

SECTION 5

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Appendix A: "J" Reference Sources

••205•• The *New World Translation* replaces the Greek word *Kyrios* (and occasionally Theos) with the divine name *Jehovah* 237 times in the Christian Greek Scriptures. (Infrequently, *Jehovah* appears multiple times in a single verse.) In each of these 237 instances, the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society has published documentation supporting the translators' selection of *Jehovah*. Anyone wishing to investigate the use of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures will want to consult firsthand the two information sources summarized in this appendix.

1. The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation of the Greek Scriptures*, copyrighted in 1969 and 1985 by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, is a valuable and primary source of information. In each instance where *Jehovah* has been inserted into the *New World Translation* text, the footnote material cites occurrences of the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew language translations. The footnotes also include representative material concerning the respective Greek word found in the earliest Greek manuscripts. (The 1969 edition gives more complete information for the document sources it lists. However, the more recent 1985 edition adds new material in references J22 through J27 and lists additional early Greek manuscripts and version sources.) *The Kingdom Interlinear Translation must be consulted firsthand for any comprehensive investigation of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures.* The information under the first heading in this appendix, **Explanation of the Symbols Used in the Marginal References**, is summarized from pages 26-31 in the 1969

edition and from pages 13-15 of the 1985 edition.

2. The *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures Reference Edition* (copyrighted in 1984) is a second source of information for this study. In addition to the biblical text, this edition contains further explanations of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society's position regarding the Tetragrammaton in numerous appendices. This appendix information includes each of the 237 *Jehovah* references in the *New World Translation* and a comprehensive list of all "J" references to the Tetragrammaton. The information in the second heading of this appendix, **The 237 "Jehovah" references in the Christian Greek Scriptures of the New World Translation**, is a summary of this latter information. (*The New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures Reference Edition*, pp. 1565-1566.)

Explanation of the Symbols Used in the Marginal References

••206•• All *Jehovah* footnotes in various editions of the *New World Translation* use uniform symbols or identification entries. Ancient Greek manuscripts are identified by a symbol designation such as \aleph , A, B, etc. Hebrew translations are identified with a "J" followed by the appropriate superscript and thus appear as J¹, J², J³, through J²⁷.

The following material summarizes each of the ancient Greek manuscripts, Hebrew versions, or supplementary sources cited in the footnote section of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. The headings for this section are used as follows: **Greek** (or **Hebrew**) text identifies the

contents of the manuscript. For Greek manuscripts, the heading **Date** identifies its approximate age. Hebrew versions are identified by **Publication date**. Ancient versions are identified under the heading **Version**. The heading **Modern Greek** identifies contemporary publications of the Greek Scripture text. The heading **Reference** identifies miscellaneous reference works cited as "J" references.

Early Greek Manuscripts.

The following entries are ancient Greek documents which are regarded as primary sources for the Christian Greek Scripture text.

Ⲁ (Aleph)

Greek text: Greek Scriptures

Date: 4th century

Sinaitic MS (Latin: *codex Sinaiticus*) is an uncial Greek manuscript of the 4th century. It is in codex form. It is housed in the British Museum, London, England.

A

Greek text: Greek Scriptures

Date: 5th century

Alexandrine MS is an uncial Greek manuscript of the 5th century. It is in codex form, and originally contained the entire Bible. It remains largely intact, containing all but Matthew 1:1 to 25:6; John 6:50 to 8:52; and, 2 Corinthians 4:13

to 12:6. It is housed in the British Museum, London, England.

B

Greek text: Greek Scriptures

Date: 4th century

Vatican MS. 1209 (Latin: *codex Vaticanus*) is an uncial Greek manuscript from the 4th century. It is in codex form, and originally contained the whole Greek Bible. It presently lacks Hebrews 9:14 to 13:25; 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, and Revelation. It is presumably in the Vatican Library in Rome.

C

Greek text: Greek Scriptures

Date: 4th century

Codex Ephraemi rescriptus is a palimpsest manuscript of the ••207•• 5th century. It contains parts of the Gospels, Acts, the Epistles, and Revelation. It originally contained the entire Greek Bible, but was erased and overwritten in the 12th century. It is in the National Library in Paris, France.

D

Greek text: Partial Gr. Scrtps.

Date: 6th century

Codex Bezae. This symbol includes both the Cambridge and the Clermont manuscripts. Both are from the 6th century. A portion containing the larger part of the Gospels, parts of Acts, and a Latin translation of 3 John 11 to 15 is in

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the University of Cambridge, England. The second portion containing the letters of the apostle Paul with a Latin translation is in the National Library in Paris, France.

L

Greek text: Greek manuscript

Date: 9th century

Listed as Greek Uncial manuscripts from the 9th century, Rome, G.S.

P

Greek text: Greek manuscripts

Date: 200 C.E. to 3rd century

This collection includes papyrus fragments of the Chester Beatty collections Nos. 1, 2, and 3. They are designated as P45, P46, and P47.

P45 (*Chester Beatty 1*) includes manuscript fragments assigned to the 3rd century. These fragments consist primarily of Gospel portions. They are located in London, England.

P46 (*Chester Beatty 2*) includes manuscript fragments assigned to the 3rd and 4th centuries. These manuscripts include Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, and Hebrews. These fragments are located in both London, England, and Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.

P47 (*Chester Beatty 3*) includes manuscript fragments

assigned to the 3rd century. The fragments include Revelation, chapters 9 to 17. They are located in London, England.

P66 (*Papyrus Bodmer 2*). These Greek manuscript fragments contain portions of the Gospel of John and are dated circa 200 C.E. They are housed in Geneva, Switzerland.

P74 (*Papyrus Bodmer 17*). These Greek manuscript fragments contain distributed portions of the Greek Scriptures. They are from the 7th century and are housed in Geneva, Switzerland.

P75 (*Papyrus Bodmer 14*). These fragments contain portions from Luke and John and are ••208•• dated circa 200 C.E. They are housed in Geneva, Switzerland.

"J" reference documents.

These reference works use the Tetragrammaton (יהוה) in the Christian Greek Scriptures. They are used as verification for *Jehovah* in the Greek Scriptures of the *NWT*. The 1969 edition of *KIT* lists J¹ through J²¹. The 1985 edition adds J²² through J²⁷ pages 210-213.

J¹

Hebrew text: Matthew

Publication date: 1555

In 1555, Jean du Tillet published *Matthew in Hebrew* in Paris. The original was from an ancient manuscript found in Rome, and edited by J. Mercerus. A copy is in the New York

Public Library.

J2

Hebrew text: Matthew

Publication date: *circa* 1385

Matthew in Hebrew. This version was completed about 1385 by Shem-Tob-ben-Shaprut in Castille, Spain. It was part of a work against Christianity. His *Matthew in Hebrew* is included as a separate chapter. A copy is in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York City. (Also see the Bibliography for *The Gospel of Matthew according to a Primitive Hebrew Text* by George Howard.)

J3

Hebrew text: Matthew

Publication date: 1537

In 1537, Sebastian Munster published a revision of Shem-Tob's *Matthew and Hebrews in Hebrew*. It was published in Basel, Switzerland. In 1557, Munster published his Hebrew version of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. A copy is in the New York Public Library.

J4

Hebrew text: Matthew

Publication date: 1551

In 1551, Johannes Quinquarboreus published a revision of Munster's *Matthew in Hebrew* in Paris, France. A copy is in the New York Public Library.

J5

Hebrew text: Liturgical Gospels

Publication date: 1574

In 1574, Frederick Petri published a Hebrew version of the *Liturgical Gospels*, translated from Greek. It was revised in 1581 by C. Plantin at Antwerp, Belgium. A copy is in the New York Public Library.

J6

Hebrew text: Gospels

Publication date: 1576

In 1576, J. Claius published a translation of the ••209•• *Liturgical Gospels* in Hebrew. A copy is in the New York Public Library.

J7

Hebrew text: Greek Scriptures

Publication date: 1599

In 1599 Elias Hutter published a translation of his *Greek Scriptures in Hebrew* in Nuremberg, Germany. This was the first complete Hebrew translation of the entire canonical Christian Greek Scriptures. A copy is in the New York Public Library.

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J8

Hebrew text: Greek Scriptures

Publication date: 1661

In 1661, William Robertson published a revision of Hutter's translation of the *Christian Greek Scriptures in Hebrew*. A copy is in the New York Public Library.

J9

Hebrew text: Four Gospels

Publication date: 1639

In 1639, John Baptist Jonah completed a translation of the four Gospels into Hebrew from the Latin *Vulgate*. The work was published in Rome in 1668. A copy is in the Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

J10

Hebrew text: Four Gospels

Publication date: 1800

In 1800, Dr. Richard Caddick published a revision of the Hutter-Robertson translation of the Gospels. A copy is found at the New York Public Library.

J11

Hebrew text: Greek Scriptures

Publication date: 1817

In 1817, T. Fry, G. B. Collyer and others published a new

translation of the *Greek Scriptures in Hebrew* for the London Jewish Society in London, England. A copy is in the New York Public Library.

J12

Hebrew text: Greek Scriptures

Publication date: 1831

In 1831, W. Greenfield published a Hebrew translation of the *Christian Greek Scriptures*. A copy of the 1851 edition is in the library of the American Bible Society, New York City.

J13

Hebrew text: Greek Scriptures

Publication date: 1838

In 1838, A. McCaul, J. C. Reichardt, S. Hoga and M. S. Alexander published another Hebrew translation of the complete *Greek Scriptures* for the London Jewish Society. A copy of the 1872 edition is in the library of the American Bible Society, New York City.

J14

Hebrew text: Greek Scriptures

Publication date: 1846

In 1846, John Christian Reichardt published a translation ••210•• of the *Christian Greek Scriptures* in London, England. A copy of the 1853 edition is in the library of the American Bible Society, New York City.

J15

Hebrew text: Select books

Publication date: 1855

In 1855, Joachim Heinrich Raphael Biesenthal published *Luke, Acts, Romans and Hebrews* in Hebrew in Berlin, Germany. A copy is in the New York Public Library.

J16

Hebrew text: Greek Scriptures

Publication date: 1866

In 1866, the London Jewish Society published a third Hebrew version of the *Christian Greek Scriptures* by John Christian Reichardt and Joachim Heinrich Raphael Biesenthal. A copy is in the New York Public Library.

J17

Hebrew text: Greek Scriptures

Publication date: 1877

In 1877, Franz Delitzsch translated the *Christian Greek Scriptures* into Hebrew in Leipzig, Germany. By 1892, ten editions containing his revisions had been published posthumously. The editions consulted for the *NWT* were printed in Germany in 1892 and in 1937 for the British and Foreign Bible Society, London, England. The 1985 *KIT* edition lists a further 1981 edition.

J18

Hebrew text: Greek Scriptures

Publication date: 1885 & other

In 1885, the Trinitarian Bible Society of London, England, published a new translation of the *Greek Scriptures in Hebrew*. The translation work was started by Isaac Salkinson and completed after his death by Christian David Ginsburg. The oldest copy used as a Tetragrammaton source is the third edition published in 1891. The 1939 and 1941 editions were also consulted.

J19

Hebrew text: John

Publication date: 1930

In 1930, T. C. Horton translated the *Gospel of John* into Hebrew. It was published by the British Jews Society of Haifa, Palestine. [The 1985 *KIT* lists this reference as a work by Moshe I. Ben Maeir in 1957.] A copy is housed in the library of the American Bible Society, New York City.

J20

Reference: *A Concordance to the Greek Testament*

Note: See the **Reference** heading below for the complete entry. ••211••

J21

Modern Greek: *The Emphatic Diaglott*

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Note: See the **Modern Greek** heading below for the complete entry.

J22

Hebrew text: Greek Scriptures

Publication date: 1979

The entire *Christian Greek Scriptures* in Hebrew. Published by the United Bible Societies, Jerusalem, Israel, 1979.

J23

Hebrew text: Greek Scriptures

Publication date: 1975

The entire *Christian Greek Scriptures* translated by J. Bauchet, Rome, Italy, 1975.

J24

Hebrew text: Greek Scriptures

Publication date: 1863

In 1863 Herman Heinfetter published *A Literal Translation of the New Testament...From the Text of the Vatican Manuscript* in London, England.

J25

Hebrew text: Romans

Publication date: 1900

St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans was published by W.G. Rutherford in London, England, 1900.

J26

Hebrew text: Matthew

Publication date: 1533

Anton Margaritha published the Psalms and Matthew 1:1 through 3:6 in Leipzig, Germany, in 1533.

J27

Hebrew text: Greek Scriptures

Publication date: 1796

Dominik von Brentano produced *Die Heilige Schrift des neuen Testaments* (third edition) in Vienna, Austria, and Prague, Czechoslovakia, in 1796.

Version references.

The following entries are ancient versions used as reference to substantiate the Greek word *Kyrios* in the *KIT Jehovah* footnotes.

Arm

Version: Greek Scriptures

Date: 4th or 5th cent. (origin)

This is an Armenian Version from either the 4th or 5th century. The present copies, however, are from the 9th to 13th centuries. Copies are found in Moscow, Russia,

Istanbul, Turkey, Venice, Italy, and Armenia.

It

Version: *Old Latin*

Date: 4th to 6th centuries

Old Latin Versions existed among Latin-speaking Jews and Christians. Jerome produced the widely circulated Latin *Vulgate*. Three Old Latin version families are identified: (1) the African, ••212•• (2) the European, and (3) the Italian. Some versions were in existence as early as the 2nd century, though most are derived from the 4th to 6th centuries.

Sy

Version: Syriac versions

Date: 464 C.E. to 6th cent.

Syriac Peshitta Version. [Sy, SyP] A Hebrew Scripture translation for Syriac Christians. It was translated directly from the Hebrew text. An extant manuscript may be dated as early as 464 C.E.

Sy^c identifies the *Curetonian Syriac*. This version contains parts of the four Gospels.

Sy^h is a 7th century *Philoxenian Harkleian* revision which Thomas of Harkel made of the 6th century version of *Philoxenus* of Mabug, Eastern Syria.

Sy^{h1} identifies the *Jerusalem (Hierosolymitanum) version*. It is assigned to the 6th century.

Sy^s identifies the *Sinaitic Syriac codex*, assigned to the 4th

and 5th centuries C.E. It contains the Gospels.

Vg

Version: Vulgate

Date: 405 C.E.

Vulgata Latina or Latin *Vulgate*. Originally revised from the *Old Latin* text by Eusebius Jerome. It makes reference to the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. It was begun in 383 C.E. and finished in 405 C.E.

Modern Greek.

The following references are used as citations by the translators of the *NWT* in support of the modern Greek text and related topics:

J21

Modern Greek: Interlinear

Date: 1942 edition

This reference work has the lengthy title *The Emphatic Diaglott containing the Original Greek Text of what is commonly styled the New Testament (according to the Recension of Dr. J. J. Griesbach) with an Interlineary Word for Word English Translation—A New Emphatic Version*. It was produced by Benjamin Wilson, a newspaper editor in Geneva, Illinois. In 1902, the copyright and plates were given to the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. The 1985 edition of *KIT* lists the 1942 reprint by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society.

Nestle-Aland

Modern Greek: Greek Scriptures

Date: 1979

The standard Christian Greek Scripture reference *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 26th ed., published in Stuttgart, Germany, 1979.

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UBS

Modern Greek: Greek Scriptures

Date: 1975 Edition

The Greek New Testament, by the United Bible Societies. Third edition, 1975.

Reference.

The following is a reference work cited by the translators of the *NWT* in support of יהוה in the Christian Greek Scriptures.

J20

Reference: Greek concordance

Date: 1963 edition

A Concordance to the Greek Testament, published by W. F. Moulton and A. S. Geden. It was published by T. & T. Clark in 1897 in Edinburgh, Scotland. The 1963

edition was consulted. The headings of interest are the Scripture references under ΘΕΟΣ (*Theos*) and ΚΥΡΙΟΣ (*Kyrios*) wherein it quotes parts of the Hebrew text containing the Tetragrammaton (יהוה).

The 237 *Jehovah* references in the Christian Greek Scriptures of the *New World Translation*

••213•• This list identifies both the Greek word found in the Westcott and Hort Greek text and the documentation supporting its translation as *Jehovah*. The Greek word used in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* is designated in the center column as either *Kyrios* (*Lord*) or *Theos* (*God*). These two words are written in Greek as Κύριος and θεός respectively. The "J" and superscript column refers to the Hebrew translations used to document יהוה. (See the previous section in this appendix for identification of the superscript.) For more complete information on this listing, see the *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures Reference Edition*, pp. 1565 and 1566.

Matthew		2:15	Κύριος	J1,3,4,6-14,16-
1:20	Κύριος			J3,4,7-14,16- 18,22-24
		2:19	Κύριος	J1-4,6-14,16- 18,22-24
1:22	Κύριος			J1-4,7-14,16- 18,22-24,26
		3:3	Κύριος	J1-4,7-14,16- 18,20,22-24, 26
1:24	Κύριος			J1-4,7-14,16- 18,22-24
2:13	Κύριος	4:4	θεός	J1-14,17,18,20, 22,23
				J1-4,6-14,16- 18,22-24

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4:7 *Κύριος* J1-14,16-18,20,
22-24

4:10 *Κύριος* J1-14,16-18,20,
22-24

5:33 *Κύριος* J1-4,7-14,16-
18,22,23

21:9 *Κύριος* J1-14,16-18,20-
24

21:42 *Κύριος* J1-4,7-14,16-
18,20-24

22:37 *Κύριος* J1-14,16-18,20-
24

22:44 *Κύριος* J1-14,16-18,20-
24

23:39 *Κύριος* J1-14,16-18,21-
24

27:10 *Κύριος* J1-4,7-14,16,
17,22-24

28:2 *Κύριος* J1-4,7-13,16-
18,22-24

Mark

1:3 *Κύριος* J7-14,16-18,22-
24

5:19 *Κύριος* J7-10,17,18,22

11:9 *Κύριος* J7,8,10-14,16-
18,21-24

12:11 *Κύριος* J7-14,16-18,21-
24

12:29 *Κύριος* J7-14,16-18,20-
24,27

12:29 *Κύριος* J7-14,16-18,20-
24

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12:30 *Κύριος* J7-14,16-18,21-
24

12:36 *Κύριος* J7-14,16-18,21-
24

13:20 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13,16-
18,22-24

Luke

1:6 *Κύριος* J7-17,23

1:9 *Κύριος* J7-18,22,23

1:11 *Κύριος* J7-13,16-18,22-
24

1:15 *Κύριος* J7,8,10-
18,22,23

1:16 *Κύριος* J7-18,22-24

1:17 *Κύριος* J7-18,22-24

1:25 *Κύριος* J7-18,22,23

1:28 *Κύριος* J5,7-18,22,23

1:32 *Κύριος* J5-18,22-24

1:38 *Κύριος* J5,7-18,22-24

1:45 *Κύριος* J5-18,22-24

1:46 *Κύριος* J5-18,22,23

1:58 *Κύριος* J5-18,22-24

1:66	<i>Κύριος</i>	J5-18,22-24	John	
1:68	<i>Κύριος</i>	J5-18,22-24	1:23	<i>Κύριος</i> J5-14,16-19,22-24
1:76	<i>Κύριος</i>	J5-18,22-24	6:45	<i>θεός</i> J7,8,10,14,17,19,20,22,23
2:9	<i>Κύριος</i>	J5,7-13,16,17,22-24	12:13	<i>Κύριος</i> J7-14,16-19,21-24
2:9	<i>Κύριος</i>	J5,7,8,10-18,22-24	12:38	<i>Κύριος</i> J12-14,16-18,22,23
2:15	<i>Κύριος</i>	J5,7,8,10-18,22,23	12:38	<i>Κύριος</i> J7-14,16-20,22-24
2:22	<i>Κύριος</i>	J5-18,22,23	Acts	
2:23	<i>Κύριος</i>	J5-18,22-24	1:24	<i>Κύριος</i> J7,8,10,22,23
2:23	<i>Κύριος</i>	J5-18,22,23	2:20	<i>Κύριος</i> J7,8,10-18,20,22-24
2:24	<i>Κύριος</i>	J5-18,22-24	2:21	<i>Κύριος</i> J7,8,10-18,20,22-24
2:26	<i>Κύριος</i>	J5-18,22-24	2:25	<i>Κύριος</i> J7,8,10-18,20,22,23
2:39	<i>Κύριος</i>	J5-18,22-24	2:34	<i>Κύριος</i> J7,8,10-18,21-24
3:4	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7-15,17,18,22-24	2:39	<i>Κύριος</i> J7,8,10,17,18,22-24
4:8	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7-18,22-24	2:47	<i>Κύριος</i> J7,8,10
4:12	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7-18,22-24	3:19	<i>Κύριος</i> J13-18,22,23
4:18	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7-15,20,23,24	3:22	<i>Κύριος</i> J7,8,10-18,20,22-24
4:19	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7-18,20,22-24	4:26	<i>Κύριος</i> J7,8,10-18,20,22,23
5:17	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7-18,22-24		
10:27	<i>Κύριος</i>	J5-18,21-24		
13:35	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7-18,21-24		
19:38	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7-18,21-24		
20:37	<i>Κύριος</i>	J9,11-18,21-24,27		
20:42	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7-18,21-24		

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4:29	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10	12:24	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,23
5:9	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,13,15- 18,22-24	13:2	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,13,15- 18,22,23
5:19	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,13,15- 18,22-24	13:10	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,13,15- 18,22,23
7:31	<i>Κύριος</i>	J11-18,22-24	13:11	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,15- 18,22-24
7:33	<i>Κύριος</i>	J11-18,22,23	13:12	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10
7:49	<i>Κύριος</i>	J11-18,20,22-24	13:44	<i>θεός</i>	J17,22
7:60	<i>Κύριος</i>	J17,18,22,23	13:47	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,22,23
8:22	<i>Κύριος</i>	J18,22,23	13:48	<i>θεός</i>	J7,8,10,13,15- 17,22,23
8:24	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,13,15- 18,22,23	13:49	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,13,15- 18,22,23
8:25	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,17,18	14:3	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,15- 18,23
8:26	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,13,15- 18,22-24	14:23	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,13,15, 16
8:39	<i>Κύριος</i>	J13,15-18,22- 24	15:17	<i>Κύριος</i>	J11-18,22,23
9:31	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,13,15, 16,18,22	15:17	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10-18,20, 22-24
10:33	<i>Κύριος</i>	J17,18,23	15:35	<i>Κύριος</i>	J17,18,22,23
11:21	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,13,15- 18,22,23	15:36	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,17,18, 22,23
12:7	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,13,15- 18,22-24	15:40	<i>Κύριος</i>	J17,18,22
12:11	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,13,15, 16,18,23	16:14	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,17,18, 23
12:17	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10	16:15	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10
12:23	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,10,13,15- 18,22-24			

16:32 *θεός* J7,8,10,17,18,
22,23

18:21 *θεός* J17

18:25 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13,15,
16,24

19:20 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13,15-
18,23

21:14 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,17,18,
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Romans

4:3 *θεός* J7,8,10,17,20,
22

4:8 *Κύριος* J7,8,10-18,20,
22-25

9:28 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13,16,
20,25

9:29 *Κύριος* J7,8,10-18,20,
22-24

10:13 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13-18,
22-24

10:16 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13-18,
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11:3 *Κύριος* J7,8,10-18,23,
25

11:34 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13-18,
20,22-25

12:11 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13,16,
18

12:19 *Κύριος* J7,8,10-18,22-
24

14:4 *Κύριος* J18,23

14:6 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13,16,
18,22,24

14:6 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13,16,
18,22,24

14:6 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13,16,
22,24

14:8 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13-16,
18

14:8 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13-16,
18

14:8 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13-16,
18

14:11 *Κύριος* J7,8,10-18,22-
25

15:11 *Κύριος* J7,8,10-
18,20,22,23,25

1 Corinthians

1:31 *Κύριος* J7,8,10-14,16-
18, 22-24

2:16 *Κύριος* J13,14,16-18,
22-24

3:20 *Κύριος* J7,8,10-14,16-
18,20,22-24

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4:4 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,17,18,
23,24
4:19 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,22,23
7:17 *Κύριος* See footnote
in *NWT*
Ref. Edition.
10:9 *Κύριος* J18,22,23
10:21 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,24
10:21 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,24
10:22 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,14
10:26 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,11,13,
14,16-18,20,
22,23
11:32 *Κύριος* J13,16,18
14:21 *Κύριος* J7,8,10-14,16-
18,22-24
16:7 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13,14,
16-18,22,23
16:10 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13,14,
16-18,24

2 Corinthians
3:16 *Κύριος* J7,8,10,13,14,
16,22,24
3:17 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16
3:17 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16,
22,24
3:18 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16,
22,24

3:18 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16,
22,24
6:17 *Κύριος* J7,8,11-14,16-
18,22-24
6:18 *Κύριος* J7,8,11-14,16-
18,22-24
8:21 *Κύριος* J7,8,24
10:17 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-
18,22-24
10:18 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-
18,22,23

Galatians

3:6 *θεός* J7,8

Ephesians

2:21 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,16-18,
22-24
5:17 *Κύριος* J7,8
5:19 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,16,23
6:4 *Κύριος* J7,8,22,24
6:7 *Κύριος* J7,8
6:8 *Κύριος* J22,24

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1:10 *Κύριος* J7,8
3:13 *Κύριος* J23
3:16 *θεός* J7,8,13,14,16,
17
3:22 *Κύριος* J18,22

3:23 *Κύριος* J7,8,17,18,22,23

3:24 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-
18,22-24

1 Thessalonians

1:8 *Κύριος* J7,8,17,18,22,
23

4:6 *Κύριος* J7,8,17,18,22-
24

4:15 *Κύριος* J7,8,17,18,24

5:2 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-
18,22-24

2 Thessalonians

2:2 *Κύριος* J18,22,23

2:13 *Κύριος* J13,16,24

3:1 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-
18,22,23

2 Timothy

1:18 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-
18,22-24

2:19 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-
18,20,22-24

2:19 *Κύριος* J18,22-24

4:14 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,16-18,
22,23

Hebrews

2:13 *θεός* J3,7,8,17,20,22

7:21 *Κύριος* J3,7,8,11-18,
20,22-24

8:2 *Κύριος* J7,8,13-16,18,
22,23

8:8 *Κύριος* J3,7,8,11-18,
20,22-24

8:9 *Κύριος* J3,7,8,11-18,
20,22-24

8:10 *Κύριος* J3,7,8,11-18,
20,22-24

8:11 *Κύριος* J3,7,8,11-18,
20,22,23

10:16 *Κύριος* J3,7,8,11-18,
22-24

10:30 *Κύριος* J3,7,8,11-18,
20,22-24

12:5 *Κύριος* J7,8,11-18,
20,22-24

12:6 *Κύριος* J3,7,8,11-18,
20,22-24

13:6 *Κύριος* J3,7,8,11-18,
20,22-24

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James

1:7 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-
18,22,23

1:12 *Ø* J7,8,13,16,17

2:23 *θεός* J14,17,20,22

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2:23 *θεός* J17
 3:9 *Κύριος* J18,23
 4:10 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-18,22,23
 4:15 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-18,22,23
 5:4 *Κύριος* J7,8,11-14,16-18,22-24
 5:10 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-18,22-24
 5:11 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16,18,22-24
 5:11 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-18,22-24
 5:14 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-18,22
 5:15 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-18,22,23

1 Peter

1:25 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-18,20,22,23
 3:12 *Κύριος* J7,8,11-14,16-18,20,22-24
 3:12 *Κύριος* J7,8,11-14,16-18,20,22,24

2 Peter

2:9 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-18,22-24

2:11 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,16-18,22-24
 3:8 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-18,22-24
 3:9 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,16-18,22-24
 3:10 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,16-18,22-24
 3:12 *θεός* J7,8,17

Jude

5 *Κύριος* J7,8,11-14,16-18,22,23
 9 *Κύριο* J7,8,11-14,16-18,22-24
 14 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-18,22-24

Revelation

1:8 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-18,22-24
 4:8 *Κύριος* J7,8,11-14,16-18,22,24
 4:11 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16,18
 11:17 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-18,22,23
 15:3 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-18,22,23
 15:4 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-18,22,23

- 16:7 *Κύριος* J13,14,16-18,
22,23
- 18:8 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-
18,22-24
- 19:6 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-
18,22-24
- 21:22 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-
18,22,23
- 22:5 *Κύριος* J7,8,11-14,16-
18,22-24
- 22:6 *Κύριος* J7,8,13,14,16-
18,22,24

Appendix: Comparison of 237 "Jehovah" References

Information from the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*
 Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society

Hebrew Scripture references

Greek Scripture reference	Greek word used in <i>KIT</i>	English translation in <i>KIT</i>	Earliest manuscript date supporting "Lord" (or "God")	Earliest version date supporting "Jehovah"	Name used in the <i>New World Translation</i>	Hebrew Scripture quotation using the divine name Bold font indicates J ²⁰ citation	Hebrew Scripture quotation referring to the divine name	Cross reference citation only	No quotation or reference to the Hebrew Scriptures
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Matthew

1:20	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400 ¹	1537	Jehovah				X
1:22	Κυρίου ²	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah	Is 7:14			
1:24	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah				X
2:13	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah				X
2:15	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah		Hos 11:1		
2:19	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah				X

3:3	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah	Is 40:3 ³			
4:4	θεοῦ ⁴	God	301-400	1385	Jehovah	Dt 8:3			
4:7	Κύριον	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah	Dt 6:16			
4:10	Κύριον	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah	Dt 6:13			
5:33	Κυρίῳ ⁵	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah	Lv 19:12			
21:9	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah	Ps 118:26			
21:42	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah	Ps 118:23			
22:37	Κύριον	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah	Dt 6:5			
22:44	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah	Ps 110:1			
23:39	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah		Ps 118:26		
27:10	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah	Zch 11:13			
28:2	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah				X

Mark

1:3	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 40:3			
5:19	κύριος ⁶	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ex 18:8	
11:9	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 118:26			
12:11	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 118:23			
12:29	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Dt 6:4			
12:29	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Dt 6:4			
12:30	Κύριον	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Dt 6:5			
12:36	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 110:1			
13:20	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Is 1:9	

