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The Use of the Name (YHWH) by Early Christians

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¹ Scientific approach to an absolute chronology through synchronisms dated by astronomy
<http://www.theses.fr/sujets/?q=Gertoux+Gérard>

The use of the Name by early Christians

Did Jesus pronounce the Name? In the first place, as he strongly denounced human traditions which annulled divine dictates (Mt 15:3), it seems unlikely that he complied with this unbiblical custom of not pronouncing the Name, which appeared only around 130-160 CE, according to the Talmud (Sanhedrin 101a 10:1), with Rabbi Abba Saul who prohibited the pronunciation of the tetragram (YHWH in Hebrew: יהוה) according to its letters², warning that those transgressing this command would forfeit their portion in the world to come. At the beginning of our Common Era reverence for God's name was great, the expression: *Let your name be sanctified* (Mt 6:9) is quite representative of this period, but the tetragram had to be pronounced as it was written inside the temple and elsewhere a substitute had to be used. Inside the temple (up till 70 CE) when there was the reading of the blessing of Numbers 6:23-27, the utterance of the divine name was drowned out by the singing of the priests (Qiddushin 71a, Yoma 3:6; 40d; 66a, Tamid 30b). For example, Philo a Jewish philosopher (-20?-50?) knew that the tetragram was the divine name pronounced inside the temple since he related: *there was a gold plaque shaped in a ring and bearing four engraved characters [the four letters] of a name which had the right to hear and to pronounce in the holy place those ones whose ears and tongue have been purified by wisdom, and nobody else and absolutely nowhere else* (De Vita Mosis II:114,132)³. Moreover, according to Josephus (The Jewish War V:235,438), yet many Jews knew how to pronounce God's Name (of four vowels!) before 70 CE. Of course, the pronunciation 'Adonay' was well known, but the name that was read in a loud voice inside the temple was the tetragram not Adonay. Secondly the Gospel makes clear that Jesus read (Lk 4:16-20) a part of Isaiah's text (Is 61:1) in a synagogue, which contains the sentence: *The spirit of the Lord YHWH*. Even if it was the Greek text of the Septuagint, at this time this translation contained only the Name in Hebrew, but never the substitute "Lord (*Kyrios* in Greek)", as noted in all copies of this text dated before 150 CE.

Did early Christians pronounce the Name? The answer depends on what kind of Christians we are talking about: "Yes" for the Judeo-Christians (Christians of Jewish origin, before 70 CE) because many of them knew Hebrew and "No" for the Pagano-Christians (Christians of heathen origin, mainly after 100 CE) most of whom only knew Greek. How did early Christians write the tetragram when they copied the Bible? As they were of Jewish origin (Judeo-Christian), they had accepted the Greek Septuagint (which was a Jewish translation) and they continued to propagate it⁴. At first, they followed the Jewish custom of writing the Name in Hebrew within a Greek text⁵, at least until the death of the last apostle (of Jewish extraction) around 100 CE (2Th 2:7; 1Jn 2:18-22). It is interesting to note that Rabbi Tarphon (BT Shabbat 116a; PT Shabbat XVI, 1, 15c; Tosefta Sabbath XIII, 5; *sifre* Nasso 16), between 90 and 130 CE, relates the problem of the destruction of heretical texts containing the tetragram. As these heretics (*minim*) were using Gospels (*gilyonim*) containing mentions of the Name, they were Judeo-Christians⁶. The heretics were first pointed out by the Jews as "the Nazarene sect" (*ἡ τῶν Ναζωραίων αἵρεσις*) which is confirmed by the text of Acts 24:5. Later, after 165 CE, they were called: Ebionites "the poor ones", Symmachians "those of Symmachus", etc.

² For example, the name YHWDH may be pronounced IHUDA (or IeHUA, that is Judah) according to its letters. In the same may the words HLLW-YH may be pronounced HaLaLU-IA (Halleluia) "Praise Yah" and YHWH may be pronounced IHUA (or IeHUA).

³ PHILON - De vita Mosis

in: Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie n°22. Lyon 1967 Ed. Cerf pp. 243, 251.

⁴ M. HARL G. DORIVAL O. MUNNICH -La Bible grecque des septante 1988 Ed. Cerf/C.N.R.S. pp. 274-288.

⁵ G. HOWARD -Biblical Archaeology Review Vol IV n°1 march 1978 pp. 12-14.

⁶ D. JAFFE – le judaïsme et l'avènement du christianisme. Orthodoxie et hétérodoxie dans la littérature talmudique I^{er}-II^e siècle Paris 2005 Éd. Cerf pp. 237-312.

Symmachus was the author (around 165 CE) of one of the Greek versions of the Old Testament. It was included by Origen in his *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla*, which compared various versions of the Old Testament side by side with the Septuagint. Some fragments of Symmachus's version that survive, in what remains of the *Hexapla*, inspire scholars to remark on the purity and idiomatic elegance of Symmachus' Greek. He was admired by Jerome, who used his work in composing the *Vulgate*. According to Eusebius (Evangelical Demonstration VII:1; Ecclesiastic History VI:17) and Theodoret of Cyrus (Compendium of Heretical Fable II:1), Symmachus was an Ebionite, but according to Epiphanius' account (Weights and Measures 16), he was a Samaritan who having quarrelled with his own people converted to Judaism. Indications of Epiphanius of Salamis are not reliable since they are second hand accounts, in addition, in his note on the supporters of the Temple of Gerizim he is not able to determine what distinguishes the Samaritans from the Jews⁷. Augustine of Hippo describes the Judaizers as Symmachians because they practice both circumcision and baptism, and claim in their fidelity to observances support from the example of Jesus himself -for Augustine, moreover, the terms Symmachians and Nazarenes are synonymous (Against Faustus 19, 17). A chronological classification of biblical Greek Manuscripts (LXX and NT) shows that there were several changes concerning God's name⁸:

word in Greek	before 70 CE	70 CE to 135 CE	135 CE to 400 CE	after 400 CE
up till the:	Temple destruction	Bar Kokhba revolt	Jerome's Vulgate	Catholic NT
God's name	YHWH	YHWH / $\overline{\text{KS}}$	$\overline{\text{KS}}$	O KURIOS
Jesus (Joshua)	IESOUS	IESOUS / $\overline{\text{IS}}$	$\overline{\text{IS}}$	IESOUS
the lord	O KURIOS	O KURIOS / O $\overline{\text{KS}}$	O $\overline{\text{KS}}$	O KURIOS

Most modern translations of the Bible use Catholic Greek codices (after 400 CE) for the New Testament and Jewish manuscripts (stabilized around 90 CE) for the Old Testament producing confusions about God's name when the New Testament quotes the Old Testament. For example, The Interlinear Bible⁹ gives the following translation of the text of Romans and Acts which are quotations of the text of Joel:

For there is no difference both of Jews and of Greek, for the same Lord of all is rich toward all the ones calling on Him. For everyone, whoever may call on the name of (the) Lord will be saved (Romans 10:12-13).

It shall be that everyone who shall call on the name of (the) Lord will be saved (Acts 2:21).

For it shall be, all who shall call on the name of Jehovah shall be saved (Joel 2:32).

It would be more logical to choose a Greek text for the New Testament which agrees with the first copies made during the first centuries (before 135 CE), containing the tetragram¹⁰ instead of "Lord". A dictionary of the New Testament explains¹¹: kurios *is the LXX and NT representative of Hebrew Jehovah (...)* iêsous *is a transliteration of the Hebrew "Joshua," meaning "Jehovah is salvation," i.e., "is the Savior".* That's why some modern translators (as Claude Tresmontant, André Chouraqui, etc.) prefer to use again the name *yhwh* inside the New Testament text, instead of the substitute *Lord* (which took its place after 135 CE) in order to avoid a confusion between the lord Jesus and the lord Jehovah.

⁷ S.C. MIMOUNI – le judéo-christianisme ancien. essais historiques
Paris 1998 Éd. Cerf pp. 272-276.

⁸ G. GERTOUX – The Name of God Y.eH.oW.aH Which is Pronounced as it is Written I_Eh_oU_Ah
Lanham 2002 Ed. University Press of America pp. 99-142.

⁹ J.P. GREEN – The Interlinear Bible (copyright by The Trinitarian Bible Society)
London 1986 Ed. Hendrickson Publishers

¹⁰ G.D. KILPATRICK - The Principles and Practise of New Testament Textual Criticism
in: Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium XCVI. Leuven pp. 207-222.

M. RÖSEL – The Reading and Translation of the Divine Name in the Masoretic Tradition and the Greek Pentateuch
in: *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, 31/4 (2007) pp. 411-428.

¹¹ W.E. VINE – An Expository Dictionary of New Testament Words
New York 1985 Ed. Thomas Nelson Publishers pp. 333, 379.

According to the text of Hebrews 2:9,12 (Jerusalem Bible): *we do see in Jesus one who was for a short while made lower than the angels and is now crowned with glory and splendour because he submitted to death; by God's grace he had to experience death for all mankind (...) For the one who sanctifies, and the ones who are sanctified, are of the same stock; that is why he openly call them brothers in the text: I shall announce your name to my brothers, praise you in full assembly, and according to the text of Acts 15:14-18: Simeon has described how God first arranged to enlist a people for his name out of the pagans. This entirely in harmony with the words of the prophets, since the scriptures [Amos 9:11-12] say: (...) The rest of mankind, all the pagans who are consecrated to my name, will look for the Lord (Yahweh), says the Lord (Yahweh) who made this known so long ago.*

However, Jesus (and also his disciples) used this name cautiously (2 Tm 2:19), and to avoid being judged as a blasphemer (Rm 2:23-24) during his trial he respected the judicial prohibition not to pronounce the Name before the final judgement (Talmud Sanhedrin 56a 7,5). For this reason, during this trial many substitutes were used such as: “the living God”, “power” (Mt 26:63-64), “the Blessed One” (Mk 14:61), hence, from his trial up until his death, Jesus did not use the divine Name. This problem affected the early Christians of Jewish origin because they were regarded by the Jews as apostates (Dt 13:10) and therefore as blasphemers deserving of death (Ac 26:10). This penalty was executed if they pronounced the Name before the final verdict as Stephen did (in 33 CE). In fact, he was first accused of blasphemous sayings (Ac 6:11-12). Then, during his judgement before the Sanhedrin he quoted the famous episode of the explanation of the Name (Ac 7:30-33) and he pronounced the Name three times (Ac 7:31,33,49) that was considered a profanation of the Name (*hilloul ha-shem*) for which he was stoned (Ac 7:58). One can understand that Judeo-Christians used the name cautiously because they ran the risk of losing their life. Outside Israel, the situation was not any easier because of a law on superstitions¹² (*lex superstitionis illicita*) which involved the death penalty for introducing a new unauthorized deity. For example, Socrates (470-399) was put to death because of this law. Of course, the apostle Paul knew this law (Ac 16:21, 17:18, 18:13) and therefore, he avoided using the tetragram in his speeches, preferring substitutes such as “deities, God, Lord of heaven and earth, the Divine Being” (Ac 17:21-32). To sum up, in each instance the wiser choice for early Christians was to use the divine name very cautiously¹³ (Rm 2:24). On the other hand knowledge of the name of Jesus was an important new teaching (Mt 12:21; Jn 16:24, 20:31; Ac 4:17-18 9:15; Ro 1:5; 1Jn 5:13) and even exorcists discovered it was a powerful name (Mk 9:38; Mt 7:22). Thus the use of God's name was not the same in time and was depending on its religious context.

