun* scribal error. As already pointed out elsewhere, rather than a reference to God as "clandestine," *γεχαβα* should be understood as a transliteration of the Tetragrammaton[72].

Nikolaos's reference to *γεχαβα* appears in his criticism of the Jewish prohibition against writing on the Sabbath[73] :

> But to you was said "make holy the seventh [day]," which you finely and carefully make holy ; you abstain from every work for yourself, for instance, that you must not take hold[74] of a reed-pen even to write *Yehava*, that is "God Lord," which had

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[69] For the current discussion on the identity of the author of *Graecus Venetus*, see Nicholas DE LANGE, *Japheth in the Tents of Shem*, p. 157.

[70] Pavlos VASILEIADIS, *Aspects of rendering*, p. 69–70, 87. Nikolaos transliterates about 40 Hebrew words and forms, primarily from Biblical verses. For the identity of Nikolaos of Otranto, see Nicholas DE LANGE, *Japheth in the Tents of Shem*, p. 121–122.

[71] Lars Martin HOFFMANN, *Der antijüdische Dialog Kata Iudaion des Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto*, Universitätsbibliothek Mainz, Mainz 2015, p. 44. Nikolaos's text survives in a single manuscript : Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. grec. 1255 (henceforth : Ms. Paris).

[72] Michael CHRONZ, *Abt Nektarios Casole (Nikolaos aus Otranto), disputation gegen die Juden : ktitische ausgabe*, PhD dissertation ; National and Kapodistrian University of Athens 2008, p. 65 (Gr.). Although a minuscule manuscript, Chronz apparently recognized *γεχαβα* as a proper noun and capitalized the *gamma* (fol. 24r).

[73] *m. Sabb.* 7:2; 12:3.

[74] The phrase «οὐ λήψῃ» may have the literal sense here of not *taking hold* of the reed-pen on the Sabbath for the purpose of writing. This was forbidden not only in rabbinical law, but also in other Jewish traditions, see Yehudah SCHIFFMAN, *Law, Custom and Messianism in the Dead Sea Sect*, Zalman Shazar Center for the History of Israel, Jerusalem, 1993, p. 123–124 (Heb.).

been written on the plate of Aaron, actually, *kodes la adonai*, that is "holy of the Lord" ; is this a great sin, O Jew, or not ?[75]

To Nikolaos, it seemed like a contradiction for the Jews to make the Sabbath "holy" by making it prohibited on that day to write God's "holy" name, the same name written on the golden plate of Aaron and carried into the Holy of Holies. Nikolaos glosses γεχαβα as θεὸς κύριος "God Lord" and the words written on the crown of the high priest as κῶδες λὰ ἀδωναΐ[76]. The latter is based on Exod 28:36, which instead of Adonai is written with the Tetragrammaton in the phrase *qōdeš laYHWH* קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה. It is clear from this that Nikolaos was aware of the Jewish practice of replacing the Tetragrammaton with the circumlocution *Adonai*. Nikolaos may even have used γεχαβα to further emphasize what he saw as the Jewish absurdity of making something "holy" by prohibiting, not only its writing on the Sabbath, but its pronunciation at all times.

Hoffmann's misreading of *gekhbā* גחבא was presumably due to Nikolaos's use of Greek *gamma* as a transliteration of Hebrew *yod*. However, this is commonplace in Nikolaos's transliteration of Hebrew. For example, λογιὶχ χιγὲ for *lōʾ yihye* לֹא יִהְיֶה in Exod 20:3[77], βιγιό, μέρους for *wayyōʾmərû* וַיֹּאמְרוּ in Exod 32:8[78], and γισσακένι for *yishshāqēnî* יִשָּׁקֵנִי in Cant 1:2[79]. All of these transliterations apparently reflect the pronunciation of *gamma* as a voiced palatal fricative /j/.

This is consistent with Judeo-Greek sources which conversely use *yod* to transliterate *gamma*. A good illustration of this can be found in a manuscript in the Ben Zvi Institute containing a Judeo-Greek translation of the haftarah portion for the Sabbath of Naḥămû published by S. Sznol[80]. The sole surviving manuscript of this Judeo-

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[75] Ms. Paris, fol. 24r.

[76] Nikolaos's transcription breaks the word *laʾdōnāy* לַאדֹנָי into two words, separating the inseparable preposition. The expected transliteration for standard Tiberian Hebrew would be λαδωναῖ reflecting the silent *aleph* following the preposition *lamed* (GESENIUS §102m). This is in accordance with the rule מֹשֶׁה מוֹצִיא וְכָלֵב מַכְנִיס, "Moses brings out, and Caleb brings in," i.e. the *aleph* of Adonai is audible when preceded by the inseparable *mem*, *shin*, and *he*, but silent after *vav*, *kaph*, *lamed*, and *bet*. Nikolaos's transliteration may reflect the non-standard reading *laʾădōnāy* לַאֲדֹנָי found in some so-called Palestinian-Tiberian pointed manuscripts, such as Codex Reuchlinianus, fol. 199v (Isa 22:5) and Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Cod. Parm. 1849, fol. 184r (Gen 18:30). The provenance of the latter is 13ᵗʰ–14ᵗʰ century Italy. Nikolaos's transliteration may disprove the suggestion that this orthography did not reflect pronunciation, see Ilan ELDAR, *The Hebrew Language Tradition in Medieval Ashkenaz (ca. 950-1350 C.E.)*, 2 vols. Magnes, Jerusalem 1978, Vol. 1 p. 69 (Heb.) ; cf. Nehemya ALONY, *Which is "Our Pointing" in "Machzor Vitry ?*, in : *Studies in Medieval Philology and Literature*, 6 vols. Ben Zvi, Jerusalem, 1986–1992, Vol. 2, p. 529–539 (Heb.).

[77] Ms. Paris, fol. 2v ; Chronz ed., p. 5; Hoffmann ed. p. 6. In this instance, Hoffmann correctly recognized *gamma* as representing Hebrew *yod*.

[78] Ms. Paris, fol. 42r ; Chronz ed., p. 116; Hoffmann ed., p. 78. Hoffmann back-translated this into Hebrew as בקעו, taking *gamma* as representing Hebrew *qoph*, rather than *yod*. However, this is part of Nikolaos's quotation of Exod 32:8 and the imperative masculine plural *biqʿû* בִּקְעוּ (*qal*) or *baqqəʿû* בַּקְּעוּ (*piel*), "split!" has no coherent meaning in this context.

[79] Ms. Paris, fol. 89v ; Chronz ed., p. 245; Hoffmann ed., p. 164. In this instance, Hoffmann recognized *gamma* as a transliteration of *yod*.

[80] Ben Zvi Institute, Ms. 3519 ; Shifra SZNOL, "A Judeo-Greek Translation of Haftarah Wāʾethannan for the 'Sabbath of Naḥămû' (Isa 40:1–26)," *Textus* 20 (2001), p. 9–32 (Heb.).

Greek translation dates to the 18th or 19th century, but the translation itself may have its roots as early as the 13th century[81]. This Judeo-Greek translation contains numerous instances of *yod* used to transliterate *gamma*. For example, ὁ Ἅγιος is written in Judeo-Greek as אָיוֹס אוֹ and *γιὰ νὰ ξανάψουν* as יַנָקְסַנַפְּסוּן[82]. The same phenomenon can be found in a 12th or 13th century translation of Ecclesiastes from the Cairo Genizah with γινώσκειν written in Judeo-Greek as יְנוֹשְׁקן and *καί ἐγύρισα* as כָּאֵירִישָׁא[83].

Nikolaos's transliteration of the Tetragrammaton as γεχαβα is unique in Greek literature and may be nothing more than the sort of corruption that transpires when someone transcribes a language or dialect in which they are not fluent. A modern analogy will suffice to illustrate this point. Z. Ben-Hayyim has highlighted the grievous errors made by some Western-trained scholars in relation to the Hebrew pronunciation of the Samaritans. For example, J.J.L. Bargès visited the Samaritans in Nablus in 1853 and transcribed the Samaritan recitation of the first verses in Genesis. In the words of Ben-Hayyim, « [Bargès] heard… consonants that have not existed in Samaritan [Hebrew] for many generations and heard vowels in places where there were none »[84]. Compared to Bargès, who was no less than a professor of Hebrew at the Sorbonne, Nikolaos's transliteration of Hebrew was quite an achievement for the 13th century, despite its shortcomings.

It is unknown whether Nikolaos learned to read Hebrew himself or had a Jewish informant, possibly a convert to Christianity, who read Hebrew to him[85]. Some of Nikolaos's transliterations seem to suggest the latter. For example, Nikolaos often

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[81] The translation incorporates interpretations of Rabbi David Kimḥi (13th century) and contains a single word in Turkish, which may point to the final redaction after the Ottoman conquest; see Sznol, *A Judeo-Greek Translation*, p. 9–11.

[82] Ben Zvi Institute, Ms. 3519, fol. 2v, line 12 (v. 25); fol. 2r, line 6 (v. 16). *Yod* is also used to represent *gamma* in the Judeo-Greek haftarah of Naḥămû in the following instances: *γιὰ ἰσάδι* יְשָׁדִי (fol. 1r, line 12 [v. 4]), *γιὰ λάκκα* יַלְקָא (fol. 1r, line 12 [v. 4]), *γιὰ να ζυγώσουν* יַנַזִיגוֹסוּן (fol. 2r, line 6 [v. 16]), *γιὰ χώρισμα* יַחוֹרְזְמָא (fol. 2r, line 14 [v. 20]), *γιὰ νὰ ὀρδινιάσει* יַנָאוֹרְדְנָיַסִי (fol. 2r, line 16 [v. 20]), *γιὰ μὴ μπορεῖ* יָא מְבוֹרִי bis (fol. 2r, line 17 [v. 21]) *γιὰ νὰ καθίζει* יַנָקְתִיסִי (fol. 2v, line 3 [v. 22]), *τῆς γῆς* טְסָאֵיס (fol. 2v, line 5 [v. 23]), *εἰς τὴν γὴν* אֵיִן אָסְטִין (fol. 2v, line 8 [v. 24]).

[83] Cambridge, University Library, T-S Misc.28.74, fol. 1v, lines 5 (Eccl 2:19), 9 (Eccl 2:29). The fragment was transcribed into Greek characters by David S. BLONDHEIM, *Échos du judéo-hellénisme, étude sur l'influence de la Septante et d'Aquila sur les versions néo-grecques des juifs*, reprinted in *Les parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina*, Librairie Ancienne, Édouard Champion Paris 1925, p. 170; on the date, see p. 158–159 ; cf. Nicholas DE LANGE, *Two Genizah Fragments in Hebrew and Greek*, in : *Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honour of Erwin I.J. Rosenthal*, eds. J. A. EMERTON, Stefan C. REIF (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 61–83.