Luke

1:6	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Lv 18:5	
1:9	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			X ⁷	
1:11	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
1:15	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
1:16	Κύριον	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah		Mal 4:6		
1:17	Κυρίω	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 40:3			
1:25	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Gen 30:23	
1:28	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Jer 1:19	
1:32	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			2 Sa 7:12	
1:38	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			1 Sa 1:11	
1:45	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			X	
1:46	Κύριον	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			1 Sa 2:1	
1:58	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
1:66	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
1:68	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
1:76	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Mal 3:1			
2:9	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
2:9	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
2:15	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			X	
2:22	κυρίω	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
2:23	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ex 13:2			

2:23	κυρίω	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ex 13:2			
2:24	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Lv 12:8			
2:26	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
2:39	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
3:4	Κύριον	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 40:3			
4:8	Κύριον	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Dt 6:13			
4:12	Κύριον	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Dt 6:16			
4:18	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 61:1			
4:19	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 61:2			
5:17	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
10:27	Κύριον ⁸	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Dt 6:5			
13:35	Κυρίου ⁸	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah ⁹	Ps 118:26			
19:38	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 118:26			
20:37	Κύριον	Lord	301-400	1639	Jehovah			Ex 3:2	
20:42	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 110:1			

John

1:23	Κυρίου ¹⁰	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 40:3			
6:45	θεοῦ ¹⁰	God	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 54:13			
12:13	Κυρίου ¹⁰	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 118:26			
12:38	Κύριε ¹⁰	Lord	301-400	1661	Jehovah		Is 53:1		
12:38	Κυρίου ¹⁰	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 53:1			

Acts

1:24	κύριε	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
2:20	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Joel 3:4			
2:21	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Joel 3:5			
2:25	κύριον	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 16:8			
2:34	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 110:1			
2:39	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Joel 2:32			
2:47	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
3:19	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1838	Jehovah				X
3:22	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Dt 18:15			
4:26	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 2:2			
4:29	κύριε	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Is 37:17	
5:9	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ex 17:2	
5:19	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ps 34:7	
7:31	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1817	Jehovah		Ex 3:6		
7:33	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1817	Jehovah	Ex 3:10			
7:49	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1817	Jehovah	Is 66:1			
7:60	Κύριε	Lord	301-400	1877	Jehovah				X
8:22	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1885	Jehovah			Is 55:7	
8:24	κύριον	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ex 8:8	
8:25	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
8:26	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
8:39	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			1 Ki 18:12	

9:31	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ps 86:11	
10:33	κυρίου	Lord	201-300	1877	Jehovah				X
11:21	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
12:7	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ps 34:7	
12:11	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ps 34:7	
12:17	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
12:23	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			2 Sa 24:17	
12:24	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
13:2	κυρίῳ	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
13:10	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
13:11	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
13:12	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
13:44	θεοῦ	God	301-400	1877	Jehovah				X
13:47	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah		Is 49:6		
13:48	θεοῦ	God	201-300	1599	Jehovah			Is 66:5	
13:49	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
14:3	κυρίῳ	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
14:23	κυρίῳ	Lord	301-400	1838	Jehovah				X
15:17	κύριον	Lord	301-400	1661	Jehovah	Am 9:12			
15:17	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Am 9:13			
15:35	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1877	Jehovah				X
15:36	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X

15:40	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1877	Jehovah				X
16:14	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
16:15	κυρίω	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
16:32	θεοῦ	God	201-300	1599	Jehovah				X
18:21	θεοῦ	God	301-400	1877	Jehovah				X
18:25	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
19:20	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
21:14	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X

Romans

4:3	θεοῦ	God	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Gen 15:6			
4:8	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 32:2			
9:28	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 10:23			
9:29	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 1:9			
10:13	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Joel 2:32			
10:16	Κύριε	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah		Is 53:1		
11:3	Κύριε	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	I Ki 19:10			
11:34	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 40:13			
12:11	κυρίω	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
12:19	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah		Dt 32:35		
14:4	κύριος	Lord	c. 200	1885	Jehovah			Jer 35:19	
14:6	κυρίω	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
14:6	κυρίω	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ps 92:1	

14:6	κυρίῳ	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Lv 11:8	
14:8	κυρίῳ	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ps 146:2	
14:8	κυρίῳ	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Es 4:16	
14:8	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
14:11	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah		Is 45:23		
15:11	κύριον	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 15:11			

1 Corinthians

1:31	Κυρίῳ	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Jer 9:24			
2:16	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1838	Jehovah	Is 40:13			
3:20	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 94:11			
4:4	κύριος	Lord	3rd C.E.	1599	Jehovah			Pr 21:2	
4:19	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
7:17	κύριος	Lord	c. 200	Ø ¹¹	Jehovah			X	
10:9	κύριον	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah		Num 21:6		
10:21	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ps 116:13	
10:21	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ez 41:22	
10:22	κύριον	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah		Ez 34:14		
10:26	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 24:1			
11:32	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1838	Jehovah			Pr 3:11	
14:21	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah		Is 28:11		
16:7	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
16:10	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X

2 Corinthians

3:16	Κύριον	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ex 34:34			
3:17	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
3:17	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Is 61:1	
3:18	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ps 138:5	
3:18	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
6:17	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah		Is 52:11		
6:18	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah		Is 43:6		
8:21	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
10:17	Κυρίω	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Jer 9:24			
10:18	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Pr 29:26	

Galatians

3:6	θεῶ	God	201-300	1599	Jehovah	Gen 15:6			
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Ephesians

2:21	κυρίω	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Zech 6:12	
5:17	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1661	Jehovah				X
5:19	κυρίω	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ps 33:2	
6:4	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Dt 6:7	
6:7	κυρίω	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
6:8	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1863	Jehovah			Ps 24:5	

Colossians

1:10	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1661	Jehovah			Mic 4:5	
3:13	κύριος	Lord	c. 200	1975	Jehovah			Jer 31:34	
3:16	θεῶ	God	c. 200	1599	Jehovah	1 Ch 16:23			
3:22	κύριον	Lord	301-400	1885	Jehovah			Pr 8:13	
3:23	κυρίῳ	Lord	201-300.	1599	Jehovah			Ps 9:1	
3:24	κυρίῳ	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X

1 Thessalonians

1:8	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Is 39:5	
4:6	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ps 94:1	
4:15	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
5:2	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Zep 1:14			

2 Thessalonians

2:2	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1877	Jehovah	Zep 1:14			
2:13	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1838	Jehovah				X
3:1	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Is 38:4	

2 Timothy

1:18	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Zep 2:3	
2:19	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Num 16:5			
2:19	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1661	Jehovah		Is 52:11		
4:14	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ps 62:12	

Hebrews

2:13	θεός	God	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 8:18			
7:21	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 110:4			
8:2	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah		Ex 25:9		
8:8	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Jer 31:31			
8:9	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Jer 31:32			
8:10	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Jer 31:33			
8:11	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Jer 31:34			
10:16	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Jer 31:33			
10:30	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 135:14			
12:5	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Pr 3:11			
12:6	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1574	Jehovah	Pr 3:12			
13:6	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1537	Jehovah	Ps 118:6			

James

1:7	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1661	Jehovah				X
1:12	έπηγγε- ίλατο ¹²	he	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
2:23	θεῶ	God	301-400	1846	Jehovah	Gen 15:6			
2:23	θεοῦ	God	301-400	1877	Jehovah		Is 41:8		
3:9	κύριον	Lord	301-400	1885	Jehovah	Ps 34:1			
4:10	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			2 Ch 7:14	
4:15	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ps 143:10	

5:4	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah		Dt 24:15		
5:10	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			2 Ch 36:17	
5:11	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1661	Jehovah	Job 42:10			
5:11	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 103:8			
5:14	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
5:15	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Hos 6:11			

1 Peter

1:25	Κυρίου ¹³	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 40:5			
3:12	Κυρίου ¹³	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 34:16			
3:12	Κυρίου ¹³	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 34:17			

2 Peter

2:9	Κύριος ¹³	Lord	301-400	1661	Jehovah	Ps 34:19			
2:11	Κυρίω ¹³	Lord	301-400	1838	Jehovah			Zech 3:2	
3:8	Κυρίω ¹³	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah		Ps 90:4		
3:9	Κύριος ¹³	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			X	
3:10	Κυρίου ¹³	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Joel 2:3	
3:12	θεοῦ ¹³	God	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Joel 2:3	

Jude

5	Κύριος ¹³	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ex 12:41	
9	Κύριος ¹³	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Zech 3:2			
14	Κύριος ¹³	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Dt 33:2			

Revelation

1:8	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 48:12			
4:8	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 6:3			
4:11	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Gen 2:3	
11:17	κύριε ¹⁴	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ex 6:3	
15:3	κύριε ¹⁴	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ps 111:2			
15:4	κύριε ¹⁴	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah		Jer 10:7		
16:7	κύριε ¹⁴	Lord	301-400	1838	Jehovah			Ex 6:3	
18:8	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Jer 50:34	
19:6	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ex 6:3	
21:22	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ex 6:3	
22:5	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 60:19			
22:6	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			2 Sa 23:2	

Totals

237	K = 223	Ld = 223	200 to	1385	Jehovah	J20 = 42 ³	20 ¹⁵	58 ¹⁶	61 ¹⁷
	θ = 13	Gd = 13	400 C.E.	1979	= 237	Othr = 50		64 ¹⁸	

Summary

<i>NWT</i>	Heb. Scrip. quote	None
237	112 ¹⁵	125 ¹⁷

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- ¹Early Greek manuscripts do not bear precise dates. The section entitled EXPLANATION OF THE SYMBOLS USED in the foreword of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* lists the most probable date of each Greek manuscript. (Generally the listing is by century, though in rare cases it is more precise.) To give a more understandable comparison with the adjacent column which precisely dates Hebrew versions, the century designation is given as a date range. That is, the 4th century C.E. is written as 301-400.
- ²In keeping with recognized Greek capitalization style, the Westcott and Hort Greek text of the Christian Greek Scriptures uses an upper case (capital) letter only for a proper noun (a name) and the beginning of a quotation. The capitalization style of the Westcott and Hort text used in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* text has been followed in this appendix.
- ³Bold italic type identifies the reference as coming from J20 wherein the divine name is listed. In all cases, where multiple cross references are possible, preference is given to the citation found in J20. For this reason, not all references will correspond to those given in the center reference column of the *New World Translation Reference Edition*. Not all Hebrew Scripture quotations shown in J20 are cited in the *KIT* footnotes or Appendix 1D in the *NWT Reference Edition*. (For example, see Mark 1:3.)
- ⁴Refer to footnote number 2 for an explanation of capitalization of Greek words. The Greek word θεοῦ (God) is written with a lower case *theta* (θ). Though not occurring in any of the references cited in this appendix, the upper case *theta* is written Θ.

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- 5The noun identified in the English text as "Kyrios" is shown in this appendix with five spelling variations (κυρίου, κύριος, κυρίω, κύριε, and κύριον). In the Greek language, the noun must agree (or be identified) with its function in the sentence. This is achieved by spelling variations in the suffix (ending letters) of the word. Thus, each of the forms of the word "Kyrios" in this appendix are the same root word in the Greek language, though the spelling is altered according to the grammatical function of the word in the Greek sentence. The same is true of the variations in the spelling of θεός (God).
- 6Refer to footnote number 2 regarding upper and lower case first letters.
- 7In the rare instance in which no verse citation is given in this column, the "X" denotes that the Hebrew verse cited does not support or offer any parallel thought to the *Jehovah* wording. No cross reference is indicated for citations to the Greek Scriptures.
- 8This passage is shown in the Bodmer 14 and 15 (P75) manuscripts showing a date of *circa* 200 C.E. The Bodmer 14 and 15 manuscripts record no use of the Tetragrammaton. Thus, the Greek entry of Kyrios as shown was used in approximately 200 C.E. ("*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*," p. 312, 1983 edition. Also see the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, 1985, p. 15.) The date of 301-400 C.E. used in this appendix reflects the date shown in the footnote of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* which is restricted to Greek manuscripts aAB.
- 9Possessive forms are not indicated in this appendix. In all cases, "Jehovah's" is indicated as "Jehovah." This entry procedure has been followed inasmuch as the English sentence may express the possessive as either "Jehovah's" or "of Jehovah."

10This passage is shown in both the Bodmer 14 and 15 (P⁷⁵) manuscript (see footnote 8 above) and Bodmar 2 (P⁶⁶) manuscript also showing a date of *circa* 200 C.E. The Bodmer 2 manuscript records no use of the Tetragrammaton. Thus, the Greek entry of Kyrios as shown was used in approximately 200 C.E. as attested by multiple ancient Greek manuscripts. (*"All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial,"* p. 312, 1983 edition. Also see the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, 1985, p. 15.) The date of 301-400 C.E. used in this appendix reflects the date shown in the footnote of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* which is restricted to Greek manuscripts aAB.

11See the footnote in the *New World Translation Reference Edition* for this verse.

12The suffix ...ατο (from the Greek word ἐπηγγείλατο) is the third person singular, masculine, past (aorist) tense ending for the Greek verb which is translated "promised" in the text. The verb ending agrees with the subject κυρίου in verse 8 which is translated "Jehovah." Thus, ἐπηγγείλατο is translated in verse 12 as "Jehovah promised."

13**13**This passage is shown in the Bodmer 7 and 8 manuscripts (together classified as P⁷²) dating from the 3rd century C.E. Bodmer 7 and 8 manuscripts record no use of the Tetragrammaton. Thus, the Greek entry of Kyrios is verified by P⁷² as dating from 201 to 300 C.E. (*"All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial,"* p. 313.) The date of 301-400 C.E. used in this appendix reflects the date shown in the foreword material of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*.

14This passage is shown in the Chester Beatty 3 (P⁴⁷) manuscript dating from the 3rd century C.E. The Chester Beatty 3 manuscript records no use of the Tetragrammaton. Thus, the Greek entry of Kyrios is verified by P⁴⁷ as dating from

201 to 300 C.E. ("*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*," p. 313.) The date of 301-400 C.E. used in this appendix reflects the date shown in the foreword material of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*.

¹⁵The total number of Hebrew Scripture quotations appearing in the 237 *Jehovah* references includes inclusively the 42 J²⁰ citations, the 50 *other* citations, and the 20 references in the following column citing verses which refer to the divine name even though the name is not found in the particular Hebrew Scripture verse *per se*. Consequently, the total for this category is properly 112.

¹⁶The total of 58 includes all instances of subject or parallel-thought *Jehovah* cross references.

¹⁷The *New World Translation* "reinstates the divine name in the Christian Greek Scriptures" on the basis that the Tetragrammaton is found in a verse *quoted* from the Hebrew Scriptures. This is quite different from a criteria which would allow reinstating the divine name on the basis of parallel thought or wording cross references. Thus, when considering only the criteria of verses quoted which employed the divine name, the 64 and 61 of the last two columns can be combined, giving a total of 125 references which use *Jehovah* in the Greek Scriptures of the *New World Translation* without a quotation source in the Hebrew Scriptures.

¹⁸The total of 64 includes all instances of *Jehovah* cross references irrespective of the content of that citation, and inclusive of the 58 previously tabulated.

Note 1: The final totals expressed in footnote numbers 14 and 15 must be used cautiously. Aside from the J²⁰ citations which can be counted with certainty, the

distinction between such categories as 1) *Hebrew Scripture quotation using the divine name*, 2) *Hebrew Scripture quotation referring to the divine name*, 3) *Cross reference citation only*, and 4) *No quotation or reference to the Hebrew Scriptures* are difficult to assign with certainty. Consequently, the numbers given in summary of these categories do not represent absolute values. The reader is encouraged to do his own search in order to determine the appropriateness of the assignment of each of the 237 references to any one of the various tabulated columns.

Note 2: The value of the number 20 in footnote 13 is to be understood as equally significant as the values of the figures 42 and 50 in the previous column. That is, a Greek Scripture writer is able to faithfully attribute a quotation to "Jehovah" when the divine name is contextually understood, even though the Hebrew Scripture source does not actually use the divine name in the verse itself. Thus, the number 112 faithfully represents the total occurrences in which a Hebrew Scripture verse containing the divine name was quoted by a Greek Scripture writer. The division between the two columns was made for interest and precision but does not represent a difference in importance.

Appendix C: *Kyrios* in the Christian Greek Scriptures

The *New World Translation* renders ••225•• the Greek word *Kyrios* (Κύριος) with a variety of English nouns. In this appendix, all occurrences of *Kyrios* in the Greek text of the Christian Greek Scriptures are listed. (A *Concordance to the Greek Testament* by Moulton and Geden, which is cited in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* as J20, was used to locate the Greek noun *Kyrios*. The Greek text is from Westcott and Hort as found in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*.) The English equivalent listed in the right-hand column is the translation as it appears in the *New World Translation*. Because of its special interest, this appendix has also included those instances in which *Kyrios* is translated as *Jehovah* in the *New World Translation*. By including all *Kyrios* words in this appendix, the student is able to compare the variety of English words employed by the translators.¹

¹ The *New World Translation's* use of multiple English words for the single Greek word *Kyrios* is interesting in light of the statement on page 7 of the *New World Translation Reference Edition*, which says,

Taking liberties with the texts for the mere sake of brevity, and substituting some modern parallel when a literal rendering of the original makes good sense, has been avoided. *Uniformity of rendering has been maintained by assigning one meaning to each major word and by holding to that meaning as far as the context permits.* At times this has imposed a restriction upon word choice, but it aids in cross-

In this appendix, the upper- and lower-case letters for *Kyrios* have been reproduced exactly as written in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. (For example, Matthew 7:21 uses both Kuvrie and kuvrie.) The modern Greek text uses an upper-case (capital) letter for only a proper noun (a name) and the beginning of a quotation. Possessive forms are not indicated in the appendix. The 's (apostrophe s) has been omitted in all cases where it is used in translating *Kyrios* in the *New World Translation*. No precision would be gained by identifying this Greek word function, inasmuch as the English sentence may read either "the Lord's work," or "the work of the Lord." Both are appropriate translations. In the infrequent instances where a plural form of *Kyrios* is employed, the plural English form is given in the ••226•• appendix. For examples, see Matthew 6:24 (which is written κυρίους rather than κυρίῳ), 1 Corinthians 8:5 (which is written κύριοι rather than κύριος), or Revelation 17:14 (which is written κυρίων rather than κυρίου).

Discounting capitalization, the noun identified in the English text as *Kyrios* is shown in this appendix with eight spelling variations (κύριος, κύριοι, κύριε, κυρίῳ, κυρίους, κύριον, κυρίου, and κυρίων). (Take note in the table below that two

reference work and in comparing related texts. [Emphasis added.]

In spite of the apparent difficulty this variety brings to the translators' stated translation philosophy, the author feels that the use of words such as "owner," "master," and "sir," adds clarity to the Christian Greek Scripture illustrations and historical accounts. The terms "Master," and "Sir," when used by individuals addressing Jesus are appropriately used by the translators, and give breadth to the Gospel narration.

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grammatical functions use a similar spelling.) In the Greek language, the noun must agree with (or be identified by) its function in the sentence. This is achieved by spelling changes in the suffix (ending letters) of the word. Thus, each of the forms of the word *Kyrios* in this appendix is derived from the same root word in the Greek language, though the spelling is altered according to the grammatical function of the word in the Greek sentence. Only the noun functions of the root word *Kyrios* have been reproduced in this appendix. Related forms such as *to lord [something] over, lordship, etc.* have not been included. Only those grammatical forms which are included in this appendix are identified in the table. The following table is not comprehensive.

••227••

κύριος	<i>Kyrios</i>	The subject of the sentence in singular form.	For Lord of the sabbath is what the Son of man is. (Matt. 12:8)
κύριοι	kyrioy	The subject of the sentence in plural form.	When her masters saw that their hope of gain had left, they laid hold of Paul. (Acts 16:19)
κύριε	kyrie	The singular object of direct address.	Lord , let me recover sight. (Luke 18:41)

κύριοι	kyrioy	The plural object of direct address. (Uses the same ending as plural subject.)	Sirs , what must I do to get saved? (Acts 16:30)
κυρίῳ	kyrio	The singular indirect object ("to" something, or "for" something).	But you must pay your vows to Jehovah . (Matt. 5:33)
κυρίοις	kyrioice	The plural indirect object ("to" some things, or "for" some things).	No house servant can be a slave to two masters . (Luke 16:13)
κύριον	kyrion	The singular direct object (answers "who" or "what").	If anyone has no affection for the Lord , let him be accursed. (1 Cor. 16:22)
κυρίου	kyriou	The singular possessive (something "of" someone).	A slave is not greater than his master . (John 15:20)
κυρίων	kyrion	The plural possessive (something "of" two or more).	He is Lord of lords . (Rev. 17:14)

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Table 8. The grammatical function of *Kyrios* in Greek sentences.



The following list of references includes the total occurrences of the noun form of the word *Kyrios* (κυριος) as found in the Christian Greek Scriptures:

Key: *KIT* identifies the Greek word (column 2) and the English translation (column 3) found in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. *NWT* identifies the English translation from the *New World Translation*. *Lord* in italics (*lord*) indicates that the word is spelled with a lower-case letter in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*.²

••227-235••			<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>	1:22	Κυρίου Lord Jehovah
Matthew				1:24	Κυρίου Lord Jehovah
1:20	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	2:13	Κυρίου Lord Jehovah
				2:15	Κυρίου Lord Jehovah

² Not all capitalized *Lord* citations refer to Jesus. The verse context must be considered. (For example, see Matt. 25:24.) The Gospels contain the greatest number of references wherein *Lord* is used of someone other than Jesus. Equally, the Gospels contain the largest number of *lord* citations in lower-case.

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
2:19	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	14:28	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
3:3	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	14:30	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
4:7	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	15:22	κύριε	Lord	Lord
4:10	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	15:25	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
5:33	Κυρίῳ	Lord	Jehovah	15:27	κύριε	Lord	Lord
6:24	κύριοις	<i>lords</i>	masters	16:22	κύριε	Lord	Lord
7:21	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	17:4	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
7:21	κύριε	Lord	Lord	17:15	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
7:22	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	18:21	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
7:22	κύριε	Lord	Lord	18:25	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master
8:2	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	18:27	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master
8:6	Κύριε	Lord	Sir	18:31	κυρίῳ	<i>lord</i>	master
8:8	Κύριε	Lord	Sir	18:32	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master
8:21	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	18:34	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master
8:25	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	20:8	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master
9:28	κύριε	Lord	Lord	20:30	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
9:38	κυρίου	Lord	Master	20:31	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
10:24	κυρίου	<i>lord</i>	lord	20:33	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
10:25	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	lord	21:3	κύριος	Lord	Lord
11:25	κύριε	Lord	Lord	21:9	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
12:8	κύριος	Lord	Lord	21:29	κύριε	<i>lord</i>	sir
13:27	Κύριε	Lord	Master	21:40	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	owner

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
21:42	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	25:24	Κύριε	Lord	Master
22:37	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	25:26	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master
22:43	κύριον	Lord	Lord	25:37	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
22:44	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	25:44	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
22:44	κυρίῳ	<i>lord</i>	Lord	26:22	κύριε	Lord	Lord
22:45	κύριον	Lord	Lord	27:10	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
23:39	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	28:2	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
24:42	κύριος	Lord	Lord				
24:45	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master	Mark			
25:46	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master	1:3	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
24:48	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master	2:28	κύριος	Lord	Lord
24:50	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master	5:19	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
25:11	Κύριε	Lord	Sir	7:28	κύριε	<i>lord</i>	sir
25:11	κύριε	<i>lord</i>	sir	11:3	κύριος	Lord	Lord
25:18	κυρίου	<i>lord</i>	master	11:9	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
25:19	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master	12:9	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	owner
25:20	Κύριε	Lord	Master	12:11	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
25:21	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master	12:29	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
25:21	κυρίου	<i>lord</i>	master	12:29	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
25:22	Κύριε	Lord	Master	12:30	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
25:23	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master	12:36	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
25:23	κυρίου	<i>lord</i>	master	12:36	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
12:37	κύριον	Lord	Lord	1:68	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
13:20	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	1:76	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
13:35	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master	2:9	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
16:19	κύριος	Lord	Lord	2:9	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
16:20	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	2:11	κύριος	Lord	Lord
				2:15	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
Luke				2:22	κυρίῳ	Lord	Jehovah
1:6	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	2:23	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
1:9	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	2:23	κυρίῳ	Lord	Jehovah
1:11	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	2:24	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
1:15	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	2:26	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
1:16	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	2:39	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
1:17	Κυρίῳ	Lord	Jehovah	3:4	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
1:25	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	4:8	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
1:28	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	4:12	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
1:32	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	4:18	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
1:38	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	4:19	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
1:43	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	5:8	κύριε	Lord	Lord
1:45	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	5:12	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
1:46	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	5:17	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
1:58	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	6:5	Κύριος	Lord	Lord
1:66	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	6:46	Κύριε	Lord	Lord

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
6:46	κύριε	Lord	Lord	12:45	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master
7:6	Κύριε	Lord	Sir	12:46	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master
7:13	κύριος	Lord	Lord	12:47	κυρίου	<i>lord</i>	master
7:19	κύριον	Lord	Lord	13:8	Κύριε	Lord	Master
9:54	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	13:15	κύριος	Lord	Lord
9:61	κύριε	Lord	Lord	13:23	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
10:1	κύριος	Lord	Lord	13:25	Κύριε	Lord	Sir
10:2	κυρίου	Lord	Master	13:35	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
10:17	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	14:21	κυρίω	<i>lord</i>	master
10:21	κύριε	Lord	Lord	14:22	Κύριε	Lord	Master
10:27	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	14:23	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master
10:39	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	16:3	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master
10:40	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	16:5	κυρίου	<i>lord</i>	master
10:41	κύριος	Lord	Lord	16:5	κυρίω	<i>lord</i>	master
11:1	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	16:8	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master
11:39	κύριος	Lord	Lord	16:13	κυρίους	<i>lords</i>	masters
12:36	κύριον	<i>lord</i>	master	17:5	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
12:37	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master	17:6	κύριος	Lord	Lord
12:41	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	17:37	κύριε	Lord	Lord
12:42	κύριος	Lord	Lord	18:6	κύριος	Lord	Lord
12:42	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master	18:41	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
12:43	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master	19:8	κύριον	Lord	Lord

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
19:8	κύριε	Lord	Lord	John			
19:16	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	1:23	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
19:18	κύριε	Lord	Lord	4:1	κύριος	Lord	Lord
19:20	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	4:11	Κύριε	Lord	Sir
19:25	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	4:15	Κύριε	Lord	Sir
19:31	κύριος	Lord	Lord	4:19	Κύριε	Lord	Sir
19:33	κύριοι	<i>lords</i>	owners	4:49	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
19:34	κύριος	Lord	Lord	5:7	Κύριε	Lord	Sir
19:38	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	6:23	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
20:13	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	owner	6:34	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
20:15	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	owner	6:68	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
20:37	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	8:11	κύριε	<i>lord</i>	sir
20:42	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	9:36	κύριε	<i>lord</i>	sir
20:42	κυρίω	<i>lord</i>	Lord	9:38	κύριε	Lord	Lord
20:44	κύριον	Lord	Lord	11:2	κύριον	Lord	Lord
22:33	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	11:3	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
22:38	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	11:12	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
22:49	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	11:21	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
22:61	κύριος	Lord	Lord	11:27	κύριε	Lord	Lord
22:61	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	11:32	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
24:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	11:34	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
24:34	κύριος	Lord	Lord	11:39	Κύριε	Lord	Lord

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
12:13	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	20:25	κύριον	Lord	Lord
12:21	Κύριε	Lord	Sir	20:28	κύριος	Lord	Lord
12:38	Κύριε	Lord	Jehovah	21:7	κύριος	Lord	Lord
12:38	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	21:7	κύριος	Lord	Lord
13:6	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	21:12	κύριος	Lord	Lord
13:9	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	21:15	κύριε	Lord	Lord
13:13	κύριος	Lord	Lord	21:16	κύριε	Lord	Lord
13:14	κύριος	Lord	Lord	21:17	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
13:16	κυρίου	<i>lord</i>	master	21:20	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
13:25	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	21:21	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
13:36	Κύριε	Lord	Lord				
13:37	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	Acts			
14:5	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	1:6	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
14:8	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	1:21	κύριος	Lord	Lord
14:22	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	1:24	κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
15:15	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	master	2:20	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
15:20	κυρίου	<i>lord</i>	master	2:21	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
20:2	κύριον	Lord	Lord	2:25	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
20:13	κύριον	Lord	Lord	2:34	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
20:15	Κύριε	Lord	Sir	2:34	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
20:18	κύριον	Lord	Lord	2:36	κύριον	Lord	Lord
20:20	κύριον	Lord	Lord	2:39	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
2:47	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	9:10	κύριος	Lord	Lord
3:19	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	9:10	κύριε	Lord	Lord
3:22	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	9:11	κύριος	Lord	Lord
4:26	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	9:13	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
4:29	κύριε	Lord	Jehovah	9:15	κύριος	Lord	Lord
4:33	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	9:17	κύριος	Lord	Lord
5:9	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	9:27	κύριον	Lord	Lord
5:14	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	9:28	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
5:19	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	9:31	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
7:31	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	9:35	κύριον	Lord	Lord
7:33	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	9:42	κύριον	Lord	Lord
7:49	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	10:4	κύριε	Lord	Lord
7:59	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	10:14	κύριε	Lord	Lord
7:60	Κύριε	Lord	Jehovah	10:33	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
8:16	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	10:36	κύριος	Lord	Lord
8:22	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	11:8	κύριε	Lord	Lord
8:24	κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	11:16	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
8:25	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	11:17	κύριον	Lord	Lord
8:26	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	11:20	κύριον	Lord	Lord
8:39	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	11:21	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
9:1	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	11:21	κύριον	Lord	Lord
9:5	κύριε	Lord	Lord	11:23	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
11:24	κύριε	Lord	Lord	16:15	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
12:7	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	16:16	κύριος	<i>lords</i>	masters
12:11	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	16:19	κύριοι	<i>lords</i>	masters
12:17	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	16:30	Κύριοι	Lords	Sirs
12:23	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	16:31	κύριον	Lord	Lord
12:24	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	17:24	κύριος	Lord	Lord
13:2	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah	18:8	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
13:10	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	18:9	κύριος	Lord	Lord
13:11	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	18:25	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
13:12	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	19:5	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
13:47	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	19:10	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
13:49	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	19:13	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
14:3	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah	19:17	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
14:23	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah	19:20	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
15:11	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	20:19	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
15:17	κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	20:21	κύριον	Lord	Lord
15:17	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	20:24	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
15:26	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	20:32	κυρίω	Lord	God
15:35	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	20:35	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
15:36	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	21:13	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
15:40	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	21:14	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
16:14	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	22:8	κυρίω	Lord	Lord