The use of the Name from 280 BCE to 135 CE

At the beginning of the 3rd century BCE most people in Palestine spoke Aramaic, and most tradesmen spoke Greek. The Jewish aristocracy spoke Greek¹⁴ and Hebrew but this latter language was probably a little different from the Biblical Hebrew, just as common Greek, or Koine is a little different from literary Greek¹⁵. Thus, in order to improve the people's comprehension, the Hebrew text of the Bible was paraphrased in Aramaic. This vernacular translation was called the Targum. Mainly to help the Greek speaking Jews of the Diaspora, a Greek translation of the Pentateuch, the Septuagint was

¹² Nobody will have different or new gods, neither will they worship unknown private gods, unless they have a public authorization.

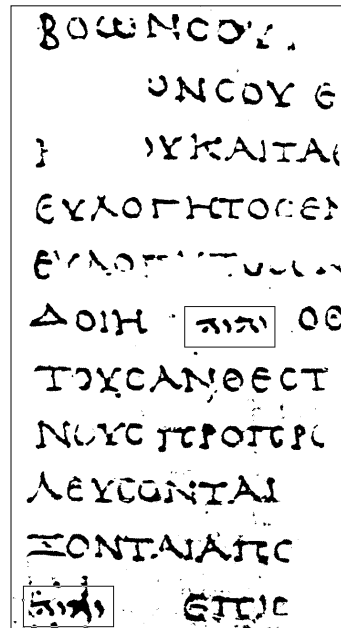
¹³ A. HAMMAN -La vie quotidienne des premiers chrétiens 1971 Ed. Hachette pp. 95-126.

¹⁴ M. HARL - La langue de Japhet Paris 1992 Ed. Cerf pp. 267-75.

M. CARREZ -Manuscripts et langues de la Bible 1991 Ed.Société Biblique Française pp. 32-47.

¹⁵ M. HADAS-LEBEL - Histoire de la langue Hébraïque 1986 Ed. Publications Orientalistes de France pp. 148-158.

made around 280 BCE¹⁶. It is interesting to see how the translators solved the problem of rendering the tetragram into Greek, because at this time the Jews avoided its use, regarding the Name as too sacred to vocalize. Even so, there was no prohibition against it. The solution was very simple. As one can see in this papyrus¹⁷ (*papyrus Fouad 266* dated 100-50 BCE) the Name was written in Hebrew characters inside a Greek text. This substitution¹⁸ of the Name was used until 135 CE, no Greek text of the Bible before 150 CE having been found using *Kyrios* instead of the tetragram. This procedure chosen by Jewish copyists, involved two unfortunate consequences. Firstly, as the name *Yahû* was still used by Jewish people at this time, "to protect" this substitute for the tetragram, all theophoric names ending with *-yahû* were modified to *ia* or *ion*, according to the preference of the translator induced by Greek declensions. Thus, in the Septuagint, in spite of thousands of theophoric names, there are none ending in *-iaon*.



The second and worse consequence to justify their choice these Jewish translators modified verses in the Bible. Thus, Leviticus 24:15,16 became in the LXX: *a man who will curse God will bring the offence, but in order to have named the name of the Lord, he would have to die absolutely, the entire assembly of Israel should stone him with stones; the alien resident as the native, in order to have named the name of the Lord, he would have to die absolutely*¹⁹. Paradoxically, as noted by Philo, a Jewish philosopher of the first century, to name God was worse than to curse him! (De Vita Mosis II, 203-206).

As might be expected in return, this innovation influenced Jewish worship. Indeed, the Septuagint forbade Greek speaking Jews to pronounce the Name, while Hebrew speaking Jews could continue to use it, making a paradoxical situation for bilingual Jews. The Talmud of Babylon (Yoma 39b) indicates that in practice, the use of a substitute for the tetragram became widespread in Israel at this time, except inside the Temple of Jerusalem. This speed in the chain of events is easily explained by a rapidly expanding Hellenism in Israel, which already had entailed a decline in worship, as confirmed by certain Jewish historic books (1M 1:11-15,41-57; 2M 4:14; 6:6). The prohibition on the Name written in Greek affected the majority of the Jewish population which then adopted this custom²⁰. According to the historic testimonies of the Talmud of Babylon, the Letter of Aristeas and the History of Flavius Josephus (Jewish Antiquities XII:43), the translation of the Septuagint (-280) and the disappearance of the Name in Israel were contemporary events²¹, since all these accounts indicate that Ptolemy Philadelphus and Simon the Just lived at the same moment²². However, to try to harmonize certain incompatible historic data, many specialists prefer at present to move these dates forward to around 200 BCE. Finally, according to the Palestinian Talmud (Yoma 3,6-7), the complete disappearance of the Name took place after the destruction of the second Temple in 70 CE.

¹⁶ M. HARL G. DORIVAL O. MUNNICH - La Bible Grecque des Septante 1988 Ed. Cerf CNRS p. 58.

¹⁷ Z. ALY L. KOENEN - Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint: Genesis and Deuteronomy. Bonn 1980 Ed. R.Habelt Verlag.

¹⁸ B.M. METZGER - Manuscripts of the Greek Bible New York 1991 Oxford University Press pp. 33-36, 59-64.

¹⁹ P. HARL D. PRALON - La Bible d'Alexandrie 3 Le Lévitique Paris 1988 Ed. Cerf pp. 195-196.

²⁰ A. PIETERSMA - Kyrios or Tetragram: A renewed Quest for the Original LXX in: De Septuaginta: Studies in honour of J.W. Wevers (1984) Ed. Beuben Publications pp. 99-101.

²¹ Université de Louvain - Recueil Lucien Cerfaux Tome I 1954 Ed. J. Duculot S.A. Gembloux pp. 149-172.

²² R. MARCUS - Jewish Antiquities Books XII-XIII Cambridge 1998 Ed. Loeb Classical Library pp. 462-466.

During the intervening period which preceded the destruction of the Temple, the Talmud (Sotah 7,6 Tamid 33b) makes it clear that substitutes of the Name were used in Palestinian liturgy. These substitutes were numerous, as one can notice in the literature of this time (2M 1:24, 25; 15:3; Si 23:4; 50:14-19). However, singing, with its technical constraints, would favor two of these substitutes: 'my Lord' (Adonay in Hebrew), which is a plural of intensity meaning 'my lords' as in Genesis 19:2; and 'God' (Elohim in Hebrew) which is he also a plural of intensity meaning 'gods'. This second substitute is mainly used in the place of YHWH in the expression 'my Lord YHWH', which was read 'my Lord God' to avoid the repetition 'my Lord my Lord'. One can note that these two Hebrew substitutes, Adonay and Elohim, also have their Aramaic equivalents, used notably in the Targums: Mariya' (The Lord) and Elaha' (The God).

Singing certainly favored these substitutes. Even though we do not know the exact cantillation of the biblical texts²³, we know, for example, that the Psalms were sung to ancient melodies known at this time, which are moreover indicated the superscriptions (Psalms 9; 22; 45; 46; 59; 60; 69; 75; 80; 81; 84; 120-134). We also know that these songs inaugurated under David's administration, were sung at least until 70 CE (Mt 26:30; Jc 5:13). After the disappearance of the Temple, then the Hebraic language, these melodies were probably lost. Logically if the Name was replaced by a substitute from about 3rd century BCE, and if the Psalms were sung from the 10th century BCE until the 1st century CE, one can conclude that in order not to modify the melody, they chose a substitute of the same syllabic structure as the Name. The two substitutes used ('a-do-nay and 'e-lo-him) do have an identical syllabic structure of two and a half syllables (1/2-1-1), exactly the same as that of the divine name Ye-ho-wah. A second detail derived from the constraints of song, is that assonance²⁴ played a large role in ancient poetry. For example, in Psalm 118:25-26 one can read the sentence: 'ana' yehowah bôšî'ah na' 'ana' yehowah bašlîḥah na'. This last Psalm was well known shown by its use in Matthew 21:9 and 23:39. The Talmud (Sukka 3:9) also points out that the Name was used in this blessing, but it quotes it in Aramaic: *ana Shema hosanna*. In the Targums found at Qumrân²⁵, dated the 1st century BCE, the common substitute was Elaha meaning 'The God' (Dn 2:20; 3:26), an adaptation of the Hebrew word Elôah meaning, 'God [Himself]'. Specialists consider that assonance also played a role in the forming of names such as Yehudah²⁶. The Talmud itself noted this resemblance of Yehudah's name with the tetragram (Sotah 10b, 36b).

ADONAY VERSUS YEHOWAH

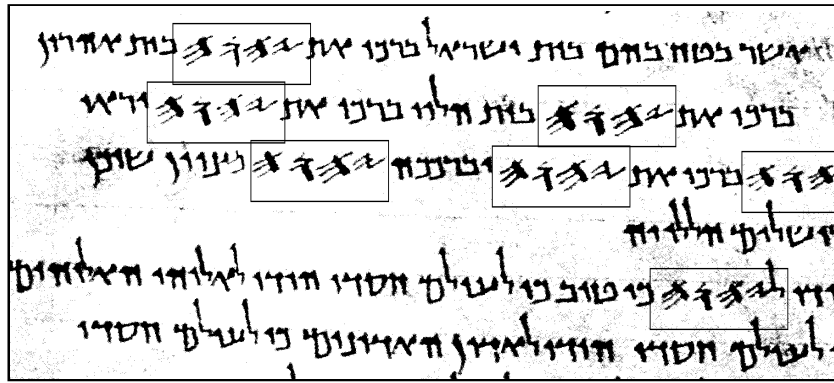
Using the substitute Adonay in place of the Name entailed other consequences. When the scribes made copies of the Bible under dictation they sometimes confused the word Adonay with the tetragrams pronounced Adonay. This way of copying was inadvisable, because it engendered errors, but as it saved time it was regrettably used. The Sopherim, who were the precursors of the Masoretes, fortunately found these 134 places, as seen by reading the Masoretic note of Genesis 18:3, where a tetragram was replaced by Adonay. For example, in the oldest text of Isaiah (from 150 to 100 BCE) found at Qumrân (1Q^a), sixteen times 'Adonay' took place of the tetragram. In addition, the process which consisted of writing the Name in Hebrew inside a Greek text impressed the Jewish copyists, who, wishing also to show their reverence for the Name, sometimes wrote the Name in paleo-Hebrew inside the Hebrew text.

²³ S. HAÏK VANTOURA - La musique de la Bible révélée
Paris 1978 Ed. Dessain et Tolra.