[84] Zeev BEN-HAYYIM, *Do the Samaritans Pronounce the Tetragrammaton According to Its Letters?*, « Eretz Israel », III, 1954, p. 152 (Heb.).

[85] « It is possible that [Christians] initially had recourse to Jewish masters or converts willing to share their knowledge… From at least the early 13th century, however, there was enough interest and competence among Christian scholars of some circles, that some were able to study Hebrew on their own, without the help of Jewish masters » (Judith OLSZOWY-SCHLANGER, *Christian Hebraists : Medieval Period*, in : *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, ed. Geoffrey KHAN. Consulted online on 4 Aug. 2017 <http://dx.doi.org/1o.1163/2212-4241_ehll_EHLL_COM_ oooo0634>. First published online : 2013).

incorrectly divides Hebrew words[86]. This could be the result of scribal corruption introduced during transmission. However, if original, it may indicate Nikolaos was transliterating what he heard, rather than what he read. This may also explain his, at times, inconsistent transliteration of Hebrew vowels. For example, *alpha* for *segol* and *iota* for the diphthong *patakh yod*[87].

Given Nikolaos's inconsistency with transliterating Hebrew vowels, it is tempting to interpret *γεχαβα* as a corrupt transliteration of *Yəhōwâ* יְהֹוָה found in numerous Masoretic Bible manuscripts[88]. While this cannot be ruled out, it seems unlikely as it would require that Nikolaos used *alpha* to transliterate *holem* instead of the expected *omega* or *omicron*, which is not attested anywhere else in his *Dialogue Against the Jews*[89].

Nikolaos's transliteration might also reflect a unique Hebrew vocalization of the Tetragrammaton found in a fragment consisting of a single leaf from the Cairo Genizah designated Manchester, Rylands, B 2707 and containing Gen 2:11–18. In Gen 2:16 (fol. 1r), the Tetragrammaton has the vowels *Yəhâwâ* יְהֲוָה, which is consistent with Nikolaos's transliteration *γεχαβα*. However, at present, this Hebrew vocalization of the Tetragrammaton is *sui generis* in a single fragment and even then, only in a single instance[90]. Thus it is unclear whether this comprises a genuine Jewish vocalization tradition with which Nikolaos could have been familiar, or the idiosyncrasy of a single scribe.

A more likely possibility is that Nikolaos, or his Jewish informant, may have derived their transliteration from a misunderstanding of Hebrew Bible manuscripts that contain a particular type of scribal correction to the vocalization of the Tetragrammaton. Medieval Jewish practice required that the Tetragrammaton be read as *Adonai*. Despite this requirement, the standard Masoretic Text, as exemplified by the Aleppo Codex, did not vocalize the Tetragrammaton with the vowels of *Adonai* as might be expected for a *ketiv-qere*. Instead, the Tetragrammaton was routinely vocalized as *Yəhwâ* יְהוָה, with the *he* left unpointed[91]. This created a word unpronounceable with the vowels provided[92], that was read, not as written, but as *Adonai*.

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[86] Nikolaos's incorrect division of words include : *ἐθά'θ σαμάïν* (fol. 2v) for אֵת הַשָּׁמַיִם, *λογιίχ χιγὲ* (fol. 2v) for לֹא יִהְיֶה, *βιγιό, μέρους* (fol. 42r, the comma is in the manuscript !) for וַיֹּאמְרוּ, and *μίν νεχικὸθ* for מְנַשִּׁיקוֹת.

[87] *ἐλωαάχχα* for אֱלֹהֶיךָ with *double alpha* for *segol*, even though s*egol* is usually transliterated by *epsilon*, e.g. *λογιίχ χιγὲ* (fol. 2v), *κῶδες* (fol. 24r), and *ἔλλε* (fol. 42r) ; *βιγιό, μερούς* (fol. 42r) for וַיֹּאמְרוּ with *iota* instead of *alpha iota* for *patakh yod*, but cf. *ἀδωναί* (fol. 24r) and *ἀδωναῖ* (fol. 43r).

[88] Israel YEIVIN identified eight manuscripts with the vocalization *Yəhōwâ* יְהֹוָה (*HaKeter*, Hebrew University Bible Project, Jerusalem 1968, p. 71–72).

[89] Nikolaos transliterates *holam* with *omega*, e.g. *ἐλωὶμ* (fol. 2v ; Hoffmann ed., p. 6), *ἀδωνάι* (ibid.), *κῶδες* (fol. 24r, Hoffmann ed., p. 44); and with *omicron*, e.g. *ἀνοχὶ* (fol. 2v, Hoffman ed., p. 6), *βιγιό, μέρους* (fol. 42r; Hoffmann ed., p. 78), and *νεχικὸθ* (fol. 89v; Hoffmann ed., p. 164).

[90] The fragment has two other instances of the Tetragrammaton : Gen 2:15 where the vowels are illegible and Gen 2:18 which has the common *Yəhwâ* יְהוָה.

[91] Israel YEIVIN, *HaKeter*, p. 71–72.

[92] Yossi PERETZ, *Unpunctuated Biblical Passages in Masoretic Codices of the Middle Ages*, « Studies in Bible and Exegesis », VII, 2015, p. 184 (Heb.). For the Tetragrammaton to be read as *Yəhwâ* would have required a silent *shewa* under the first *he*, see Gesenius §10i.

The disparity between the unreadable *Yǝhwâ* יְהוָה and the expected vowels of *Adonai* sometimes resulted in a scribal correction by a second hand who added a *patakh* to *Yǝhwâ* יְהוָה. This addition transformed the *shewa* under the *yod* of the Tetragrammaton into the *khatef patakh* required for the *aleph* of *Adonai*, producing the impossible hybrid form *Yăhwâ* יֲהוָה[93], In some manuscripts containing this scribal correction, the *shewa* is centered under the *yod*, which did not leave sufficient room for the addition of the *patakh*. This forced the scribe to squeeze the *patakh* partially under the *he*. An example of this can be found in the early 11th century Leningrad Codex in Ps 144:15 (fol. 396r) where a *patakh* was added by a second hand[94].

Some scribes executed this secondary correction less elegantly than the scribe who modified the Leningrad Codex. For example, Vatican, Borg. ebr. 17, dated to ca. 1300, contains this correction twice in Gen 13:10 (see fig. 48)[95]. To the untrained eye, and even perhaps to the trained eye, this could be read precisely the way Nikolaos transliterated the Tetragrammaton, as *Yǝhawâ* יְהַוָה, rather than the intended hybrid form *Yăhwâ* יֲהוָה . If this suggestion is correct, then Nikolaos's γεχαβα represents a transliteration based on a misreading of a scribal correction, either by Nikolaos or his Jewish informant. Whatever the source of Nikolaos's unique form of the theonym, it foreshadows a renaissance for the Tetragrammaton in Greek literature that would result in a rich variety of renderings.

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[93] Cf. Israel YEIVIN, *HaKeter*, p. 71.

[94] While it is possible this was done by the original vocalizer, it seems unlikely. Out of 6,828 instances of the Tetragrammaton in the Leningrad Codex, only four are known to have a *khatef*, one with *khatef patakh* (Ps 144:15) and three with *khatef segol* (Gen 15:3, 8; Judg 16:28). All four show signs of being secondary scribal corrections. Yeivin already noted that the one instance of a *khatef* in the Tetragrammaton in the Aleppo Codex in Zeph 1:7 was the product of a second hand who changed *Yǝhwâ* יְהוָה to *Yeħōwî* יֱהֹוִה; our thanks to Rafael Zer and Michael Segal of the Hebrew University Bible Project for granting us access to Israel Yeivin's unpublished "Erasures Apparatus" to the Aleppo Codex.

[95] Vatican, Borg. ebr. 17, fol. 8r ; also, Gen 13:13, 14. The scribal correction transforming *shewa* into *khatef patakh* in the Tetragrammaton is also evident in three fragments from the Cairo Genizah: Cambridge, University Library, Lewis-Gibson, Bible 4.25 (1 Sam 4:4; see fig. 49); Lewis-Gibson, Bible 5.28 (Jer 16:2, 3); Taylor-Shechter A12.9 (Prov 24:18). In addition to the above, Vatican, Borg. ebr. 17, fols. 8r-v has three instances (Gen 13:18; 15:1, 2) and Taylor-Shechter A12.9 (Prov 24:21) has one instance in which the second scribe added a *qamets*, rather than a *patakh*, turning the *shewa* under the *yod* into a *khatef qamets*. This could be misread as *Yǝhāwâ* יְהֳוָה, which would also produce Nikolaos's transliteration γεχαβα. A variation of this scribal correction occurs when the Tetragrammaton was systematically written by the original vocalizer as *Yǝhōwâ* יְהֹוָה. In such cases, the *he* may appear to have two vowels, *patakh* and *holem*. However, the *patakh* was added to the adjacent *shewa* turning it into a *khatef patakh*. For example, Cambridge, University Library, Lewis-Gibson 2.79 (see fig. 50) ; St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Evr. I. Bibl. 86 ; Antonin B 418. Cf. Antonin B 758, which has the addition of a *patakh* adjacent to the *shewa* of the Tetragrammaton turning it into a *khatef patakh*, but no *kamatz* under the *vav*. These last two variations would not produce the transliteration γεχαβα, but they confirm the practice of transforming *shewa* into *khatef patakh* through the addition of *patakh* by later scribes. In two instances (Gen 13:4; 14:22), Vatican, Borg. ebr. 17, fol. 8r inexplicably contains a scribal correction turning the *qamets* under the *vav* into a *khatef qamets*.

Conclusions

Earlier scholarship considered the replacement of the Tetragrammaton with *κυριος* (and sometimes *θεος*) a distinctive feature of the original Septuagint—the Old Greek. However, a re-evaluation of the available evidence has led to a new consensus that the Old Greek contained either a Greek form of the Tetragrammaton (like *ιαω*) or the four Hebrew letters of the divine name. The Tetragrammaton was replaced with κc (*κυριος*) and θc (*θεος*) in copies of the Septuagint by Christian scribes in the 2nd century, although it persisted in some manuscripts until as late as the 10th century. Hence, the New Testament may have also originally contained the Tetragrammaton in Greek or Hebrew script. Although no surviving text of the Greek New Testament has been found containing the Tetragrammaton, it has been reconstructed in many New Testament verses by translators and scholars. Hebrew and Syriac translations of the New Testament can be instructive in this procedure, since they maintain a semantic distinction between "Lord" and "lord," while some Hebrew translations even contain the Tetragrammaton itself.

Both Old Testament translations, as well as the New Testament in Greek and translations, underwent a process in which the Tetragrammaton was replaced with some form of the epithet "Lord." Despite this, the Tetragrammaton can be found in Greek sources, rendered in more than a hundred different ways. This richness of material in the early Christian centuries and since the 16th century, is contrasted with a silent period during the Middle Ages.