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
22:10	κυρίω	Lord	Lord	10:9	Κύριος	Lord	Lord
22:10	κύριος	Lord	Lord	10:12	κύριος	Lord	Lord
22:19	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	10:13	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
23:11	κύριος	Lord	Lord	10:16	Κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
25:26	κυρίω	<i>lord</i>	Lord	11:3	Κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
26:15	κυρίω	Lord	Lord	11:34	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
26:15	κύριος	Lord	Lord	12:11	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
28:31	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	12:19	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
				13:14	κύριον	Lord	Lord
Romans				14:4	κυρίω	<i>lord</i>	master
1:4	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	14:4	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
1:7	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	14:6	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
4:8	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	14:6	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
4:24	κύριον	Lord	Lord	14:6	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
5:1	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	14:8	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
5:11	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	14:8	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
5:21	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	14:8	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
6:23	κυρίω	Lord	Lord	14:11	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
7:25	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	14:14	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
8:39	κυρίω	Lord	Lord	15:6	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
9:28	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	15:11	κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
9:29	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	15:30	κυρίου	Lord	Lord

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
16:2	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	4:4	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
16:8	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	4:5	κύριος	Lord	Lord
16:11	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	4:17	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
16:12	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	4:19	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
16:12	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	5:4	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
16:13	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	5:4	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
16:18	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	5:5	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
16:20	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	6:11	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
16:22	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	6:13	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
				6:13	κύριος	Lord	Lord
1 Corinthians				6:14	κύριον	Lord	Lord
1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	6:17	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
1:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	7:10	κύριος	Lord	Lord
1:7	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	7:12	κύριος	Lord	Lord
1:8	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	7:17	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
1:9	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	7:22	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
1:10	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	7:22	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
1:31	Κυρίῳ	Lord	Jehovah	7:25	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
2:8	κύριον	Lord	Lord	7:25	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
2:16	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	7:32	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
3:5	κύριος	Lord	Lord	7:32	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
3:20	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	7:34	κυρίου	Lord	Lord

	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
7:35	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	12:5	κύριος	Lord	Lord
7:39	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	14:21	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
8:5	κύριοι	Lord	lords	14:37	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
8:6	κύριος	Lord	Lord	15:31	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
9:1	κύριον	Lord	Lord	15:57	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
9:1	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	15:58	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
9:2	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	16:7	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
9:5	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	16:10	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
9:14	κύριος	Lord	Lord	16:19	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
10:9	κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	16:22	κύριον	Lord	Lord
10:21	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	16:23	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
10:21	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah				
10:22	κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	2 Corinthians			
10:26	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
11:11	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	1:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
11:23	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	1:14	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
11:23	κύριος	Lord	Lord	2:12	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
11:26	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	3:16	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
11:27	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	3:17	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
11:27	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	3:17	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
11:32	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	3:18	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
12:3	Κύριος	Lord	Lord	3:18	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
4:5	κύριον	Lord	Lord	Galatians			
4:14	κύριον	Lord	∅	1:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
5:6	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	1:19	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
5:8	κύριον	Lord	Lord	4:1	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	lord
5:11	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	5:10	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
6:17	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	6:14	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
6:18	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	6:18	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
8:5	κυρίω	Lord	Lord				
8:9	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	Ephesians			
8:19	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
8:21	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	1:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
10:8	κύριος	Lord	Lord	1:15	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
10:17	Κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah	1:17	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
10:18	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	2:21	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
11:17	κύριον	Lord	Lord	3:11	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
11:31	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	4:1	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
12:1	Κυρίου	Lord	Lord	4:5	κύριος	Lord	Lord
12:8	κύριον	Lord	Lord	4:17	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
13:10	κύριος	Lord	Lord	5:8	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
13:14	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	5:10	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
				5:17	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
				5:19	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah

	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
5:20	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	3:8	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
5:22	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	3:20	κύριον	Lord	Lord
6:1	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	4:1	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
6:4	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	4:2	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
6:5	κυρίοις	<i>lords</i>	masters	4:4	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
6:7	κυρίῳ	Lord	Jehovah	4:5	κύριος	Lord	Lord
6:8	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	4:10	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
6:9	κύριοι	<i>lords</i>	masters	4:23	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
6:9	κύριος	Lord	Master				
6:10	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	Colossians			
6:21	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	1:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
6:23	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	1:10	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
6:24	κύριον	Lord	Lord	2:6	κύριον	Lord	Lord
Philippians				3:13	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	3:17	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
1:14	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	3:18	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
2:11	Κύριος	Lord	Lord	3:20	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
2:19	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	3:22	κυρίοις	<i>lords</i>	masters
2:24	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	3:22	κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
2:29	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	3:23	κυρίῳ	Lord	Jehovah
2:30	Κυρίου	Lord	Lord	3:24	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
3:1	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	3:24	κυρίῳ	Lord	Master

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
4:1	κύριον	Lord	Master	4:17	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
4:7	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	5:2	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
4:17	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	5:9	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
				5:12	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
1 Thessalonians				5:23	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
1:1	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	5:27	κύριον	Lord	Lord
1:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	5:28	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
1:6	κυρίου	Lord	Lord				
1:8	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	2 Thessalonians			
2:15	κύριον	Lord	Lord	1:1	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
2:19	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
3:8	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	1:7	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
3:11	κύριος	Lord	Lord	1:8	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
3:12	κύριος	Lord	Lord	1:9	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
3:13	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	1:12	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
4:1	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	1:12	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
4:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	2:1	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
4:6	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	2:2	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
4:15	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	2:8	κύριος	Lord	Lord
4:15	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	2:13	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
4:16	κύριος	Lord	Lord	2:14	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
4:17	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	2:16	κύριος	Lord	Lord

	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
3:1	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	1:18	κύριος	Lord	Lord
3:3	κύριος	Lord	Lord	1:18	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
3:4	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	2:7	κύριος	Lord	Lord
3:5	κύριος	Lord	Lord	2:19	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
3:6	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	2:19	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
3:12	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	2:22	κύριον	Lord	Lord
3:16	κύριος	Lord	Lord	2:24	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
3:16	κύριος	Lord	Lord	3:11	κύριος	Lord	Lord
3:18	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	4:8	κύριος	Lord	Lord
				4:14	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
1 Timothy				4:17	κύριός	Lord	Lord
1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	4:18	κύριος	Lord	Lord
1:12	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	4:22	κύριος	Lord	Lord
1:14	κυρίου	Lord	Lord				
6:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	Philemon			
6:14	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
6:15	κύριος	Lord	Lord	5	κύριον	Lord	Lord
				16	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
2 Timothy				20	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	25	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
1:8	κυρίου	Lord	Lord				
1:16	κύριος	Lord	Lord				

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
Hebrews				3:9	κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
1:10	κύριε	Lord	Lord	4:10	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
2:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	4:15	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
7:14	κύριος	Lord	Lord	5:4	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
7:21	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	5:7	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
8:2	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	5:8	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
8:8	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	5:10	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
8:9	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	5:11	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
8:10	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	5:11	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
8:11	κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	5:14	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
10:16	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	5:15	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
10:30	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah				
12:5	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	1 Peter			
12:6	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	1:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
12:14	κύριον	Lord	Lord	1:25	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
13:6	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	2:3	κύριος	Lord	Lord
13:20	κύριον	Lord	Lord	2:13	κύριον	Lord	Lord
				3:6	κύριον	<i>lord</i>	lord
James				3:12	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
1:1	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	3:12	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
1:7	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	3:15	κύριον	Lord	Lord
2:1	κυρίου	Lord	Lord				

	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
2 Peter				Jude			
1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	21	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
1:8	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	25	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
1:11	κυρίου	Lord	Lord				
1:14	κύριος	Lord	Lord	Revelation			
1:16	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	1:8	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
2:9	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	4:8	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
2:11	Κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah	4:11	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
2:20	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	7:14	Κύριέ	Lord	lord
3:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	11:4	κυρίου	<i>lord</i>	Lord
3:8	Κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah	11:8	κύριος	Lord	Lord
3:9	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	11:15	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
3:10	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	11:17	κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
3:15	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	14:13	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
3:18	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	15:3	κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
				15:4	κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
				16:7	κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
Jude				17:14	κύριος	Lord	Lord
4	κύριον	Lord	Lord	17:14	κυρίων	<i>lords</i>	lords
5	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	18:8	Κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
9	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	19:6	Κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
14	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	19:16	Κύριος	Lord	Lord
17	κυρίου	Lord	Lord				

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
19:16	κυρίων	<i>lords</i>	lords	22:6	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
21:22	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	22:20	κύριε	Lord	Lord
22:5	Κύριε	Lord	Jehovah	22:21	κυρίου	Lord	Lord

Information summary

••235••

Kingdom Interlinear Translation

Translated as "Lord."	651
Translated as "lord" or "lords."	62
Translated as "Lords."	1
Total occurrences of <i>Kyrios</i> (κύριος) in <i>KIT</i> .	714

New World Translation

Translated as "Lord." ³	406
Translated as "Jehovah."	223
Translated as "Master," "master," or "masters."	53

³ Initial capital letters for "Lord" (in both *KIT* and *NWT*) or "Master," and "Sir" (in *NWT*) do not necessarily indicate reference to Jesus. In a small number of cases, the word occurs at the beginning of a sentence (in English) or the beginning of a direct quotation (in Greek).

Translated as "Sir," "sir," or "sirs."	17
Translated as "lord" or "lords."	8
Translated as "owner" or "owners."	5
Translated as "God."	1
Not translated.	1
Total representation of <i>Kyrios</i> (κύριος) in <i>NWT</i> .	714

Table 9. Summary of all occurrences of *Kyrios* in both the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* and the *New World Translation*.

Appendix D: The George Howard Study

••236•• The Watch Tower Society relies heavily on a study by George Howard¹ which supports the Tetragrammaton's² presence in the Christian Greek Scriptures. It would be helpful to the interested reader to evaluate the entire manuscript. However, its length does not allow reproduction in this appendix. (Copies are available from the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, Brooklyn, NY.) Therefore, only pertinent quotations and summaries of the study will be given here. Quoted materials are set in a distinctive type face. Where needed, Greek and Hebrew words are translated in brackets added to the Howard text. In the opening paragraph, George Howard says:

Recent discoveries in Egypt and the Judean Desert allow us to see first hand the use of God's name in pre-Christian times. These discoveries are significant for NT³ studies

¹ This material was originally presented at the University of Georgia (Atlanta) and subsequently appeared in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 96, #1, March 1977, pp. 63-83 entitled "The Tetragram and the New Testament." Permission to quote from this article has been granted by the Society of Biblical Literature.

² Both "Tetragrammaton" and "Tetragram" are appropriate designations for the Hebrew form of God's name יהוה. The Howard study uses the term "Tetragram."

³ Howard uses NT for "New Testament" (the Christian Greek Scriptures) and OT for "Old Testament" (the Hebrew

in that they form a literary analogy with the earliest Christian documents and may explain how NT authors used the divine name. In the following pages we will set forth a theory that the divine name, יהוה (and possibly abbreviation of it), was originally written in the NT quotations of and allusions to the OT and that in the course of time it was replaced mainly with the surrogate κ̄ς [Lord].⁴ This removal of the Tetragram, in our view, created a confusion in the minds of early Gentile Christians about the relationship between the "Lord God" and the "Lord Christ" which is reflected in the MS [manuscript] tradition of the NT itself. In order to support this theory we will describe the relevant pre-Christian and post-NT evidence for use of the divine name in written documents and explore its implications for the NT.

Observations: It is important that the reader understand the scope of the Howard study.

Scriptures). Additionally, MS is used for "manuscript" and MSS for "manuscripts" throughout the study.

⁴ The term "surrogate" designates an abbreviated shorthand notation used by the Greek copyist for a common word. The two most common surrogates used in this study are κ̄ς for κύριος (Lord), and θ̄ς for θεός (God).

1. The textual ••237•• basis of the study is the use of God's name *in pre-Christian times*. That is, Howard's study examines only Hebrew Scripture manuscripts. (As we will see, all his textual examples are taken from the *Septuagint* [LXX] version which is the Hebrew Scriptures translated into Greek. *The Septuagint version does not include the Christian Greek Scriptures*.)
2. Howard's study does not deal with all 237 of the *Jehovah* references in the *New World Translation*. Rather, Howard says that "...[he] will set forth a theory that the divine name was originally written in the NT quotations of and allusions to the OT." That is, Howard's theory focuses *only* on the 112⁵ direct and indirect Hebrew Scripture quotations.

Sections one and two of Howard's study

In the first section of his study, Howard evaluates the use of the Tetragrammaton in numerous Hebrew Scriptures and extrabiblical sources. The content of this material can best be understood by partially quoting Howard's own summary of this section:

Before entering the post-NT era, a brief summary of the data gathered thus far should be helpful.

(1) In pre-Christian Greek MSS [manuscripts] of the OT, the divine name

⁵ The number of direct and indirect Hebrew Scripture quotations is taken from the summary on page 50 of this book.

normally appears not in the form of κύριος [Lord], as it does in the great Christian codices of the LXX known today, but either in the form of the Hebrew Tetragram (written in Aramaic or paleo-Hebrew letters) or in the transliterated form of IAW [IAO].

(2) In the Hebrew documents from the Judean Desert the Tetragram appears in copies of the Bible, in quotations of the Bible, and in biblical-type passages...and biblical paraphrases.

(3) The most commonly used word for God in the non-biblical Hebrew documents from the Judean Desert is אֱל [God] (or אֱלֹהִים [God]). In the Qumran commentaries the Tetragram regularly appears in the *lemma*-quotations from Scripture; in the following commentary on the text the word אֱל [God] is used as a secondary reference to God.

(4) There is some evidence from the Hebrew documents from the Judean Desert that the word אֱלֹהֵי [my Lord] was pronounced where the Tetragram appeared in the biblical text.

(5) There are two unusual abbreviations for God's name that appear in the scrolls from the Judean Desert: one is the use of four or five dots; the other is the use of the Hebrew pronoun אֵל [he].

(6) Although it is improbable that Philo varied from the custom of writing the Tetragram when quoting from Scripture, it is likely ••238•• that he used the word κύριος [Lord] when making a secondary reference to the divine name in his exposition.

Perhaps the most significant observation we can draw from this pattern of variegated usage of the divine name is that the Tetragram was held to be very sacred. One could either use it or a surrogate for it within non-biblical material depending on one's individual taste. But in copying the biblical text itself the Tetragram was carefully guarded. This protection of the Tetragram was extended even to the Greek translation of the biblical text.

In the second section of his study, Howard briefly addresses the issue of God's name within Christian usage of the *Septuagint* (the use of the *Septuagint* by the Christian congregation in the first and second centuries).

This material from George Howard is given in order to show the reader the information used by the Watch Tower Society in support of its teaching that the Tetragrammaton was used in the Christian Greek Scriptures. It is not our intent to delve into a study of the Tetragrammaton in the *Septuagint*. The reader can review that discussion elsewhere in this book.

Regarding God's name within Christian writings, Howard

says:

When we come to Christian copies of the LXX, we are immediately struck by the absence of the Tetragram and its almost universal replacement by κύριος [Lord]. This means that sometime between the beginning of the Christian movement and the earliest extant copies of the Christian LXX a change had taken place. Just when the change occurred is impossible to date with absoluteness. But by the time we reach the Christian codices of the LXX the Tetragram is not to be found. Instead the words κύριος [Lord] and occasionally θεός [God], stand for the divine name and are abbreviated as κ̅ς̅ and θ̅ς̅.

In all probability the Tetragram in the Christian LXX began to be surrogated with the contracted words κ̅ς̅ and θ̅ς̅ at least by the beginning of the second century. For our purposes the point that is most important is that these same abbreviated words appear also in the earliest copies of the NT. These abbreviations, as we will argue, are important for understanding the use of God's name in the New Testament.

From all that we know, the Tetragram was the most sacred word in the Hebrew religion. We know for a fact that Greek-speaking Jews

continued to write יהוה within their Greek Scriptures. Moreover, it is most unlikely that early conservative Greek-speaking Jewish Christians varied from this practice.

It is much more likely that the contracted κ̄ς and θς go back to Gentile Christians who lacked the support of tradition to retain the Tetragram in their copies of the Bible.

Observations: The reader ••239•• should be aware that:

1. *In all cases where Howard refers to Scripture manuscripts containing the Tetragrammaton, the Scripture portion is that of the Hebrew Scriptures. The Septuagint (which Howard identifies as the LXX) is the Hebrew Scriptures which was translated into Greek in approximately 280 B.C.E. As we have historically and textually demonstrated throughout this book, no known Christian Greek Scripture manuscripts contain the Tetragrammaton.*
2. The "Judean Desert manuscripts" are the Palestinian cave documents found in 1947 which we know as the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Qumran settlement where the scrolls were found was an Israelite community (as opposed to Gentile) which religiously and culturally understood the meaning of the Tetragrammaton. Verifiably, some *Septuagint* manuscripts from Palestine and Jewish settlements in Egypt used the Tetragrammaton rather than the Greek word κύριος [Lord]. That is, the Tetragrammaton was often embedded in the Hebrew Scriptures for the sake of Jewish readers. For Gentile readers, however, the name of God

was translated from the Hebrew word יהוה to the Greek word κύριος [Lord].⁶

3. Within the Hebrew Scripture (*Septuagint*) manuscripts, the surrogates (abbreviations) κ̅ς and θ̅ς replaced the words κύριος [Lord] and θεός [God] early in the Christian era.

The historical and textual material presented in this book generally agrees with the conclusions of Howard in his first two sections. Though our book has not dealt with the *Septuagint* in great detail, there is no apparent disagreement with Howard to this point. The reader must be aware, however, that *the subject of Howard's comment is the manuscripts of the Hebrew Scriptures which were ••240••*

⁶ Gentile Scriptures did not use the Tetragrammaton for the same reason that English Bibles do not print God's name as יהוה. Rather, all English Bibles (including the *NWT*) transform it into a meaningful English equivalent. (That is, neither "Yahweh" [or "Yahvah"] nor "Jehovah" is the Tetragrammaton. Yahweh [Yahvah] is, at best, an approximate transliteration of the Tetragrammaton.) At the meridian of time, Hebrew language and writing were as foreign to the average Greek Gentile reader as it would be to the average English reader today. We often overlook this reality when we presume that there would have been a natural recognition of the divine name had the Tetragrammaton been inserted into the "ancient" biblical texts. Because of Alexander the Great's legacy and the subsequent power of the Roman Empire, the Greek language was widely used in the Gentile world. This was not the case, however, with Hebrew. Hebrew was a highly parochial language dialect. Nonetheless, for today's English translations, the choice of an Anglicized form of the divine name is far preferable in the Hebrew Scriptures to the traditional "LORD" written in capital letters used in most English versions.

translated into the Greek language. In his first two sections, Howard is *not* talking about the Christian Greek Scripture manuscripts which are the subject of this book.

The concluding section of Howard's study

The final (and brief) portion of Howard's study focuses on the Christian Greek Scriptures. We will quote extensively from this portion so that the reader will better understand what Howard is saying. (We have underlined certain phrases to emphasize the degree of probability which Howard introduces.)

When we come to the NT, there is good reason to believe that a similar pattern evolved. Since the Tetragram was still written in the copies of the Greek Bible which made up the Scriptures of the early church, it is reasonable to believe that the NT writers, when quoting from Scripture, preserved the Tetragram within the biblical text. On the analogy of pre-Christian Jewish practice we can imagine that the NT text incorporated the Tetragram into its OT quotations and that the words κύριος [Lord] and θεός [God] were used when secondary references to God were made in the comments that were based upon the quotations. The Tetragram in these quotations would, of course, have remained as long as it continued to be used in the Christian copies

of the LXX. But when it was removed from the Greek OT, it was also removed from the quotations of the OT in the NT. Thus somewhere around the beginning of the second century the use of surrogates must have crowded out the Tetragram in both Testaments. Before long the divine name was lost to the Gentile church altogether except insofar as it was reflected in the contracted surrogates or occasionally remembered by scholars.

The removal of the Tetragram in the NT of the Gentile church obviously affected the appearance of the NT text and no doubt influenced the theological outlook of second century Gentile Christianity; just how much we may never know. But if we permit our mind's eye to compare the original OT quotations in the NT with the way they appeared after the Tetragram was removed, we can imagine that the theological change was significant. In many passages where the persons of God and Christ were clearly distinguishable, the removal of the Tetragram must have created considerable ambiguity.

It is interesting to note that the confusion that emerged from such passages in the second century is reflected in the MS [manuscript] tradition of the NT. A large

number of variants in the NT MS tradition involve the word θεός [God], κύριος [Lord], Ἰησοῦς [Jesus], Χριστός [Christ], υἱός [son] and combinations of them. The theory we suggest to explain the origin of many of these variants (though, of course, not all) is that the removal of the Tetragram from the OT quotations in the NT created a confusion in the minds of scribes as to which person was referred ••241•• to in the discussion surrounding the quotation. Once the confusion was caused by the change in the divine name in the quotations, the same confusion spread to other parts of the NT where quotations were not involved at all. In other words once the names of God and Christ were confused in the vicinity of quotations, the names were generally confused elsewhere.

The following examples illustrate this scribal confusion over the divine personages within the area of quotations. [At this point, Howard includes a brief discussion of Romans 10:16-17, Romans 14:10-11, I Corinthians 2:16, I Peter 3:14-15, I Corinthians 10:9, and Jude 5. Howard conjectures that the Tetragrammaton may have been used in these verses. *In no case, however, does he give any textual evidence substantiating the Tetragrammaton in any ancient Christian Greek Scripture manuscripts.*]

(2) *Concluding Observations.* The above examples are, of course, only exploratory in nature and are set forth here programatically. Nevertheless, the evidence is sufficiently strong to suggest that the thesis of this paper is quite possible. We have refrained from drawing too many conclusions due to the revolutionary nature of the thesis. Rather than state conclusions now in a positive manner it seems better only to raise some questions that suggest a need for further explanation.

(a) If the Tetragram was used in the NT, how extensively was it used? Was it confined to OT quotations and OT paraphrastic allusions, or was it used in traditional phrases, such as "the word of God/Lord" (see the variants in Acts 6:7; 8:25; 12:24; 13:5; 13:44, 48; 14:25; 16:6, 32), "in the day of the Lord" (cf. variants in I Cor 5:5), "through the will of God" (cf. variants in Rom 15:32)? Was it also used in OT-like narratives such as we have in the first two chapters of Luke?

(b) Was the third person singular pronoun ever used in the NT as a surrogate "God"? The quotation of Isa 40:3 in Mark 1:3; Matt 3:3; Luke 3:4 ends with εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τρίβους αὐτοῦ [make straight the roads of him]. Αὐτοῦ

[of him] stands for לאלהינו [our God] in the MT and τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν [the God of us] in the majority of the LXX MSS. The fact that in IQS 8:13 the elongated pronoun הוּאֵהָ [of him] is used in a reference to this exact phrase suggests that αὐτοῦ [of him] is possibly an abbreviation in the Synoptics.

(c) How great was the impact of the removal of the Tetragram from the NT? Were only those passages affected in which God and Christ were confused by the ambiguity of the immediate context; or were other passages, which reflected a low christology even after the change, later altered to reflect a high christology? Did such restructuring of the text give rise to the later christological controversies within the church, and were the NT passages involved in these controversies identical with those which in the NT era apparently created no problems at all?

(d) What part did heresy play in the formation of the NT text? Did the removal of the Tetragram play a role in the split between the Ebionites and the Gentile church; and if so, did the Ebionite ••242•• movement cause the Gentile church to restructure even more its NT toward a higher christology?

(e) What are the implications of the use of the divine name in the NT for current christological studies? Are these studies based on the NT text as it appeared in the first century, or are they based on an altered text which represents a time in church history when the difference between God and Christ was confused in the text and blurred in the minds of churchmen? Can it be that current scenarios of NT christology are descriptions of second- and third-century theology and not that of the first?

Observations: The reader must pay careful attention to the wording and content of the portion of Howard's study dealing with the Christian Greek Scriptures (New Testament).

1. In the first sections, the reader has been given verifiable textual evidence of the Tetragrammaton in known manuscripts of the *Septuagint* (LXX). Without careful attention, the reader could be led to assume that the change of focus to the Christian Greek Scriptures in Howard's study also contains textual evidence for the use of the Tetragrammaton. This is far from being true. A careful reading of this portion will indicate that *no citation of a single Christian Greek Scripture using the Tetragrammaton is given*.
2. The reader should also note that, in the absence of any textual evidence, the entire premise for Howard's discussion of the Tetragrammaton's use in the Christian Greek Scriptures is based on such phrases as "...there is

good reason to believe....," "...we can imagine that....," "...the use of surrogates must have crowded out....," "...just how much we may never know....," "...if we permit our mind's eye to compare....," and, "...we can imagine that...." These statements can hardly be construed as assertions of empirical evidence.

3. Howard suggests that confusion of the Tetragrammaton within the *Septuagint* (Hebrew Scriptures) of the second century is then transferred to the scribes copying of the Christian Greek Scriptures. This is a legitimate inquiry to pursue. However, as we have seen in our book, this question must be answered with a historical and textual examination of the evidence. *The earliest extant manuscripts, rather than conjecture, must establish the wording of all Greek Scriptures passages.*
4. The reader must, finally, be aware that Howard's conclusion does not give a summary statement of textual evidence for the Tetragrammaton. The concluding observations merely consist of five questions. They are, in fact, pertinent questions. But they must be answered with evidence from known ancient Christian Greek ••243•• Scripture manuscripts. In the absence of such evidence, they are merely speculative questions.

Conclusion: It is not our intent to demean the research done by George Howard. His work evaluates necessary data pertinent to a study of the Tetragrammaton's presence in the Christian Greek Scriptures. Nonetheless, it is necessary that we carefully note the limitations of the evidence within his study. (In all probability, our view of Howard's work is more

strongly conditioned by the Watch Tower Society's interpretation of it than by a careful study of the material itself.) The required evidence which will bear most strongly on George Howard's study is the same evidence which we must use in our own study. In all cases, *the verification of the presumed use of the Tetragrammaton within the Christian Greek Scriptures must be securely founded on historical and textual evidences, not on presumption or allusions to the Septuagint text.* In summary:

1. No textual evidence is given wherein ancient Greek manuscripts of the Christian Greek Scriptures use the Tetragrammaton.
2. The passages used by Howard when he conjectures use of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures are verses which allude to Hebrew Scripture quotations. Though this use of these verses merits study, it leaves completely unanswered the appropriateness of the choice of *Jehovah* in the majority of the 237 *New World Translation* references which have no Hebrew Scripture source. Even if textual evidence for the Tetragrammaton in verses quoted from the Hebrew Scriptures could be established, no transfer of that premise can be carried to verses such as Revelation 1:8, 4:8 and 11, 11:17, 16:7, 18:8, 19:6, 21:22, 22:5 and 22:6, which have no allusions to Hebrew Scripture. These verses *all* address Κύριος [Lord] as *God* and in most cases further identify Κύριος [Lord] as the *Almighty*.
3. Howard introduces an ambiguity regarding the Tetragrammaton into his study which is often shared by Watch Tower publications. A discussion will often commence with references to the Tetragrammaton in the

Septuagint and then be extended as though the Christian Greek Scriptures were the same document. The *Septuagint* and the Christian Greek Scriptures are separated by some 300 years and represent distinctly separate manuscript traditions. What can correctly be said of one is not necessarily true of the other, despite the use of the *Septuagint* in the early Christian congregation period. In a similar manner, a discussion of quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures is often confused with other *Jehovah* references in ••244•• the *New World Translation*. A statement may properly be made regarding an original writer's use of a Hebrew Scripture quotation which uses the divine name, whereas an extension of that statement to the other 237 *Jehovah* references would be inaccurate. The reader must carefully separate the *Septuagint* and the Christian Greek Scriptures. Equally, the reader must differentiate between a passage which originates from (and quotes) the Hebrew Scriptures and a statement being made by a Christian Scripture writer in which there is no quotation source.

4. Howard concludes with a series of questions, two of which are of great importance to us here:

"If the Tetragram was used in the NT, how extensively was it used?" This is a question of paramount concern to anyone reading the Christian Greek Scriptures. Our understanding of Jehovah and the Lord Jesus will be greatly influenced by the answer. The answer is so important that we would expect the divine Author to give ample evidence in the textual integrity of his Word. Certainly, if the Tetragrammaton was used 237 times in the Christian Greek

Scriptures, there should be ample ancient Greek manuscripts confirming that for us. *There are none!*

"What are the implications of the use of the divine name in the NT for current christological studies?" The question is well asked because the implications are immense! The subject of numerous verses in Revelation is clearly "God...the Almighty." If the Tetragrammaton was not used, then John wrote that "κύριος" [the Lord] is "God...the Almighty."