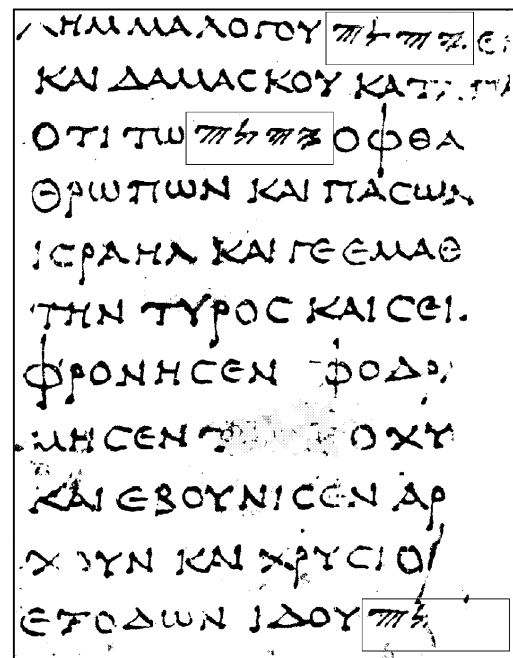
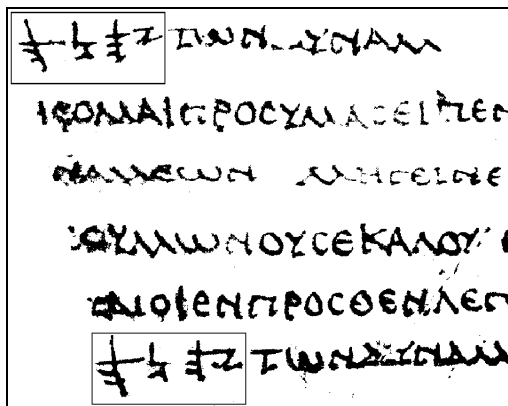
²⁴ L. PIROT - La Sainte Bible tome V
Paris 1937 Ed. Letouzey et Ané p. XXIII.

²⁵ J.A. FITZMYER - A Wandering Aramean
California 1979 Ed. Scholars Press pp. 88-89.

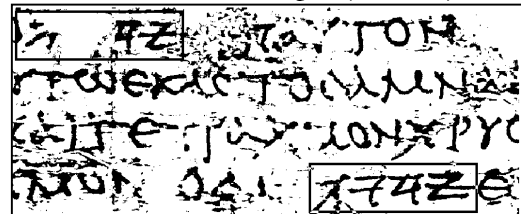
²⁶ M. REISEL - The Mysterious Name of Y.H.W.H
in: Studia Semitica Neerlandica. Assen 1957 Ed. Van Gorcum pp. 41, 52.



As one can see in this copy of the book of Psalms²⁷, dated 30-50 CE, tetragrams were written in good paleo-Hebrew. This procedure influenced in return the copyists of the Septuagint who also tried to imitate these strange tetragrams. As seen in the copy²⁸ reproduced here, dated around the beginning of our era, the writing of this paleo-Hebrew was of much inferior quality. Furthermore, this procedure favored a mystic attitude toward divine names. In addition, the Talmud points out that they had started to remove these names that had been stamped on jars in order to protect their holiness. (*Arakin 6a; Shabbat 61b*)



Also, out of respect, the Name was to be avoided in conversation, as proven by these remarks, from Jewish books written in the 2nd century BCE: *Do not accustom into the habit of naming the Holy One and: someone who is continually swearing and uttering the Name will not be exempt from sin* (Si 23:9,10). It was held that the privilege of pronouncing the Name (according to its letters, not Adonay) was reserved for use inside the Temple (Si 50:20), and that it should not be communicated to foreigners (Ws 14:21). Outside Palestine, the copies of the Septuagint which have been found, show a rapid deterioration in writing of the letters of the Name, as in this copy from Egypt dated from the beginning of our era²⁹.



²⁷ Les manuscrits de la Mer morte
in: Les dossiers d'archéologie n°189 janvier 94 p. 46.

²⁸ E. TOV - From Nahal Hever 8HevXIIgr
Oxford 1990 Ed. Clarendon Press.

²⁹ E.G. TURNER -Theological Text
in: The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Vol.I, papyrus n°3522 (London 1983) Ed. Egypt Exploration Society pp. 1-3; pl. I.

Invention of 'sacred names' by early Christians

After the destruction of the Temple in the year 70, and the official malediction³⁰ of Christians (Judeo-Christians) by the Jews around 90-100, profound changes would occur. First of all, Hebrew would practically cease to be spoken after the second century³¹. Furthermore, with the internationalization of Christianity, the strange Jewish custom of writing an "old Hebrew word" that one pronounces 'Lord' (Kurios in Greek) would be abandoned by mostly the pagano-Christian copyists³², probably between 70 and 135 CE, and they would simply write the word 'Lord' in place of the strange Hebrew tetragram. However, the sequence Kurios YHWH posed a problem of translation. Note the wide selection of solutions offered to translate this expression, which became in Greek³³: 'Kurios Kurios', 'Kurios Theos', 'Kurios Adonay' or 'Kurios'. It also engendered a lot of variants in the Gospel³⁴. The Jews, reacting against Christians, would in time reject their translation of the Septuagint and produce new versions³⁵, such as that of Aquila (129) and Theodotion (175?). At the beginning of Christianity (until 135 CE), most copies of the New Testament had to be made in a same manner³⁶ by Judeo-Christians, by writing the Name in paleo-Hebrew within the Greek text. This kind of writing was used (with more and more roughness) until the end of the 3rd century CE. For example in this Samaritan inscription³⁷ (below) found at Syracuse and dated 2nd century CE, one can read the following verse « Do arise, Jehovah, and let your enemies be scattered » (Nb 10:35).



[QW]MH YHWH WYPŠW 'YBYK

Thus, the use of Old Hebrew was the standard of writing for the Jews to write the tetragram from around 50 BCE to 250 CE. The Jews who became Christians followed this way of proceeding (until 135 CE), but from 70 CE, pagans who became Christians (the majority after 100 CE) were not able to understand the Old Hebrew writing and they ceased to use it. Origen confirmed (around 250 CE), in his comment on Psalms, this Jewish custom of writing the tetragram in old Hebrew embedded in the Greek³⁸ text as one can see hereafter in this copy of Aquila's translation³⁹ dated 5th century CE.

³⁰ S.C. MIMOUNI - Le judéo-christianisme ancien, essais historiques
Paris 1998 in: collection Patrimoines Éd. Cerf pp. 161-188.

³¹ M. HADAS-LEBEL - Histoire de la langue hébraïque
1986 Ed. Publications Orientalistes de France pp. 117-158.

³² P.E. KAHLE - The Cairo Geniza
Oxford 1959 Ed. B. Blackwell pp. 222-225.

C.H. ROBERTS - Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt
Oxford 1979 Ed. University Press pp. 28-31.

³³ See the Concordance of Hatch and Redpath.

³⁴ L. VAGANAY C.B. AMPHOUX - Initiation à la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament.
1986 Ed. Cerf pp. 138-147.

³⁵ M. HARL G. DORIVAL O. MUNNICH - La Bible grecque des Septante
1988 Ed. Cerf CNRS pp. 142-167.

³⁶ G. HOWARD - The Tetragram and the New Testament
1977 J.B.L. vol.96 pp. 63-83.

³⁷ V. MORABITO - Les Samaritains de Sicile
in: Études sémitiques et samaritaines Lausanne 1998 Éd. Zèbre pp. 195-197.

³⁸ ORIGENE - Selecta in Psalmos 2.2
in: Patrologie Greca XII pp. 1103-1104. Turnholti (Belgium) Ed. Brepols.

³⁹ F. CRAWFORD BURKITT - Fragments of the Books of Kings According to the Translation of Aquila
1898 Cambridge pp. 3-8.

But are there any traces of this ancient practice? Yes, in two cases at least. The first case concerns the oldest Christian papyrus (P52), the only one belonging to this period, since it is dated 125 CE. This papyrus contains an anomaly which one does not find again in any of the later Christian manuscripts. In actual fact, this manuscript is an exception among all the texts of the Gospels because there is no *nomina sacra* process⁴⁰, that is to say names considered as sacred were not replaced by abbreviations. Thus one can conclude that the tetragram was written in full. The second case, concerns the inexplicable number of errors leading to confusion between the terms 'Lord' and 'God' in the Gospel. As we have seen, the expression Kurios YHWH posed a difficult problem for the translators of the Septuagint. This expression is much rarer in the Gospels; on the other hand, the title 'Lord' (Kurios) is frequently applied to Jesus, which could lead to

confusion with the other 'Lord', the translation of YHWH. So, some copyists, to avoid this confusion, preferred to translate YHWH by 'God' (Theos) or simply to omit this name, as noted in the following passages: Lk 1:68; Ac 2:17; 6:7; 7:37; 10:33; 12:24; 13:5,44,48; 15:40; 19:20; 20:28; Rm 14:4; Col 3:13,16; 2 Tm 2:14; Jm 3:9; Jude 5; Rv 18:8. The list of variants is considerable for these few verses⁴¹. Why did translators stumbled over the reading or understanding of such simple and well known words as 'God' and 'Lord'? These replacements were done early, since after the second century of our era no more traces of the writing and pronunciation of the Name⁴² are found, except among a few Christian scholars. Paradoxically, a Christian reader might even believe that the God of the Bible was called Sabaôth (meaning "armies" in Hebrew), because this name is found in the expression "Lord Sabaôth" in Romans 9:29 and in James 5:4, instead of "YHWH (of) armies".

The papyrus P52 is dated around 125 CE, and contains the verse of John 18:31-33. Owing to the shape of this piece of sheet (dark part) it is possible⁴³ to reconstruct the whole codex to which it belonged⁴⁴ (around 130 pages of 18 lines per page with an average of 33 characters per line, and 29/30 on the verso).

ΟΙ.ΙΟΥΔΑΙΟΙ.ΗΜΕΙΝ.ΟΥΚ.ΕΞΕΣΤΙΝ.ΑΠΟΚΤΕΙΝΑΙ
ΟΥΔΕΝΑ. ΙΝΑ.Ο.ΛΟΓΟΣ.ΤΟΥ.ΙΗΣΟΥ.ΠΛΗΡΩΘΕ.ΟΝ.ΕΙ
ΠΕΝ.ΣΗΜΑΙΝΩΝ.ΠΟΙΩ.ΘΑΝΑΤΩ.ΗΜΕΛΛΕΝ.ΑΠΟ
ΘΝΗΣΚΕΙΝ.ΙΣΗΛΘΕΝ.ΟΥΝ.ΠΑΛΙΝ.ΕΙΣ.ΤΟ.ΠΡΑΙΤΩ
ΡΙΟΝ.Ο.ΠΙΛΑΤΟΣ.ΚΑΙ.ΕΦΩΝΗΣΕΝ.ΤΟΝ.ΙΗΣΟΥΝ
ΚΑΙ.ΕΙΠΕΝ.ΑΥΤΩ.ΣΥ.ΕΙ.Ο.ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.ΤΩΝ.ΙΟΥ
ΔΑΙΩΝ.ΑΠΕΚΡΙΘΗ.ΙΗΣΟΥΣ.ΑΠΟ.ΣΕΑΥΤΟΥ.ΣΥ

(John 18:31-33)

⁴⁰ C.P. THIEDE - Qumrân et les Évangiles

Paris 1994 Ed. F.X. de Guilbert pp. 22-23, 112-113.

⁴¹ B.M. METZGER - A Textual Commentary on the Greek new Testament
Stuttgart 1975 Ed. United Bible Societies.

⁴² J. DANIELOU - Théologie du judéo-christianisme
1974 Ed. Desclée/Cerf pp. 235-262.