A notable exception during these "times of ignorance" is Nikolaos of Otranto in ca. 1220, who rendered the Tetragrammaton as *γεχαβα*, unique in Greek literature. While this may have been Nikolaos's own corruption, due to a limited knowledge of Hebrew, his transcription of about 40 Hebrew words and phrases raises the possibility that he either read Hebrew on some level or had access to Hebrew information from a Jewish informant. We considered the possibility that this unique rendering of the Tetragrammaton could even reflect a particular type of scribal correction in Hebrew Bible manuscripts. Just as Nikolaos's rendering of the theonym foreshadowed a renaissance for the sacred Tetragrammaton in the Christian world, it is our hope that the sort of interdisciplinary approach required to understand Nikolaos in his historical and cultural context will usher in a renaissance in scholarship bringing together the study of Greek and Hebrew manuscripts. This is an endeavor the humanist Marsilio Ficino, to whom the present journal is dedicated, would have been proud of.
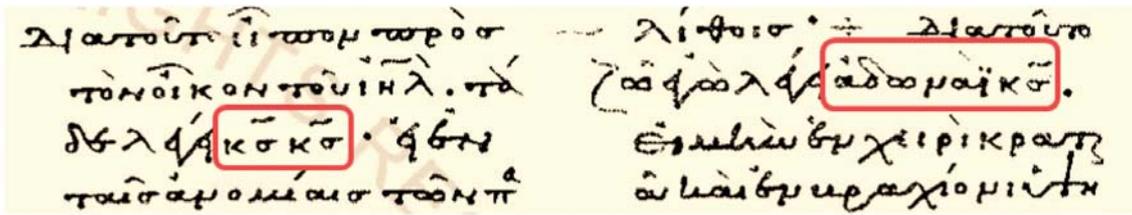
Figure 1
κϲ κϲ for MT "Adonai YHWH" / αδωναι κϲ for MT "Adonai YHWH":
The *nomen sacrum* κϲ used for rendering both the Hebrew *Adonai* and the Tetragrammaton.
Ezek 20:30, 33 in *Codex Chisianus* (Vatican, Chig.R.vii.45, folio 259r=Rahlfs 88, 10ᵗʰ century CE).
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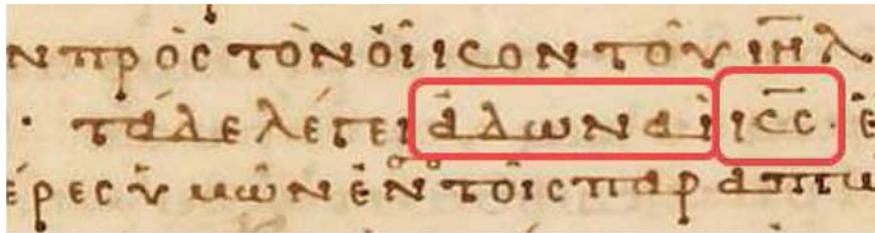
Figure 2
αδωναι κϲ for MT "Adonai YHWH":
Attempting to distinguish *Adonai* ("Lord") from the Tetragrammaton, the former is rendered
by transcribing it in Greek as *αδωναι* and the latter by using the *nomen sacrum* κϲ.
Ezek 20:27 [MT: יְהֹוִה אֲדֹנָי] in codex Vatican, Barb.gr.549 (=Rahlfs 86, fol. 266r, 9ᵗʰ–10ᵗʰ century CE).
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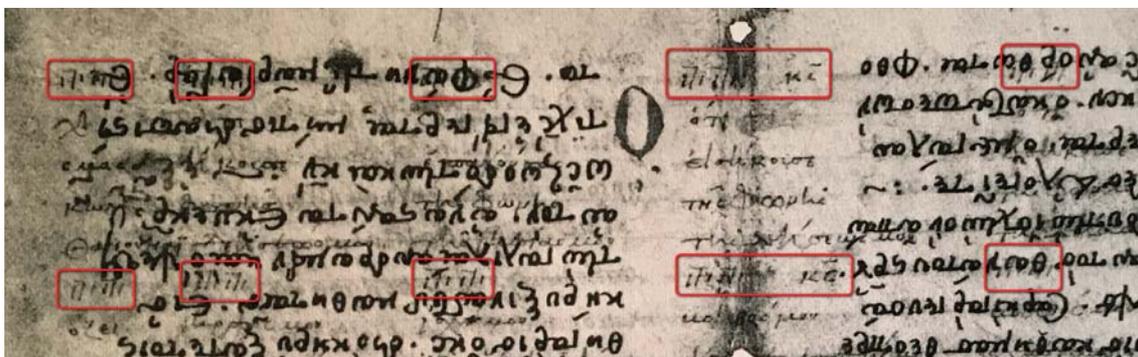
Figure 3
יהוה (YHWH): The Hebrew Tetragrammaton appearing in all five columns of the *Hexapla*.
The first column with the Hebrew text was not included in this copy and the fourth column includes
the *LXX*. Ps 28:6, 7 [*LXX* 27:6, 7] in the palimpsest Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. O 39 sup.
(Giovanni Mᴇʀᴄᴀᴛɪ, *Psalterii hexapli reliquiae*, *Vol. 1 Codex rescriptus*
Bybliothecae Ambrosianae O 39 SVP, Roma 1958, p. 10-11).
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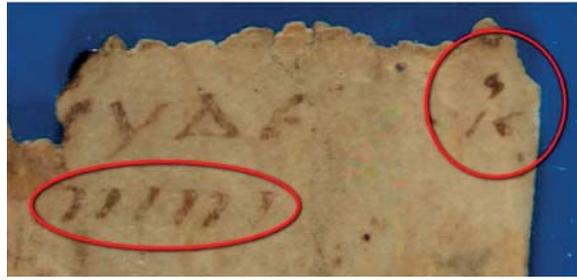
Figure 4
יהוה **(YHWH):** The *nomen sacrum* κ[ύριε] with a supralinear Hebrew *yod* for יהוה (*YHWH*),
followed by πιπι. This transitional combination represents the Tetragrammaton in Ps 22:20
[*LXX* 21:20] in three separate ways in the Septuagint column of Origen's *Hexapla*, preserved in
a palimpsest in the Cairo Genizah (Cambridge, University Library, T-S 12.182, fol. 1r;
see Charles Taylor, *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests*, University Press. Cambridge 1900, p. 26).
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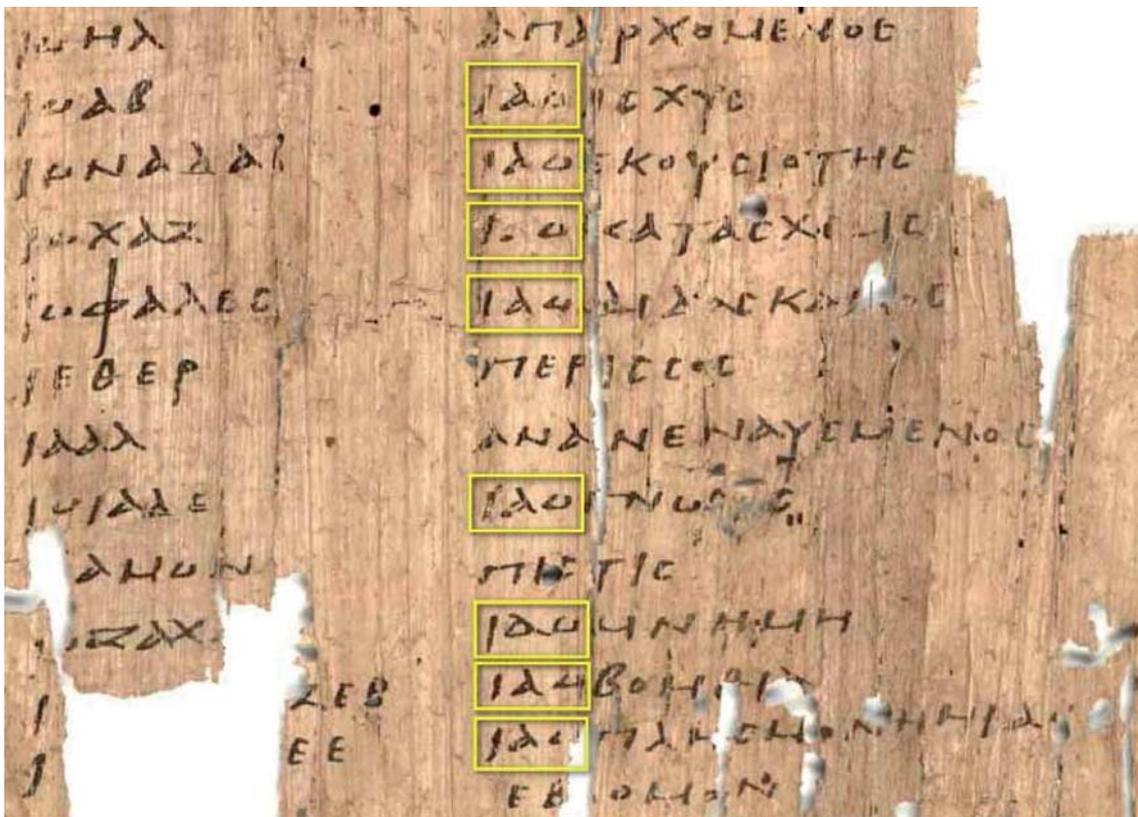
Figure 5
ιαω: The form *ιαω* in the 3rd–4th century CE Christian *onomasticum sacrum*
of P.Oxy.XXXVI 2745 (=LDAB 3503; *Oxyrhynchus Online Image Database* <http://163.1.169.40>;
Cf. Frank Shaw, *The Earliest*, p. 23; David Rokeah, "2745. Onomasticon of Hebrew Names,"
in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. 36, London 1970, p. 1–6, plate I).
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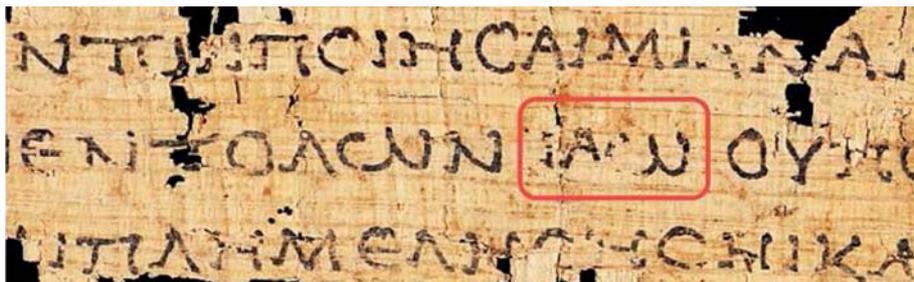
Figure 6
ιαω: 4Q120 (=4QpapLXXLev^b) (1st century BCE–1st century CE).
Courtesy of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library; Israel Antiquities Authority.
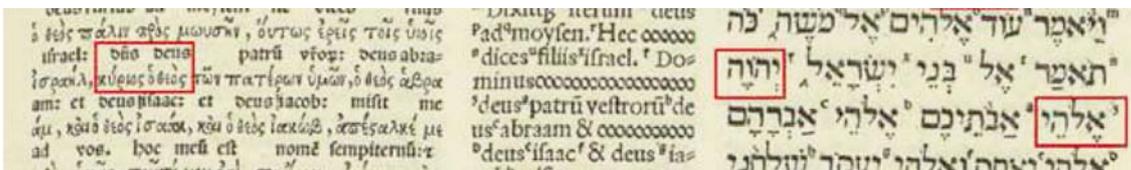
Figure 7
κύριος, θεός (non-*nomina sacra*): Exod 3:16 in the *Complutensian Polyglot* (1514).