Appendix E: The Greek Text of the Hebrew Versions

••245•• A reader may verify the Greek word used in any of the 237 *Jehovah* references of the *New World Translation* by consulting the Greek text portion of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. This is further verified in Appendix 1D of the *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures* (pages 1565-1566) showing that in 223 instances, the Greek word *Kyrios* (κύριος) in one of its principle forms (including κύριε, κύριον, κυρίου, or κυρίω) is the word used in the Westcott and Hort text.

On the surface, it would seem that *Kyrios*, rather than the Tetragrammaton, is the best textual choice in each of these instances. However, there is an alternate possibility which must be considered. The evidence supporting the restoration of *Jehovah* in each of these passages is found in 25 Hebrew versions. Therefore, *we must consider the Greek textual source for these versions.*

Are there older, more reliable Greek manuscripts from which these Hebrew versions were translated? That is, did translators of very early Hebrew versions have access to first century Greek manuscripts containing the Tetragrammaton? If so, we may expect to find the needed evidence to support the divine name in the Christian Greek Scriptures in these older texts.

The translation date of any given Hebrew version will suggest the Greek text which was available at the time of its translation. (For example, the translator of a Hebrew version completed in the first century C.E. would have had access to Greek manuscripts which pre-date those which are available

today.)

The earliest complete Hebrew version of the Christian Scriptures is J⁷ which was completed by Elias Hutter in 1599.¹ This late date entirely eliminates the possibility of an earlier Greek text unknown to today's translators. The Greek text of 1599 was essentially the same text which was used in the 1611 *King James* version. Several pages of this Greek text are reproduced in the following pages. Furthermore, according to the foreword in the *Emphatic Diaglott New Testament* published by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society (1942 edition), only about eight manuscripts of the entire Christian Greek Scriptures were known in 1599:

[The] KING JAMES BIBLE, or the Authorized Version, was published in 1611...It has been convicted of containing over ••246•• 20,000 errors. Nearly 700 Greek MSS are now known,² and some of them very ancient; whereas the translators of the common [King James] version had only the advantage of some 8 MSS, none of which was earlier than the tenth century.

The following pages contain copies of the Greek text from which the earliest Hebrew versions were translated. Notice that the Tetragrammaton is nowhere found in these Luke passages, nor does it appear elsewhere in the entire manuscript. (Luke 1:6, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 25, and 28 are all *Jehovah* references.)

¹ We have not included J² because this may be a recension of Matthew's Hebrew Gospel.

² Today this number stands at 5,000.

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The subject of Greek manuscripts used in the Hebrew translation "J" references suggests an oversight on the part of the translators and editors of the *New World Translation*. Clearly, the objective of *supporting* texts for Greek manuscript verification is *early* evidences. That is, the older the manuscript, the more accurately it should reflect the original writing. Therefore, the more highly sought manuscripts are the *oldest* manuscripts.

Nonetheless, in the 1985 edition of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, the editors have added new "J" references to further support the argument favoring the Tetragrammaton. These include the following:

J22	Christian Greek Scriptures in Hebrew by the United Bible Societies	1979
J23	Christian Greek Scriptures in Hebrew by J. Bauchet	1975
J24	<i>A Literal Translation of the New Testament...From the Text of the Vatican Manuscript</i>	1863
J25	<i>St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans</i>	1900
J26	Psalms and Matthew	1533
J27	<i>Die heilige Schrift des neuen Testaments</i>	1796

J22 and J23 are particularly interesting. The editors have literally used Hebrew translations from current United Bible Societies' printed Greek New Testaments to establish the existence of the Tetragrammaton over Greek manuscripts of

the second and third century. To verify the Greek text for J²² and J²³, one must merely purchase the United Bible Societies' current Greek New Testament!

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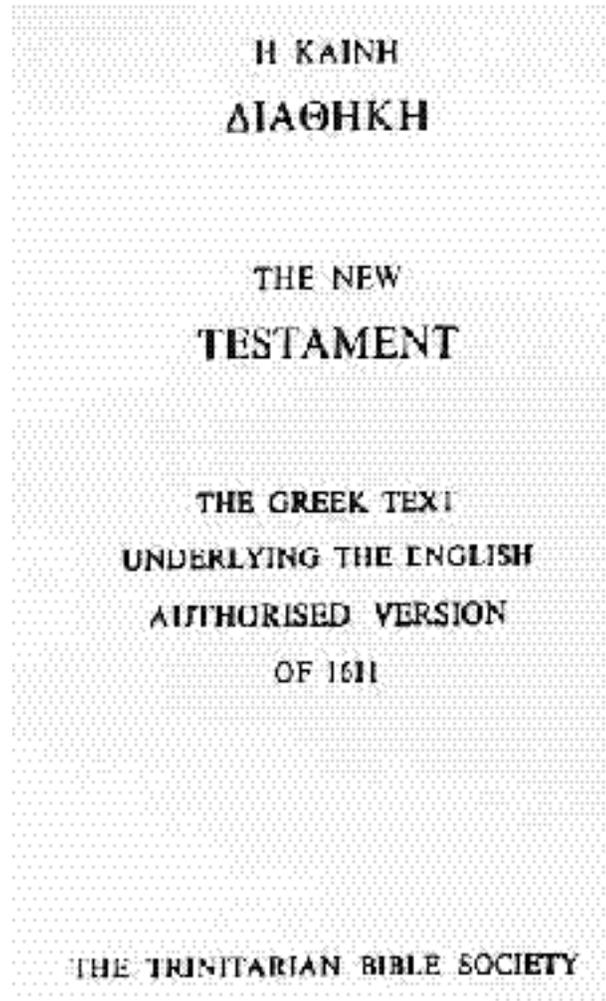


Figure 8. The title page of an edition of the Greek text used for the 1611 *King James* version.

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PREFACE

The Textus Receptus printed in this volume is the Greek text followed by the translators of the English Authorised Version of the Bible first published in the year 1611. Its relationship to other editions of the Greek text printed in the 16th and 17th centuries is shown in the following paragraphs.

The first edition of the Greek text to be published was that of Desiderius Erasmus printed in Basle in 1516, which was followed by his edition of 1518, which was used by Martin Luther for his German translation. Erasmus also published editions in 1522, 1527 and 1535, the last two of which included some changes from the Complutensian Polyglot. The New Testament portion of this Polyglot Bible of Complutum, or Alcalá in Spain, was actually printed in 1514, but was not in circulation until 1522. Christopher Plantin reprinted the Complutensian Greek text in Antwerp in 1554, 1573, 1574, 1584 and 1590, and it was also printed in Geneva in 1609, 1619, 1620, 1628 and 1632.

Simon Colinaeus, a printer in Paris, published in 1534 an edition based upon those of Erasmus and the Complutensian Greek New Testament. This work of Colinaeus was never reprinted, but was superseded by the more famous editions of his step-son Robert Stephens, published in Paris in 1546, 1549, 1550 and 1551. The edition of 1550, known as the "royal edition" or *editio regia*, followed the text of the 1527 and 1535 editions of Erasmus, with marginal readings from the Complutensian Polyglot. The 1551 Geneva edition was a reprint of the 1550 text in which the present numbered verse divisions first appeared.

Theodore Beza published in Geneva four folio editions of the Stephens Greek text, with some changes and a Latin translation of his own, in 1565, 1582, 1588 and 1595. During this period Beza also published several octavo editions in 1565, 1567, 1580, 1590 and 1604. The editions of Beza, particularly that of 1598,

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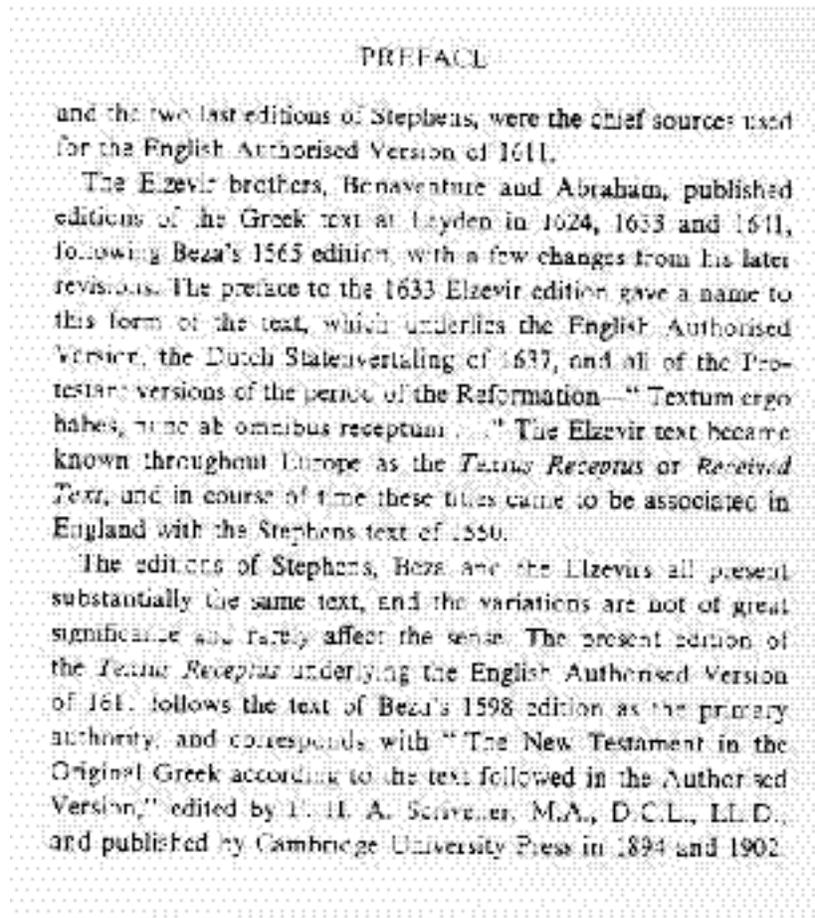


Figure 9. The preface of this same edition of the Greek text used for the 1611 *King James* version.

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ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ
ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ

THE GOSPEL
ACCORDING TO LUKE

Ἐπειδὴ
περὶ τῶν
παρέθεσσι
γεγενημένων
πᾶσιν ἐκ
ἐπιθυμίας κεραιῶν κατηχῆθαι λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

Ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρακλίου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς
Ἰουδαίας, Ἡρῆος τῆς ἀγοράστου Ζαχαρίας, ἐκ κληρονομίας Ἀβιά,
καὶ ἡ γυναὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων Ἀαρῶν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα
αυτῆς Ἐλισάβετ. ἦσαν δὲ δίκαιοι ἀμφότεροι ἐκτίθειον τῷ
Θεῷ, παρεύδοντο ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιτηδαῖς, καὶ δικαιοσύνη
τοῦ Κυρίου ἀμείψαντο, καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς πένησις καθότι
ἡ Ἐλισάβετ ἦν στείρα, καὶ ἀμφοτέροι προβέβηκότες ἐν ταῖς
ἡμέραις αὐτῶν ἦσαν.

Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐταῖς ἵνα ἐπιπέσῃ τῷ Ζαχα-
ρίας αἰτία ἐκτίθειν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ αὐτὸ εἶπε τῇ ἡμερολογίᾳ
Ἐλπίου τοῦ θυμιατοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ το-
ποθετῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν λαῶν ἐν προσευχαίᾳ ἰδῶν τὴν εἰρή-
νην τοῦ θυμιατοῦ. Ὁρῶν δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος Κυρίου, ἵστασθαι αὐ-
τὸν δεξιῶν τοῦ θυμιατοῦ τοῦ θυμιατοῦ, καὶ ἠπαράχθη ἐπὶ
Ζαχαρίας ὄντως, καὶ φόβος ἐπέπεσε ἐπ' αὐτόν, εἶπε δὲ πρὸς τὸν
αὐτοῦ ἄγγελος. Μη φοβῆσθαι, Ζαχαρία, διότι ἐπιτελέσθη ἡ
βέβαιότης σου, καὶ ἡ γυναὶ σου Ἐλισάβετ γενήσεται υἱόν σου, καὶ
καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννην, καὶ ἔσται χαρὰ σοὶ καὶ εὐ-
φροσύνη πολλή, ἐν τῇ γενήσῃ αὐτοῦ χαρῆς σου.

Ἐποίησε γὰρ ἄγγελος ἐκτίθειν τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται

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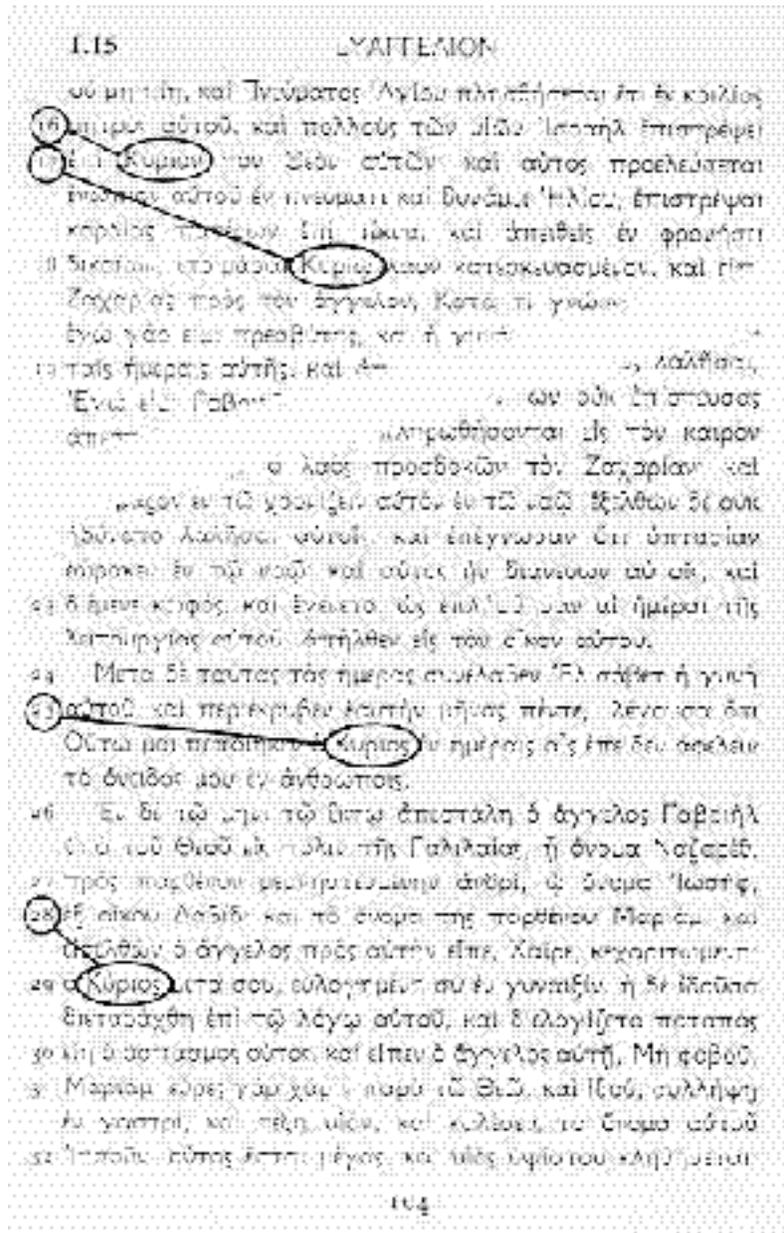


Figure 10. Two pages of text from of this same Greek edition used for the translation of the 1611 *King James* version. The Tetragrammaton was not used in the Greek text.

Appendix F: Facsimiles of Early Greek Manuscripts

••252•• Many early Greek manuscripts are available for examination in facsimile form. (Facsimile copies are photographically reproduced plates of the actual manuscripts themselves. Generally, the manuscripts are in page format.) One of the earliest Greek Scripture manuscripts available today is known as the Chester Beatty Papyri and is cataloged as P46. This manuscript has been dated as a copy made about 200 C.E. Therefore, these copies were made not more than 150 years after the Apostle Paul wrote between 50 and 61 C.E.

The material in this appendix comes from the book entitled, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible*. The editor is Frederic G. Kenyon; the book was published by Emery Walker Ltd. of London in 1937.

Our best description comes from the **Preface** of the volume itself:

This [volume] contains a complete photographic reproduction of the papyrus of the Pauline Epistles, the ownership of which is divided between Mr. Chester Beatty and the University of Michigan...Since the complete codex [book] appears to have consisted of 104 leaves (of which the last five may have been blank), the student now has a reproduction of a nearly complete copy of the Epistles of St. Paul (apart from the Pastorals [1-2 Timothy and Titus]), at least a century older than any MS. [manuscript] previously known. It seems certain that the papyrus is not later than the first half of the third century; and Prof. Ulrich Wilcken, the first

living authority on papyrology, would date it 'round about A.D. 200.' It thus has a strong claim to be considered the earliest extant MS. of the New Testament [Christian Greek Scriptures] of any substantial size, and to have been written not more than a century and a half after the death of St. Paul.

The Watch Tower Society recognizes P⁴⁶ from "circa 200 C.E."¹ Thus, from the following reproductions of this copy of the Greek Scriptures, we can see that the use of the Greek word *Kyrios* (rather than ἰησοῦς) can be established not later than this very early date.

The following summary of P⁴⁶ lists 28 instances in which the *New World Translation* uses *Jehovah* as its translation of *Kyrios* (or *Theos*). **Plate No.** : the papyrus leaf identification number (marked as "r" for *recto* [front] and "v" for *verso* [back]). **Plate Contents:** the verses found on the papyrus leaf. **Verse Cited:** *Jehovah* reference from the *New World Translation*. **Entry:** the surrogate (abbreviation) found in P⁴⁶. **KIT** : the word entry in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*.

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Plate No.	Plate Contents	Verse Cited	Entry	KIT
f.16.r.	Rom 12:11-13:1	Rom 12:11	κ̄ω̄	κυρίω
f.19.v.	Rom 15:11-19	Rom 15:11	κ̄Ν	κύριον

¹ "All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial," Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, p. 313.

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Plate No.	Plate Contents	Verse Cited	Entry	KIT
f.23.v.	Heb 2:2-3:3	Heb 2:13	Θ̄Σ̄ ²	θεός
f.28.r.	Heb 7:28-8:8	Heb 8:2	κ̄Σ̄	κύριος
f.31.r.	Heb 10:8-20	Heb 10:16	κ̄Σ̄	Κύριος
f.37.v.	Heb 13:3-11	Heb 13:6	κ̄Σ̄	Κύριος
f.40.r.	1 Cor 2:11-3:5	1 Cor 2:16	κ̄Υ	Κυρίον
f.41.r.	1 Cor 3:16-4:3	1 Cor 3:20	κ̄Σ̄	Κύριος
f.42.v.	1 Cor 4:4-10	1 Cor 4:4	κ̄Σ̄	κύριος
f.45.r.	I Cor 7:12-19	1 Cor 7:17	κ̄Σ̄	κύριος
f.50.r.	I Cor 10:21-30	1 Cor 10:21	κ̄Υ	Κυρίου
Same citation as above		1 Cor 10:21	κ̄Υ	Κυρίου
		1 Cor 10:22	κ̄Ν	κύριον
f.56.r.	I Cor 14:16-23	I Cor 14:21	κ̄Σ̄	Κύριος
f.60.r.	I Cor 16:2-12	I Cor 16:7	κ̄Σ̄	κύριος
Same citation as above		I Cor 16:10	κ̄Υ	Κυρίον
f.64.r.	2 Cor 3:14-4:3	I Cor 3:16	κ̄Ν	Κύριον

² The final sigma (ς) in manuscript entries is formed like the English lower-case c.

Plate No.	Plate Contents	Verse Cited	Entry	KIT
Same citation as above		I Cor 3:17	?	κύριος
		I Cor 3:17	κ̄Υ	Κυρίου
		I Cor 3:18	κ̄Υ	Κυρίου
		I Cor 3:18	κ̄Υ	κυρίου
f.67.r.	2 Cor 6:14-7:4	2 Cor 6:17	κ̄Σ	Κύριος
Same citation as above		2 Cor 6:18	κ̄Σ	Κύριος
f.71.r.	2 Cor 10:11-11:2	2 Cor 10:17	κ̄Ω	Κυρίω
Same citation as above		2 Cor 10:18	κ̄Σ	κύριος
f.77.r.	Eph 2:21-3:10	Eph 2:21	κ̄Ω	κυρίω
f.80.v.	Eph 6:8-18	Eph 6:8	κ̄Υ	κυρίου
f.83.r.	Gal 3:2-15	Gal 3:6	Θ̄Ω	θεῶ

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Catalog identification: P⁴⁶: plate f.40.r.

Greek manuscript date: *circa* 200 C.E.

Plate contains: 1 Corinthians 2:11 through 3:5.

Reference cited: 1 Corinthians 2:16.

Significance of this example: 1) Use of the Greek word *Kyrios* (Κυρίου) in place of the divine name within a direct quotation from the Hebrew Scriptures. 2) Use of a surrogate (abbreviation) form of both the word Κυρίου (Lord) and Χριστοῦ (Christ). Κυρίου is abbreviated $\overline{\text{K}\overline{\text{Y}}}$ and Χριστοῦ is abbreviated $\overline{\text{X}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\text{Y}}}$.

Hebrew Scripture location: Isaiah 40:13.

Translation used in *New World Translation*:
"Jehovah."

Translation used in *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*:
"Lord."

Earliest date reference for the translation choice:

***New World Translation*—"Jehovah":** A Hebrew version; 1838.

***Kingdom Interlinear Translation*—"Lord":** This manuscript; *circa* 200 C.E.

Textual form. Manuscripts from this period did not use spacing between words, and broke words at the end of a line. No accent or punctuation marks were used. Various additional surrogates are evident throughout the page. The script is uncial.

1 Corinthians 2:16 from the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* showing both the Greek text and the English translation reads:

...τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν Κυρίου, ὅς συνβιβάσει

Who for knew mind of Lord, who will make go together

αὐτόν; ἡμεῖς δὲ νοῦν Χριστοῦ ἔχομεν.

him? We but mind of Christ are having.

1 Corinthians 2:16 from the Chester Beatty Papyri.

Note: We have reproduced the text below with the Greek wording, spelling, and script from the Westcott and Hort Greek text; this may vary from the actual P⁴⁶ text. In the case of the surrogates $\bar{K}\bar{\Upsilon}$ (Lord) and $\bar{X}\bar{\rho}\bar{\Upsilon}$ (Christ), we have added spacing to facilitate identification.

Location: This phrase is found in lines 14 and 15 of the facing page and is identified by a bracket (]) in the right margin. The surrogates $\bar{K}\bar{\Upsilon}$ and $\bar{X}\bar{\rho}\bar{\Upsilon}$ are circled.

...ΤΙΣ ΓΑΡ ΕΓΝΩΝΟΥΝ $\bar{K}\bar{\Upsilon}$ ΟΣ ΣΥΝΒΙΒΑ
 ΣΕΙΔΥΤΟΝ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΔΕΝΟΥΝ $\bar{X}\bar{\rho}\bar{\Upsilon}$ ΕΧΟΜΕΝ

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Plate f.40.r.



Plate 1. A facsimile copy of P46 which contains 1 Corinthians 2:11 through 3:5. The manuscript was copied about 200 C.E.

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Catalog identification: P⁴⁶: plate f.83.r.

Greek manuscript date: *circa* 200 C.E.

Plate contains: Galatians 3:2 to 15.

Reference cited: Galatians 3:6.

Significance of this example: Use of a surrogate (abbreviation) form of the word *Theos* (God). The word Θεῶν is abbreviated as Θ̄ω̄.

Translation used in *New World Translation*:

"Jehovah."

Translation used in *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*:

"God."

Earliest date reference for the translation choice:

***New World Translation*—"Jehovah":** A Hebrew version; 1599.

***Kingdom Interlinear Translation*—"God":** This manuscript; *circa* 200 C.E.

Textual form. Manuscripts from this period did not use spacing between words, and broke words at the end of a line. No accent or punctuation marks were used. Surrogate examples are evident.

Galatians 3: 6 from the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* showing both the Greek text and the English translation reads:

... καθὼς	Ἰαβραὰμ	ἐπίστευσεν	τῷ	Θεῷ,	καὶ
According as	Abraham	believed	to the	God,	and
ἐλογίσθη	αὐτῷ	εἰς	δικαιοσύνην...		
it was reckoned	to him	into	righteousness.		

Galatians 3:6 from the Chester Beatty Papyri.

Note: We have reproduced the text below with the Greek wording, spelling, and script from the Westcott and Hort Greek text; this may vary from the actual P⁴⁶ text. In the case of the surrogate Θ̄ω, we have added spacing to facilitate identification.

Location: This phrase is found in lines six and seven of the facing page and is identified by a bracket (]) in the right margin. The surrogate Θ̄ω is circled.

...ΚΑΘΩΣΑΒΡΑΔΜΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΕΝ ΤΩ Θ̄ω ΚΑΙ
ΕΛΟΓΙΣΘΗΑΥΤΩΕΙΣΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΝ...

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Plate f.83.r.

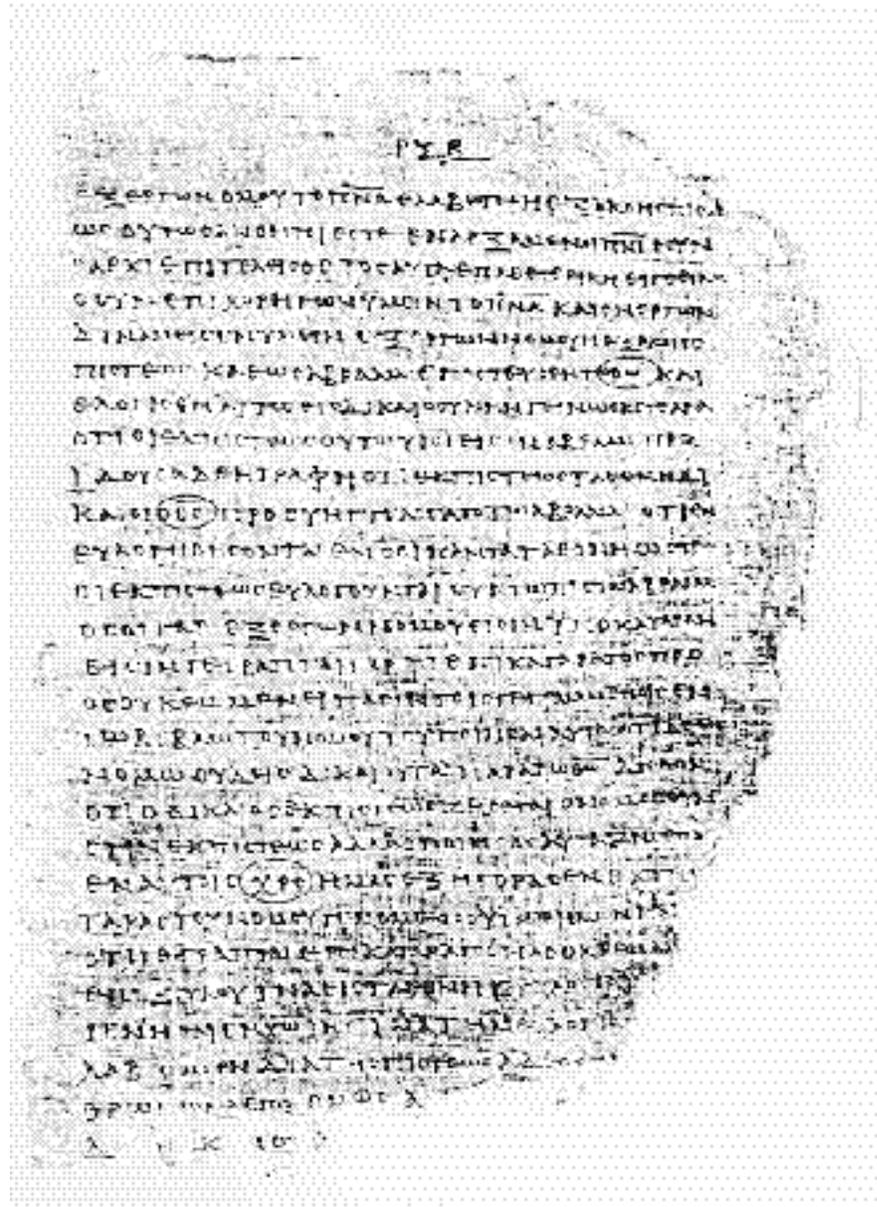


Plate 2. A facsimile copy of P46 which contains Galatians 3:2 to 15. The manuscript was copied about 200 C.E.

Appendix G: J20 — יהוה in the Greek Concordance

••258•• *A Concordance to the Greek Testament* by W. F. Moulton and A. S. Geden (4th ed., Edinburgh, 1963) is identified in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* as "J" reference J20. (See Appendix A for a further description.) This reference is used by the *New World Translation* because it identifies Hebrew Scripture quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures.

Two categories of Hebrew Scripture references are cited. First, and most importantly, are those instances which are substantiated with a Hebrew Scripture reference which uses the Tetragrammaton. In these cases, the entry in the *Concordance* quotes the passage from the Hebrew Scriptures. In the following tables, we have included both the divine name as it appears in the *Concordance* entry and the Scripture reference. (Notice that the entries use vowel points and are consequently written יהוה־ rather than יהוה.)

In the second category of references, only the verse is cited without the quotation appearing from the Hebrew Scriptures. In this case, we have included only the reference, and the column containing the divine name will be blank.

J20 lists all of the *Kyrios* references contained in Appendix C. In this appendix, however, only the entries which cite a Hebrew Scripture reference are given. (J20 cites no Hebrew Scripture references for 2 Peter, any of John's Epistles, Jude, or the book of the Revelation.)

This is a definitive reference in our study of the

Tetragrammaton in the Greek Scriptures. *J20* precisely identifies each instance in the Greek Scriptures in which there is specific Hebrew Scripture use of the Tetragrammaton in the passage quoted in the Christian Greek Scripture. We have not included the references which contain *Jah* from Hallelujah (of which there are only four in the Greek Scriptures, all in Revelation). That is, only the 44 occurrences of יהוה as found in this reference would clearly fulfill the criteria of the *New World Translation* when they state (Reference Edition, Appendix 1D):

To know where the divine name was replaced by the Greek words κύριος and θεός, we have determined where the inspired Christian writers have quoted verses, passages and expressions from the Hebrew Scriptures and then we have referred back to the Hebrew text to ascertain whether the divine name appears there. In this way we determined the identity to give *Ky'ri.os* and *The.os'* and the personality with which to clothe them.