⁴³ C.H. ROBERTS - An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library
in: *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 20 (1936) pp. 45-55.

C.M. TUCKETT - P52 and *Nomina Sacra*
in: *New Testament Studies* 47 (2001) pp. 544-548.

⁴⁴ G. GERTOUX - The Name of God Y.eH.oW.aH Which is Pronounced as it is Written I_Eh_oU_Ah
Lanham 2002 Ed. University Press of America pp. 249-250.

Ⲛⲓⲁⲓⲉⲓⲁⲉⲥⲥⲩⲛⲡⲁ
ⲧⲁⲧⲟⲛⲟⲭⲁⲟⲛⲧⲟ
ⲙⲉⲣⲁⲛⲧⲟⲩⲧⲟⲛⲉⲓ
ⲁⲟⲩⲉⲣⲱⲁⲓⲁⲱⲙⲓ
ⲁⲩⲧⲟⲛⲉⲓⲥⲭⲉⲓⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩ
ⲥⲙⲉⲣⲟⲛⲕⲁⲓⲣⲛⲱ
ⲥⲙⲟⲩⲉⲣⲱⲚⲓⲁⲓ
ⲕⲁⲓⲉⲓⲡⲉⲛⲁⲁⲃⲉⲛⲧⲓ
ⲛⲉⲓⲕⲁⲓⲉⲓⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲃⲉ
ⲁⲉⲣⲉⲓⲛⲉⲛⲧⲉⲥⲓ
ⲁⲣⲭⲟⲛⲧⲱⲛⲧⲱⲛⲉ
ⲡⲁⲣⲭⲓⲱⲛⲕⲁⲓⲉⲓⲡⲉ

In the papyrus P90 dated around 150 CE which contains⁴⁵ the verses of John 18:36-19:7, the name of Jesus is this time shortened into JS according to the process of *nomina sacra*, like the word *kyrios* (Lord) which is written KS. So, when the *sacred name* was absent the word 'Lord' had to be written without abbreviation. For example, in this codex the verse of John 12:38 have appeared:

ΙΝΑ.Ο.ΛΟΓΟΣ.ΗΣΑΙΟΥ.ΤΟΥ.ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ.ΠΛΗΡΩ
ΘΗ.ΟΝ.ΕΙΠΕΝ.ΚΥΡΙΕ.ΤΙΣ.ΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΕΝ.ΤΗ.ΑΚΟΗ
ΗΜΩΝ.ΚΑΙ.Ο.ΒΡΑΧΙΩΝ.ΚΥΡΙΟΥ.ΤΙΝΙ.ΑΠΕΚΑΛΥ
ΦΘΗ
(John 12:38)

However this part of the gospel of John quoted a verse from the book of Isaiah and in all the Septuagints of this period (before 150 CE) there are none with the name *kyrios* (Lord) instead of the tetragram. For example, the text of John is a quotation of Isaiah:

ΙΝΑ.Ο.ΛΟΓΟΣ.ΗΣΑΙΟΥ.ΤΟΥ.ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ.ΠΛΗΡΩ
ΘΗ.ΟΝ.ΕΙΠΕΝ.יהוה.ΤΙΣ.ΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΕΝ.ΤΗ.ΑΚΟΗ
ΗΜΩΝ.ΚΑΙ.Ο.ΒΡΑΧΙΩΝ.יהוה.ΤΙΝΙ.ΑΠΕΚΑΛΥ
ΦΘΗ
(Isaiah 53:1 [LXX])

Thus the tetragram was exchanged by the word 'Lord' in the NT. Either the Christians changed this name (between 70 and 135 CE) because they did not understand it anymore, or they changed it before for theological reasons. The first explanation is more logical because if the Christians (Judeo-Christians) had changed this name during the 1st century this teaching would have been seen in the NT especially among a Jewish environment, which is never the case. For example, Jesus should have said: *I have made you known to them under your new name 'Lord'*, but as a Jew he said nothing new on this very important matter (John 17:6, 26). It should be remembered that the book of John (who was a Jew) was written around 100 CE and he kept the short name Yah rather than Lord in his book of Revelation (Rv 19:1-6) when he wrote the Hebrew word Allelu-ia instead of Allelu-adonai. Even in 129 CE, Aquila who was a Christian converted to Judaism kept in his translation of the Septuagint the tetragram embedded in a Greek text. Thus, between 70 and 135 CE, the Christian copyists (most of them were pagano-Christians) simplified the 'strange' writing YHWH [pronounced KURIΟΥ] into a 'sacred name' KŪ, consequently the expression KURIOS YHWH [Ο THEOS] became KŪ Ο TS, and KURIΟΥ ΙΕΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ became in the same way: KŪ ΙŪ ΧŪ. In time, many other sacred names appeared⁴⁶.

The method of writing a line over a number was commonly used during the 1st century CE in order to distinguish it, for example, in the writing of dates⁴⁷. In addition, the Hebrew numbers 15 and 16 could not have been written YH (יה) and YW (יז), but rather TW (טז) and TZ (יז), because as the Talmud points out, before our common era the two divine names YH (יה) and YHW (יהו) which were stamped on jars, had begun to be removed in order to protect their holiness (Talmud 'Arakin 6a; Shabbat 61b). Thus, the two Hebrew numbers 15 and 16 became 'sacred numbers'. Probably, this Jewish custom of 'sacred numbers' paved the way for the Christian custom of *nomina sacra* (sacred names) which appeared during the period 70-135 CE. For example, the Greek number 11 was written IA on the Roman coin dated 25 CE bearing the inscription IOULIA LIA, meaning "Julia year 11", but was written AI on the Jewish coin⁴⁸ dated 71 CE bearing the inscription BACIAEΩC

⁴⁵ E.G. TURNER -Theological Text

in: *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* Vol.I, papyrus n°3522 (London 1983) Ed. Egypt Exploration Society pp. 3-8; pl. II.

⁴⁶ L.W. HURTADO - The origin of the nomina sacra: A proposal

in: *Journal of Biblical Literature* n°117(4) 1998 pp. 655-673.

⁴⁷ G.H.R. HORSLEY - *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*
Sydney 1981, Ed. Macquarie University pp. 52, 56.

⁴⁸ J. MALITIEL-GERSTENFELD - *260 Years of Ancient Jewish Coins*
1982 Tel Aviv Ed. Kol Printing Service Ltd pp. 156-157.

MARKOY AFRIMPIOY ETOYC AI TOY, meaning "Of the King Marcus Agrippa of year 11". It was probably in order to avoid confusion with the divine name IA that the Greek number 11 (IA) was written with the letters inverted. The papyrus P52, dated 125 CE, contains no *nomina sacra*, but the author of a work written between 115 and 135 CE (Epistle of Barnabas 9:8)⁴⁹ made a link between the number 318 of Genesis 14:14 written TIH in Greek and the T (standard) of IH (Jesus). This last remark proves that, at this time, the acronym IH was a normal abbreviation of the Greek name IHCOUC, which was always written IC after 135 CE as in the papyrus P90 dated 150 CE. Irenaeus explained in his book (Against Heresies I:3,2) that some Gnostics thought of deriving mystic information from these Greek abbreviations, because IH (iota, eta) represented the Greek number 18.

The fact that God's name played an important role during two first centuries among Christians (from heathen origin), can be verified in the works of several writers of this time, whose remarks show that they held the Name in veneration⁵⁰.

Author	Era	Works
Clement of Rome	? -96	Epistle to Corinthians (43:2, 6; 45:7 58:1; 59:2, 3; 60:4; 64)
?	70-100	The Didache (10:2, 3; 14:3)
Ignatius of Antioch	? -117	Letter to Ephesians (1:2; 3:1; 7:1) Letter to Magnesians (1:2) Letter to Philadelphians (10:1, 2)
Hermas	? -140	The Shepherd (9:9; 10:1; 11:5 12:3 23:4)
Polycarp	70-160	Letter to Philippians (10:3) The Martyrdom (14:1)

However, these writers use the Greek substitute Lord (*kurios*) instead of the divine name, even when quoting the Holy Scriptures. Nevertheless, they cautiously avoided causing a confusion between YHWH indicated by 'Lord' and 'The God' and Jesus indicated by 'The Lord' and 'God'. Thus the presence or the absence of the article⁵¹ permitted the reader to know whom they were speaking about the lord Jesus or YHWH (Lord). Unfortunately, this subtlety disappeared very soon after the 2nd century of our common era. Was this term 'Lord' understood as a proper name at this time? The answer is no, in spite of apparent evidence. For example, Polycarp said he couldn't say « Caesar is Lord » (The Martyrdom of Polycarp 8:2), Josephus related that Jews refused to recognize Caesar as a Lord or to pronounce this word (The Jewish war VII:418), and finally the apostle Paul said: *there are (...) many lords, there is actually to us (...) one Lord* (1Co 8:5,6). But it is easy to dispel the misunderstanding of these quotations.

First, in the Gospel itself this term is only a title and was used in connection with human beings (Jn 12:21 20:15; Ac 16:30.) Also, Philo Judaeus, a Jewish philosopher used this word with regard to a mere man 'Lord Gaius' (Legatio ad Gaium 44-46.) This title is found as well in correspondence from the Bar-Kokhba period (132-135) written in Hebrew or in Greek⁵². Additionally, this title encountered no opposition at this time from political authorities. In fact the explanation is very simple in that the title 'Lord' may have both a political and a religious meaning. However, for early Christians there was a difference between political titles which must be respected (Rm 13:7) and religious titles which must be rejected (Mt 23:8-10). Caesar held a plurality of offices as a religious pontiff and also as a

⁴⁹ S.C. MIMOUNI - Le judéo-christianisme ancien, essais historiques
in: collection Patrimoines, Paris 1998, Éd. Cerf p. 237 note 4, 239.

⁵⁰ D. BERTRAND - Les Pères apostoliques
Paris 1991 in: Foi Vivante Ed. Cerf.

⁵¹ J.P. AUDET - La Didachè, instructions des apôtres
in: Études Bibliques. 1958 Ed. J. Gabalda pp. 188-191.

⁵² P. VAN IMSCHOOT - Dictionnaire Encyclopédique de la Bible
Paris 1960 Ed. Brepols Turhout pp. 1700-04.

N.LEWIS, Y.YADIN, J.GREENFIELD -The Documents from the Bar-Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters Jerusalem 1989 Ed. Israel Exploration Society pp. 17, 42-43, 52, 60, 139.

political leader. Tertullian explained that therein the real lay problem (Apologetic 34:1), because for a Christian to say 'Lord' in a political sense acceptable but in a religious sense only God was worthy to receive such a title. Thus, when Polycarp was asked to say « Caesar is Lord » the context shows that he was asked to follow a regular procedure (The Martyrdom of Polycarp 9:2) which would imply recognizing Caesar as a pontiff, and that was impossible. As the title Lord was used for God only, the importance of the Name itself for Christians quickly faded⁵³. Many factors played a role in bringing about the disappearance of the Name: A wrong translation of Leviticus 24:15-16, a mystical reverence toward the tetragram, the influence of legislation on superstitions, the increase of persecution, the important role played by the new name of Jesus and the influence of Greek philosophy which proposed the impossibility of men to name God.