Figure 8
Yəhōwâ: Luke 1:9, 11 in Giovanni Battista Jona's (Judah Jona Galileo),
Quatuor evangelia Novi Testamenti ex Latino in Hebraicum
(1668, published by the College of Propaganda Fidei).
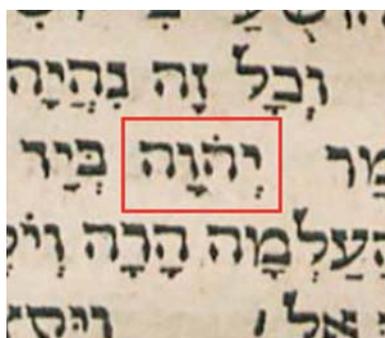
Figure 9
Yəhōwâ: Matt 1:22 in Anton Margaritha's, *Evangelio Matthaei* (1533).
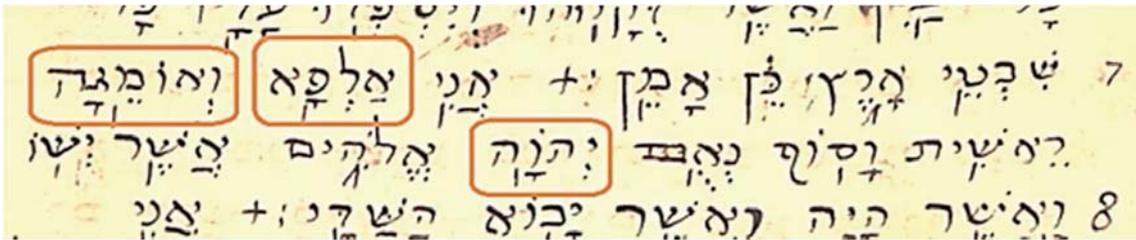
Figure 10
"I am Alpha and Omega, First and Last, says Yəhōwâ God":
Rev 1:8 in P. Georgio Mayr edited *Novum Testamentum*
(Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Heb. 131, Vol. 2, p. 311, 16th–17th century).
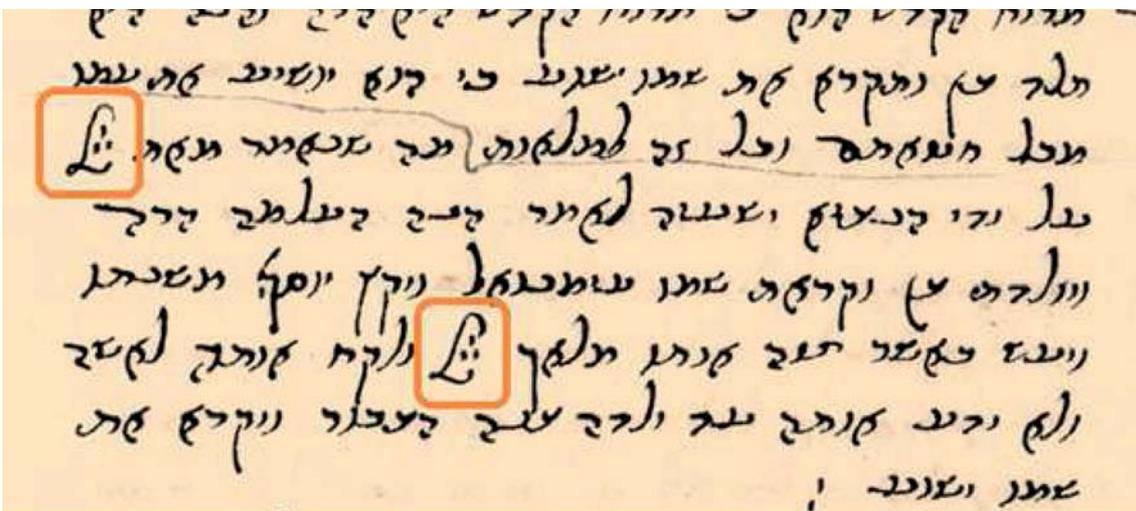
Figure 11
Three yods (ייי) for the Tetragrammaton:
Matt 1:22, 24 in *Evangelium Mathaei Hebraice*, ca. 16th century
(Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Heb. 132, fol. 1v.;
this was the manuscript published in 1555 by Bishop Jean du Tillet).
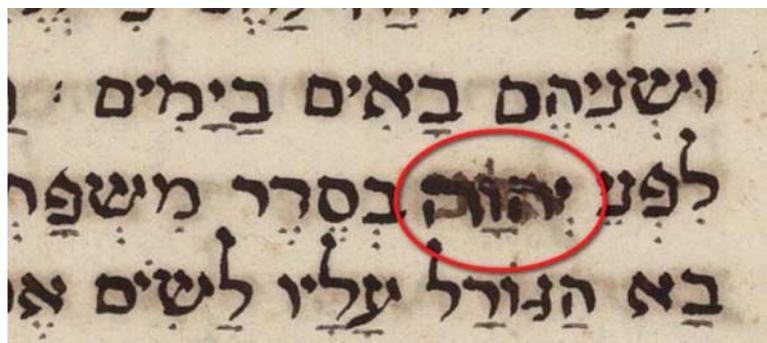
Figure 12
The Tetragrammaton written over *Adonai* (erased) in Luke 1:8
(Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, ebr. 530, part 11, fol. 1r, 17th century(?)).
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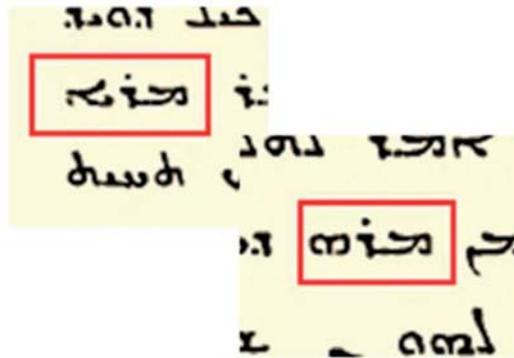
Figure 13
***Māryā* for "the Lord" and *mārā* for "lord":**
The two terms from Matt 9:37 and 22:44 in *The Curetonian Version of the Gospels*
(F.C. Burkitt, 1904, p. 48, 134).
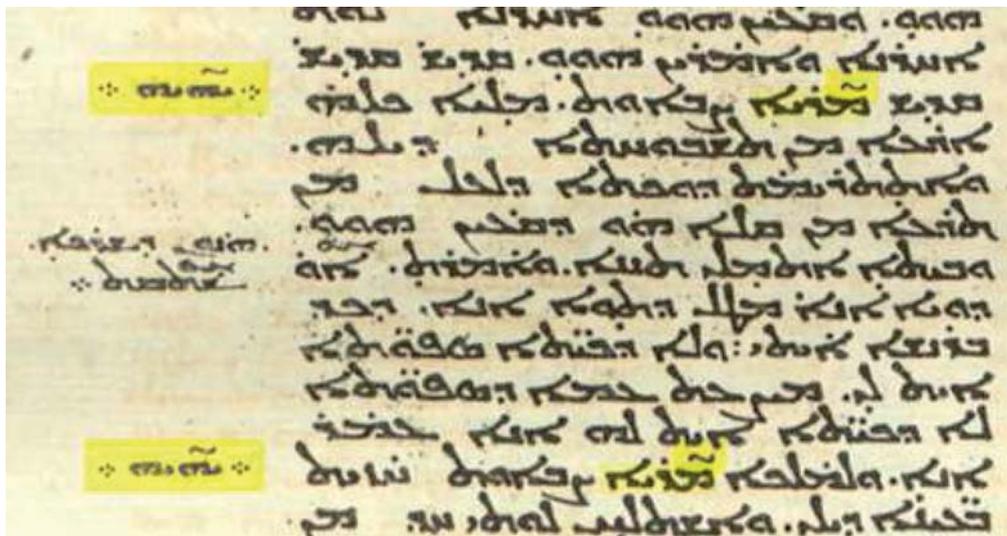
Figure 14
***Māryā* ("the Lord") glossed in the margin as YHYH:**
A Syriac transcription meant to resemble *πιπι* (pipi), a Greek rendering of the Tetragrammaton
(*Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus*, edited by Ceriani, 1874, fol. 170r, early 7th cent. CE).

Figure 15
"HERR" representing the Tetragrammaton:
Matt 1:22–24 in Martin Luther's *Biblia, das ist die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch* (1548, NT: p. 208v).

Figure 16
IʜᴠH [adonai]: Luke 1:15–17 in André Chouraqui's *La Bible*
(published by Desclée De Brouwer, 2007, p. 1990).