••259•• To avoid overstepping the bounds of a translator into the field of exegesis, we have been most cautious about rendering the divine name in the Christian Greek Scriptures, *always carefully considering the Hebrew Scriptures as a background.* We have looked for agreement from the Hebrew versions to confirm our rendering. Thus, out of the 237 times that we have rendered the divine name in the body of our translation, there is only one instance [1 Co 7:17] where we have no agreement from the Hebrew versions. (Emphasis ours.)

Notice that, according to this source quoted by the translators of the *New World Translation*, only 42 *Jehovah*

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renderings are supported by the Hebrew Scriptures. (The number could be as many as 50 including the 42 יהוה and 8 other names of God cited as "Note 1.") This leaves the remaining 191 (or 183) to be supported by much later Hebrew versions.

Because the material from Appendix B was taken from an English source (*The New World Translation*), verse references may differ from the present list.

The reader should pay particular attention to the entries for 1 Peter 2:3 and 3:15.

	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>J20 Documentation</i>	<i>NWT</i>	
Matthew			Heb. Script. Hebrew word		
1:22	Κυρίου	Lord	Is 7:14		Jehovah
2:15	Κυρίου	Lord	Ho 11:1		Jehovah
3:3	Κυρίου	Lord	Is 40:3	יהוה	Jehovah
4:7	Κύριον	Lord	Dt 6:16	אֱהִי־יְהוָה	Jehovah
4:10	Κύριον	Lord	Dt 6:13	אֱהִי־יְהוָה	Jehovah
5:33	Κυρίω	Lord	Lv 19:12	Note 1	Jehovah
21:9	Κυρίου	Lord	Ps 118:26	יהוה	Jehovah
21:42	Κυρίου	Lord	Ps 118:23	יהוה	Jehovah
22:37	Κύριον	Lord	Dt 6:5	יהוה	Jehovah
22:44	Κύριος	Lord	Ps 110:1	יהוה	Jehovah
23:39	Κυρίου	Lord	Ps 118:26		Jehovah
27:10	Κύριος	Lord	Zc 11:13		Jehovah

¹Note 1: Other Hebrew entry which does not include יהוה.

	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>J20 Documentation</i>	<i>NWT</i>
Mark			Heb. Script. Hebrew word	
1:3	Κυρίου	Lord	Is 40:3	יהוה Jehovah
11:9	Κυρίου	Lord	Ps 118:26	Jehovah
12:11	Κυρίου	Lord	Ps 118:23	Jehovah

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12:29	Κύριος	Lord	Dt 6:4	יהוה Jehovah
12:29	Κύριος	Lord	Dt 6:4	יהוה Jehovah
12:30	Κύριον	Lord	Dt 6:5	יהוה Jehovah
12:36	Κύριος	Lord	Ps 110:1	Jehovah

Luke

2:23	Κυρίου	Lord	Ex 13:2	Note 1	Jehovah
2:23	κυρίῳ	Lord	Ex 13:2	Note 1	Jehovah
2:24	Κυρίου	Lord	Lv 12:8		Jehovah
3:4	Κύριον	Lord	Is 40:3	יהוה Jehovah	
4:8	Κύριον	Lord	Dt 6:13		Jehovah
4:12	Κύριον	Lord	Dt 6:16		Jehovah
4:18	Κυρίου	Lord	Is 61:1	יהוה Jehovah	
4:19	Κυρίου	Lord	Is 61:2	יהוה Jehovah	
10:27	Κύριον	Lord	Dt 6:5		Jehovah
13:35	Κυρίου	Lord	Ps 118:26		Jehovah
19:38	Κυρίου	Lord	Ps 118:26		Jehovah
20:42	Κύριος	Lord	Ps 110:1		Jehovah

John

1:23	Κυρίου	Lord	Is 40:3		Jehovah
12:13	Κυρίου	Lord	Ps 118:26		Jehovah

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>J20 Documentation</i>	<i>NWT</i>
John			Heb. Script. Hebrew word	
12:38	Κύριε	Lord	Is 53:1	Note 1 Jehovah
12:38	Κυρίου	Lord	Is 53:1	יהוה Jehovah

Acts

2:20	Κυρίου	Lord	Jo 3:4	יהוה Jehovah
2:21	Κυρίου	Lord	Jo 3:5	יהוה Jehovah
2:25	κύριον	Lord	Ps 16:8	יהוה Jehovah
2:34	Κύριος	Lord	Ps 110:1	Jehovah
3:22	Κύριος	Lord	Dt 18:15	יהוה Jehovah
4:26	κυρίου	Lord	Ps 2:2	עַל־יְהוָה Jehovah
7:49	Κύριος	Lord	Is 66:1,2	נְאֻם־יְהוָה Jehovah
15:17	κύριον	Lord	Am 9:12	Note 1 Jehovah
15:17	Κύριος	Lord	Am 9:13	יהוה Jehovah

Romans

4:8	Κύριος	Lord	Ps 32:2	יהוה Jehovah
9:28	Κύριος	Lord	Is 10:23	יהוה Jehovah
9:29	Κύριος	Lord	Is 1:9	יהוה Jehovah
10:16	Κύριε	Lord	Is 53:1	Jehovah

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11:3	Κύριε	Lord	1 Ki 19:10	Note 1 Jehovah
11:34	Κυρίου	Lord	Is 40:13	יהוה Jehovah
12:19	Κύριος	Lord	Dt 32:35	Note 1 Jehovah
14:11	Κύριος	Lord	Is 14:23	Jehovah
15:11	κύριον	Lord	Ps 67:1	אֶת־יְהוָה Jehovah

	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>J20 Documentation</i>	<i>NWT</i>	
1 Corinthians			Heb. Script. Hebrew word		
1:31	Κυρίῳ	Lord	Jr 9:23		Jehovah
2:16	Κυρίου	Lord	Is 40:13		Jehovah
3:20	Κύριος	Lord	Ps 44:11	יְהוָה	Jehovah
10:26	κυρίου	Lord	Ps 24:1	לַיהוָה	Jehovah
14:21	Κύριος	Lord	Is 28:12	Note 1	Jehovah

2 Corinthians

6:17	Κύριος	Lord	Is 52:11		Jehovah
10:17	Κυρίῳ	Lord	Jr 9:23		Jehovah

2 Timothy

2:19	Κύριος	Lord	Nm 16:5	יְהוָה	Jehovah
2:19	Κυρίου	Lord	Is 52:11		Jehovah

Hebrews

1:26	κύριε	Lord	Ps 110:4	Note 1	Lord
7:21	Κύριος	Lord	Ps 110:4	יְהוָה	Jehovah
8:8	Κύριος	Lord	Jr 31:31	נְאֻם־יְהוָה	Jehovah
8:9	Κύριος	Lord	Jr 31:32	נְאֻם־יְהוָה	Jehovah
8:10	Κύριος	Lord	Jr 31:33	נְאֻם־יְהוָה	Jehovah
8:11	κυρίου	Lord	Jr 31:34	אֵת־יְהוָה	Jehovah
10:16	Κύριος	Lord	Jr 31:34		Jehovah
10:30	Κύριος	Lord	Ps 135:14	יְהוָה	Jehovah
12:5	Κυρίου	Lord	Pr 3:11	יְהוָה	Jehovah
12:6	Κύριος	Lord	Pr 3:12	יְהוָה	Jehovah
13:6	Κύριος	Lord	Ps 118:6	יְהוָה	Jehovah

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KIT *KIT* *J20 Documentation* *NWT*

1 Peter

Heb. Script. Hebrew word

1:25	Κυρίου	Lord	Is 40:5	יהוה	Jehovah
2:3	Κύριος	Lord	Ps 34:8	יהוה	Lord
3:12	Κυρίου	Lord	Ps 34:16	יהוה	Jehovah
3:12	Κυρίου	Lord	Ps 34:17	יהוה	Jehovah
3:15	Κυρίου	Lord	Is 8:13	אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה	Lord

Appendix H: A Second Hebrew Version

••262•• The following flyleaf information comes from a second Hebrew translation. (The information given is a composite copy of both the English and Hebrew title pages.) This version gives the translator's name as Professor Fanz Delitzsch. Though a date is not give, this must then be J¹⁷.

The importance of this Hebrew translation is the wording on its title page which says: "TRANSLATED OUT OF THE ORIGINAL GREEK:"

All Hebrew versions have Greek—not Hebrew—textual sources. Thus, the *New World Translation's* use of יהוה is derived from a Hebrew *translation* and not from an original ancient document.



Appendix I: A Catalog of Greek Manuscripts

••263•• This appendix is included for the purpose of comparison. When reviewing the Greek manuscript information cited in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, the reader may be left with the impression that relatively few reliable ancient Greek manuscripts are available for textual study. That is far from true.

The Greek New Testament, Third Edition,¹ prepared by the United Bible Societies is a source reference used by the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* editors and is identified as "UBS." As does the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* itself, the UBS lists in footnote form ancient Greek manuscripts and other sources consulted when the Greek wording is questionable. (We also note from the UBS list that versions can be used to authenticate a Greek wording. However, the verification comes from *similarity* of the translation to the original Greek language source. Versions are *never* used to replace the reading of a word in the Greek text itself.)

Ability to understand and use a *textual apparatus* is a

¹*The Greek New Testament, Third Edition (Corrected)*, © 1966, 1968, 1975, 1983, published by the UNITED BIBLE SOCIETIES. All textual citations in this appendix have come from either this edition or the companion volume, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, © 1971. (Three manuscript dates have been added from another edition.) Because of the constant revision process on the UBS text, each new edition will contain supplementary material. Comparison of textual apparatus material will not always be identical between subsequent editions.

worthwhile skill for the advanced Bible student. For that reason, we will demonstrate the use of the UBS *apparatus* with one example of a problematic verse.

In the first section of this appendix, we will briefly compare the footnote material found in the UBS reference for Revelation 1:8 with that of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* for the same verse. We have chosen this verse merely because we are already familiar with its use in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* and because it represents a textual problem in another part of the wording.

In the second section, we will give the UBS list of manuscripts and other sources used to substantiate the wording of the Christian Greek Scriptures.

The manuscripts, versions, and lectionaries listed in the second section are the footnote citations used in the UBC "Greek New Testament" to confirm variant readings. Note their number!

••264•• In addition to the material included in this appendix, the UBS also includes citations from the patristics. Over 200 names are included in this latter catalog of patristics, and each may be cited multiple times in support of the Greek text.

(Refer to the Glossary for word definitions used in this appendix.)

Is the UBS acceptable to Witnesses?

As a reference source, the UBS *must* be acceptable to Witnesses. First, it must be acceptable for the simple reason that it is a citation source in the *Kingdom Interlinear*

Translation. (However, we fully understand that mere citation does not imply that all information contained therein is wholly endorsed by the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* editors.) Secondly, though this is a more recently updated Greek Scripture text than that of the Westcott and Hort source used for the *New World Translation*, the text is substantially the same. Rejection of the UBS text would be tantamount to rejection of the Greek textual basis for the *New World Translation!* (That is, with the exception of the 237 *Kyrios* passages, the Greek text relied upon by the *New World Translation* must, of necessity, align itself with the best Greek texts available today.)

The Revelation 1:8 footnotes compared

We have referred to Revelation 1:8 numerous times. This verse is interesting because there are textual variants which must be reconciled. However, as we will see in the extensive textual apparatus, none of the variants deal with the Tetragrammaton. (The *textual apparatus* is the footnote citation system which presents evidence for the best Greek wording from early manuscripts and related documents.) The *New World Translation* renders the verse,

"I am the Alpha and the Omega," says Jehovah* God, "the One who is and who was and who is coming, the Almighty."

The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* footnote reads, "**8*** Jehovah, J7,8,13,14,16-18,22-24; Lord, ⚭AVgSyh," thus citing ten Hebrew translations supporting *Jehovah* followed by two Greek manuscripts and two versions supporting *Lord*.

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However, from other ancient Greek manuscripts, we discover that there are at least two additional possible wordings for this verse. (As we will see, the readings are merely restatements of "Alpha...Omega," and present no theological difficulties.)

Notice the contrast with the UBC footnote for the same verse. (The footnote has three sections; the first cites textual evidences, the second cites various English translation renderings, and the third cites biblical ••265•• [including *Septuagint*] cross references which, in turn, cite similar uses of Greek wording or structure.) The footnote portion for this verse will be reproduced *verbatim* without explanation of the symbols used.

38 {B} ᾠ α A C P 046 94 1006 1611 1859 2020 2042 2053
2138 ith syrph,h arm eth Ambrose Diadochus Primasius
Arethas // ᾠ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος (see 21.6) α*.b 1 1828 1854
2065 2073 2081* (2344 τὸ τέλος) 2432
itar,c,dem,div,gig,haf,t,z vg Origenlat Andrewban,c // ᾠ ἡ
ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος (see 21.6) 2081c Andrewa copbo

cc8 c none, c minor: Bov BF2 RV ASV RSV NEB Zür Luth
Jer Seg // c minor, c none: RVMg // c minor, c minor: WH //
different text: TR AV

8 Εγώ . . . ᾠ Re 21.6; 22.13 ὁ ὢν Ex 3.14; Re 1.4; 4.8; 11.17;
16.5 ὁ ὢν...ἐρχόμενος Is 41.4; Re 1.4; 4.8 λέγει
...παντοκράτωρ Am 3:13 LXX; Am 4:13 LXX; Re 4.8; 11.17;
15.3; 16.7, 14; 19.6, 15; 21.22

The wording in question is shown in the following three possibilities. Their order indicates the strength of the Greek

manuscript support from greatest to least:

1. "I am the Alpha and the Omega, is saying the Lord, the God..."
2. "I am the Alpha and the Omega, **beginning and ending**, is saying the Lord, the God..."
3. "I am the Alpha and the Omega, **the beginning and the ending**, is saying the Lord, the God..."

The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* gives the following Greek and English entry:

Ἐγώ	εἶμι	τὸ	Ἄλφα	καὶ	τὸ	Ὠ	λέγει
I	am	the	Alpha	and	the	Omega,	is saying
Κύριος,	ὁ	θεός,					
Lord,	the	God,					

The UBS footnote tells us that the following sources give the first reading as it is found in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*:

ⲛ^a 2

Aleph, an important 4th cent. manuscript cited frequently by *KIT*

² ⲛ designates *Codex Sinaiticus* which is a fourth century manuscript. However, in the sixth and seventh centuries, margin notes were added, supplying alternate readings. These margin notes are identified with superscript letters as ⲛ^{a,b,c}, and

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A	<i>Codex Alexandrinus</i> , an important 5th cent. manuscript cited frequently by <i>KIT</i> .
C	<i>Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus</i> , a 5th century manuscript quoted by <i>KIT</i> .
P	A 9th cent. Greek manuscript.
046	A 10th cent. Greek manuscript.
94	A 12th cent. Greek manuscript.
1006	An 11th cent. Greek manuscript.
1611	A 12th cent. Greek manuscript.
1859	A 14th cent. Greek manuscript.
2020	A 15th cent. Greek manuscript.
2042	A 14th cent. Greek manuscript.
2053	A 13th cent. Greek manuscript.
2138	An 11th cent. Greek manuscript.
ith	A 5th cent. Old Latin version.
syph.h	Includes both 6th and 7th cent. Old Latin versions.
arm	A 13th cent. Armenian version cited by <i>KIT</i> .
eth	A 6th cent. Ethiopic version.

so on. In this instance, the margin notation \aleph^a does not alter the wording, whereas \aleph^b adds the words "beginning and ending."

Ambrose	A quotation from a writing by a patristic who died in 397 C.E.
Diadochus	A quotation from a writing by a patristic who died in 468 C.E.
Primasius	A quotation from a writing by a patristic who died in 552 C.E.
Arethas	A quotation from a writing by a patristic who died in 914 C.E.

A variant wording of Revelation 1:8 is familiar to us from the *King James* version. (The KJV adds the article *the* to make a smooth English sentence.) The wording of this variant is:

Ἐγώ εἰμι	τὸ	Ἄλφα	καὶ	τὸ	Ὠ	ἀρχή
I am	the	Alpha	and	the	Omega,	beginning
καὶ	τέλος	λέγει	Κύριος,	ὁ	θεός,	
and	ending	is saying	Lord,	the	God,	

The UBS footnote tells us that the following sources give this second reading. This list of sources carries less weight than the first group:

ⲛb	<i>Aleph</i> , a 4th cent. manuscript. (See footnote 2 on the previous page.)
1	A 12th cent. Greek manuscript.
1828	A 12th cent. Greek manuscript.

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1854 An 11th cent. Greek manuscript.

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2065 A 15th cent. Greek manuscript.

2073 A 14th cent. Greek manuscript.

2081 An 11th cent. Greek manuscript.

2344 An 11th cent. Greek manuscript.

2432 A 14th cent. Greek manuscript.

itar,c,dem,div,
gig,haf, t,z A family of Old Latin versions between the 8th and 13th cents. A total of 8 individual versions are represented.

vg The *Latin Vulgate* cited by *KIT*.

Origen^{lat} A quotation from a writing by Origen, a patristic who died in 254 C.E. It is of note that he did not use ׀׀׀׀. (Origen was thoroughly competent in Hebrew.)

Andrew^{bav,c} Two separate quotations of a patristic who died in 614 C.E.

A final variant wording of Revelation 1:8 adds an article before the words *beginning* and *ending* :

Ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ὠ ἡ ἀρχή
I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning

καὶ τὸ τέλος λέγει Κύριος, ὁ θεός,
and the ending is saying Lord, the God,

The UBS footnote tells us that the following sources give this third reading. Again, this list of manuscripts carries less weight than either of the preceding two possibilities:

2081	An 11th century Greek manuscript.
Andrew ^a	A quotation—distinct from the above citation—of a patristic who died in 614.
cop ^{bo}	A Coptic version from the 4th cent.

***Textual Commentary* information**

The United Bible Societies publishes a companion volume to the *Greek New Testament* entitled *A Textual Commentary on The Greek New Testament*. This volume gives further explanation of the textual apparatus. The entire entry for Revelation 1:8 is as follows:

1.8 ᾠ {B}

After ᾠ the Textus Receptus [the Greek text from which the King James Version was translated], following \aleph^* 1 (2344) itgig.61 vg *al*, adds ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, and twenty other minuscules add ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος. If the longer text were original no good reason can be found to account for the shorter text, whereas the presence ••268•• of the longer expression in 21.6 obviously prompted some copyists to expand the text here.

This brief quotation is interesting primarily in that it gives us insight into the use of the UBS *textual apparatus*. In this

case, we are not particularly concerned with the argument against including the "beginning and ending" clause. There is a second area of interest, however, because once again we see *no* evidence of a textual discussion concerning Greek manuscripts which contain יהוה.

Importance of variant information

The variants of Revelation 1:8 are interesting illustrations for several reasons. First, we can see an example of a wording variant which must be resolved because we desire an accurate text. Yet neither of the two variants change the theological content of the verse. The phrase in question, "[the] beginning and [the] ending," adds nothing to that which the original author said. It is redundant inasmuch as "Α" (alpha) is the first letter of the Greek alphabet and "Ω" (omega) is the last.

Secondly, because of the variant, there has been heightened study of early Greek manuscripts to determine the original word used by the Apostle John in this verse. With all this attention to the manuscripts, not a single citation is made indicating the presence of the Tetragrammaton. Most certainly, if a heresy of such catastrophic proportions as the removal of the Tetragrammaton had taken place in the second century, it would have come to light in the study of the Greek Scripture manuscripts or writings of the early patristics.

Thirdly, the very Greek manuscripts used by the UBS to substantiate the preferred reading are the same Greek manuscripts used by the translators of the *New World Translation* as citations for *Kyrios* (Lord) in this verse. It is

only by reference to much later Hebrew translations that the word *Jehovah* can be brought into the verse.

Finally, it is interesting to realize that Origen himself is one of the early patristics cited. Most certainly, if Origen had written the Tetragrammaton in this verse, a citation of his comment for the present wording could not be used without recognition of יהוה as being the greater variant. The inference by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society that Origen used the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures must be completely reevaluated. In this one instance, he most certainly did not use יהוה ! Thus, in at least this verse, Origen recognized that *Kyrios* could properly be identified with "God ...the Almighty."

UBS textual apparatus citations

••269•• The UBS includes two tables of information listing the early Greek manuscripts, lectionaries, and versions cited in support of readings within the Greek text. (Lectionaries are portions of Scripture organized for daily—or church service—readings. They are Scripture portions, but they are not organized chronologically in book form.) The first table contains the identification of *all* citations irrespective of frequency. The second list contains only the *principle* sources for citation.

It will be of interest to the reader to see the large number of Greek manuscripts and related material which are used to substantiate the wording of the Greek Scriptures. Within this appendix, we have included all of the entries in the *Papyri* section because these represent the earliest documents available. Under the headings for *Uncials*, *Minuscules*,

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Lectionaries, and *Versions*, we have generally given only those which are included in the UBS's shorter list.

For interest's sake, in Table 10 we have tabulated the information of all UBS references at the close of this appendix.

The following material is noted as the PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPTS AND VERSIONS CITED IN THE TEXTUAL APPARATUS from the Third Edition of *The Greek New Testament* by the United Bible Societies. The first column headed, *No.* identifies the document in question with its universally recognized letter or number identification. The heading, *Content* identifies the portion of the Christian Greek Scriptures which is contained in the document. (See the KEY below.) The heading, *Date* identifies the approximate century of the Common Era in which the manuscript was produced. In the case of the writings of an early patristic, the date is the time (or best approximation) of death. The section headings, *Papyri*, *Uncials*, *Minuscules*, *Lectionaries*, and *Versions*, refer to a specific type of manuscript. (See the Glossary for definitions.)

KEY Content: e-Gospels; a-Acts; p-Pauline Epistles; c-General Epistles; r-Revelation. Date: E-early; L-late; c.-circa.

No.	<i>Papyri</i> Content	Date			
			p4	e	3rd
			p5	e	3rd
p1	e	3rd	p6	e	4th
p2	e	6th	p8	a	4th
p3	e	6th/7th	p10	p	4th

P11	p	7th	P50	a	4th/5th
P13	p	3rd/4th	P51	p	c. 400
P15	p	3rd	P58	a	6th
P16	p	3rd/4th	P59	e	7th
P18	r	3rd/4th	P60	e	7th
P19	e	4th/5th	P61	p	c. 700
••270••					
P21	e	4th/5th	P63	e	c. 500
P22	e	3rd	P64	e	c. 200
P23	c	E 3rd	P65	p	3rd
P24	r	4th	P66	e	c. 200
P25	e	L 4th	P67	e	c. 200
P26	p	c. 600	P64	p	7th?
P27	p	3rd	P70	e	3rd
P30	p	3rd	P71	e	4th
P33	a	6th	P72	c	3rd/4th
P36	e	6th	P74	ac	7th
P37	e	3rd/4th	P75	e	E 3rd
P38	a	c. 300	P76	e	6th
<i>Uncials</i>					
P39	e	3rd	No.	Content	Date
P40	p	3rd	κ 01	eapcr	4th
P41	a	8th	A 02	eapcr	5th
P45	ea	3rd	B 03	eapc	4th
P46	p	c. 200	C 04	eapcr	5th
P47	r	L 3rd	D 05	eac	5th/6th
P48	a	L 3rd	D 06	p	6th
P49	p	L 3rd	Dabs	p	9th
			E 07	ac	6th

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E 08	a	6th	Ξ 040	e	8th
F 09	e	9th	Π 041	e	9th
F 010	p	9th	Σ 042	e	6th
G 011	e	9th	Φ 043	e	6th
G 012	p	9th	Ψ 044	eap	8th/9th
H 013	e	9th	Ω 045	e	9th
H 014	a	9th	046	r	10th
H 015	p	6th	047	e	8th
I 016	p	5th	048	apc	5th
K 017	e	9th	049	apc	9th
K 018	ap	9th	050	e	9th
L 019	e	8th	051	r	10th
L 020	ap	9th	052	r	10th
M 021	e	9th	053	e	9th
N 022	e	6th	054	e	8th
O 023	e	6th	056	apc	10th
P 024	e	6th	058	e	4th
P 025	apr	9th	059	e	4th/5th
Q 026	e	5th	060	e	6th
R 027	e	6th	061	p	5th
S 028	e	949	062	p	5th
T 029	e	5th	063	e	9th
U 030	e	9th	064	e	6th
V 031	e	9th	065	e	6th
W 032	e	5th			
X 033	e	10th	••271••		
Y 034	e	9th	066	a	6th
Z 035	e	6th	067	e	6th
Γ 036	e	10th	068	e	5th
Δ 037	e	9th	070	e	6th
θ 038	e	9th	071	e	5th/6th
Λ 039	e	9th	073	e	6th

074	e	6th	0116	e	8th
076	a	5th/6th	0117	e	9th
078	e	6th	0119	e	7th
079	e	6th	0120	a	9th
081	p	6th	0121a	p	10th
082	p	6th	0121b	p	10th
083	e	6th/7th	0122	p	9th
084	e	6th	0124	e	6th
085	e	6th	0125	e	5th
086	e	6th	0126	e	8th
087	e	6th	0128	e	9th
088	p	5th/6th	0129	p	9th
090	e	6th	0130	e	9th
091	e	6th	0131	e	9th
092b	e	6th	0132	e	9th
093	ac	6th	0134	e	8th
095	a	8th	0136	e	9th
096	a	7th	0138	e	9th
097	a	7th	0141	e	10th
099	e	7th	0142	apc	10th
0100	e	7th	0143	e	6th
0102	e	7th	0146	e	8th
0105	e	10th	0148	e	8th
0106	e	7th	0150	p	9th
0107	e	7th	0151	p	9th
0108	e	7th	0155	e	9th
0109	e	7th	0156	c	8th
0110	e	6th	0159	p	6th
0111	p	7th	0162	e	3rd/4th
0112	e	6th/7th	0165	a	5th
0113	e	5th	0170	e	5th/6th
0115	e	9th/10th	0171	e	4th

436	apc	11th	1962	p	11th
451	apc	11th	1984	p	14th
565	e	9th	1985	p	16th
614	apc	13th	2020	r	15th
629	apc	14th	2042	r	14th
630	apc	14th	2053	r	13th
700	e	11th	2065	r	15th
892	e	9th	2073	r	14th
945	eapc	11th	2081	r	11th
1006	er	11th	2127	e	14th
1009	e	13th	2138	apcr	11th
1010	e	12th	2148	e	14th
1071	e	12th	2174	e	14th
1079	e	10th	2344	apcr	11th
1195	e	12th	2412	apc	12th
1216	e	11th	2432	r	14th
1230	e	12th	2492	eapc	13th
1241	eapc	12th	2495	eapcr	14th/15th
1242	eapc	13th			
1253	e	15th			
1344	e	12th	No.	<i>Lectonaries</i> Content	Date
1365	e	12th	110	e	13th
1505	eapc	11th	112	e	13th
1546	e	13th	132	e	11th
1611	apcr	12th	159	apc	12th
1646	eapc	12th	160	eapc	11th
1739	apc	10th	169	e	12th
1828	apcr	12th	170	e	12th
1854	apcr	11th	180	e	12th
1859	acr	14th	1147	apc	12th
1877	apc	14th			
1881	apc	14th			

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1150	e	10th	11298	apc	11th
1184	e	14th	11356	apc	10th
1185	e	11th	11364	apc	12th
1211	e	12th	11365	apc	12th
1292	e	9th	11439	apc	12th
1299	e	13th	11441	apc	13th
1303	e	12th	11443	apc	11th
1309	e	10th	11579	e	14th
1313	e	14th	11590	apc	13th
1333	e	13th	11599	c	9th
1374	e	11th	11610	e	15th
1381	e	11th	11627	e	11th
1490	e	9th	11634	e	12th
1547	e	8th	11642	e	13th
1597	apc	10th	11663	e	14th
1598	apc	11th	11761	e	15th
1599	apc	11th			
1603	apc	11th			
1680	eapc	13th			
1809	apc	12th	Abb.	<i>Versions</i> Old Latin	
1847	e	10th	ita	Content	Date
1950	e	13th	ita2	e	4th
11021	eapc	12th	itar	e	5th
11127	e	12th	itaur	eaper	9th
11153a	apc	14th	itb	e	7th
			itβ	c	5th
••273••			itc	c	7th
11231	e	10th	itd	eapcr	12th/13th
				eac	5th

itd	p	5th/6th	itp	eapcr	13th
itdem	apcr	13th	itph	a	12th
itdiv	pcr	13th	it	e	7th
ite	e	5th	itq	e	7th
ite	a	6th	itq	c	7th
ite	p	9th	itr	a	7th/8th
itf	c	6th	itr1	e	7th
itf	p	9th	itr2	e	8th/9th
itff	c	10th/11th	itr3	p	7th
itff1	eac	10th	itρ	e	7th/8th
itff2	e	5th	its	e	5th
itg	p	9th	its	ac	6th
itg1	eapcr	9th	itt	eapcr	11th
itgig	eapcr	13th	itt	e	6th
itgue	p	6th	itv	p	8th/9th
ith	e	5th	itw	p	11th
ith	acr	5th	itx	pd	9th
ithaf	r	10th	itz	pcr	8th
iti	e	5th			
itj	e	6th			
itk	e	4th/5th	Abb.	Vulgate	
itl	e	7th/8th	vg	Content	Date
itl	eapcr	7th	vgcl	eapcr	4th/5th
itm	eapcr	4th-9th	vg ^{vw}	eapcr	16th
itmon	p	10th		eapcr	9th-20th
itn	e	5th	Abb.	Syriac	
ito	e	7th	syr ^s	Content	Date
itp	e	8th	syr ^c	e	4th
				e	4th

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syrp	eapcpt	5th	Abb.	Content	Date
syrpal	eapc	5th	arm	eapcr	5th
syrph	cptr	6th			
syrh	eapcr	7th			
				Ethiopic	
			Abb.	Content	Date
			eth	eapcr	6th
			ethro	eapcr	16th
			ethpp	eapcr	19th
			ethms	e	13th
				Georgian	
			Abb.	Content	Date
			geo	ea	5th
			geo1	e	9th
			geo2	e	10th
				Georgian	
			Abb.	Content	Date
••274••			geoB	e	10th
				Nubian	
			Abb.	Content	Date
			nub	ep	8th?
				Gothic	
			Abb.	Content	Date
			goth	eap	4th
				Armenian	

Summary of UBS citations

The following table summarizes the early Greek manuscripts, lectionaries, early versions, and writings of the patristics used to verify the original wording of the Christian Greek Scriptures in the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament*. The manuscripts which were available as of 1976

are listed in the *Total available* column. No total number is given for versions.