Finally those who would like to keep the Jewish tradition, which appeared only from the 3rd century BCE, by replacing the divine name with YHWH (not pronounced) should act in the same way with the name of Jesus replacing it with JS as was done during the three first centuries of Christianity! It is interesting to note that Rabbi Tarphon (Shabbat 116a), between 90 and 130 CE, related the problem of the destruction of heretical (Judeo-Christian) texts that contained the tetragram. At this time, there were controversies among Jews and Christians and during their exchanges, these protagonists used Matthew's gospel written in Hebrew (which was a copy of a Hebraic original rather than a translation from Greek). These Hebraic copies of Matthew's book are very old, as they are found in works such as: *Sepher Nestor Hakomer* (The Book of Nestor the Idolatrous Priest)⁵⁴, which is dated around 600 CE. The priest Nestorius lived from 380 to 451 CE, but the Book of Nestor the Priest was completed later. In the copy of Matthew 4:1-10 (below) the Hebrew tetragram has been replaced by an abbreviation of "the Name" (ה' for *Hashem*) and the name Jesus (ישו) is written as in the Talmud (underlined), Yeshu instead of Yeshu'a.

ישו היה בורה מן השמן והיה מתפלל וצם
ארבעים יום בחר, והנה בא השמן ואמר לו, אם אתה
בן אלהים תאמר לאבן הזאת שתעשה לחם ותאכל
ממנו. ויאמר ישו, כתיב כי לא על הלחם לבדו
יחיה האדם, ולקחו השמן ויעלהו במדום ההיכל בעיה
הקדש, וא"ל אם אתה בן אלוה השלך עצמך מלמעלה
למטה ולא ימצאך נזק כלום. ויאמר ישו אל השמן
הלא כתיב לא תנסו את ה' אלהיכם. ועוד אמר
השמן לישו, ראה העולם כולו ומלכותו ושלטנותו
וכל הטוב אשר בו לי הוא ואם תכרע ותשתחוה לי
השתחוויה אחת אתנהו לך. ויען ישו הלא תדע כי
כתוב בתורה את ה' אלהיך תירא ואותו בעבוד. ומזה

Around the 4th century, Greek itself was supplanted by Latin. Thus Jerome began (382 CE) his new Latin translation of the Bible, *The Vulgate* which officially replaced the Old Latin (Vetus Latina), a Latin translation of the 2nd century. This famous translator gave some worthwhile information in his commentary on Psalm 8:2: *The name of the Lord in Hebrew has four letters, Yod He Waw He, which is the proper name of God which some people through ignorance, write ΠΙΠΙ (instead of יהוה) in Greek and which can be pronounced Yabo*⁵⁵. These remarks of Jerome confirm that at this time the complete disappearance of God's name was "well underway". Moreover, Jerome wrote in his prologue of the books of Samuel and Kings:

⁵³ J. DANIELOU -Théologie du judéo-christianisme
1974 Ed. Desclée/Cerf pp. 235-262.

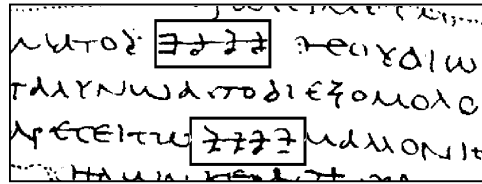
⁵⁴ J.D. EISENSTEIN - Ozar Wikuhim
Israel 1969 pp. 310-315.

D.J. LASKER - Jewish-Christian Polemics at the Turning Point: Jewish Evidence from the Twelfth Century
in: *The Harvard Theological Review* Vol. 89, No. 2 (Apr., 1996).

⁵⁵ ST JEROME - S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera
in: corpus christianorum Series Latina vol. LXXII (Psaume 8:2) Ed. Brepols 1959 p. 191.

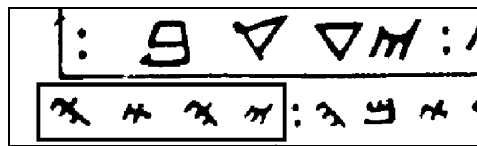
And we find the name of God, the Tetragram, in certain Greek volumes even to this day expressed in ancient letters (*Prologus Galeatus*). With regard to tetragrams written in paleo-Hebrew, the disappearance was faster than those written in standard Hebrew.

The whimsical style of this copy dated around 300 CE, which is a part of a Septuagint⁵⁶ revised by Symmachus, confirms that the copyists of that time had a total incomprehension of the reading of the divine name.

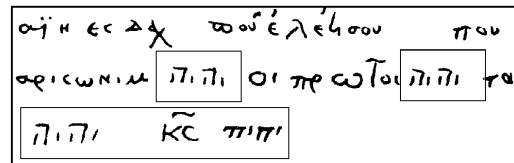


(Psalm 69:30-31, LXX)

The Samaritans still used the paleo-Hebrew, but their writing moved away from its original shape as one can see in this inscription (below)⁵⁷ dated 3rd century CE.



But, contrary to Christian translators, Jewish copyists carried on the use of writing the Name in old Hebrew within the Greek text until 250 CE. A little later, Eusebius and then Jerome would point out that the Jews used again modern Hebrew to write the Name, and that regrettably these letters (יהוה) were confused with Greek characters of similar shape (PIPI), as one can observe in many hexaplar (six columns) copies⁵⁸. James of Edesse, in about the 7th century, still observed this curious phenomenon of writing the Name PIPI (for יהוה). One can see the use of modern Hebrew to write the Name in this Ambrosian manuscript⁵⁹ of the 9th century CE.



As one can imagine, these rapid changes would also have an impact on the LXX of Jewish origin in which God's name in Hebrew occurred. The Christian copyists, in copying out these manuscripts, would first transform these names (very often יהוה became PIPI), then replace them by the Greek abbreviation KC. There was also a case where the copyist actually read the word PIPI in Greek, or pypy. For example, Bishop Paul of Tella⁶⁰, in his Syriac translation of the Septuagint, around 616, used this strange name pypy refer to God. In another comment believed to be by Evagrius Ponticus (345-399): *The Tetragram, which is ineffable, was written in Hebrew: Ioth, e, ouau, e, that is to say, pipi the God*⁶¹! Strangely enough, he said that the name of the Lord is: *ioth, e, ouab, eth, with the Hebrew letter "s" (called shin) in the middle*. However, the use of Iaô in daily life was forbidden by religious authorities⁶². Thus, after 150 CE, God's name disappeared of most usual copies in Greek of the LXX or NT. For example, Tertullian (155-222), a Latin Christian, quoted the text of Matthew 22:44 (or Ps 110:1) to prove that both Jesus and God were the same 'Lord' (*Adversus praxean* 13:3), but he mistook 'Lord' used as name (YHWH) and 'the Lord' used as title (for the messiah).

⁵⁶ C. WESSELY - Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde vol.XI Leipzig 1911 p. 171.

⁵⁷ J. NAVEH - Early History of the Alphabet Leiden 1982 Ed. E.J. Brill p. 124.

⁵⁸ ORIGENE - Origenis Hexaplorum tomus II (Psalm 26:1; 27:4,7; 28:1; Jes. 1,2) 1964 Ed. Georg Olms verlagsbuchhandlung Hildesheim pp. 124-127, 431.

⁵⁹ G. MERCATI - Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae.Pars prima.

Codex Rescriptus Bybliothecae Ambrosiane O39. Rome 1958 pp. 11, 97, 101.

⁶⁰ B.M. METZGER - Manuscripts of the Greek Bible

New York 1991 Ed. Oxford University Press p. 35, 108-109.

⁶¹ P. DE LAGARDE - Onomastica Sacra

Hildesheim 1966 Ed. Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung pp. 205-206, 230.

⁶² F.E. SHAW - The Earliest Non-mystical Jewish Use of Iaô 2002 Cincinnati Ed. University of Cincinnati (PhD thesis).

Blasphemy and religious trials of the first century

While the trial of Jesus is the most famous, certain elements appear contradictory as to the motive for his condemnation (blasphemy of the Name or crime against majesty) and the procedure followed by the authorities (death penalty decided by the Sanhedrin?).

Among the Jews. To understand these difficulties⁶³ we must remember that the Jewish Supreme Court, the Sanhedrin, was a body officially recognized by the occupying power and endowed with competence in judicial and administrative matters and in legal exegesis, existing as a single institution under the presidency of the High Priest (After the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE, the Sanhedrin ceased to exist in its previous form). The Sanhedrin in the time of Jesus was restricted to the eleven toparchies of Judaea proper. It consequently had no judicial authority at all over Jesus whilst he remained in Galilee. He came directly under its jurisdiction only in Judaea (Lk 23:7). In a sense, of course, the Sanhedrin exercised such moral jurisdiction over all the Jewish communities throughout the world (Ac 9:2; 22:5; 26:12), and in that sense over Galilee too. The Sanhedrin judged civil and religious crimes, but it had authority only over Jewish citizens and being under the Roman authority, the execution of its judgments had to be overseen by these authorities (Ac 22:30). For example, the Talmud of Jerusalem (BT Sanhedrin 18a) tells us that 40 years before the destruction of the Temple, that is in 30 CE, the Romans had deprived the Jews of capital punishment. With the trial of Jesus taking place in 33 CE, the Jews could indeed tell Pilate that they could not put Jesus to death (Jn 18:31). However, this limitation concerned only civil crimes, because the Romans did not want to take charge of religious crimes (Ac 18:14-16; 23:29; 25:19). Moreover, Pilate pointed out that he had full authority to judge civil crimes (Jn 19:10) yet, he did not want to judge a religious crime (Jn 18:31) even though this crime was punishable by death (Jn 19:7). With reference to Judaea, Josephus states explicitly that the emperor delegated to Coponius, Judaea's first Roman prefect (from 6 to 9 CE), the power to rule on his behalf, and exercise his authority, including the right to inflict capital punishment (The Jewish War II:117). In Jewish law the only religious crimes which were punishable by death, at this time, were profanation of the Temple (Nb 4:15) and blasphemy against God's name (Lv 24:16), which explains why the chief priests tried at first to condemn Jesus on these grounds (Mc 14:55). For example, in a extract from a letter to Agrippa I (-10 to 44), Philo asserted that entry into the Holy of Holies by a Jew, even a priest, or even the High Priest when not expressly ordered, constituted a crime punishable by 'death without appeal'. Literary and epigraphic evidence indicate that a non-Jew, even if a Roman citizen (The Jewish War VI:126), was to be put to death if apprehended in the inner Temple court.

Blasphemy. This crime is clearly codified in the Law of Moses and the culprit was to be stoned to death outside the camp (Lv 24:14-16). For example, this procedure was unjustly applied to execute Naboth (1K 21:13-14). The chief priests tried to apply this charge against Jesus, but several elements made their plan fail. First of all the false witnesses did not agree among themselves (Mt 26:59-60), and secondly the charge of blasphemous sayings was a matter of interpretation. In order for that charge to be valid the accused person must have cursed God's name, with two conditions, that is to blaspheme God and to use his name, or more rarely to directly blaspheme God's name. Apostasy

⁶³ E. SCHÜRER - The Great Sanhedrin in Jerusalem

in: The history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ Vol. II. 1986 Edinburgh Ed. Matthew Black F.B.A. pp. 199-226.