Figure 17
γιαχβε: Luke 2:11 in N. Sotiropoulos's *New Testament* (*NTNS*, 2003, p. 283),
ιεχωβα: Luke 19:14 in P. Trempelas's *New Testament* (*NTPT*, 1953, p. 430).
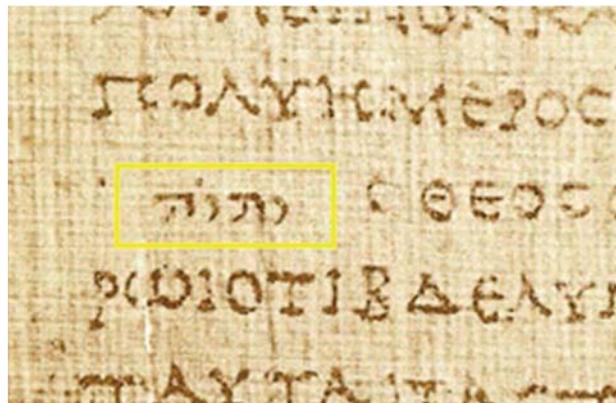
Figure 18
יהוה (YHWH): Papyrus Fouad Inv. 266ᵇ (=Rahlfs 948, mid 1ˢᵗ century BCE).
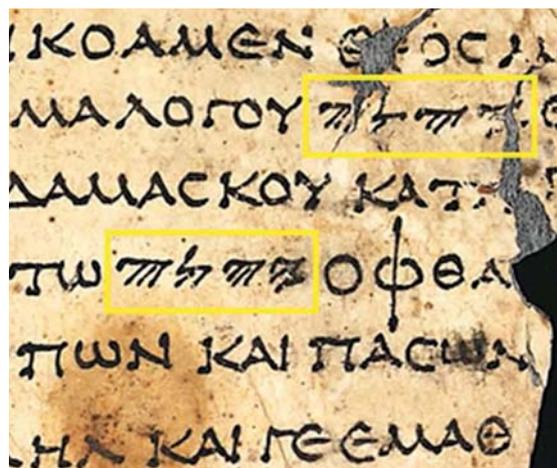
Figure 19
YHWH (paleo-Hebrew): 8ḤevXII gr (=LXX^VTS 10; Rahlfs 943, 50 BCE–50 CE).
Courtesy of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library; Israel Antiquities Authority.
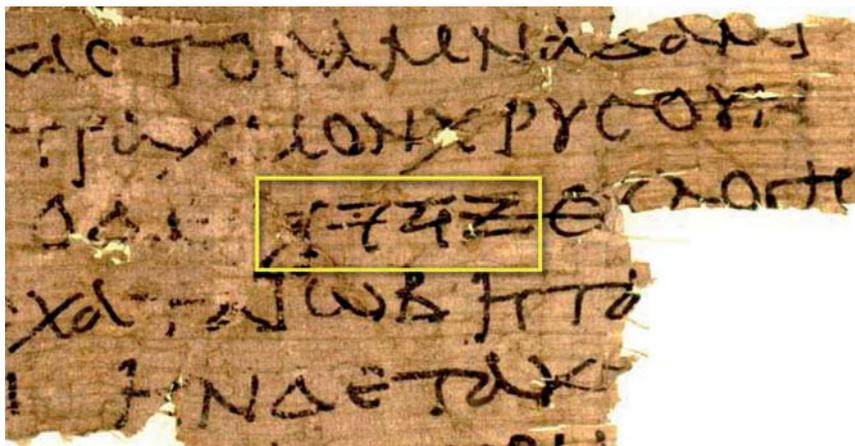
Figure 20
YHWH (paleo-Hebrew): P.Oxy.L 3522, 1ˢᵗ century CE.
(*Oxyrhynchus Online Image Database* <http://163.1.169.40>).
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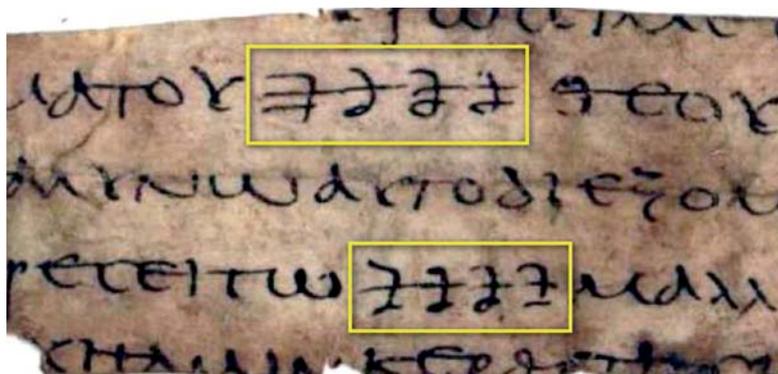
Figure 21
YHWH (paleo-Hebrew): Psalm 69:30, 31 in Papyrus Vindobonensis Greek 39777
(Sym^P.Vindob.G.39777, late 3ʳᵈ–early 4ᵗʰ century CE).
(Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Altes Testament, Symmachus:
Literarischer theologischer Text No 18.
Inventarnummer: G 39777 Pap <http://www.trismegistos.org/tm/detail.php?quick=62328 >).
Reproduced by permission of the Papyrus Department of the Austrian National Library.
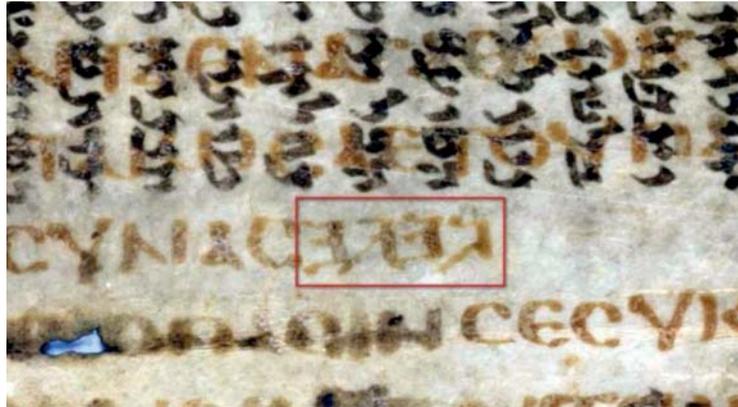
Figure 22
YHWH (paleo-Hebrew): Palimpsest of Aquila's version
(Cambridge UL, T-S 12.188, 5ᵗʰ–6ᵗʰ century CE).
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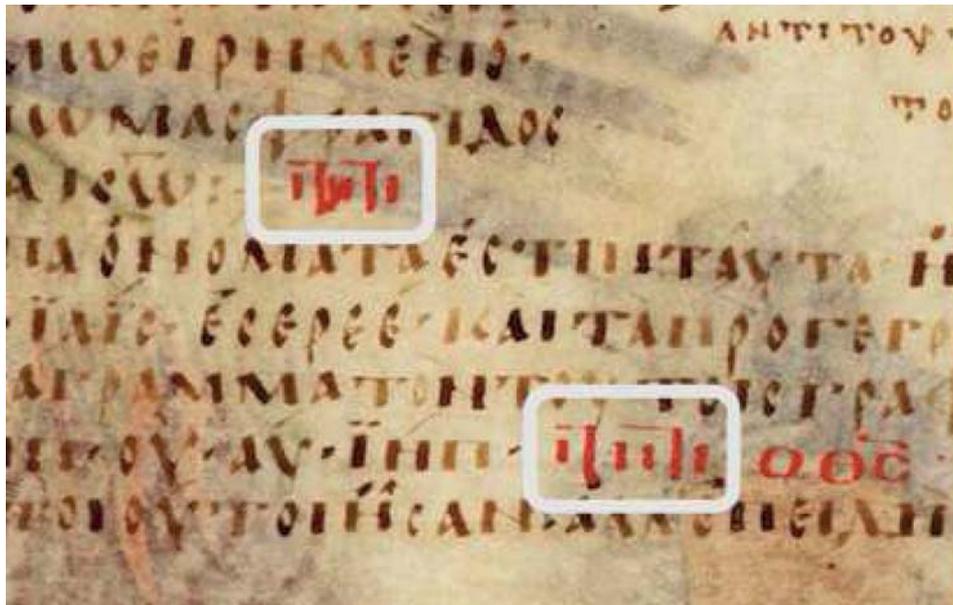
Figure 23
יהוה **(YHWH) resembling Greek πιπι:** Vat.gr.749.pt.1, fol. 8v (p. 24, 8 th–9 th century CE).
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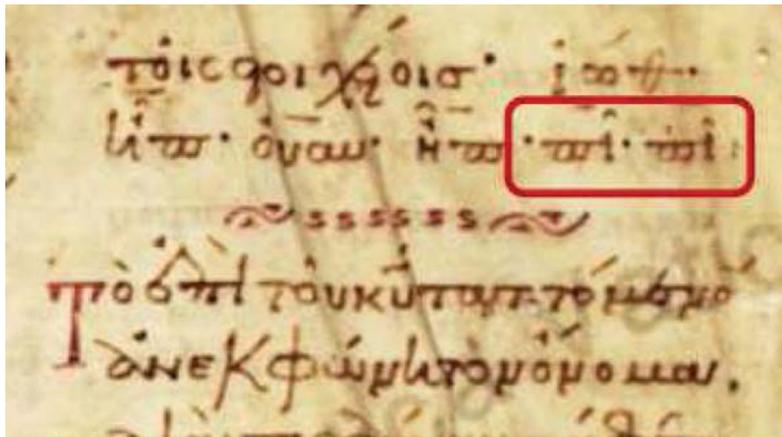
Figure 24
πιπι for יהוה (YHWH): Vat.gr.747 (fol. 260v, 11th century CE).
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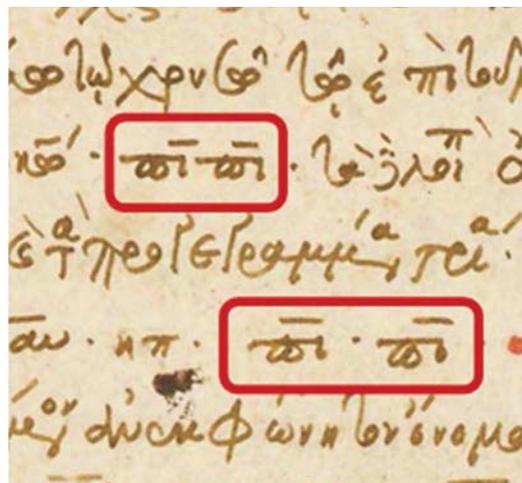
Figure 25
πιπι for יהוה (YHWH): British Library, Ms. Burney 34 (fol. 318v, mid 16th century CE).
© British Library Board.
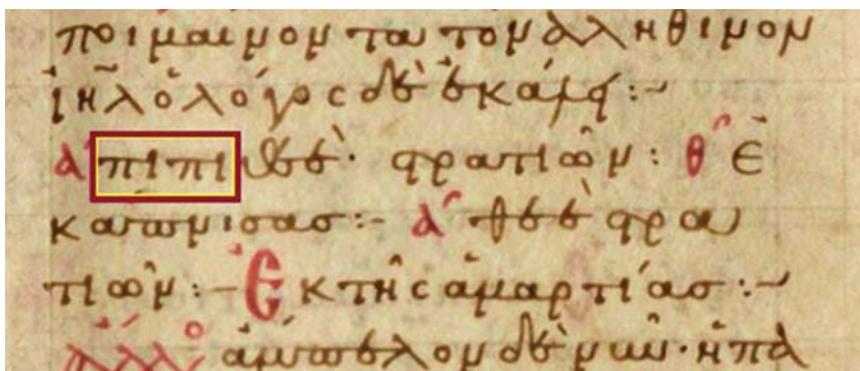
Figure 26
πιπι for יהוה (YHWH): Hexaplaric reading of Ps 80:4 [*LXX* 79:5: «κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων»]
(Vat.gr.752.pt.2, fol. 256v, 11th century CE).
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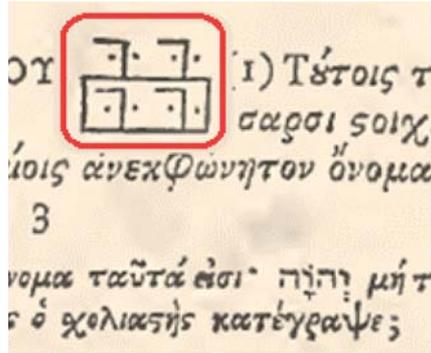
Figure 27
A stylized form of יהיה (YHYH) representing יהוה (cf. Syriac YHYH):
N. Theotokis, *Σειρά ενός και πεντήκοντα Υπομνηματιστών*
εις την Οκτάτευχον και τα των Βασιλειών (Leipzig 1772, col. 882).