Manuscript type Earliest/Latest UBS total Total available³

Papyri	c.200/8th C.E.	53	88
Uncials	4th/10th C.E.	179	274
Minuscules	9th/18th C.E.	522	2795
Lectionaries	8th/15th C.E.	149	2209
Versions			
Old Latin	4th/13th C.E.	58	86 ⁴

Manuscript type Earliest/Latest UBS total Total available³

Versions			
Syriac	4th/7th C.E.	9	N/A
Coptic	3rd/4th C.E.	5	N/A
Ethiopic	6th C.E.	3	N/A
Georgian	5th C.E.	3	N/A
Other versions	4th/8th C.E.	8	N/A
Fathers	110/1135 C.E.	212	N/A

³ *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*, Metzger, p. 54

⁴ From UBS sources.

Table 10. Manuscript evidence supporting the UBS Greek text.

••275•• One may correctly draw the conclusion that Table 10 documents the supporting evidence for *Kyrios* (Κύριος) in the Christian Greek Scriptures. This large number of Greek Scripture manuscripts (and supplementary documents) is used to validate the *entire* Greek Scripture text. Thus, any single variant, such as יהוה, will be subject to evaluation by all known documents. In that light, contrast the sources supporting יהוה in the *New World Translation* and *Kyrios* (Κύριος) in the UBS text. (The UBS text is comparable to the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* text.) The New World Bible Translation Committee used 26 Hebrew versions, all of which were translated (with the exception of J² and the related recensions of Matthew's Hebrew Gospel) between 1385 and 1979, to introduce *Jehovah* into the English Greek Scriptures. Each of these translations were made from the Greek text, which itself contains *Kyrios* (Κύριος). In contrast to 26 versions, the UBS has used 86 versions dating as early as the third and fourth centuries. In addition, UBS has cited a total of 754 Greek manuscripts and 149 lectionaries. The *New World Translation* itself cites 12 Greek manuscripts and eight versions in support of *Kyrios* (Κύριος), but no Greek manuscripts in support of יהוה.

Appendix J: Origen's *Hexapla*

••276•• Origen's *Hexapla*—which was his study of the *Septuagint* version of the Hebrew Scriptures—is not a part of the textual literature used *per se* in studying the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures. Nonetheless, because the Watch Tower Society uses the *Hexapla* as evidence for the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures, we have included this evaluation in the appendix.

Because of the comprehensive nature of the *Hexapla*, Origen's work gives us valuable information regarding the state of the *Septuagint* and related textual problems in the first two centuries C.E. From this study we can learn much about the use of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Scriptures.

The man and the *Hexapla*

Origen was among the most prominent of the early patristics. He was probably born in Alexandria about 182 C.E., and died in Caesarea not later than 251 C.E.

As a young man, he was given the best scholarly education possible through the efforts of his father. In 202 C.E. his father was martyred for his Christian faith—an end Origen himself ideally wished to pursue by accompanying his father. He was spared, however, through his mother's intervention. He spent his early life in Alexandria as an impoverished but highly respected teacher of the Scriptures. He then moved to Palestine where he spent much of the remaining years of

his life in teaching and producing voluminous writings. (He is credited with over 6,000 written editions, each consisting of a completed scroll.)

Throughout his lifetime, Origen did extensive work on the *Septuagint*, producing several variations of a similar study. The most complete, however, was the *Hexapla* in which he compared the *Septuagint* with three parallel Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures. The work was organized in six columns.¹ (The name *Hexapla* is derived from *hex-* meaning *six*.) The columns were arranged as follows: In the first column (headed *The Hebrew*), Origen wrote the verse in Hebrew characters as it appeared in the Hebrew Scriptures. This column was written from right to left. In a second column (headed "Εβρ," with the full heading translated as *The Hebrew [in] Greek Letters*), the Hebrew words were transliterated with Greek letters. The second column has no meaning as written Greek, but the letters could be read to reproduce the Hebrew pronunciation of the •277• words. (Since written Hebrew during Origen's day had no vowel markings, only a fluent speaker of Hebrew could read the characters with proper pronunciation. Thus, the Greek transliteration column provided the vowel pronunciation for a Gentile reading the Hebrew characters.) This column read from left to right as Greek is normally written. In the remaining four columns, Origen reproduced four Greek versions of the Hebrew Scriptures. The first version was by Aquila in the column headed "Α." The second was a translation by Symmachus in the column headed "Σ." The third was the *Septuagint* in the column headed "Ο'." The fourth column contained a version by Theodotion in the

¹ See *Aid to Bible Understanding*, page 386.

column headed "Θ." A final column was occasionally used for variants or notations concerning any one of the versions, though it is not counted as a true column. Figure 11 is a typeset reproduction of the actual arrangement of the original *Hexapla*. Note that each row represents a word-by-word transcription of the entire Hebrew Scripture text. The original *Hexapla* is thought to have consisted of nearly fifty volumes, with each volume in the form of a scroll equivalent in length to a Gospel or the book of Acts.

Each of the three supplementary versions represented a unique translation style. Aquila's translation, made in the first half of the second century C.E., was extremely literal. Symmachus' translation, made in the later second century C.E., was more free. Theodotion's work, also made in the second century C.E., was a free revision of the *Septuagint*.

The *Hexapla* was the crowning work of Origen's life, yet nothing is known of its destruction. In all likelihood, the original was the only complete copy ever made. From the writings of Eusebius² and others, we know that the original

² Eusebius of Caesarea—generally referred to simply as Eusebius—made an immense contribution to our understanding of the early church, its personalities, its disputes, and its writings. He was born sometime between 275 and 280 C.E. and died *circa* 339. In his own right, he was not an original thinker, but he became a prodigious and exacting copier and recorder of others' works. Much of what is known of certain early writings has been preserved only through the copies of Eusebius. Eusebius was particularly interested in Origen and the textual problems of the *Septuagint* (as found in the *Hexapla*), and was thus responsible for much of the preservation of the work which exists today.

was housed in a library at Caesarea for many years, where it was probably destroyed in 653 C.E. when Caesarea was burned by the Saracens (Arabs).

Had the *Hexapla* survived, its value in the field of Hebrew Scripture textual criticism would have been enormous. Origen was an exacting student and had extensively researched the transmission of the Hebrew text. We must remember, however, that the focus of his ••279•• attention was not the Hebrew text *per se*. His primary concern was an accurate reconstruction of the text of the *Septuagint*. His purpose was to give the Greek-speaking world of his day a Hebrew Scripture version of the greatest fidelity.

The reconstructed *Hexapla*

The original *Hexapla* has been entirely lost. Furthermore, because it was apparently never reproduced in its entirety while it was still housed in the library at Caesarea, copies of complete portions do not exist today. However, because the *Hexapla* was so widely quoted by others before its destruction, substantial—though fragmentary—portions can be found scattered throughout the writings of the early patristics. Fortunately, a copy of the corrected *Septuagint* column which was made by Eusebius and Pamphilus has survived.³

³ For a complete (though dated) discussion of both Origen and the *Hexapla*, see these two headings in McClintock & Strong's *Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature*.

(••280••)

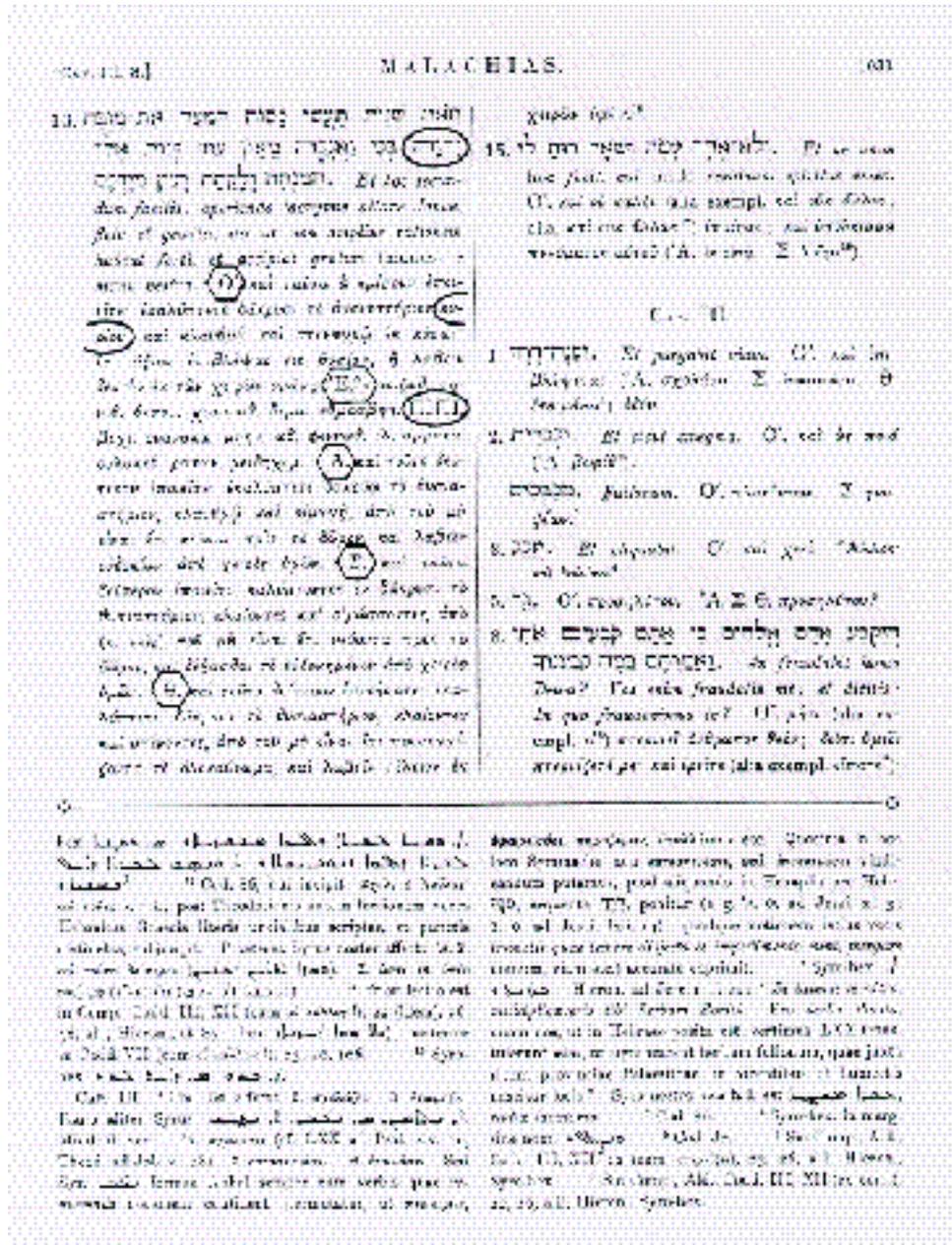


Figure 12. The complete entry for Malachi 2:13 reproduced from a reconstruction of Origen's Hexapla. Origen's entries κύριος, ΠΙΠΙ, and ΚΥΡΙΟΣ are circled. His headings are octagonally boxed.

Because the *Hexapla* offers such important insights into the *Septuagint* and other Hebrew Scripture literature in both the Hebrew and Greek languages, attempts have been made to reconstruct the work by searching the writings of the early patristics for citations of the *Hexapla*.

The most complete reconstruction of the *Hexapla* available today is contained in a volume entitled *Origenis Hexaplorum* published with Latin historical and textual comments by Fridericus Field. It was first published by Field in 1867-74. The edition available for our study was republished in 1964 by Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, from Hildesheim, Germany. The reconstructed material is so extensive that this particular edition is bound in two volumes with each 8¹/₂ by 11 inch page divided into two columns. Just the text and critical apparatus (apart from the introductory commentary and historical notes by the editor), contains 806 pages in Volume I and 1,095 pages in Volume II.

In contrast to the original six columns used by Origen, Field grouped all entries for a given word or phrase into a single paragraph with each entry identified by Origen's original column headings. The complete entry for Malachi 2:13 as shown in the *Origenis Hexaplorum* is reproduced in Figure 12. All the Hebrew and Greek entries are reproductions of the work of Origen himself. The Latin explanations in either the main entry or the notes are the work of the modern editor of this volume. The notes in Greek or Syrian are presumably the textual apparatus which identifies the editor's sources of textual information.

••281•• A comment should be made regarding the incomplete nature of the *Hexapla* and its effect on a study of

the Tetragrammaton. By carefully examining Figure 12, the reader will notice that even though verse 13 is complete, there is no entry for verse 14. Verse 14 has been entirely lost, and the entry for verse 15 includes only a portion of the verse. The last two verses of Malachi 2 (verses 16 and 17) are also lost. Chapter 4 has only single Hebrew word entries for verses 1, 3, and 5. Two word entries have survived for verse 2. Verses 6 and 7 have been entirely lost, while verse 8 has a high degree of completeness. Notice, however, that even when there is some completeness for a verse, not all of the material is present. For example, the single word entry for chapter 3 verse 1 contains data for the *Septuagint* as well as the translations by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. However, the single word entry at verse 3 contains only the material from the *Septuagint* (though it includes a critical note by Origen himself).

Available *Hexapla* materials

Initially, our study of the *Hexapla* text was done in Field's *Origenis Hexaplorum (Origen's Hexapla)*. However, it has one critical shortcoming for any study of the divine name in the *Hexapla*. Field apparently had access to ancient manuscripts which used only the word *Kyrios* (Κύριος) in columns 2 through 6. (Entries copied from the *Hexapla* would likely have been subject to the same influence we discovered in Chapter 13.) The *Origenis Hexaplorum* does not use the Tetragrammaton in any column entries other than the Hebrew language column. Thus, *in our initial study, we were left with the false impression that Origen did not use*

יהוה' anywhere other than in his first column.⁴

Following more detailed research, however, we found recent reference to extant manuscripts containing the Tetragrammaton in Origen's original *Hexapla*.⁵ The *Ambrosiana* palimpsest, a manuscript ••282•• identified by Giovanni Mercati, was published in 1958 giving new insight into the original form of the *Hexapla*.⁶

In 1894, Mercati was studying a 13th or 14th century C.E. service-book of the Greek Orthodox Church which was housed in Milan's Ambrosian Library. It was a palimpsest, meaning that an older book had been erased, and a liturgical text had been written over the faint early manuscript. Mercati's discovery gave biblical scholarship the earliest example of Origen's *Hexapla*. Though the manuscript itself was from the ninth or tenth century, it was a faithful copy of a much earlier form. The manuscript contained approximately 150 verses from the Psalms, it was organized

⁴ For obvious reasons, our search of Field was not comprehensive, even though over 1,000 pages were scanned for יהוה' in the latter columns. Nonetheless, we can safely say that the Tetragrammaton was not noticeably used.

⁵ Reference is made to the *Ambrosiana* palimpsest in Paul E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geneza*, 1959, p. 163, Bruce M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*, 1981, P.E. Kahle, "The Greek Bible Manuscripts used by Origen," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, lxxiv (1960), pp. 111-18, and J.A. Emerton, "A Further Consideration of the Purpose of the Second Column of the Hexapla," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. xxii (1971), pp. 15-29.

⁶ *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae...*, Pars Prima; *Codex Rescriptus Bybliothecae Ambrosianae* O 39, Vatican City, 1958.

in Origen's original word-for-word arrangement, and, most notably, it used the Tetragrammaton in all six columns. (See Figure 11 for a partial reproduction of Psalm 27 (28):6-7.⁷)

This document firmly established that Origen used the Tetragrammaton in all columns of his *Hexapla*. Further, it verified his use of the square Hebrew characters יהוה rather than the paleo-Hebrew characters אָבְרָהָם. The photo-reproductions of the pages in Mercati's text are often difficult to decipher because of the over-written text. However, because of the placement of margins (which contained no writing), five *Hexapla* columns are clearly discernible across two pages. (The five columns on a single page of the original book occupy the space of two opened pages of the latter text.) Verse 6 is at the top of a page and clearly displays יהוה at the head of several columns. In their appropriate spacing, one can again see יהוה heading verse 7. (Because verse 7 was inadvertently copied twice, a יהוה heading appears in both places.) This plate (from which Figure 11 is taken) shows careful formation of the Hebrew characters by the original scribe.⁸ Clearly, the copyist transcribing the Hebrew characters was familiar with Hebrew script. The characters are properly formed and are not a crude representation as one would expect to find in poor transcriptions containing

⁷ The English Bible does not always divide the Psalms the same as the *Septuagint*. This Psalm is number 28 in the English Bible.

⁸ A better photograph of this page appears on plate 30 of Bruce Metzger's *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*.

ΠΙΠΙ (PIPI).⁹

••283•• On page 108 of *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*, Metzger says,

[The photographic reproduction shows] palimpsest parchment leaves, originally measuring about 15 3/8 X 11 inches...containing in the under-writing about 150 verses of the Hexaplaric Psalter, written in a hand of the ninth or tenth century. In the thirteenth or fourteenth century the codex was dismantled and the parchment reused for another book. The leaves were (partially) erased and cut in half laterally, each half making two leaves and four pages of the new codex. The Plate [which is reproduced in the book] shows one such leaf (formerly the upper half of a page of the original codex), the under-writing, in five columns, giving for Psalm 27(28):6-7 the transliteration of the Hebrew text and the translations made by Aquila, Symmachus, the Seventy [*Septuagint*], and, instead of Theodotion as might have been expected, the Quinta.... The first column of the Hexapla, giving the Hebrew text...is lacking.

By oversight ver. 7 is repeated. *Iota* adscript occurs [on two separate lines]; accent and breathing marks are provided even for the transliteration of the Hebrew. The Tetragrammaton is written in square Hebrew letters, followed, in the Septuagint column, by the contraction for

⁹ This graphic representation contains the two Greek letters *pi* (Π) and *iota* (Ι) written in duplicate. (They may either be written in upper-case as ΠΙΠΙ or lower-case as πιπι.) This letter combination allowed the Greek writers to represent the four Hebrew letters of the Tetragrammaton (יהוה) with common Greek letters. ΠΙΠΙ was a known Scripture notation of the time and was not confined to Origen's writings.

κύριος (in ver. 8 on the next page כְּסִי is followed by ΠΙΠΙ...).

The Watch Tower's representation of the *Hexapla*

With this background, we can turn to the Watch Tower Society's use of the *Hexapla* in its documentation of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures. On page 310, the writers of "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*" say:

It is of interest that the divine name, in the form of the tetragrammaton, also appears in the Septuagint of Origen's six-column *Hexapla*, completed about 245 C.E. Commenting on Psalm 2:2, Origen wrote of the Septuagint: "In the most accurate manuscripts the name occurs in Hebrew Characters, yet not in today's Hebrew [characters], but in the most ancient ones." The evidence appears conclusive that the Septuagint was tampered with at an early date, *Ky'ri.os* (Lord) and *The.os'* (God) being substituted for the tetragrammaton.

When we evaluate the most recent manuscript information for the *Hexapla*, the Watch Tower's claim that Origen used יהוה is fully vindicated. We can now carefully study the *Ambrosiana* manuscript and determine exactly how Origen treated passages in those Psalms which used the divine name.

••284•• We were able to locate a copy of Mercati's *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae* in a well-stocked theological library. This large volume photographically reproduces all of the *Ambrosiana* manuscript. The original manuscript pages are grouped in sets of either two or four on the left-hand

page. The complete *Hexapla* text as found in these ancient manuscript pages is typeset on the right-hand facing page. (There are over forty pages of photographs alone.) From the typeset text, we reproduced Origen's complete six-column entry in each instance in which יהוה occurred in the Hebrew language column. The result is the information given in Table 11. As far as can be determined today, this is an exact reproduction of Origen's original entries for these verses. *This table represents only the יהוה entries from the otherwise Greek language text.*

Reference	Hebrew language text—Column 1	Transliteration Column 2	quila Column 3	Symmachus Column 4	Septuagint Column 5	Theodotion Column 6
Psalm 17						
6	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה $\overline{\text{KS}}$	יהוה
7a	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה $\overline{\text{KS}}$	יהוה
7b	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה $\overline{\text{KS}}$	יהוה
8	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה $\overline{\text{KS}}$ $\overline{\text{πυπυ}}$	יהוה
29	יהוה	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
31	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	∅
32	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה $\overline{\text{του}}$	יהוה $\overline{\text{του}}$	יהוה $\overline{\text{του}}$	∅
42	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה $\overline{\text{εα}}$ $\overline{\text{<ה>}}$	יהוה $\overline{\text{εα}}$
47	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה

Psalm 28

1	לִיהוָה	יהוה	יהוה τῶ	יהוה τῶ	יהוה τῶ υἱὸν θυ ἐνέγκατε λω κω	יהוה τῶ
1	לִיהוָה	יהוה	יהוה τῶ	יהוה τῶ κω	יהוה τῶ	יהוה τῶ
2	לִיהוָה	יהוה	יהוה τῶ	יהוה τῶ	יהוה τῶ <'>	יהוה τῶ
2	לִיהוָה	יהוה	יהוה τῶ	יהוה τῶ	יהוה τῶ	יהוה τῶ
3	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה κσ	יהוה
3	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה κς	יהוה

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Psalm 29

2	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה
3	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה κε	יהוה
5	לִיהוָה	יהוה	יהוה τῶ	יהוה τῶ	יהוה τῶ κω	יהוה τῶ
8	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה κε	יהוה
9	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה
11	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה κς	יהוה
11	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה
13	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה κε	יהוה	יהוה κε	יהוה

Psalm 30

2	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה κε	יהוה
6	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה **	יהוה κε
7	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה
10	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה κε	יהוה
22	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה κς	יהוה
24	יהוה	יהוה εθ	יהוה τὸν	יהוה τὸν	יהוה τὸν **	יהוה τὸν

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24	יְהוָה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$	יהוה
25	לַיהוָה	יהוה	יהוה τὸν	ἐπὶ יהוה	ἐπὶ יהוה	ἐπὶ יהוה

Psalm 31

11	בַּיהוָה	יהוה	ἐν יהוה	ἐν יהוה	ἐπὶ יהוה	ἐπὶ יהוה
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Psalm 34

1	יְהוָה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$	יהוה
22	יְהוָה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	$\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$, יהוה	יהוה
24	יְהוָה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$	יהוה
27	יְהוָה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה \acute{o} $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$	יהוה

Psalm 35

1	יְהוָה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$	יהוה
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Psalm 45

8	צְבָאוֹת יְהוָה	יהוה σαβαωθ	יהוה στρατιῶν	יהוה τ(ῶν) δυνάμε(ων)	יהוה τ(ῶν) δυνάμε(ων)	יהוה τ(ῶν) δυνάμε(ων)
12	צְבָאוֹת יְהוָה	יהוה σαβαῶ θ	יהוה στρατειῶν	יהוה τ(ῶν) δυνάμεων	יהוה τ(ῶν) δυνάμε(ων)	יהוה τ(ῶν) δυνάμε(ων)

Psalm 88

50	אֲדֹנָי אֲשֵׁנִים קָרָה	ἀρισω οἱ νμ. πρῶτοι יהוה יהוה	οἱ ἐχθροί σου יהוה	τὰ πρῶτα δέσποτα יהוה	τα ἀρχ<αῖα> ה<ו>ה<י>	∅
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52	יהוה אוֹיְבֵיךָ	οἰβαχ. יהוה	οἱ ἐχθροί σου יהוה	οἱ ἐχθροί σου יהוה	οἱ ἐχθροί σου יהוה	οἱ ἐχθροί[s] σου יהוה
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53	יהוה בְּרִיךְ	βαρου χ יהוה	εὐλογητὸς יהוה	εὐλογητὸς יהוה	εὐλογητὸς יהוה	εὐλογητὸς יהוה
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Table 11: Origen's entries for the divine name as found in the extant Psalms portion of the *Ambrosiana*, O 39 Sup. manuscript. Note: This table contains *only* the יהוה entries; all Greek entries were omitted. ¹⁰

Now that we understand exactly how Origen made his entries in each column, we can make the following observations based on these verses from the Psalms:

1. As we expect, at each occurrence of the divine name, the Tetragrammaton was written in square Hebrew characters in the Hebrew language column.

¹⁰General notes to the material in Table 11:

- a. The above entries represent a comprehensive citation of the Hexaplaric Tetragrammaton from Psalm 17:26-38:53. These entries are extracted from a complete text. However, as given here, each individual entry is complete as found in Giovanni Mercati (ed.), *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae...*, Pars Prima: *Codex Rescriptus Bybliothecae Ambrosianae O 39 sup.*, Vatican City, 1958.
- b. The figures <> enclosing a Hebrew character indicate that the character was omitted in the original transcription. Two asterisks (**) indicate an indecipherable entry in the original manuscript which could not be supplied with reasonable certainty by the editor. Letters included in parentheses (...) indicate an indecipherable entry in the original manuscript which were supplied with reasonable certainty by the editor.

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2. Further, with only the exception of an incomplete text at Psalm 17:29, Origen used the Tetragrammaton in the Greek transliteration column. (Refer to Figure 11 where it is more obvious that the second column was in Greek letters. The Tetragrammaton in Hebrew characters was the exception to the Greek of the second column.)

3. We then discover that Origen transcribed יהוה into the Greek text of columns 3 (Aquila's translation), 4 (Symmachus' translation), and 6 (Theodotion's [or the *Quinta*] translation). Though we find occasional Greek lettering which Origen included with the Tetragrammaton, we discover that these are merely articles meaning "the" (τοῦ, τῶν [a scribal error which should read τῷ], and τὸν), prepositions (ἐπὶ meaning "upon," and ἐν meaning "in") or a further elaboration of the divine name in the Psalms 45 and 88 entries.

4. When we look at the *Septuagint* column, however, we make an unexpected discovery. In all cases but Psalm 17:29, Origen recorded ••287•• the divine name as יהוה. In addition, however, he also used the surrogate forms $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$, $\overline{\kappa\nu}$, $\overline{\kappa\omega\iota}$ ¹¹ and $\overline{\kappa\nu}$. These are abbreviations for *Kyrios* (Κύριος). Thus, Origen also identified "Lord" as an alternate reading for the divine name in the *Septuagint*. (He made similar entries at 28:1 for *Symmachus*, at Psalm 29:13 for *Aquila*, and at Psalm 30:6 for *Theodotion*.)

5. Even more surprising, however, is Origen's entry in the *Septuagint* column at Psalm 17:8. In this verse he recorded

¹¹ The final letter *iota* should be written under the *omega* as $\overline{\kappa\omega}$ rather than after the *omega* as $\overline{\kappa\omega\iota}$. This error is attributed to the scribe making the copy.

the *Septuagint* as using either יהוה or one of the Greek forms $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ or $\overline{\pi\upsilon\pi\iota}$.

6. Finally, at Psalm 28:1, we notice another unexpected variation which Origen recorded for the *Septuagint*. He first recorded τῶν יהוה as we would expect. (He has included the article which means "The Jehovah.") He then recorded the alternate form υἱὸν θεὸν ἐνέγκατε which uses the surrogate $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$ (from *Theos*) meaning "God." It is his final alternate reading for this verse which surprises us. He used the abbreviation $\overline{\iota\omega}$ $\overline{\kappa\omega}$. The initial letter combination $\overline{\iota\omega}$ is the Greek surrogate for יהוה. The second entry is $\overline{\kappa\omega}$ which is the Greek surrogate for *Kyrios* (Κύριος). Thus, Origen used the Greek surrogates for "Lord God" as his final alternate reading for the *Septuagint* in this verse.

What is the meaning of the multiple entries יהוה/ $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ / $\overline{\pi\upsilon\pi\iota}$ at Psalm 17:8, or τῶν יהוה/υἱὸν θεὸν ἐνέγκατε/ $\overline{\iota\omega}$ $\overline{\kappa\omega}$ at Psalm 28:1? Origen was an exacting analyst. Consequently, he had access to numerous copies of the *Septuagint* and other Hebrew Scripture Greek translations. When there was agreement between the copies of any given translation he was using, he made a single entry. When there were variations between the copies of the same translation, he made multiple entries. Thus, at Psalm 17:8, we can presume that Origen was referring to copies of the *Septuagint* which used the Tetragrammaton written as יהוה in Hebrew characters. For the same verse, however, he also had at least one copy of the *Septuagint* which used $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, and another which used $\overline{\pi\upsilon\pi\iota}$. Though less frequently, we encounter the same pattern for Aquila's translation at Psalm 29:13 or Theodotian's translation at Psalms 17:42 and 30:6.

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We will return to the importance of this discovery at the end of the appendix. It must be obvious, however, that Origen did not attempt to correct the variant "*Kyrios*." He did not recognize יהוה' as the only appropriate form in which the divine name could be written in the Hebrew Scriptures. He may have had a preference for the Tetragrammaton (though his order of $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ /יהוה' for *Aquila* at Psalm 29:13 ••288•• is interesting) but he does not avoid using *Kyrios* or its abbreviated forms, nor does he make any comment that such a use is inappropriate. (It must be remembered that Origen used critical notations where he found textual errors. He conspicuously used the symbol ※ throughout the *Hexapla* for this purpose. Yet, he does not use it here.)