E. SCHÜRER - Judaea under Roman Governors

In: The history of the Jewish people in the age of Jesus Christ Vol. I. 1987 Edinburgh Ed. Matthew Black F.B.A. pp. 357-398.

J. MASSONNET - Sanhédrin

In: Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément Paris 1991 Ed. Letouzey & Ané pp. 1357-1413.

being considered as blasphemous sayings, could entail the death penalty (Jn 10:33) if the accused person also used God's name before the final verdict of the court (Talmud Sanhedrin 56a, 7:5). In this particular case, Jesus did not so use the divine Name and he demonstrated that the charge of blasphemous sayings was untrue (Jn 10:31-39). In the time of Jesus there existed blasphemous sayings and blasphemy against God (Mt 12:31). If blasphemous sayings (generally apostasy) were proved, the accused person was excluded and cursed by the community. It was this threat which hung over the Jews who became Christian (Jn 9:22; 12:42). They did not risk death, but rather exclusion or excommunication (Ac 8:1). However, to satisfy the Jewish religious leaders, the civil authorities did put some Christians of Jewish origin to death (Jn 16:2) on vague charges of sedition (Ac 12:1-3; 19:40; 24:5) or disturbing public order (Ac 16:20; 17:6).

The trial of Jesus. The chief priests who wanted to eliminate Jesus (Mt 26:4) tried to put him to death (Mt 26:59) by using the only charge which allowed for capital punishment (Jn 19:7), the charge of blasphemy (Mt 26:65). Since there had obviously been no direct blasphemy against God, in order for that charge to work it was also necessary that Jesus use the divine name before the final verdict, which he did not do, using substitutes such as Power (Mt 26:64), Above (Jn 19:11), God (Mk 15:34). So, the charge remained potential -“He is liable to death” but could not become actual -“he is condemned to death”, because, although the high priest ripped his outer garments, he asked « What is your opinion? » (Mt 26:65-66). Furthermore the high priest alone ripped his garments proving that the other members of the Sanhedrin did not fully agree. Having failed, the chief priests then changed the charge of blasphemy (religious crime), into a crime of lese-majesty (civil crime), but for this, the approval of Roman authorities was necessary (Lk 23:1-2). This charge of *crimen laesae majestis* was perfectly understood by Pilate, but he did not retain it (Lk 23:13,14). The law called *lex Julia majestis* promulgated in 48 BCE recognized as a crime any activity against the sovereign power of Rome. Finally, Pilate accepted unwillingly to execute Jesus but simply to restore law and order and to protect his career (Lk 23:22-24). It was mainly for this last reason that Christians of pagan origin would be put to death. Roman historian Tacitus, wrote that to silence rumors about the fire of Rome in 64 CE, Nero put to death Christians who were already the object of popular hatred (The Annals XV, XLIV). Pliny the Younger, the governor of Bithynia around 111 CE, expressed his perplexity over the absence of any legal motive for the execution of Christians (Letters of Pliny X:96,3-5; 97,1).

Stephen's trial. The procedure followed is similar to the one that was followed for the trial of Jesus. First of all Stephen was accused of blasphemous sayings and thus was brought before the Sanhedrin (Ac 6:11-12). Stephen was considered to be a blasphemer, because he was accused of apostasy (Ac 6:14), which charge he attempted to refute. His argumentation should have exonerated him, but in his defense he quoted the episode of the burning bush (Ex 3:1-15) with the revelation of the Name (Ac 7:30-33), which led him to use the divine name three times (Ac 7:31,33,49). On the other hand, refusing to name God could have convinced the audience that Stephen implicitly recognized that he spoke blasphemous sayings. The fact of using the divine name was not reprehensible in itself, because prohibition on its use would appear only by the middle of the second century, but to use it when on trial for blasphemy before the final verdict meant execution by stoning (Sanhedrin 7:5), which indeed occurred (Ac 7:58). A few Judeo-Christians were executed in this ‘legal’ way (Ac 26:10). There were not simply vigilante killings because Saul, who was a legal expert, approved of Stephen's execution (Ac 22:20). Some Bible scholars propose the idea that it was the last sentence about Jesus, which condemned Stephen. This is impossible for two reasons. The first is that the proceedings were dealing with blasphemy against the Name and not the charge of apostasy which would have only entailed a prison

sentence (Ac 8:3; 22:4) and exclusion from the synagogue (Jn 12:42), not capital punishment. Secondly, the prohibition on the use of the name of Jesus did exist (Ac 4:18; 5:28), but the penalty in that case was flogging (Ac 5:40) not death. This penalty was often applied (Mt 10:17; Ac 22:19) on Christians of Jewish origin but not on Christians of heathen origin.

Paul's trial. The procedure followed was still the same. The Jews, around 58 CE, wanted to eliminate Paul (Ac 22:22) who was then brought before the Sanhedrin (Ac 22:30). However, knowing perfectly well what had happened to Stephen (Ac 22:20) and knowing that in any case the crowd would molest him (Ac 21:31,35) after his judgment, Paul skillfully transformed a likely charge of sedition, profanation of the Temple (Ac 21:28) and apostasy (Ac 21:21) into a charge concerning different faiths (Ac 23:6), which definitively held up his trial. (A few years before, around 50 CE, a Roman soldier who heedlessly tore up a Torah scroll was put to death for profanation of the Temple by Procurator Cumanus (The Jewish War II:231). It would seem that Paul in a previous trial had not acted as skillfully, since he was indeed stoned and left for dead outside the city (Ac 14:19).

James' trial. There is no record in the Scriptures of James' death. The secular historian Josephus, however, says that during the interval between the death of Governor Festus, about 62 CE, and the arrival of his successor Albinus, the high priest Ananus (Ananias), « conveyed the judges of the Sanhedrin and brought before them a man named James, the brother of Jesus (Ga 1:19) who was called the Christ, and certain others. He accused them of having transgressed the law and delivered them up to be stoned » (Jewish Antiquities XX:200). The stoning of James, a Christian of Jewish origin, appears to be the last to be recorded.

Among the Romans. The Romans easily accepted new religions with the express condition (at the risk of death) that they be licit i.e. authorized by the State according to the ancient law called *lex superstitio illicita*. At the beginning of our era, since Christians were mainly of Jewish origin, the Romans did not easily distinguish between the two groups. The Jewish religion being a licit religion, the Judeo-Christian should have been able to use the divine name without risk of being pursued for blasphemy by the Roman authorities. Whereas it was legal for a Roman to become Jewish, the law on superstitions was nevertheless invoked to condemn Judeo-Christians (Ac 16:21). This charge seems paradoxical, because it was possible only if a new god had been introduced, but certain philosophers believed this was the case in hearing talk about Jesus (Ac 17:18). A second possibility is that, as in the first century, since the Romans knew that the Jews worshiped a god who was not named, the use of a name unknown to them, would have led to belief in the introduction of a new religion (Ac 18:13). For that reason, Paul carefully avoided using the *tetragram*, in his defense, but preferred substitutes such as God, Lord of the heaven and earth, the Divine Being (Ac 17:21-31). The proconsul Gallio considered that a quarrel on names (Ac 18:15) did not come from the law on superstitions, but from the Jewish law alone. Theoretically, the law on superstitions could apply to the Jews or to the Judeo-Christians only if they mentioned the divine name, a god unknown to the Romans. However even in that case, the penalty was not necessarily death but expulsion. For example, historian Valerius Maximus relates that around 139 BCE Praetor Cornelius Hispanus sent back Jews who had tried to convert Romans to the worship of Jova Sabaoth (Sabazi Jovi). However, under pressure from the crowd which hated Christians, historian Suetonius wrote «that punishments were inflicted on the Christians, a class of men given to a new and mischievous superstition» (The Lives of Caesars –Nero- XVI, 2).

The charge of sedition was ambiguous, because any disorder could have been perceived as a revolt (Ac 19:40). If a citizen was at the same time Jewish and Roman, Roman authority prevailed. For example in Paul's case, the first charge was apostasy (Ac 21:21; case n°8 see hereafter) then profanation of the Temple and sedition [against Jewish authorities] (Ac 21:28; case n°6 and 7) understood as sedition [against Roman authorities] (Ac 21:38; case n°5) but modified into apostasy (Ac 22:22-25; case n°8). When they had stretched him out for the whipping, Paul said to the army officer standing there: "Is it lawful for You men to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?" (Ac 22:26-29) Therefore the legal authority could not have been the Sanhedrin but only that of the Governor (Ac 23:28-30; case n°3). To clear up the question of judgement authority, Paul appealed to Caesar (Ac 25:11) but in this case as the real charge remained religious, from a Roman point of view it was not valid (Ac 25:27).

	Type of crime (in Palestine)	Incurred penalty	Proper authorities
1	Murder of a Roman	Capital punishment	Governor
2	Crime of a Jew by a Jew. For example: homosexuality, bestiality, idolatry, sorcery, etc. (Talmud Sanhedrin 7:4).	Capital punishment	Sanhedrin for judgment but Governor for the execution after 30 CE
3	Murder of a Jew by a Roman	Capital punishment	Governor
4	Illicit religion of a Roman	Eviction or capital punishment	Governor
5	Sedition against Roman authorities	Capital punishment	Governor
6	Sedition against Jewish authorities	Flogging and excommunication	Sanhedrin
7	Profanation of the Temple	Capital punishment	Sanhedrin
8	Blasphemous sayings (apostasy)	Flogging and excommunication	Sanhedrin
9	Blasphemy (of the Name)	Capital punishment	Sanhedrin

Philosophers and religious teachers oppose the Name

Surprisingly, philosophers and religious teachers have been the most damaging opponents of the Name⁶⁴. They were strongly influenced by several works of Plato (427-347) wherein he explained that no name could perfectly designate God, furthermore: « to have a name implies an older person who gave you this name, therefore God has no name » (Timaios 28b,c Kratylos 400d Parmenides 142a). Incredibly, in time these arguments influenced Bible teaching about the divine Name. For example, Philo a Jewish philosopher of the first century had a good biblical knowledge and knew that the tetragram was the divine name pronounced inside the temple. However in the same work, paradoxically, he explains, commenting on Exodus 3:14 from the LXX translation that God has no name of his own! (De Vita Mosis I:75).

To reconcile these two wholly opposite statements he proceeded by steps. First, he justified the custom of not pronouncing God's name with the analogy that children, out of reverence for their parents use substitutes like father or mother (or dad and mom) rather than their name (De Vita Mosis II,207). Then he stated that the name of God is itself a substitute because God refused to reveal his name to man. To prove this he quoted⁶⁵ Exodus 6:3 and Genesis 32:29. Thus, he spent a lot of time trying to prove that God's name was not a real name⁶⁶!

⁶⁴ N.A. DAHL A.F. SEGAL. -Philo and the Rabbis on the Names of God in: Journal for the study of judaism . Leiden 1978 Ed. E.J. Brill pp. 1-28.

⁶⁵ PHILON - De mutatione nominum 11-15

in: Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie n°18. Lyon 1964 Ed. Cerf pp. 37-39

⁶⁶ De somniis I,230; De gigantibus quod deus sit immutabilis 109; Quod deterius potiori insidari soleat 160; Quis rerum divinarum heres sit 170.