Figure 28
ה" for *HaShem* ("The Name"): A surrogate for the Tetragrammaton
in an 18th–19th century copy of an earlier Judeo-Greek lectionary (Jerusalem, Ben Zvi, Ms. 3519, fol. 1r).
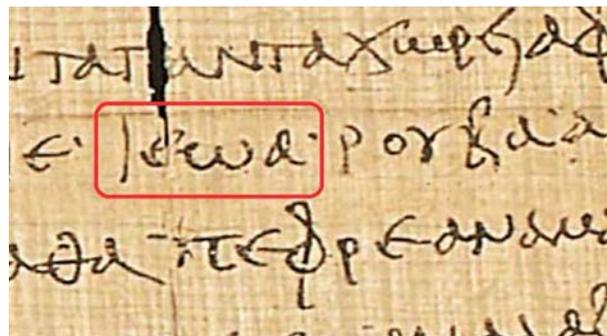
Figure 29
ιεωα: The Tetragrammaton used in a Greek magical formula.
(London, British Library, Papyrus 121, col. XV, line 10 = PGM VII:531, 3rd century CE).
© British Library Board.
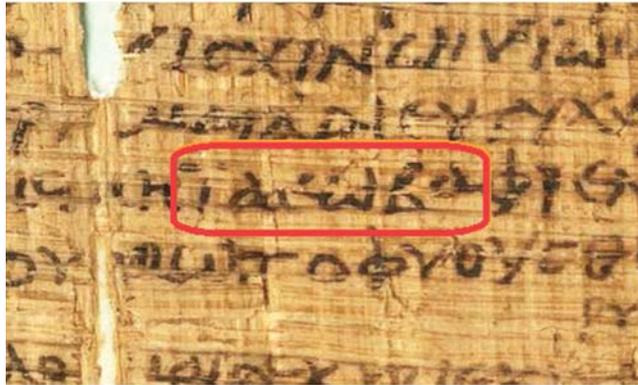
Figure 30
ιαεωβα: P.Berl 5025r PGM I (4th–5th century CE).
© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung,
Berliner Papyrusdatenbank, P 5025 B.
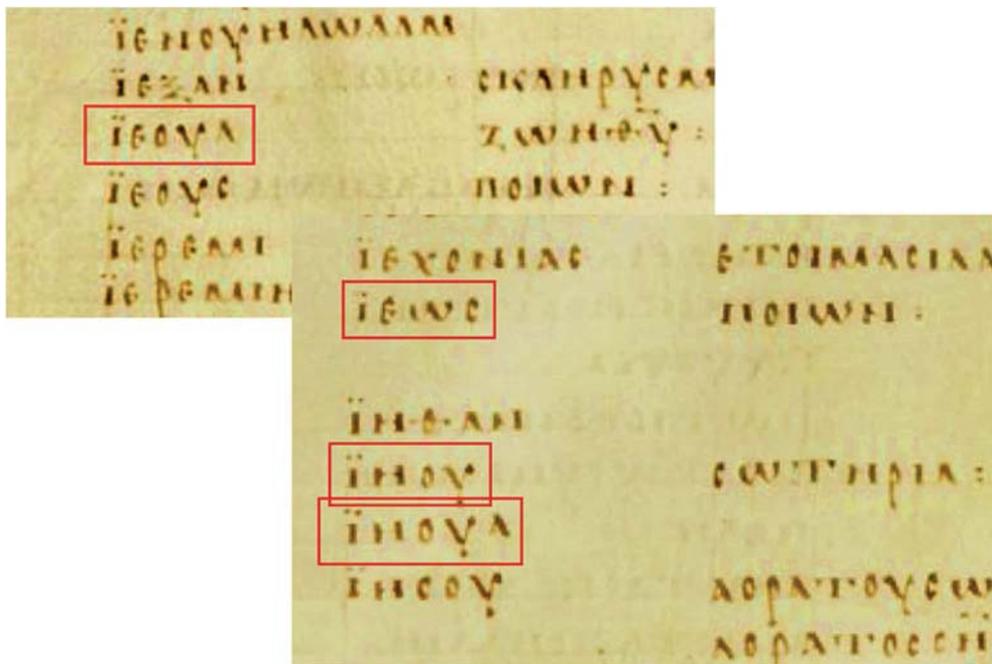
Figure 31
ιεουα, ιεως, ιηου, ιηουα:
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Coislin 1 (fol. 3v, 7th century CE).
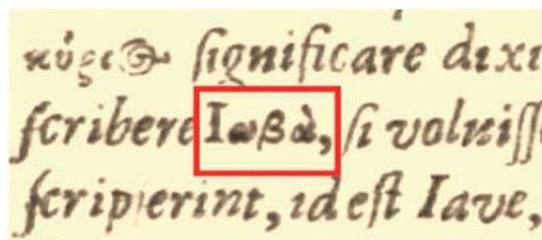
Figure 32
ιωβα: J. Drusius, *Tetragrammaton, sive de Nomine Dei proprio,*
quod Tetragrammaton vocant (1604, p. 106).