Origen's Commentary on Psalm 2

The quotation found on page 310 of "*All Scripture is Inspired of God and Beneficial*" also says:

Commenting on Psalm 2:2, Origen wrote of the *Septuagint*: "In the most accurate manuscripts THE NAME OCCURS in Hebrew Characters, yet not in today's Hebrew [characters], but in the most ancient ones."

Through personal correspondence, the Writing Department of the Watch Tower Society provided the author with further information concerning the recorded source of this quotation. It appears in a Latin work entitled *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus* (Complete Writings of the Patristics), edited by J.P. Migne, Volume 12 *Origenis Opera Omnia* (The Complete Works of Origen), arranged by Caroli and Caroli

Vicentii Delarue, published in 1862. The quotation below comes from page section 1104. The complete surviving work of Origen is preserved in these volumes as he wrote them in Greek.

In order to understand precisely what Origen was saying, both the sentence quoted by "*All Scripture is Inspired of God and Beneficial*" and its surrounding context are given below. (Each portion of the English translation¹² is followed by the Greek text from Origen's original commentary on Psalm 2. The Greek text is taken directly from *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*; the breathing marks as given may differ from current usage. A vocabulary of the key words is given in the footnote for each Greek paragraph. Both the English quotation from page 310 of "*All Scripture is Inspired of God and Beneficial*" and the corresponding Greek text are enclosed in double bullets as •• ... ••.)

Wherefore it is said that these things have been done "against the Lord [*Kyrios*] and against his Anointed [Christ]."¹³ It is no secret that one pronounces the name in Greek as "*Kyrios*," but in ••289•• Hebrew as "Adonai." God is called by ten names in Hebrew, one of them being

¹² A published English translation of Origen's commentary on the Psalms could not be found. Therefore, this translation was done by a colleague of the author. Though we believe it to be carefully and accurately translated, the reader must be aware of this limitation.

¹³ Psalm 2:2.

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"Adonai," which is pronounced¹⁴ in Greek as "*Kyrios*."

¹⁵Διὸ λέγεται ταῦτα αὐτοὺς πεποιηκέναι <<κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.>> Οὐκ ἀγνοητέον δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐκφωνουμένου παρὰ μὲν Ἑλλησι τῇ <<Κύριος>> προσηγορίᾳ, παρὰ δὲ Ἑβραίοις τῇ <<Ἄδωναί.>> Δέκα γὰρ ὀνόμασι παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὀνομάζεται ὁ Θεὸς, ὧν ἔστιν ἓν τὸ <<Ἄδωναί,>> καὶ ἐρμηνεύεται <<Κύριος.>>

¹⁴ Metzger (*op cit.* p. 35) says, "Likewise Origen, in commenting on Psalm 2:2, says expressly that among Greeks Adonai is pronounced κύριος." His footnote cites this same Greek sentence in full, leaving no doubt that we are examining the same citation. With this authority, we know that the emphasis is on the *pronunciation* and not the mere written translation.

¹⁵ The partial vocabulary for each Greek paragraph is given as follows: Each key Greek word is identified from the paragraph in which it first occurs. The vocabulary entry is identified by the form of the word in which it is first encountered, rather than by its normal root (lexical) form. Successive forms of either verbs or nouns found throughout the entire passage are placed within parentheses after the first occurrence. Verbs are identified only by their English infinitive form. In some instances, the primary definition of a word differs from that of the word used in the translation. The sense of the translation, however, is consistent with the Greek word's allowable range of meaning.

λέγεται = to say; Κυρίου (Κύριος, Κύριού) = Lord; Χριστοῦ = Anointed [Christ]; [οὐκ] ἀγνοητέον = [not] a secret; ἐκφωνουμένου (ἐκφωνεῖται) = to pronounce; Ἑλλησι = Greek; ὀνόμασι = name; Ἑβραίοις = Hebrew; Ἄδωναί = Adonai; ὁ Θεὸς = [the] God; ὀνομάζεται = to be named; ἐρμηνεύεται = to translate.

And where it says "Adonai" in Hebrew, or "*Kyrios*" in Greek, they both proclaim the wording which was written in Scripture. This wording is found in [the writings of] Iae,¹⁶ where the name "*Kyrios*" is pronounced in Greek, and not in Hebrew, as in: "Praise the Lord [*Kyrios*—Κύριον] with a good psalm."¹⁷ So *Kyrios* is used in this Psalm earlier than the writer Iae where the psalm begins in Hebrew with "Alleluia."

18Καὶ ἔστιν ὅπου λέγεται τὸ <<Ἄδωναί>> παρ' Ἑβραίοις, καὶ παρ' Ἑλλησι <<Κύριος,>> τῆς λέξεως τῆς γεγραμμένης ἐν τῇ Γραφῇ ••290•• τοῦτο ἀπαγγελλούσης. Ἔστι δὲ ὅτε τὸ Ἰαὴ κείται, ἐκφωνεῖται δὲ τῇ <<Κύριος>> προσηγορία παρ' Ἑλλησι, ἀλλ' οὐ παρ' Ἑβραίοις, ὡς ἐν τῷ <<Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον, ὅτι ἀγαθὸς ψαλμός.>> Κύριον γὰρ ἐνθάδε ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰαὴ εἶρηκεν. Καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ παρ' Ἑβραίοις <<Ἀλληλοῦια>>

Though the unpronounceable name of the Tetragrammaton is not said, it was also written upon the high priest's gold diadem, and the name is pronounced as "Adonai." By no

¹⁶ Presumably *Iae* was an earlier writer known to Origen and his readers.

¹⁷ Psalm 146:1

¹⁸ λέξεως = wording γεγραμμένης (ἀπαγγελλούσης ἀναγέγραπται, γεγραμμένου) = to write; Γραφῇ = [Hebrew] Scripture(s); Αἰνεῖτε = praise; ψαλμός (ψαλμοῦ) = psalm; Ἀλληλοῦια = hallelujah.

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means is the Tetragrammaton pronounced, but, when said in Greek, it is pronounced "*Kyrios*." •• In the most accurate manuscripts, the name occurs in Hebrew characters—yet not in today's Hebrew [characters], but in the most ancient ones. ••

19ἔστι δέ τι τετραγράμματον ἀνεκφώνητον παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πετάλου τοῦ χρυσοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἀναγέγραπται, καὶ λέγεται μὲν τῇ <<Ἄδωναί>> προσηγορία, οὐχὶ τούτου γεγραμμένου ἐν τῷ τετραγραμμάτῳ· παρὰ δὲ Ἑλλησι τῇ <<Κύριος>> ἐκφωνεῖται. •• Καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀκριβεστέροις δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων Ἑβραίοις χαρακτηῖται κεῖται τὸ ὄνομα, Ἑβραϊκοῖς δὲ οὐ τοῖς νῦν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρχαιοτάτοις. ••

For Ezra says in the captivity that different characters besides the original ones had been transmitted. But these are the ones we will remember, since the Tetragrammaton as "*Kyrios*" is found in "But in the law of the Lord [*Kyrios*—Κυρίου]..."²⁰ and in "For the Lord [*Kyrios*—Κύριος] knows the way of the righteous..."²¹ and in the present text:

19 τετραγράμματον (τετραγραμμάτῳ) = Tetragrammaton; ἀνεκφώνητον = unpronounceable; πετάλου τοῦ χρυσοῦ = [holy] golden diadem [see Exodus 29:6 note, *NWT Reference Edition*]; ἀρχιερέως = high priest; ἀκριβεστέροις = most accurate; ἀντιγράφων = manuscripts; χαρακτηῖται (χαρακτήρας) = characters; τὸ ὄνομα = the name (יהוה); νῦν = present [in time]; ἀρχαιοτάτοις = ancient.

20 Psalm 1:2

21 Psalm 1:6

"Against the Lord [*Kyrios*—Κυρίου] and against his Anointed²² [Christ]..."²³

••291•• ²⁴Φασὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἔσδραν ἐν τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ ἐτέρους αὐτοῖς χαρακτῆρας παρὰ τοὺς προτέρους παραδεδωκέναι. Τούτων δὲ ὑπεμνήσθημεν, ἐπεὶ τὸ τετραγράμματον ὡς <<Κύριος>> κείται ἐν τῷ· <<Ἄλλ' ἢ ἐν νόμῳ Κυρίου>> καὶ ἐν τῷ· <<Ὅτι γινώσκει Κύριος ὁδὸν δικαίων>> καὶ νῦν· <<Κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.>>

This is observed in the *Septuagint* and *Theodotion*, both in the past age, *Aquila* [also] in the past, and *Symmachus* coming later, all arranged in chronological order.²⁵

²⁶Τοῦτο δὲ παρατηρητέον, ὅτι οἱ μὲν Ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὁ

²² The Greek word *χριστος* (*Kristos*—Christ) is not a proper noun (name). It means [*the*] Anointed [*one*] when translated into English.

²³ Psalm 2:2

²⁴ Ἔσδραν = Ezra; αἰχμαλωσία = captivity; προτέρους = former; παραδεδωκέναι = to transmit;

²⁵ At this point, Origen specifically identifies the *Septuagint* (Ἑβδομήκοντα) and the three Hebrew Scripture Greek versions of Theodotion (Θεοδοτίων), Aquila (Ἀκύλας), and Symmachus (Σύμμαχος), all of which he used in his *Hexapla*. Note that Origen specifically says these four Hebrew Scripture Greek translations used *Kyrios*.

²⁶ παρατηρητέον = to carefully watch; Ἑβδομήκοντα = *Septuagint*; Θεοδοτίων = [the Hebrew version by] Theodotion;

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Θεοδοτίων πάντα εἰς τὸν παρεληλυθότα χρόνον, Ἀκύλας δὲ ἅ μὲν εἰς τὸν παρεληλυθότα, ἅ δὲ εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα, Σύμμαχος δὲ πάντα εἰς τὸν ἐνεστηκότα ἔταξαν.

From this extended quotation, it becomes evident that Origen acknowledged that *Kyrios* was fully acceptable as a (pronounceable) translation in the Greek text of the Hebrew Scriptures when he said,

It is no secret that one pronounces the name in Greek as "*Kyrios*," but in Hebrew as "Adonai." God is called by ten names in Hebrew, one of them being "Adonai," which is pronounced in Greek as "*Kyrios*."

and when he again said,

And where it says "Adonai" in Hebrew, or "*Kyrios*" in Greek, they both proclaim the wording which was written in Scripture.

and, finally, when he said,

By no means is the Tetragrammaton pronounced. Rather, when said in Greek, it is pronounced "*Kyrios*."

χρόνον = time (era); Ἀκύλας = [the Hebrew version by] Aquila; μέλλοντα = to be about to; Σύμμαχος = [the Hebrew version by] Symmachus; ἐνεστηκότα = to stand close, to be present; ἔταξαν = to arrange.

••292•• On the other hand, we do not wish to minimize the importance of Origen's comment when he said,

In the most accurate manuscripts, THE NAME occurs in Hebrew characters—yet not in today's Hebrew [characters], but in the most ancient ones.

Origen was clearly drawing the reader's attention to the fact that the divine name was held in the highest esteem—so much so, that it was written with palaeo-Hebrew letters within what Origen identified as "the most accurate manuscripts." In these instances, Origen was telling us that the divine name appeared as $\aleph \kappa \aleph \tau$ rather than יהוה'. (This is corroborated by seven Hebrew Scripture scrolls and two apocryphal scrolls from the Dead Sea which used $\aleph \kappa \aleph \tau$ rather than יהוה'.²⁷)

This quotation must not be construed as saying that the most reliable translations must read $\aleph \kappa \aleph \tau$. What is not clear (at least in our English translation) is whether Origen was identifying $\aleph \kappa \aleph \tau$ within early Hebrew language texts or later Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures. There are examples of both within Hebrew Scripture manuscripts.²⁸

²⁷ Metzger, *op cite*, p. 33 footnote. These scrolls are identified as 2Q 3, 3Q 3, 4Q 161, 1Q 14, 1QpHab, 1Q 15, 4Q 171, 1Q 11, and, 11QPs^a.

²⁸ On page 886 of *Aid to Bible Understanding*, a clear illustration (albeit typeset) is given of the palaeo-Hebrew characters $\aleph \kappa \aleph \tau$ embedded in Aquila's Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures.

It is clear from Origen's statement that he recognized that the Tetragrammaton was embedded in certain *Septuagint* texts. However, we must be particularly careful that we do not make the mistake of identification-by-association. We cannot take this brief quotation from Origen's commentary on Psalm 2 out of its context and allow ourselves to believe that Origen was saying that the earliest copies of the Christian Scriptures used the Tetragrammaton in palaeo-Hebrew characters.

In no way was Origen reporting that the Tetragrammaton was found in "the most accurate manuscripts" of the *Christian* Scriptures. We must only read the context of this quotation which was discussing a Hebrew Scripture passage to realize that this was not Origen's intent. Surprisingly, *we also see that Origen fully accepted Kyrios as an appropriate translation of the Tetragrammaton when the Hebrew Scriptures themselves were translated into Greek.*

An interesting contrast

••293•• In our first section dealing with Origen's *Hexapla*, we concluded that he wrote the Tetragrammaton in square Hebrew letters. In his commentary on Psalm 2, however, Origen clearly states:

For Ezra says in the captivity that different characters besides the original ones had been transmitted. But these are the ones we will remember, since the Tetragrammaton as "*Kyrios*" is found in "But in the law of the Lord [*Kyrios*—Κυρίου]..." and in "For the Lord [*Kyrios*—Κύριος] knows the way of the righteous..." and in the present text:

"Against the Lord [*Kyrios*—Κυρίου] and against his Christ..." This is observed in the *Septuagint* and *Theodotion*, both in the past age, *Aquila* [also] in the past, and *Symmachus* coming later, all arranged in chronological order.

In spite of the paleo-Hebrew characters referred to by Ezra, in this passage, Origen identifies the Greek word *Kyrios* as replacing the Tetragrammaton in the *Septuagint*, *Theodotion*, *Aquila*, and *Symmachus*.

We can reconcile this apparent discrepancy in only one of two ways. First, we could argue that the Hebrew characters found in the *Ambrosian* manuscripts were not the work of Origen, but were inserted by later scribes. This would seem difficult to explain, however, in light of what we now know of textual history. It is unlikely that Gentiles would introduce יהוה into a Gentile text. We know, rather, that it was the Gentiles who changed יהוה to *Kyrios* in Hebrew Scripture manuscripts.

We could not attempt to reconcile this discrepancy by explaining that Origen's comments in the passages we have quoted were originally written with—and referring to—the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew characters. *He was obviously giving a contrast between the Tetragrammaton and the Greek word Kyrios in the same Hebrew Scripture passages.* There would be no logical reason for these comments if these passages contained only יהוה.

Consequently, we are left with the second—and the only logical reconciliation—of the *Ambrosian* manuscripts which contained Origen's use of יהוה in the *Hexapla*, and his reference to the *Septuagint*, *Theodotion*, *Aquila*, and

Symmachus as all containing *Kyrios*. In all likelihood, Origen possessed multiple copies of these Hebrew Scriptures which had been translated into Greek. Some contained יהוה, while others contained *Kyrios* for the same passages. In light of his statement in the Psalm 2 commentary, this is the only way we could make allowance for Origen's use of יהוה in the original *Hexapla*.

••294•• Present knowledge of available manuscripts verifies this last conclusion. Though fewer in number, Hebrew Scripture translations containing the Tetragrammaton are now coming to light. We could certainly imagine that Origen possessed some copies with the *Kyrios* translation as well as other copies with יהוה embedded in the text.

Origen's view of the first two centuries

No individual is better placed than Origen to report on purported changes in the use of the Tetragrammaton in the first two Christian centuries.

First, Origen lived during this period of time and would have reported the controversy. Irrespective of his personal position, either a defense of the Tetragrammaton or an argument supporting the change to *Kyrios* would have been discernible in his writings. Though we have examined only a small amount of his work in the *Hexapla* and one of his *Commentaries*, we discover that he argued for *neither*. He freely used יהוה when he was transcribing the Hebrew text. On the other hand, he used Κύριος (*Kyrios*) and its two derivative forms $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ and ΠΙΠΙ (PIPI) without encumbrance

when he was working in the Greek language. In his commentary on Psalms, he openly acknowledged the propriety of translating the Tetragrammaton with *Kyrios*. (During the research for this book, many pages of Origen's preserved Greek writings were evaluated from J.P. Migne's *Origenis Opera Omnia* [The Complete Works of Origen]. From first-hand observation, it can be stated that Origen universally used *Kyrios*—and not יהוה—in his commentaries and homilies from the Hebrew Scriptures. His use of *Kyrios* in the Psalm 2 commentary is no exception.)

Yet, Origen was not a casual observer. He passionately defended the fidelity of the *Septuagint*. He devoted years of his life to the development of a textual tool which would aid in the transmittal of a faithful translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek language. Nonetheless, in spite of his intense concern, he was content that Κύριος (*Kyrios*) appropriately represented יהוה in the early part of the third century.

The statement from "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*" which says,

It is of interest that the divine name, in the form of the tetragrammaton, also appears in the Septuagint of Origen's six-column Hexapla,

is completely true. But this statement must not be used to imply that Origen used the Tetragrammaton to the exclusion of other Greek forms of the divine name. Origen's transcription of the *Septuagint*—as well ••295•• as his representation of three other translations—unmistakably used surrogate forms of Κύριος (*Kyrios*) (and infrequently

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ΠΙΠΙ) to represent the divine name.

The further statement from "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*" which says,

Commenting on Psalm 2:2, Origen wrote of the Septuagint: "In the most accurate manuscripts the name occurs in Hebrew Characters, yet not in today's Hebrew [characters], but in the most ancient ones,"

is at best unclear. In the context of the quotation, Origen clearly identified the *Septuagint* (as well as *Theodotion*, *Aquila*, and *Symmachus*) as using Κύριος (*Kyrios*). Origen then commented that ancient manuscripts supported by Ezra *did* use paleo-Hebrew characters. However, he immediately reminded his readers that the Tetragrammaton would be remembered as *Kyrios* when he said,

...since the Tetragrammaton as "*Kyrios*" is found in "But in the law of the Lord [*Kyrios*]..." and in "For the Lord [*Kyrios*] knows the way of the righteous..." and in the present text: "Against the Lord [*Kyrios*] and against his Anointed [Christ]..."

Finally, the statement from "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*" which says,

The evidence appears conclusive that the Septuagint was tampered with at an early date, Ky'ri.os (Lord) and The.os' (God) being substituted for the tetragrammaton,

is untraceable to either the *Hexapla* or Origen's

Commentary on Psalm 2. Origen did not make any mention in this passage of a deliberate change of the Tetragrammaton to *Kyrios*. The only evidence which "appears conclusive" is that Origen recognized and used both the Tetragrammaton and *Kyrios*. He used יהוה when he wrote in Hebrew. He used Κύριος when he referred to (or translated) the same passages in Greek. Origen raised no objection to Κύριος as an appropriate translation of יהוה for the Greek reader.

As we saw earlier, Origen lived between approximately 182 and 251 C.E. The Apostle John wrote the book of Revelation in 96 and the Gospel in 98 C.E. Origen would certainly have known of the original contents of John's writing. He would most certainly have known of an effort by Christian heretics to alter the wording of the *Septuagint* because the purpose of his *Hexapla* was to ensure the true wording of the original *Septuagint*.

On what basis can the Watch Tower Society say that "The evidence appears conclusive that the Septuagint was tampered with at ••296•• an early date," wherein *Kyrios* and *Theos* were substituted for the Tetragrammaton? There is no evidence of any kind found in Origen's commentary on Psalm 2:2 to indicate that he felt that "the Septuagint was tampered with." To the contrary, *Origen readily affirmed the use of Kyrios as the proper Greek translation for יהוה*.

Is it possible that an accommodation to national and linguistic heritage was all that occurred in the second and third centuries C.E.?²⁹ For those with a Jewish heritage, a

²⁹ Chapter 13 fully develops this possibility.

Septuagint version was produced which *transcribed* the Hebrew characters of the Tetragrammaton as יהוה, whereas for the Gentile readers, the *Septuagint* version *translated* the Tetragrammaton as Κύριος. Is it possible that this alteration was perceived by neither Jew nor Gentile as divisive or heretical, but as a mere choice between *transcribing* or *translating*, depending on the cultural background of the reader? As the Christian congregations grew, *Septuagint* copies which contained the Tetragrammaton became less available. In successive generations, the Gentile Christian congregation possessed a *Septuagint* which contained only Κύριος. After the Roman conquests of Palestine—when Messianic Jews were expelled from synagogue worship and consequently amalgamated with the Gentile church—*Septuagint* copies solely for Jews ceased to exist.³⁰

How else could we explain why Origen used both יהוה and Κύριος in his writing while giving neither explanation nor defense of his action?

³⁰ In an attempt to remove the offensive Christian *Kyrios* in the second and third centuries C.E., Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures for Jews characteristically embedded יהוה in the Greek text. After Christianity became state-sponsored in Constantine's reign in the fourth century C.E., Jews systematically destroyed their Greek translations and reinstated their Scriptures in the Hebrew language.

Appendix K: *Nomina Sacra*

••297•• The Latin term *Nomina Sacra* (Sacred Name) identifies a highly technical debate somewhat related to our study of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Scriptures. This debate is so specialized that according to the footnotes in Bruce Metzger's *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*, less than ten scholarly books have been devoted to the subject since the early part of this century. These few books are more frequently written in Latin and German than English.¹

We have included this brief appendix to alleviate potential confusion. In the unlikely event that this subject were to be encountered by the reader, the first impression may be that *Nomina Sacra* support the New World Bible Translation Committee's assertion that the Tetragrammaton was used in the original Greek Christian manuscripts. However, as we will see in our conclusion, had the Committee introduced the *Nomina Sacra* into the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation's* textual apparatus, the separate identities between *Jehovah* and *Lord Jesus* would have been greatly diminished.

¹ Only two sources were available for the author's personal study of the *Nomina Sacra*. The first consisted of selected photocopied chapters from a book published in South Africa by A.H.R.E. Paap entitled *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.*, published in 1959. The second was a brief description of the work of others on pages 36-37 in Bruce Metzger's book *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*, published in 1981.

The *Nomina Sacra* identified

The *Nomina Sacra* are contracted Greek words representing 15 frequently occurring names (or titles) in Scripture. The contraction was written with an overline. We have previously identified these contractions as *surrogates*, with the earlier explanation that they were primarily used as short-hand notations. These contractions occur in both the *Septuagint* papyri manuscripts and the Greek Christian Scripture papyri manuscripts.

On page 36 of the book cited, Metzger lists all 15 of the *Nomina Sacra* found in the entire Greek papyri collection, which includes the *Septuagint*. He reproduces them in their nominative (subject of the sentence) and genitive (possessive) forms² as follows:

••298••

English meaning	Greek word	Nominative (subject)	Genitive (possessive)
God	θεός	$\overline{\theta\varsigma}$	$\overline{\theta\upsilon}$
Lord	κύριος	$\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$	$\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$
Jesus	Ἰησοῦς	$\overline{\iota\varsigma}$	$\overline{\iota\upsilon}$
Christ	χριστός	$\overline{\chi\varsigma}$	$\overline{\chi\upsilon}$

² The highest frequency of occurrence of the Greek noun is in either the nominative or genitive form. A *Nomina Sacra* may appear in other of the remaining Greek noun forms as well. Thus, κύριος (*Kyrios*) could appear as any one of $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$, $\overline{\kappa\omega}$, $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$, or $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ in ancient Greek manuscripts.

Son ³	υῖος	<u>υς</u>	<u>υυ</u>
Spirit	πνεῦμα	<u>πινα</u>	<u>πινς</u>
David	Δαυείδ	<u>δαδ</u>	
cross	σταυρός	<u>στυς</u>	<u>στυ</u>
Mary	μήτηρ ⁴	<u>μηρ</u>	<u>μρς</u>
Father	πατήρ	<u>πηρ</u>	<u>πρς</u>
Israel	Ἰσραήλ	<u>ιηλ</u>	
Savior	σωτήρ	<u>σηρ</u>	<u>σρς</u>
Man ³	ἄνθρωπος	<u>ανος</u>	<u>ανου</u>
Jerusalem	Ἱερουσαλήμ	<u>ιλημ</u>	
Heaven ³	οὐρανός	<u>ουνος</u>	<u>ουνου</u>

Table 12. A complete list of all *Nomina Sacra* found in early Greek manuscripts of both the *Septuagint* and the Christian Scriptures.

To those defending this specialized Greek contractual form, the technical designation *Nomina Sacra* connotes a

³ Common words such as *Son* or *Man* become *Nomina Sacra* when used in conjunction with the name of Jesus. The word *Heaven* is identified as a *Nomina Sacra* when used to replace the word *God*. For example, Matthew uses the expression *Kingdom of the heavens* in many parallel passages where the other Gospel writers use the expression *Kingdom of God*.

⁴ The ordinary meaning of this Greek word is *mother*. It is only in its sense as a *Nomina Sacra* in which it is used of Mary, Jesus' mother. Needless to say, these *Nomina Sacra* notations were imported—we believe—into certain Greek manuscripts at a later date and do not necessarily reflect the writing (or theology) of the inspired writers themselves.

sacral (as against a *profane*) meaning. However, though the *Nomina Sacra* may be used to identify deity, the term itself does not mean *divine name*. *The use of the designation **Nomina Sacra** does not imply the elevation of the addressee to the status of deity*, though in certain instances, the *Nomina Sacra* may directly identify God.

A study of the *Nomina Sacra* is germane to the entire collection of first- through fifth-century Greek language Scripture texts. This includes the *Septuagint* as well as the Christian Scriptures. For this ••299•• appendix, however, we are concerned only with the *Nomina Sacra* found in the Christian Greek Scriptures. (The Hebrew Scriptures present no unsolved dilemma; we can readily verify over 6.000 instances in which $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ in any *Septuagint* text using *Nomina Sacra* was translated from יהוה in the original Hebrew text.)

The *Nomina Sacra* debate

The *Nomina Sacra* debate concerns the use and meaning of the contractions we have previously identified as *surrogates*. Many scholars consider the overlined contractions which are readily observable in ancient papyri to be mere abbreviations of frequently used words. This is the recognized meaning of the term *surrogate*. The use of contractions can be expected considering the labor involved in hand-copying scripture texts.

On the other hand, some scholars have identified these words as constituting a class of unique, sacred names which the copyist has identified by an overlined and abbreviated form. The scholars defending this position say that the

intent of the copyist was far from merely a savings in papyrus sheet material and the manual effort of writing by shortening the word. In defense of their thesis, many examples have been identified in ancient manuscripts in which the word *Kyrios* is written in full as κύριος when referring to a human *master*, and yet is written as κς when referring to Jesus (or Jehovah) as *Lord*. Similar examples of other surrogate words also exist.

The debate also concerns the *source* of *Nomina Sacra*. It was originally argued by the Latin palaeographer Ludwig Traube that the practice was of early, *Septuagint* era, Jewish origin. The latter work by Paap argues that the form was introduced at a later date by Jewish Christians.

The *Nomina Sacra* and inspired Scripture

The reader must understand that this debate does not concern the content of inspired Scripture. Many—including the author of this book—hold that the inspired Christian writers did not use contractions in their original writings; they did not use *surrogates*. The alteration was one which was introduced by scribes in later centuries. The best efforts of textual critics to reproduce the original work of the inspired Christian writers results in a text without surrogates as reproduced in the Westcott and Hort or United Bible Societies Greek texts.

Therefore, the debate concerning *Nomina Sacra* versus *surrogates* is not dealing with the content of inspired Scripture. Rather, it is merely evaluating the practice of scribes in succeeding centuries. If, in ••300•• fact, the debate could be settled by identifying the surrogates as a

simple short-hand device, then the overlined words would have no implied, deeper meaning. If, on the other hand, the debate were to be settled in favor of intentional *Nomina Sacra*, then some explanation would need to be given for the *meaning* added to the text by the scribes. Yet, that meaning (in *symbol* form) is not one which was placed in the text by the original, inspired Christian writers.

The meaning of the *Nomina Sacra* in our study

A study of the *Nomina Sacra* is a worthwhile, though very technical, undertaking. There is merit in determining whether the early church regarded these Greek names as *sacred names*, or whether these overlined words merely represented a scribal short-hand to reduce the labor of hand-copying texts. However, the answer to the above examination of ancient Greek manuscripts is extraneous to the primary question of our study. Our study is limited to the inspired writers' use of the *Tetragrammaton* in their original written documents.

However, it is possible that the *Nomina Sacra* could give an important answer to our search for the Tetragrammaton in the original writings of the inspired Christian authors. One of two conditions would draw our immediate attention to the *Nomina Sacra* as probable descendants of the Tetragrammaton:

1. If we found *Nomina Sacra* forms of *Kyrios* ($\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, $\overline{\kappa\nu}$, $\overline{\kappa\omega}$, $\overline{\kappa\nu}$, or $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$) (or similar forms for the word *Theos*) within ancient Christian Scripture Greek manuscripts *which were restricted to the 237 occurrences of the **Jehovah** references within the **New World Translation***, we would

be immediately alerted to the probability that a manuscript change had occurred in the early centuries of the church. This presence of the *Nomina Sacra* would give strong evidence that יהוה' was used in the original writings.

2. If, at the very least, we found a consistent use of *Nomina Sacra* forms of *Kyrios* (or *Theos*) restricted to each of the 42⁵ quotations of Hebrew Scripture passages in these same ancient Christian Scripture Greek manuscripts, we could be alerted to the possibility that the Tetragrammaton was used by the inspired writers when they quoted Hebrew Scriptures which contained the divine name.

••301•• We must be careful not to overstate the material which was available to us from Paap's extensive summaries. Nonetheless, these papyri studies clearly show use of surrogates (contractions) in a considerably greater frequency than would be the cases were they restricted to Hebrew Scripture citations of the divine name.⁶ The forms

⁵ The number 42 represents the verified uses of the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew Scripture quotations as identified by J20 which is shown in Appendix G. This number could be expanded to the possible 112 Hebrew Scripture citations as noted in the summary at the end of Appendix B.