However, his Hebrew knowledge was incomplete, because in spite of his knowing the two substitutes for the divine name 'Lord' (Adonay in Hebrew or Kurios in Greek) and 'God' (Elohim in Hebrew or Theos in Greek) most of his quotations were from the Greek LXX. For example, when he explained the changing of the name Osee (salvation) into Iesous in Numbers 13:16, he translated Iesous as "Salvation of the Lord"⁶⁷. Furthermore, he misunderstood the meaning of the old Hebrew characters of the tetragram because he thought that these were symbols of numbers (De Vita Mosis II:115)! Justin (100-165) a Christian philosopher, is another example of this insidious opposition to the Name. Like Philo, Justin often commented in his works that it was impossible for man to name God⁶⁸, and once more his main argument came from Timaios, a work of Plato (Apologies II:6,1). However, an interesting anomaly is found in his quotations (like the passage of Mika 4:1-7 quoted in his Dialogue with Tryphon §109) which permits us to conclude that he knew the writing of God's name. His quotations of the Bible did not correspond exactly with the LXX or with the Masoretic text but only with these texts found at Qumran.

ⲉⲓⲁⲟⲩ ⲛⲁⲙⲉⲱⲛⲉⲗⲁⲗⲏⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲓⲡⲁⲛ
 ⲧⲉⲥⲟⲓⲗⲁⲟⲓⲡⲟⲣⲉϥⲥⲟⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲧⲓⲑⲉⲟⲩⲁⲗⲏⲥⲱⲛ
 ⲙⲉⲓⲗⲉⲡⲟⲣⲉϥⲥⲟⲙⲉⲑⲁⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲩⲁⲧⲓ ⲉⲓⲁⲟⲩ ⲑⲉⲟⲩ
 ⲙⲱⲛⲉⲓⲥⲟⲛⲁⲓⲱⲛⲁⲕⲁⲓⲉⲧⲓ
 ⲉⲛⲧⲏⲙⲉⲣⲁⲉⲕⲉⲓⲛⲏⲙⲉⲓⲉⲓⲁⲟⲩ ⲁⲗⲏⲥ
 ⲥⲱⲧⲏⲙⲉⲕⲧⲉⲑⲗⲓⲙⲙⲉⲛⲏⲙⲁⲓⲧⲏⲙⲉⲓⲱⲥ
 ⲙⲉⲛⲏⲙⲁⲑⲣⲟⲗⲥⲱⲕⲁⲓⲏⲙⲉⲕⲁⲕⲱⲥⲁⲕⲁⲗⲟⲛⲥⲱ
 ⲧⲏⲙⲉⲕⲧⲉⲑⲗⲓⲙⲙⲉⲛⲏⲙⲉⲓⲥⲱⲡⲟⲗⲉⲓⲙⲙⲁ
 ⲕⲁⲓⲧⲏⲙⲉⲕⲡⲉⲡⲓⲉⲥⲙⲉⲛⲏⲙⲉⲓⲉⲓⲥⲉⲑⲛⲟⲥⲓⲥⲱⲣⲟⲛ
 ⲕⲁⲓⲑⲁⲓⲙⲉϥⲉⲓⲁⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲁⲧⲱⲛⲉⲛⲧⲱⲣⲉⲓⲥⲉⲗ
 ⲱⲛⲁⲡⲟⲧⲟⲩⲛⲏⲙⲁⲓⲱⲥⲧⲟⲩⲁⲓⲱⲛⲟⲥ

In spite of the tetragram clearly appearing in paleo-Hebrew in this Greek text⁶⁹, Justin did not understand it as a proper name. Perhaps he thought that it was an archaic procedure for writing the word 'Lord'. At this time, even Irenaeus of Lyons (130-202) believed that the word IAÔ (Iaw in Greek, [Iah] in Latin) meant 'Lord' in primitive Hebrew⁷⁰ (Against Heresies II:24:2). Very fast, the understanding of the paleo-Hebrew became chaotic as it can be seen on Jewish coins⁷¹, minted from 135 BCE (John Hyrcanus, on the left) to 135 CE (Bar Kokhba, on the right), often written with degenerated letters.



⁶⁷ PHILON - in: Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie.

1964 Lyon (Ed. Cerf n°18) p. 87- De mutatione nominum 121

⁶⁸ A. WARTELE - Saint Justin Apologies I,10,1 I,61,11 I,63,1 II,12,4
 in: Études Augustiniennes. Paris 1987 Ed. L.C.P. pp. 109, 183, 185, 205, 215.

⁶⁹ D. BARTHELEMY - Les devanciers d'Aquila
 in: V.T.S. vol. X Leiden 1963 Ed. E.J. Brill pp. 203-212.

⁷⁰ The oldest testimony of the tetragram comes from the following Egyptian inscription (dated 1400 BCE): « Land of the Bedouins those of Yehua' » (G. GERTOUX - The Name of God Y.eH.oW.aH, Lanham 2002, Ed. University Press of America pp. 74-77).

⁷¹ D. HENDIN - Guide to Biblical Coins
 New York 23001 Ed. Amphora pp. 129-302.

Irenaeus esteemed that the use of this Hebrew word $\text{IA}\hat{\text{O}}$ to denote the Name of the unknown Father, was intended to impress gullible minds in worship of mysteries (Against Heresies I:21:3). Thus, this philosophical activity in time produced many gnostic sects⁷² with however two distinct trends. The main group maintained that God is unnamable because whoever has a name is the creation of another. One finds this reasoning in a text (Eugnostos the Blessed III:3,72)⁷³ dated as early as 50-100 CE. Another work (Ascension of Isaiah 7:37; 8:7; 9:6) written around 100 of our era states that God cannot be named and that the name of Jesus had not been revealed. This first trend was in reaction to the idolatrous practice of naming many gods connected with polytheism.

A second less widespread trend stressed the importance of calling upon the name of God in worship, which had to be kept secret as explained Lucius Apuleius (125-180) in his book entitled *Apologia* (chapter LXIV), written around 150 CE. This process generated a lot of new mystical names such as: Yaoth, which means in Hebrew 'Yah [is] sign/ letter/ miracle', Yaldabaoth 'She gave birth in the sign', Yao 'Yah, himself', and so forth. In his book Irenaeus denounced such a profusion of names (Against Heresies I:11:4), which was, in fact, a return to polytheism. He explained that in Hebrew all these names were only mere designations of the same God, because Adonai means 'Unnameable and glorious', Eloë 'The true God', Sabaoth 'The first heaven', Iaoth 'He who makes ill away', and so on (Against Heresies II, 35:3). He also made clear in his book that among the list of heretics, Marcion (85-160) was the first (around 140 CE) who had the audacity to mutilate the Scriptures (Against heresies I, 27:2-4). Concerning this apostate, Tertullian reported that one of his modifications was in the *Our Father* prayer in which « Let your Name be sanctified » became « Let your spirit be sanctified » in copies of Marcion.

Early Christians (before 70 CE) were mainly Judeo-Christians; that is to say Jews who became Christians and above all looked to Jesus as the Messiah (*christos* in Greek). Afterward, between 70 and 135 CE, this small group of Christians would be quickly submerged in the mass of the pagano-Christians, that is heathens who became Christians and who instead saw in Jesus a new Lord (Kurios in Greek). Paradoxically, Judeo-Christians would be considered heretics by Jews and by "Christians" alike (the Jews labeled them as the sect of the Nazarenes in Acts 24:5, and the "Christians" treated them as partisans of the circumcision in Acts 15:1-5). This entailed their rejection, which would be complete after 135 CE, by the two groups⁷⁴.

Aristo of Pella, a Judeo-Christian, tried in vain to answer some Jewish objections, in his book entitled: *A Disputation of Jason and Papiscus*⁷⁵ (written around 135 CE). For example, against the charge that Christianity was an apostasy from the Jewish religion, he explained that it was held that the Mosaic law, as far as it relates to outward rites and ceremonies, was only a temporary institution for the Jewish nation, foreshadowing the substance of Christianity based on a new covenant (Jr 31:31). In addition, Abraham was declared just before he was circumcised. To the objection that the divinity of Jesus contradicts the unity of God and is a blasphemy, he replied that Christians believe likewise in only one God. The Old Testament itself makes a distinction with the appearance of the three men at Mamre (Gn 18:22,33) one of whom was confessedly God, yet distinct from the Creator. After 135 CE, the Judeo-Christians were considered as heretics both by Jews and by Christians. In the Bible, those who serve God would preserve his name (Mi 4:5) because it would be very serious to forget it (Jr 23:27; Ps 44:20).

⁷² M. SIMON A. BENOIT - *Le Judaïsme et le Christianisme antique* 1991 Ed. P.U.F. pp. 144-162.

⁷³ J.M. ROBINSON - *The Nag Hammadi Library* Leiden 1988 Ed. E.J. Brill pp. 220-224.

⁷⁴ S.C. MIMOUNI - *Le judéo-christianisme ancien, essais historiques* Paris 1998 in: collection Patrimoines Éd. Cerf pp. 475-493.

⁷⁵ P. SCHAFF - *Literary Contest of Christianity with Judaism and Heathenism* in: *History of the Church* Vol II Chap III, 1997 Oak Harbor WA Logos Research Systems.

The use of the Name (YHWH) in Muslim world

A follower of al-Junayd, the Soufi Husayn ibn Mansur al-Hallâj (857-922) asserted⁷⁶: *Here are the words of which sense seemed ambiguous. Know that temples hold by His Yâ-Huwah and that bodies are being moved by His Yâ-Sîn. Now Hû and Sîn are two roads which end into the knowledge of the original point.* Yâ-Sîn is a reference to the Sura 36 and Yâhuwah (wrote *y'hw'h* in Arabic) makes reference to the Hebrew tetragram YHWH. The shape Yâhuwah was apparently understood as Yâ Huwa, "Oh He" in Arabic, because it seems so in a manuscript dated 10th century⁷⁷. Al-Hallâj was rejected as madman by his teacher, al-Junayd, and died crucified in Bagdad as a heretic.

٢٧ وكسر وتصابيب وباسمائك العالية الطاهرة
٢٨ المطهرة الممدوحة الرفيعة الجليلة الكريمة
٢٩ الجميلة ياه ياه ياه هو هو ياله

At the beginning of the 10th century the Hebrew Bible was translated (and transliterated) into Arabic by some Karaites⁷⁸, mostly living in Basora (Iraq), who used the Arabic *matres lectionis* (alif = a, ya' = i, waw = u) to vocalize the entire biblical text⁷⁹. However, because of the lack of *shewa* (short e) the name Yehwah was punctuated Yahwah (sometimes Yahuwah), which is found in some modern Arabic Bibles⁸⁰. It is interesting to note that in certain Babylonian manuscripts of this time, the tetragram was also punctuated Yahowah, which became Yahuwah (read as Yah Huwa 'Yah Himself' in Arabic). This later vocalization may have influenced several imams, such as Abu-l-Qâsim-al-Junayd (?-910) or Fahr ad-Din Râzî (1149-1209), who, knowing the 99 beautiful names of God, explained that the supreme Name (*ism-al-a'zam*) of God was Yâ Huwa not Allâh⁸¹. Because the vowels of 'aDoNaY are *a, o, a*, the Name should have been pointed YaHoWaH; but one never encounters this form, except in few ancient Babylonian codices⁸². Note that the Babylonian vocalization is slightly different from the Palestinian vocalization, but it might have influenced some copyists of the Arabic Bible made around 960 by the famous Karaite commentator Yefet ben Eli⁸³ (920-1010), since the name Yahwah is found (below) a few times in this Bible⁸⁴. Some serious works put forward a grammatical reason to justify the change of the first vowel *a* into *e*. This explanation is illogical for three reasons. First, in the case of the word YêHoWiH, read

٨ وَأَنْتَ فِي الْإِرْتِفَاعِ لِلدَّهْرِ يَا يَهُوَهَ
٩ فَإِنَّهُ هُوَذَا أَعْدَاؤُكَ يَا يَهُوَهَ فَإِنَّهُ هُوَذَا

⁷⁶ L. MASSIGNON - *Akhbar al-Hallâj*

Paris 1975 Éd. Vrin p. 113 (French translation), p. 26 (Arabic text).