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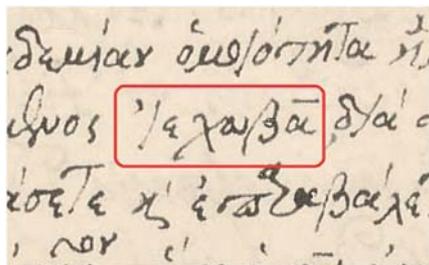
Figure 33
ιεχωβα: *Orthodoxa confessio fidei catholica et apostolica ecclesiæ Orientalis -*
Ορθόδοξος Ομολογία της καθολικής και αποστολικής Εκκλησίας της Ανατολικής
(Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Grec 1265, fol. 8r, 1643).
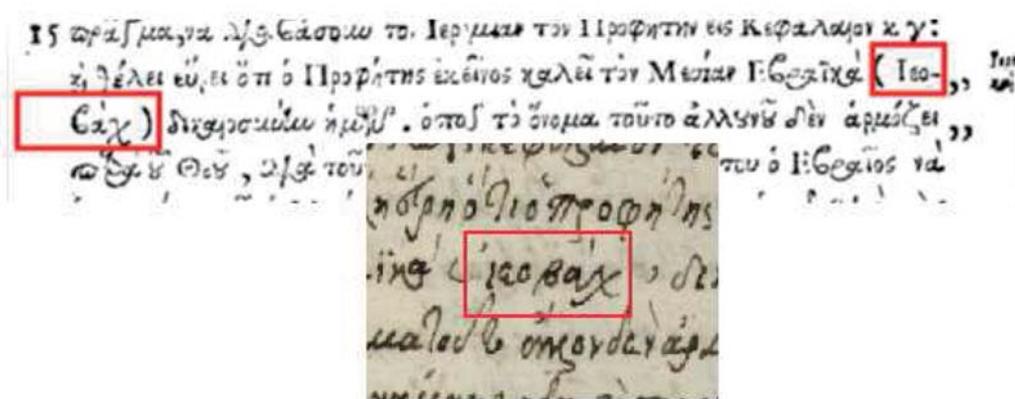
Figure 34
ιεοβαχ: Cyril Lucaris's *Σύντομος πραγματεία κατά Ιουδαίων*
(London, British Library, Ms. Harley 1803, fol. 8r, early 17th century; printed edition, 1627, p. 27).
© British Library Board.
This was the first Greek book printed in the Ottoman Empire
at the first printing press in Constantinople.
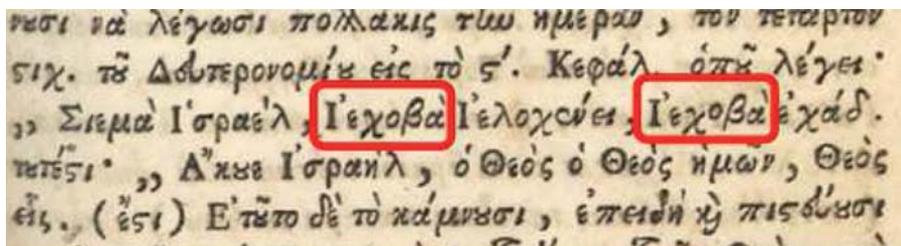
Figure 35
ιεχοβα: P. de Medikis, *Θρησκεία και έθη των Εβραίων* (1755, p. 31; translated by Joannis Stanos).
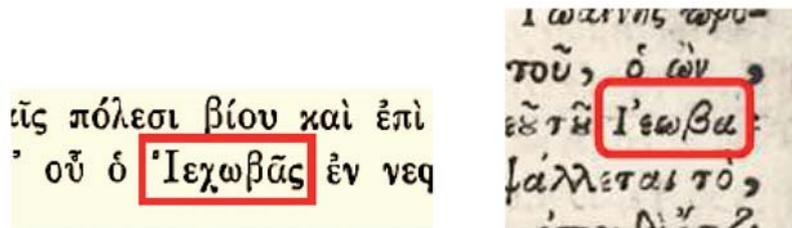
Figure 36
ιεχωβας: *Εκκλησιαστικός Φάρος* 19:6 (1920),
ιεωβα: N. Voulgaris, *Κατήχησις ιερά* (1681).
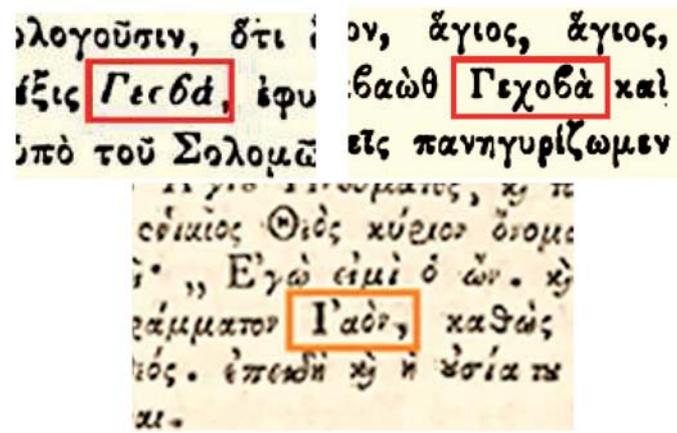
Figure 37
γεοβα: *Ανάπλασις* No 159 (1901),
γεχοβα: V. Zotos, *Λεξικόν των Αγίων Πάντων* (1920),
ιαος (nominative **ιαον**): Theophilos Kampanias, *Ταμείον Ορθοδοξίας* (1780).
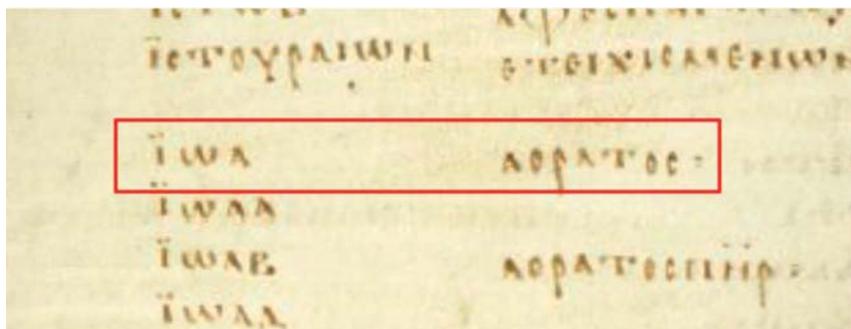
Figure 38
ιωα: The form *ιωα* explained as *άόρατος* "invisible" in Paris,
Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Coislin 1 (fol. 4r, 7ᵗʰ century CE).
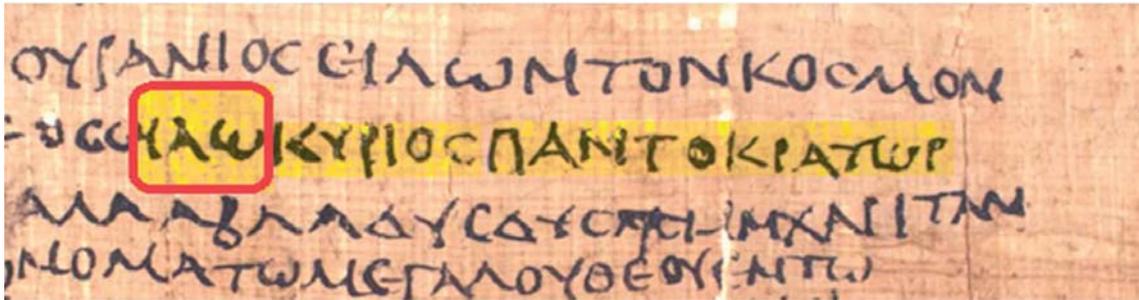
Figure 39
ιαω κύριος παντοκράτωρ: A phylactery or amulet from Egypt,
2ⁿᵈ–3ʳᵈ century CE with *ιαω* along with an uncontracted, non-*nomen sacrum*,
use of *κυριος*. «Μέγας οὐράνιος, εἰλῶν τὸν κόσμον, ὁ ὢν θεὸς ὁ Ἰάω, κύριος παντοκράτωρ»
(P.Mich 3, 155=inv. 193; PGM LXXI; Preisendanz 71.3).
University of Michigan Library.
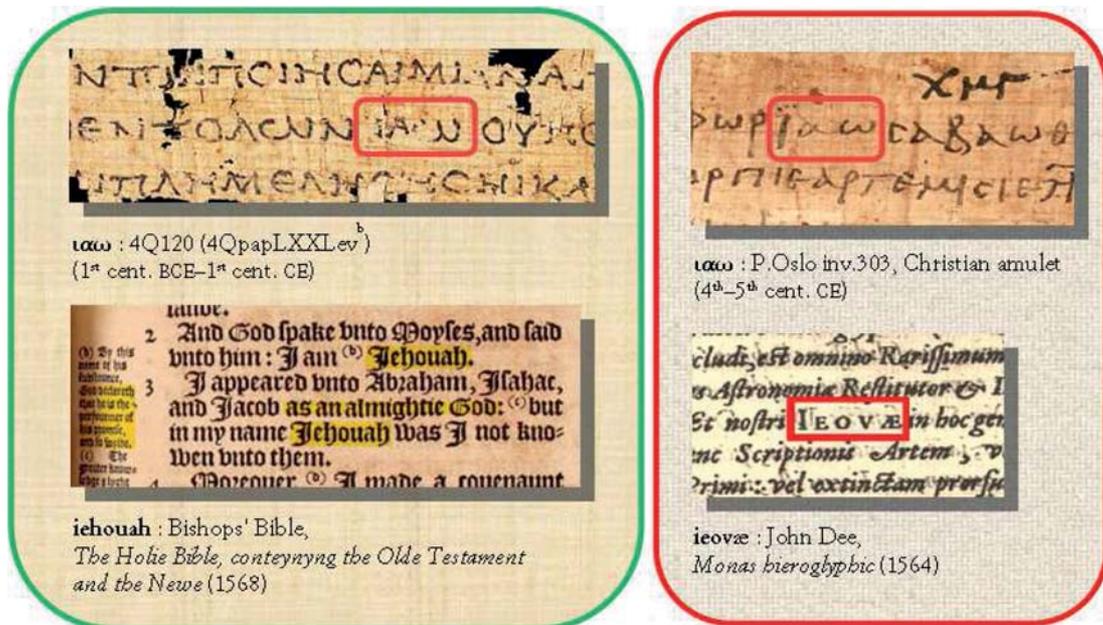
Figure 40
Orthodox and "unorthodox" uses of non-Hebrew forms of the Tetragrammaton.
Courtesy of the University of Oslo Library Papyrus Collection.
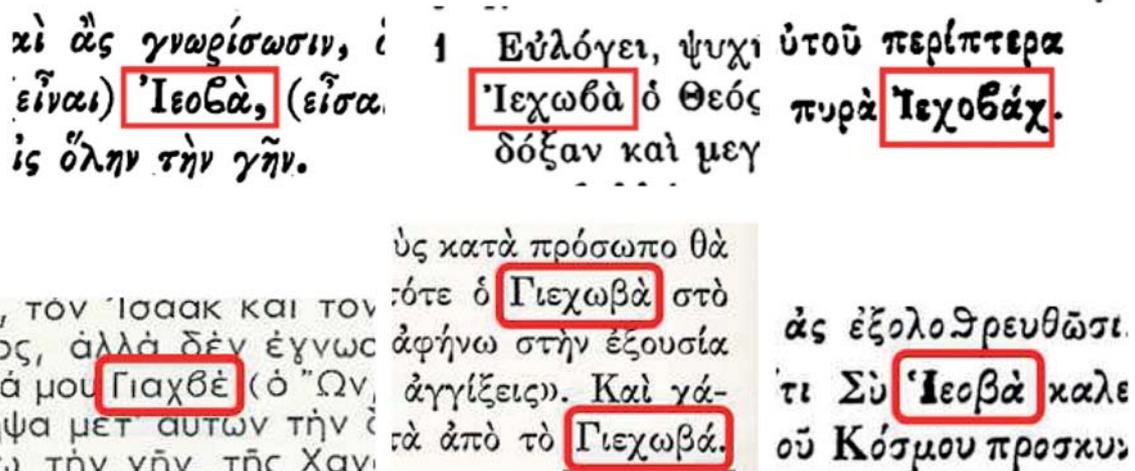
Figure 41
ιεοβα: N. Vamvas, *Ψαλτήριον* (1831),
ιεχωβα: Th. Voreas, *Υπόμνημα εις τον εκατοστόν τρίτον Ψαλμόν* (1899),
ιεχοβαχ: D. Paparigopoulos, *Σολομώντος Άσμα Ασμάτων* (1869),
γιαχβε: A. Chastoupis, *Η Αγία Γραφή* (1960),
γιεχωβα: K. Friligos, *Το Βιβλίο του Ιώβ* (1930),
ιεοβα: A. Karavas, *Το Ψαλτήριον* (1835).