⁷⁷ P. BENOÎT, J.T. MILIK, R. DE VAUX - *Les grottes de Murabbaat* Oxford 1961 Ed. Clarendon Press pp. 286-290.

⁷⁸ M. POLLIAK - *The Karaite Tradition of Arabic Bible Translation. A linguistic & Exegetical Study of Karaite Translations of the Pentateuch from the Tenth & Eleventh Centuries C.E.* Leiden E.J. Brill 1997.

G. KHAN - *Karaite Bible Manuscripts from the Cairo Geniza.* Cambridge 1990 p. 72.

⁷⁹ G. KHAN - *The Medieval Karaite Transcriptions of Hebrew into Arabic Script* in: *Israel Oriental Studies* 12 (1992) pp. 159-176.

G. KHAN - *The Orthography of Karaite Hebrew Bible Manuscripts in Arabic Transcription* in: *Journal of Semitic Studies* 38 (1993) pp. 49-70.

⁸⁰ F. CHIDIAQ & W. WATTS - *The Holy Bible.* London, 1857 (Yahuwah in Ex 6:3, 6, 8, etc.).

THE DOMINICAN FATHERS - *The Dominican Bible.* Iraq, 1875 (Yahuwah in footnote of Ex 3:14 and Yahwah in footnote of Ex 6:3).

VAN DYKE & BOUSTANY - *The Holy Bible.* Beirut, 1865 (Yahwah in Ex 3:15; 6:3).

THE JESUIT FATHERS - *The Holy Bible.* Beirut, 1880 (Yahwah in Ex 6:3).

⁸¹ IBN 'ATA' ALLAH - *Traité sur le nom ALLÂH* (translated by Maurice Glotton) Paris, Les Deux Océans 1981 pp. 146-147

⁸² P. KAHLE - *Masoreten des Ostens*

Hildesheim 1966 Ed. Georg Olms Verlagbuchhandlung pp. 36-37

C. SIRAT - *Codices litteris exarati 1020 CE Tome I*

Turnout 1997 Éd. Brepols pp. 80-85 (Manuscript B15₁ of Cambridge University and manuscript T-S A 39.11 dated 953 CE).

⁸³ D. BARTHELEMY - *Découvrir l'écriture*

Paris 2000 Éd. Cerf pp. 192-195.

⁸⁴ J.J.L. BARGES - *Libri psalmorum David Regis et prophetarum. Versio à R. Yaphet ben Heli* (Psalm 92:8-9)

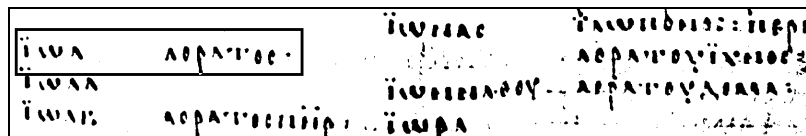
Paris 1861 Ed. Institutui Imperialis Gallicani Bibliopolam p. 184.

Êlohim, one can verify in many codices that the vowel *ê* of this word was not modified into *e* to give the form YeHoWiH⁸⁵. Secondly, when the Masoretes indicate that a word to be read (*qere*) is different from the written word (*kethib*), it is to show that this word is indeed different, and that there is no link between the two words. Thirdly, before the 12th century, the tetragram was not pointed *e, o, a*, but only *e, a*⁸⁶, and sometimes with even only one final *a*, which would exclude grammatical reasons, because it becomes impossible to explain the disappearance of the vowel *o* in this way.

Theophoric names (a proper noun which contains either the shortened name Yah or the beginning of the great name Yehowah) have kept inside them the pronunciation of God's name, for example: Yehô-natan "Yehô[ah] has given", Eli-yah "My God [is] Yah" and Eli-yahû "My God [is] Yah himself". Theophoric names are found in the Muslim Quran (Surah VI:85), in the Catholic Vulgate or in the Orthodox Septuagint, but only the Jewish Torah in Hebrew has kept the former pronunciation and the exact meaning.

Name:	Zechariah	John	Jesus	Elijah
Torah	Zekharyah	Yehohanân	Yeshûa'	'Eliyahû
Meaning:	<i>He has remembered Yah</i>	<i>Yehô[ah] has been gracious</i>	<i>[Yehouah is] salvation</i>	<i>My God [is] Yah himself</i>
LXX	Zakharia	Iôanan	Iesou	Elia
Vulgate	Zaccharia	Iohanan	Iosue	Helia
Quran	Zakarîyâ	Yahyâ	'Isa	Ilyâs

Al-Hallâj probably knew God's name (around 900) thanks to Karaites (in Irak). It is interesting to observe that Judah Halevi (1075-1141), a Jewish philosopher who wrote prose in Arabic and poetry in Hebrew, put arguments in his book *The Kuzari*⁸⁷, published in 1140, to explain that the main difference between the God of Abraham and the God of Aristotle was the tetragram (*The Kuzari* IV:1-16). He proved also that this name was the personal name of God and that it meant "He will be with you". To show once again that it was the meaning of this name which was important and not the pronunciation, he quoted Exodus 5:2 where Pharaoh asked to know the Name: not the pronunciation which he used, but the authority of this Name. He pointed out that the letters of the tetragram have the remarkable property of being *matres lectionis*, that is the vowels associated with other consonants, much as the spirit is associated with the body and makes it live. He specified in his book that the tetragram is God's unique name, and that these letters Y, W, H serve as vowels, that is to say I, O, A, for all other consonants. Some authors, such as Severi of Antioch (465-538), knew and used the form IÔA (ἰωα) in a series of comments on chapter eight of John's gospel⁸⁸, pointing out that it was God's name in Hebrew. Another book (*Eulogy of John the Baptist* 129:30) alluded to the name IÔA. In the codex⁸⁹ Coislinianus dated 6th century, several theophoric names are explained owing to the Greek word *aoratos* meaning 'invisible' and read IÔA (boxed name). The word *aoratos* (found in the LXX in Genesis 1:2), or *arretos* meaning 'unspeakable', is equivalent to the Latin word 'ineffable'.



⁸⁵ P.L.B. DRACH *De l'harmonie entre l'Eglise et la synagogue* Gent (Belgium) 1978 Ed. Socii Sancti Michaelis pp. 480-481.

⁸⁶ P.E. KAHLE - *The Cairo Geniza* Londres 1947 pp. 172,173 note 4.

⁸⁷ J. HALLEVI - *Le Kuzari, apologie de la religion méprisée* in: collection "Les Dix Paroles" Paris 1993 Ed. Verdier.

⁸⁸ ms. E40 Roma Biblioteca Vallicelliana fol. 153v line 33

BALTHAFAR CORDERIUS - *Catena Petrum Græcorum in Sanctum Ioannem* (John 8:58) Parisii 1630 Bibliothèque des Sources Chrétiennes Lyon p. 244.

⁸⁹ CODEX COISLINIANUS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Coislin Gr. 1 fol. 1-4.

In commenting on a work of Severi of Antioch, the famous scholar James of Edesse (633-708) made clear around 675, that the copyists of the Septuagint (of his time) were divided over whether to write the divine name Adonay, to keep it within the Greek text in the form ΠΙΠΙ (corresponding in fact to the Hebrew name YHYH as he mentioned), or to translate it as Kurios and write it in the margin of the manuscript⁹⁰.

Maimonides (1138-1204), a renowned Talmudist, confirmed in his book (The Guide of the Perplexed I:61-64), published in 1190 (and written in Arabic), that YHWH is the only name without an etymology, contrary to other divine names. He also made it clear that true worship alone had been lost, because the pronunciation of the divine name could always be found according to its letters. These remarks of Maimonides would inspire numerous Christian commentators. However, the expression “pronounced according to its letters” which Maimonides used is strictly exact only in Hebrew (vowel letters as pointed out by Judah Halevi). Joachim of Flora (Gioacchino da Fiore) gave a Greek transliteration of the Tetragram (I-E-U-E, or IEUE) in his work entitled *Expositio in Apocalypsim*⁹¹, that he finished in 1195. He also used the expression « Adonay IEUE tetragrammaton nomen » in another book entitled *Liber Figurarum*⁹². As seen in this illustration (below), Joachim of Flora (1130-1202) also gave the three other names: IE, EV, VE, which he associated with the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit! Joachim of Flora transcribed the tetragram according to its Greek letters obtaining IEUE. He then decomposed this name into three, IE for the Father, EU for the Son and UE for the Holy Spirit.



The vocalization of the tetragram (IEUE) associated with the name of Jesus (EU) would soon be improved by Pope Innocent III (1160-1216) in one of his sermons⁹³ written around 1200. Indeed, he noticed that the Hebraic letters of the tetragram Ioth, Eth, Vau (that is Y, H, W) were used as vowels, and that the name IESUS had exactly the same vowels I, E and U as the divine name. Like Joachim of Flora, he broke up the divine name IEUE into IE-EU-UE, which led him to suppose that the name IE-SUS contained God's name IE. He also drew a parallel between the name written IEVE, pronounced Adonai, and the name written IHS but pronounced IESUS. The link between these two names would afterwards play a determining role in the process of vocalization of the tetragram.

Thus, from the 10th century (with the Soufi Husayn ibn Mansur al-Hallâq using Yâhuwa) to the 13th century (with the Imam Fahr ad-Dîn Râzî using Yâ Huwa)⁹⁴, the tetragram, the supreme Name, was known and used in Muslim world.

⁹⁰ EBERHARD NESTLE - Jacob von Edessa über den Schem hammephorasch und andere Gottesnamen. in: Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig 1878 tom.XXXII pp. 465-508,735.

⁹¹ GIOACCHINO DA FIORE - *Expositio* (...) in *Apocalypsim* Venise 1527 Bibliothèque de la Part-Dieu Lyon SJ TH37/3 fol. 35-37.

⁹² L. TONDELLI - Il Libro delle figure dell'abate Gioacchino da Fiore Torino 1953 Ed Societa Editrice Internazionale tom.I pp. 225,226 tom.II tav.XIa,XIb.

⁹³ INNOCENTII III PAPAE - *Sermones de sanctis*. Sermo IV, in circumcissione domini in: *Patrologiae Latina* CCXVII Éd. J.P. Migne Paris 1855 pp. 465-470.

⁹⁴ AR-RAZI - *Traité sur les noms divins* Paris 2000 Éd. Al-Bouraq p. 179.