Figure 42
In this edition of the *Biblia Hebraica* the Tetragrammaton was replaced with the (misspelled)
surrogate יְהֹוָד (*Yəhōwād*) (Soncino ed., Brescia, 1494, fol. 72v).
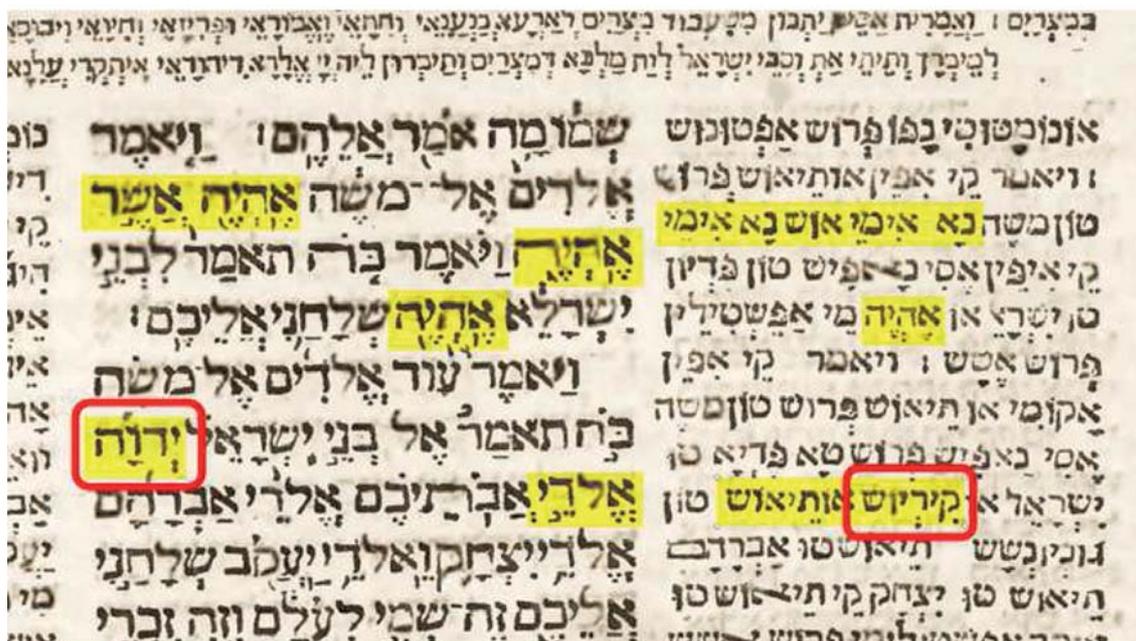
Figure 43
קִירְיוֹשׁ = κύριος: In the *Constantinople Pentateuch* (1547)
the Tetragrammaton was replaced with the (misspelled) surrogate יְדֹוָה (*Yədōwâ*).
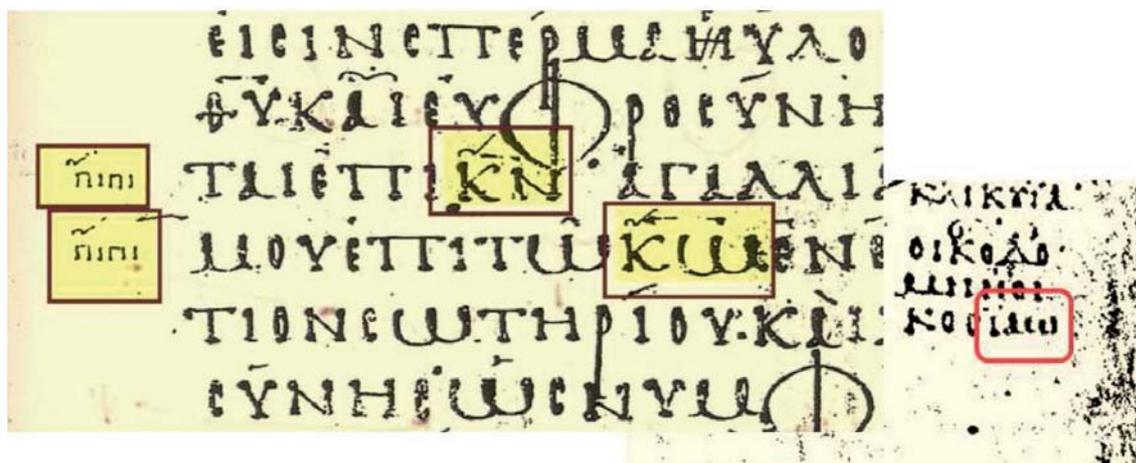
Figure 44
πιπι and ιαω in *Codex Marchalianus*:
Left: Marginal notes in Isa 61:10, 11 explaining the *nomen sacrum* κϲ as πιπι.
Right: A marginal note in Ezek 11:1, drawn from *onomastica*,
explaining the theophoric element in the name Βαναιου as *ιαω*
(Vat. gr. 2125=Rahlfs Q, pp. 325, 598; 6th century CE).
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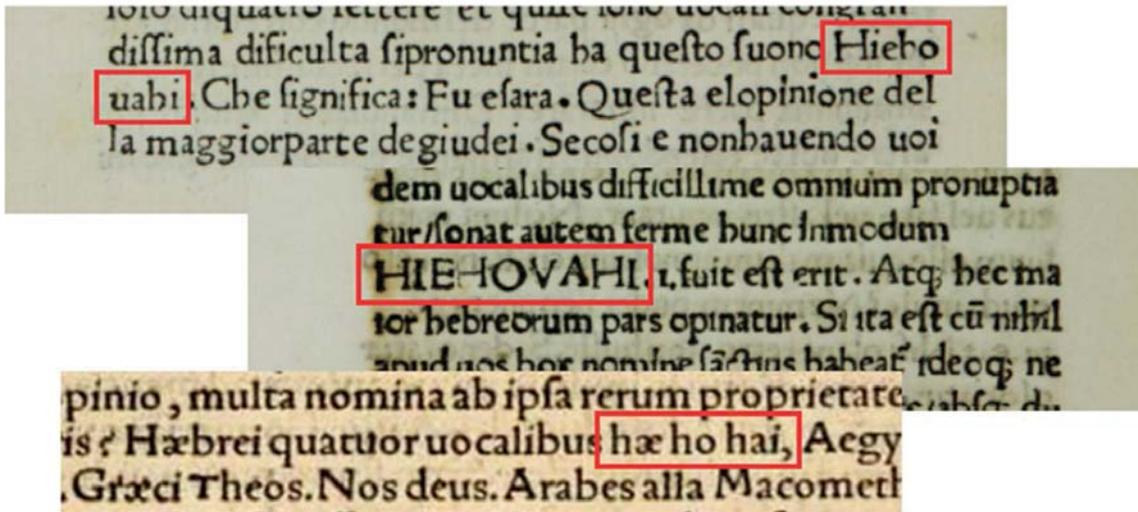
Figure 45
Hiehouahi, HIEHOVAHI, hae ho hai: Attempts by Ficino Marsilio
to render the Tetragrammaton in Italian and Latin (15th century).
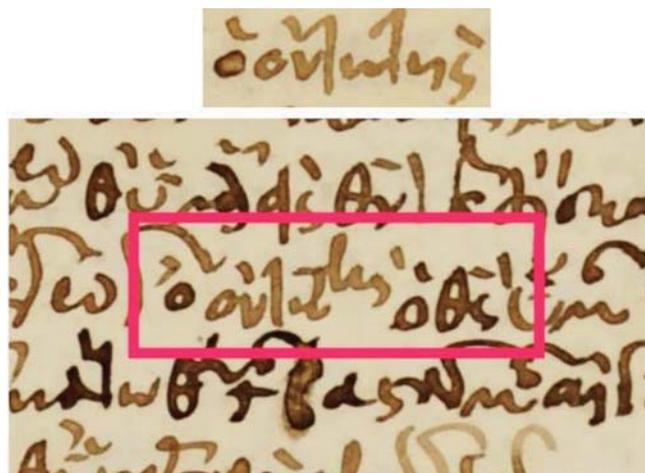
Figure 46
οντωτής: The form *οντωτής* ("Maker of Being[s]") followed
by the *nomen sacrum* κc for the Tetragrammaton in *Graecus Venetus* (Gr. Z. 7 (=377), fol. 77r).
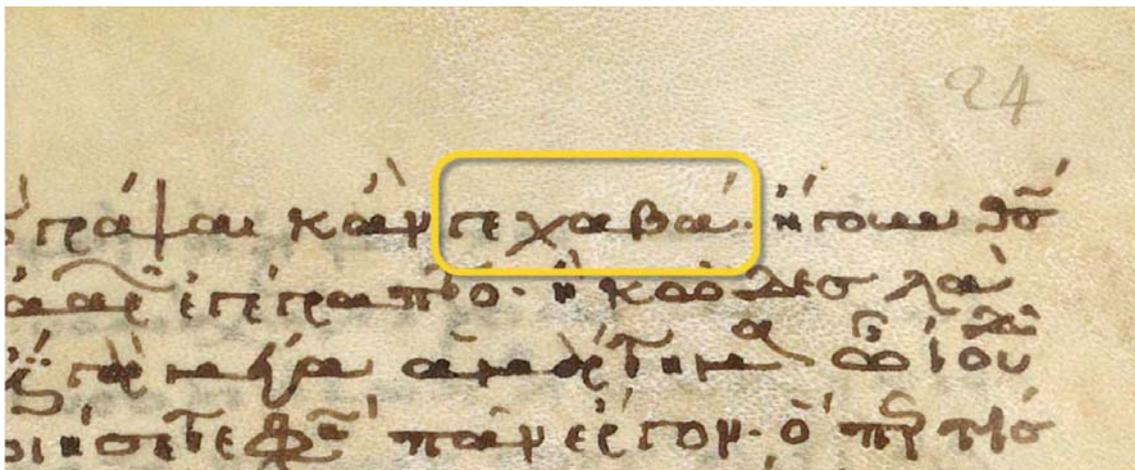
Figure 47
γεχαβα: The form *γεχαβα* in Nikolaos of Otranto's *Dialogue Against the Jews*, ca. 1220
(Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. Grec 1255, fol. 24r).

Figure 48
Yəhwâ יְהוָה changed to *Yăhwâ* יַהוָה, could be misread as *Yəhawâ* יְהַוָה
(Vatican, Ms. Borg. ebr. 17, fol. 8r, Gen 13:10).
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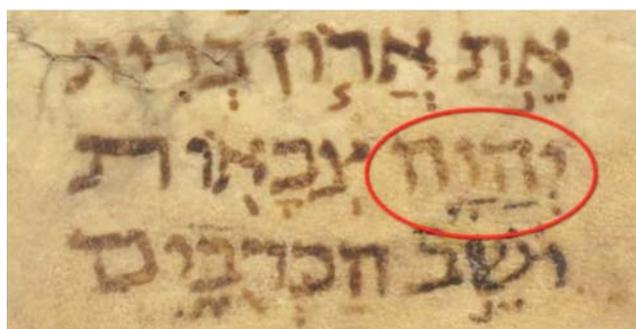
Figure 49
Yəhwâ יְהוָה changed to *Yăhwâ* יַהוָה could be misread as *Yəhawâ* יְהַוָה
(Lewis-Gibson, Bible 4.25, fol. 1v, 1 Sam 4:4).
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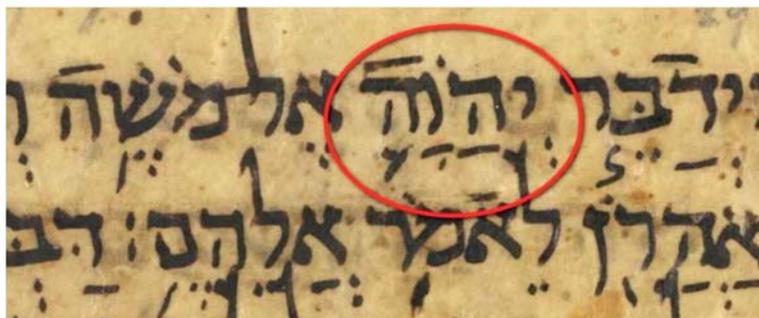
Figure 50
Yəhōwâ יְהֹוָה changed to *Yăhōwâ* יַהֹוָה; note the *patakh* under the first *he*
(Lewis-Gibson, Bible 2.79, fol. 1r, Lev 10:6).
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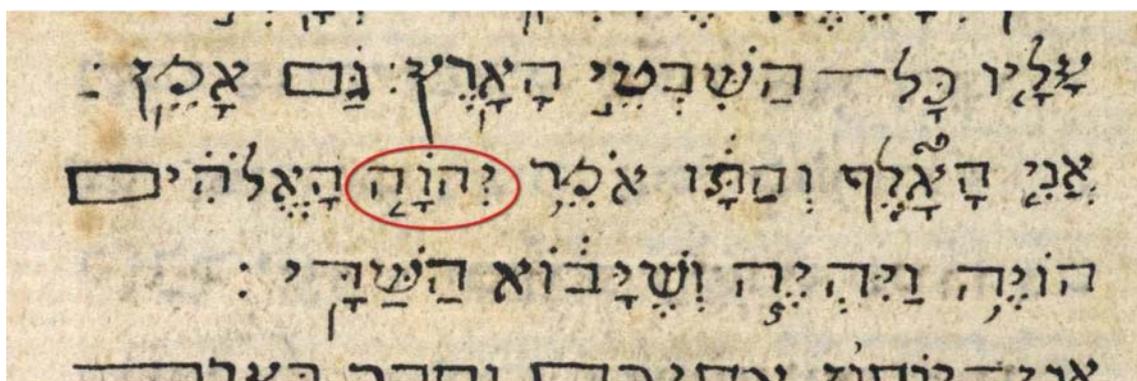
Figure 51
"I am the Aleph and the Tav, says *Yəhōwâ* God"
(British Library, Sloane 237, fol. 2r, Rev 1:8, 16th–17th century).
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