⁶ This information is taken from Paap, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.*, pages 8-118 in which he catalogs and summarizes the *Nomina Sacra* from a large number of ancient manuscripts. Paap gives one of many examples from a Chester Beatty manuscript identified as "Facsimile III, New Testament," in which he says (p. 101):

($\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, $\overline{\kappa\nu}$, $\overline{\kappa\omega}$, $\overline{\kappa\nu}$, or $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$) are apparently used throughout the papyri texts in those cases where *Kyrios* is used of either the *Lord* Jesus or references to *Jehovah* of the Hebrew Scriptures. Consequently, some contracted form will be found in the majority of the 714 *Kyrios* (or *Theos*) references in the Christian Greek Scriptures. In general, the word is written in full as κύριος only in those instances which refer to others besides Jesus or *Jehovah* in the Christian Scripture accounts.

Conclusion

It is outside the purpose of this Appendix to determine the *meaning* of the *Nomina Sacra* (Sacred Names) as used in ancient Greek Scripture manuscripts. However, the recurrent appearance of the *Nomina Sacra* throughout extant biblical manuscripts far surpass the frequency and location of the 237 *Jehovah* references in the Christian Scriptures of the *New World Translation*.

We can only assume that the New World Bible Translation Committee was aware of the *Nomina Sacra*, yet chose not to bring this material into their textual apparatus to establish the presence of the Tetragrammaton in a limited 237 instances within the Christian Scriptures. The great number of occurrences of *Nomina Sacra* (surrogates) within the text of the Christian Scripture Greek manuscripts

...in [this manuscript] (\pm A.D.200); in the sacral meaning there are 170 contractions, whereas in the 4 cases where κύριος (plural) has the profane meaning the word has been written in full.

would preclude such an attempt. *Any appeal to the **Nomina Sacra** with the intent of establishing the presence of the divine name in the Christian Greek Scriptures would, of consequence, identify the person of Christ with **Jehovah**.* If it were to be argued that the *Nomina Sacra* in the form of $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ (for κύριος) is a derivative of יהוה, then it could be forcefully argued—with a large number of examples of $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ referring to Jesus—that the inspired Christian writers used יהוה of Jesus himself.

Appendix L: The Magdalen Papyrus

••302•• In the early 1800's, Egypt was *rediscovered* by the Western world. By the end of that century, avid tourism, antiquities marketing, serious archaeology, and blatant exploitation of national treasures for profit were in full force.¹

Egypt's climate ideally preserved fragile papyrus documents. Egypt became a rich manuscript source of the Hebrew Scriptures themselves (the *Septuagint*), very old copies of the Christian Greek Scriptures, early writings from the Christian school of Alexandria, and later chronicles of theological debates. From the mid-1800's through the early part of the 1900's, many of the earliest papyrus manuscripts were sold by private antiquities dealers to serious and amateur collectors alike.

In 1901, Charles Huleatt sent three small scraps of a Greek manuscript to his alma mater in England—the Oxford college of Magdalen. Huleatt was a knowledgeable papyrologist (one who studies ancient papyri manuscripts), who had previously acquired the fragments in Egypt. He tentatively identified these three scraps of papyrus as containing Matthew 26:7-8, 10, 14-15, 22-23, 31, and 32-33 (there is writing on both sides, giving a total of six brief passages) and dated them as coming from the third century. When the manuscripts arrived at Magdalen College, they were redated by a recognized papyrologist as coming from the fourth century.

¹ All information in this appendix comes from *Eyewitness to Jesus*, by Carsten Peter Thiede and Matthew D'Ancona, published by Doubleday, 1996.

Because these manuscripts were small (the largest is only 1 5/8 X 1/2 in.) and presumably relatively late (dated in 1901 as coming from the fourth century), these small scraps of papyrus were relegated to an unimposing library display case. And there they remained until 1953. In 1953, a papyrologist by the name of Colin Roberts again redated them to the late part of the second century. Even with this earlier date, they commanded little attention.

Then, in 1994, Carsten Thiede, a well-recognized German papyrologist, publicly announced that these manuscript portions were from the mid-first century. *He dated them as having been written before 70 C.E.* His work was carefully based on the best available information and technology (including a laser microscope examination of the manuscript for faint ink traces).

If Thiede's date is accurate, *these papyrus fragments are the earliest known Christian Greek Scripture manuscript portions in ••303•• possession today.* (There are two additional fragments of the same manuscript in Barcelona, Spain. The Spanish fragments contain Matthew 3:15 and 5:20-22 on the *recto* [front], and 3:9 and 5:25-28 on the *verso* [back] portions respectively. If the date given to the Magdalen papyrus is ultimately confirmed, the Barcelona papyrus will be similarly dated to the mid-first century.) These combined papyri pre-date even the John Rylands fragment from the Gospel of John mentioned in Chapter 2. (That fragment is dated as early as 125 C.E.)

Needless to say, there has been much controversy over Carsten Thiede's announcement. Those who wish to de-emphasize inspiration want to date the Gospels from the second century. They want to prove the fabrication of a

gospel myth by later Christians rather than acknowledging the Gospels as being eyewitness accounts of quotations and descriptions of Jesus himself. Finding a *copy* of the Gospel of Matthew which was written before 70 C.E. dispels any notion that the Gospels were a second century literary invention. Even those who fully acknowledge the early writing of the Gospels are reticent to surrender the long-established dates commonly accepted for previously published Greek manuscripts.

Much more work needs to be done before a final consensus will be reached among Greek manuscript scholars. Nonetheless, Thiede's work appears to be well-founded and convincing. The drama of new light on ancient manuscripts is not lost in examining this controversy.

The Magdalen papyrus contains a feature of particular interest to our study. In Appendix K, we evaluated *Nomina Sacra*. In the brief written material found in these three fragments, two *nomina sacra* appear. (The surrogate for *Lord* is used in verses 22 and the surrogate for *Jesus* is used in verse 31. Verse 22 in English would read "Ld, it is not I, is it?" Verse 31 would read, "Then Js said to them...") In both cases, the over-written line is no longer visible. There is no reason to believe, however, that the line was not originally written and has merely become too faint to see.

We have not included Carsten Thiede's early dates—nor their implications to this study—in this book. (He also argues for earlier dates for a number of the P manuscripts.) Nonetheless, in the context of our study of new light on the ancient Greek manuscripts, we must alert the reader to this recent controversy. The reader would find *Eyewitness to Jesus* worthwhile reading. (See the Bibliography.)

example. (See page 22 of *KIT*.) The following page is from the Malagasy Bible concordance. Note that either *Jehovah* or *Jehovah Ô* occur only 16 times in the entire Christian Greek Scriptures.

••305•• The reader may be left with the impression by the Watch Tower Society that these 38 missionary translations use the divine name in the Christian Greek Scriptures with a frequency similar to the *New World Translation* when they say,

Many modern-language missionary versions, including African, Asian, American, and Pacific-island versions of the Greek Scriptures, use the name Jehovah liberally, as do some European-language versions.¹

An example from the Malagasy Bible indicates that the frequency is not *liberal*, but, rather, is quite limited. In the Malagasy Christian Scriptures, only 16 verses which are derived from Hebrew Scripture quotations use the divine name. However, one such verse (Hebrews 1:10) is clearly describing the *Lord* (Jesus) in the *New World Translation* whereas the Malagasy Christian Scriptures addresses him as *Jehovah Ô*.

Many Missionary translations were done in the 1800's and were strongly influenced by the King James version. A supplementary column was added which identifies the word

¹ *"All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial,"* p. 327.

used by the King James Bible.² When "Jehovah" appears as a footnote reference, it is marked with an asterisk (*) by the word used in the main text.

By comparing reference order in this missionary translation concordance, it is apparent that *Asa* is *Acts* and *Joda* is *Jude*.³ The other Bible book names are easily determined by spelling similarity and sequence. The following Malagasy Bible references use *Jehovah* in the Christian Scriptures:

	<i>Malagasy Bible</i>	<i>New World Translation</i>	<i>King James Bible</i>
Matt. 21:42	Jehovah	Jehovah	*Lord
Matt. 22:44	Jehovah	Jehovah	Jehovah
Matt. 23:39	Jehovah	Jehovah	Lord
Mark 12:11	Jehovah	Jehovah	*Lord
Mark 12:29	Jehovah	Jehovah	Lord
Mark 12:29	Jehovah	Jehovah	*Lord
Mark 12:36	Jehovah	Jehovah	Jehovah
Luke 20:42	Jehovah	Jehovah	Jehovah
Acts 2:25	Jehovah	Jehovah	*Lord
Acts 2:34	Jehovah	Jehovah	Jehovah
Romans 10:16	Jehovah Ô	Jehovah	Lord
Romans 11:3	Jehovah Ô	Jehovah	Lord

² This footnote information may vary with each King James edition. The 1945 Scofield reference Bible published by Oxford University Press was used for this comparison.

³ *Joda* lists a chapter number in this Malagasy concordance. English biblical references usually list only the verse number for the short book of Jude.

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I Cor. 10:26	Jehovah <i>Malagasy Bible</i>	Jehovah <i>New World Translation</i>	*Lord <i>King James Bible</i>
Hebrews 1:10	Jehovah Ô	Lord ⁴	Lord
Jude (1):9	Jehovah	Jehovah	*Lord
Jude (1):14	Jehovah	Jehovah	*Lord

⁴ The Hebrew version J¹⁸ does not use יהוה at Hebrews 1:10.

Appendix N: Correspondence with the Society

••306••

June 5, 1997

Mr.____, Mr.____, Mr.____, Mr.____, Mr.____, and Mr.____
Elders of the [congregation name]
Portland, OR

Dear Elders:

I know that you are aware of my book entitled *The Tetragrammaton and the Christian Greek Scriptures*. (Last year, four copies of a first-draft edition were given to an Elder in the [other named congregation] for evaluation. I have also personally discussed the first-draft edition with one of your elders.) Since the preliminary edition a year ago, it has been completely revised with much new material added...

...This has been a personal project stemming from a very pleasant contact with two Witnesses in my home more than 13 years ago. It started as a personal study of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* which took almost two years to complete. At the onset I had no intention of publishing. I have no formal affiliation with any religious group beyond church membership. My relationship with the first publisher (to whom the present edition will also be made available) was a professional contact between a prospective author and publisher devoid of any endorsement on my part of their theological

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stance or ministry procedure. (It was similar to my relationship with McGraw-Hill when they published a prior electrical text.)

Understanding as I do that this book will have a wide readership...I am particularly concerned that it be accurate. I do not want to misrepresent manuscript evidence which may be available through the Watch Tower Society. (The book examines the presence of the Tetragrammaton within the Christian Scriptures from a historical and manuscript perspective. It avoids theological arguments.)

I am sending copies of the final book draft to each of you as well as to Mr. [Circuit Overseer]. Could you arrange a time at your convenience when you, Mr. [Circuit Overseer], and I could meet to evaluate the factual content of the book? Specifically, is there any manuscript evidence which I have omitted which would establish the presence of the Tetragrammaton within the early Christian Greek manuscripts? If there is verifiable evidence which alters the conclusions of my book, I will either amend the present text—or if necessary—withdraw the book from publication. I do not wish to publish false information.

••307•• Inasmuch as you have been aware of my work on this project, I believe we can expedite this evaluation. I know that each of you will be busy through the District Convention at the end of June. Could I suggest that a meeting time no later than July 15th be arranged between us? This will give ample time for each of you to read the

material before our discussion. I will not release this book for publication prior to July 16, 1997. If, as an outcome of our meeting, manuscript evidence for the Tetragrammaton's presence in early Greek manuscripts becomes available, I will carefully evaluate that information before proceeding. (I assume that any such material would be readily available to you through the Service Department. The presence of such manuscript evidence would be known if it was used to substantiate the wording of the *New World Translation*. It would be helpful if manuscript information could be provided to us at the time of our meeting. Photocopies of first to third century Greek manuscripts of the Christian Scriptures which use the Tetragrammaton would provide the most conclusive evidence.)

It is difficult to write this kind of letter and properly convey my personal feelings to you. Please understand that this is not intended as a "demanding" letter. Nor am I attempting in any way to create an adversarial relationship between us. I want to enjoy a time together in which we can freely discuss the content of that which I have written. I will most certainly include the most accurate material available within the book; I am prepared to do extensive editing if Greek manuscript evidence of which I am unaware is presented to me. I have learned much from you already. I have also greatly profited recently by time spent in our home with an individual from another congregation; I have learned much by listening and in dialogue with him. I desire

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your input and will very carefully evaluate any new information you can supply for me.

Thank you for your time on this matter. I have appreciated my association with the [congregation name] over this past year. I trust our time together will be mutually beneficial and will assure an accurate portrayal to future readers of the place of the Tetragrammaton within the Christian Scriptures.

Sincerely yours,

(Author's name)

cc: Service Department Overseer
cc: Mr. [District Overseer]
cc: Mr. [Circuit Overseer]



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June 5, 1997

Mr. [District Overseer]
Puyallup, WA

Dear Mr. [District Overseer]:

I will let the copy letter to the [congregation name] Elders convey the purpose of the meeting between myself and the [congregation name] Elders with Mr. [Circuit Overseer].

I am enclosing a copy of the book draft. I trust you will have opportunity to read the main chapters as well as familiarizing

yourself with the appendix material.

I am sending this information to you primarily for the purpose of keeping you informed of that which is taking place. However, were you free to join us when I meet with the [congregation name] Elders, for my part I would be delighted were you also free to be present.

I am aware that this book review will create a time involvement for you. I want you to know of my appreciation in advance. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

(Author's name)

cc: Service Department Overseer
cc: Mr. [Circuit Overseer]
cc: [congregation name] Elders

—————●—————

••309••

June 5, 1997

Mr. [Circuit Overseer]
Portland, OR

Dear Mr. [Circuit Overseer]:

We have not met, though I have heard you both at the [congregation name] Hall and in Woodburn. I am looking forward to meeting you.

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I will let the copy letter to the [congregation name] Elders convey the purpose of our meeting rather than repeating it here.

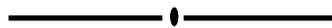
I am enclosing a copy of the book draft. I trust you will have opportunity to read the main chapters as well as familiarizing yourself with the appendix material. I very much want to be open to your comments and observations as we sit down together to discuss this material. I am particularly concerned that I not omit any information which might show evidence of the Tetragrammaton in early Christian Greek manuscripts.

Again, I am looking forward both to meeting you and to our time together with the [congregation name] Elders.

Sincerely yours,

(Author's name)

cc: Service Department Overseer
cc: Mr. [District Overseer]
cc: [congregation name] Elders



••310••

June 5, 1997

Department Overseer
Service Department
Watchtower Bible and Tract Society
100 Watchtower Drive
Patterson, NY 12563-9204

To the Service Department Overseer:

As seen from the copy letters enclosed, I am requesting a meeting with the Elders of my local congregation to discuss the content of a book I am ready to publish. I will let the copy letter to the [congregation name] Elders convey the purpose of that meeting rather than repeating it here.

I am enclosing a copy of the book draft for your evaluation. ...you are free to duplicate [this] material for others' evaluation as needed. Remember, however, that there could be changes to the book draft resulting from new information presented to me in my meeting with the Elders and Circuit Overseer.

I am writing to you for two reasons. First, I want to keep you informed of that which is taking place. I believe this subject has the potential of becoming a much-discussed topic among Witnesses.

Secondly, I assume that you have the greatest access to early Greek manuscript material regarding the Tetragrammaton within the Christian Greek Scriptures. I am certain that the [congregation name] Elders and Mr.

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[Circuit Overseer] would appreciate receiving from you any material which might substantiate the presence of the Tetragrammaton's use by the inspired Christian Scripture writers. After receipt from you, they can subsequently make that information available to me in our meeting.

Thank you for your time with this matter. I appreciate your effort on my behalf, as well as your effort on behalf of those who will be reading this material in the future.

Sincerely yours,

(Author's name)

cc: Mr. [District Overseer]
cc: Mr. [Circuit Overseer]
cc: [congregation name] Elders



••311••

July 18, 1997

Department Overseer
Service Department
Watchtower Bible and Tract Society
100 Watchtower Drive
Patterson, NY 12563-9204

To the Service Department Overseer:

This letter is in regard to my June 5, 1997 request to the [congregation name] elders for

a meeting to review the contents of my book draft entitled *The Tetragrammaton and the Christian Greek Scriptures*.

I was greatly disappointed that I received no response from either the congregation elders or the Service Department.

I am anxious that every detail of this book be accurate in its representation of the textual and historical information regarding the Tetragrammaton and the Christian Greek Scriptures. For that reason, I was looking forward to a meeting with the elders which would have given us a chance to evaluate the most current information available on the subject. As I stated in my letter to them, I am prepared to edit—or entirely cancel publication of the book—if I obtain authentic manuscript information which negates the second and third century material I have used in my book draft.

I am puzzled by the lack of any kind of response on your part. I have come to you with an unprecedented offer to bring my published writing into agreement with the best historical information available. Why have you failed to acknowledge my request with even the common courtesy of declining the meeting? Does your lack of response tell me (and my readers) that you truly have no manuscript evidence that the Tetragrammaton was actually used by the inspired Christian Scripture writers?

May I again restate my earlier request? If you are aware of any textual or historical information which verifies the Tetragrammaton within the writings of the inspired Christian

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authors, I would appreciate receiving it from you. In the ••312•• absence of a timely response from you, I will assume that the Watch Tower Society does not possess authentic information confirming the Tetragrammaton in the original Christian Scripture writings and I will proceed with publication of the book.

Sincerely yours,
(Author's name)

cc:Mr. [District Overseer]
cc:Mr. [Circuit Overseer]
cc: [congregation name] Elders:
 Mr.____, Mr.____, Mr.____, Mr.____, Mr.____, and
 Mr.____
 [Individual letters were sent to each
 Elder]

Note to the reader: Prior to, and during the duration of this correspondence (except for a short interval at the death of a family member), the author regularly attended either a Theocratic School/Service Meeting or a Book Study. (Weekly attendance continues until present.) At no time prior to the July 15, 1997 date suggested in the author's letters was there confirmation that the books and letters were received, nor was any attempt made to explain why a meeting would not be convened. In addition, at no time has there been formal communication of any kind from the Service Department, the District- or Circuit Overseers, or the congregation Elders to either this request or to the subsequent letter dated July 18, 1997.

Appendix O: A Reply to Greg Stafford¹

••313•• Greg Stafford has published an enlarged second edition of his scholarly book *Jehovah's Witnesses Defended* (copyright 2000, Elihu Books). On pages 18-36, he evaluates this book, *The Tetragrammaton and the Christian Greek Scriptures*.

Stafford's evaluation is fair and carefully written. His comments are well worth reading for comparison with what has been said in this book.

Our basic agreement

Greg Stafford and I agree on many fundamental Biblical issues. We agree that all of Scripture was inspired by God. We agree that it is imperative to translate Scripture in a way which communicates God's intended message. We agree on basic issues of the transmission of the text; namely that we possess no original manuscripts (autographs) but only Greek Scripture copies. We agree on the dates of those copies; the earliest reliable dates are best placed in the first part of the second century. I certainly believe that God has preserved Scripture through the ages with remarkable freedom from both copying and intentional error. This did not result because each copy was accurate. Throughout the centuries, hand written copies of the Greek manuscripts have introduced many errors. In addition, there most certainly

¹ This appendix was written after the Second Edition of *The Tetragrammaton and the Christian Greek Scriptures* was published.

have been intentional errors introduced into the text for theological reasons. Nonetheless, coming from the scholarly work of textual criticism, the end result today is a Greek Scripture text which is remarkably close to that produced by the Christian Scripture writers. In spite of his criticism at this point, I believe Stafford would agree with me on this also.

We most certainly agree that the divine name was used in the Hebrew Scripture almost 7,000 times and that it is appropriate to use it freely today. (Though he would use a stronger imperative than my choice of *appropriate*.)

Our fundamental area of difference

The reader must be aware that the difference between Greg Stafford's final conclusions and my own stems from a difference in our initial frame of reference. In all likelihood, you the reader will also have a frame of reference which is similar to one or the other of ours. Ultimately you will agree with one of us and dismiss what the other has to say. You must also understand that my analysis does not allow Brother Stafford a rebuttal—he, too, would have his own answer. (However, before this present response was published, I sent Mr. Stafford a copy asking for his comments, lest I had misstated his position. I stated my willingness to make any necessary corrections before publication. I received no reply from him.) Understanding the risk of not having his response, however, I ••314•• suggest the following two statements as representative of our respective initial frames of reference:

1. In all probability, Greg Stafford has a frame of reference which asserts that *the Greek Scripture (New Testament)*

writers could *not* identify Jesus with Jehovah.² This frame of reference requires that the entirety of the Greek Scriptures—including the history of the early church—must be reconciled with this singular idea.

2. My initial frame of reference asserts that *under inspiration of God, the inspired Christian writers could say of Jesus what God directed them to say.* No restriction is imposed which prevents the Christian writers from identifying Jesus with Jehovah.

Consider the ramifications

- When Scripture is viewed from the first initial frame of reference, *no citation in all of the Greek Scriptures could say of Jesus that which is exclusively restricted to Jehovah.* Consequently, this frame of reference must establish that the divine name was used in the original writings because many verses would be inappropriate (blasphemous) if applied to the *Lord*.
- When Scripture is viewed from the second initial frame of reference, we can allow the inspired Christian writers to speak as God directed them when applying these Hebrew Scriptures to Jesus. In this case, it is acceptable if the word *Lord* was chosen by the original writers. This second initial frame of reference does not deny the use of the divine name today, but it does not force it into the Greek Scripture text to preserve a distinction between

² I am using the term *identify* in the sense I used it in Chapter 14 . This first frame of reference could not allow the inspired Christian writers to say of Jesus regarding his eternal characteristics that which they also understood to be true uniquely of Jehovah.

Lord and *Jehovah*. This frame of reference allows the inspired Christian writer to read יהוה in his Hebrew text, but under inspiration quote it in the Greek Scriptures as Κύριος (*Lord*). (See Chapter 14 of this book.)

• Guided by the first frame of reference, there *must* be a heresy in the early life of the Christian congregation which removed the Tetragrammaton from the Greek Scriptures. This must be true irrespective of the absence of supporting manuscript or historical evidence. • The second frame of reference does not require a heretical conspiracy and all of the problems of improbability and lack of evidence it requires. (See Chapter 10.)

The perspective of authority

••315•• Greg Stafford objected to my statement that the New World Translation Committee gave greater authority to Hebrew translations than to the Greek Scriptures. Yet he himself lists a total of 144 references (from the 237 total) to *Jehovah* in the NWT Greek Scriptures (NT) which have no Hebrew Scripture precedent of any kind. The remaining 93 are quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures which use יהוה in the Hebrew Scripture text but Κύριος (*Lord*) in the Greek text. It matters little if the *authority* behind this change was selected Hebrew translations or simply the subjective preference of the New World Translation Committee as Stafford affirms. To an objective outsider, this substitution of *Jehovah* for *Lord* in the Greek text certainly appears as an appeal to a higher authority than the Greek text itself.

The final obstacle

We reach our final debate on a very simple conceptual level. For any of Jehovah's Witnesses, it is imperative that certain passages in the Greek Scriptures identify *Jehovah* rather than *Jesus*. These are the passages which identify the addressee with attributes of Jehovah. (See the discussion in Chapter 11.) Some are passages quoted from the Hebrew Scriptures; some are passages which have no Hebrew Scripture source. The science (or art) of textual criticism has reproduced a Greek Scripture text which is almost entirely free of error. All of us, including both myself and Greg Stafford, are dependent on this reliable text for the foundation of our doctrinal faith. If we did not have a reliable text, we would be theologically adrift.

For myself, I must allow the original writers to speak for themselves. If, under inspiration from God, those writers identify Jesus with Jehovah in certain passages, then I must allow them to speak for God and reconcile my faith with their writing. (This must be true in *all* issues of faith. Frankly, there are areas in which Jehovah's Witnesses have been more faithful to the Biblical text than translators within my own tradition. The use of the divine name in the Hebrew Scriptures [Old Testament] is an outstanding example. See Chapter 12.)

The Watch Tower Society faithfully acknowledges the same Greek text. They also have an identical objective of recovering the exact wording of the original writers.³ However, they must ••316•• introduce one important

³ This reference is to the Greek text itself and not its interpretation or translation.

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exception. *They must establish a textual apparatus which brings the divine name into the Greek Scriptures.* They have done this by developing a hypothesis of textual change from יהוה to *Kyrios (Lord)* without a single ancient Greek Scripture document to verify this change; for their claim to be plausible, they must postulate a heresy in the early life of the Christian congregation without any mention of it in copious post-New Testament writings; and finally, they used Hebrew translations from 1385 CE and later derived primarily from the *Textus Receptus* (the King James' Greek text which does *not* use יהוה) to buttress their argument that the divine name was used by the Christian writers.

As a reader, you must be aware of the important change to the meaning of Scripture this exception by the Watch Tower Society imposes. Ultimately, you must ask yourself if your final authority is Scripture itself, or if it is another authority, whether that authority is Hebrew versions, the New World Bible Translation Committee, or the Watch Tower Society.



I trust the reader will understand the nature of the debate between Greg Stafford and myself. We each have a different frame of reference which leads us to differing expectations from Scripture. However, *this does not imply lack of respect or courtesy.* Brother Stafford's book represents a scholarly approach to many Biblical issues. I respect him for his work

and can learn from him as I consider his point of view. I also respect him for his courtesy in dealing with objections to my book. *Scholarly debate—when it is free from rancor—is profitable to both of us as writers. It should be profitable to you as a reader as well.*

Stafford's book *Jehovah's Witnesses Defended* is available from:

Elihu Books

PO Box 3533

Huntington Beach, CA 92605-3533

www.elihubooks.com.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

••317•• The primary reference books used in this study were published by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. The books included in this bibliography are useful resources for any study of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures. The books identified with a double bullet (••) are essential for such a study; a single bullet (•) indicates that the book should be consulted. The list includes:

- A. Materials published by the Watch Tower Society.
- B. Reference materials cited by the Watch Tower Society.
- C. Helpful reading from outside sources.
- D. References citing יהוה in Greek manuscripts

A. Materials published by the Watch Tower Society

These materials should be used by anyone seriously studying the Watch Tower Society's teaching concerning the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures. For those involved in this study who are not ones of Jehovah's Witnesses, it is imperative that the reference materials published by the Watch Tower Society be consulted directly, rather than depending solely on books critical to the subject. (It should be added that this book—*The Tetragrammaton and the Christian Greek Scriptures*—should not replace a careful study of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* itself.)

- ***The Kingdom Interlinear Translation of the Greek Scriptures***, 1969 and 1985 editions. This is the single most useful source of information for a Tetragrammaton study. The footnotes are an unsurpassed source for textual dating of both the Greek word *Kύριος* and the Hebrew versions using יהוה. The 1969 Edition gives more complete information for both the early Greek manuscripts and J1 through J21 than does the 1985 Edition. However, the 1985 Edition adds newly researched information for J22 through J27 and certain early Greek manuscripts such as P45, P46, P47, P66, P74, and P75. Appendices 7A, 7B, 7C, and 7D give much useful information concerning the Greek alphabet and language. All of the introductory material should also be read. For a complete study, both the 1969 and 1985 Editions should be used.
- ***New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures Reference Edition***, revised 1984. This volume will be the second most important source of information for a Tetragrammaton study. The INTRODUCTION beginning on page 6 gives information regarding the translation ••318•• philosophy as it concerns the restoration of the divine name. Some "J" footnote material is found which is not included in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, though the reader is not given either the "J" or Greek manuscript information contained within the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* footnotes. Appendices 1A, 1B, 1C, 1D, and 3A should also be consulted.
- ***The Holy Bible, American Standard Version***, 1901 edition. This is an excellent translation and is notable for its use of *Jehovah* in the Hebrew Scriptures. For the sake of

comparison, this is an excellent translation to use for general reading.

- ***"All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial,"*** 1990 edition. Study Five gives some interesting information regarding the *Septuagint* (LXX) version (page 307 and following) and the Masoretic vowel points and emendation of the Hebrew text (page 311 and following). Consult the chart on page 309 for the relationship of the Hebrew versions to the Greek manuscripts. The charts on pages 313-314 give valuable Greek manuscript dating. Study Six gives important information regarding the Greek text. The 1983 edition was cited in at least one instance because it contained slightly different information.

Comprehensive Concordance of the NEW WORLD TRANSLATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, 1973 edition. A *comprehensive* concordance gives all important biblical references for a given word. This concordance is a useful tool when attempting a thorough study of such words as *Jehovah* or *Lord* in either the Hebrew or Greek Scriptures. Though the entries are in English, a well defined word such as *Lord* can be located in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* under entries such as *Lord, master, owner, sir,* and the like.

- ***INSIGHT on the Scriptures,*** volumes 1 and 2, 1988 Edition. This is a particularly valuable reference for a concise summary of the Watch Tower Society's viewpoint regarding numerous topics encountered in a study of the Tetragrammaton. The topics "Jehovah," "Jesus Christ," and "Lord," should particularly be consulted. (For any reader who is not one of Jehovah's Witnesses, these three

headings will give much useful background information.) Regrettably, there are no headings for either "Septuagint," or "Tetragrammaton," though these subjects are addressed under other headings. Much pertinent language information is contained under the headings "Greek," and "Hebrew II."

- ***Aid to Bible Understanding***, 1969 edition. This was the original work which was re-published as a the two-volume set *INSIGHT on ••319•• the Scriptures*. This volume could equally be consulted for each of the subjects listed above. In many cases, the material in this volume is more technically complete than the subsequent *INSIGHT* book.

The Emphatic Diaglott Containing the Original Greek Text (the 1942 edition was used). The primary value of this volume to the Tetragrammaton study is the availability of a second interlinear Greek/English text published and authorized by the Watch Tower Society. Some useful supplementary material is also contained in the introductory pages.

JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES, Proclaimers of God's Kingdom, 1993, Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society. Chapter 27 (*Printing and Distributing God's Own Sacred Word*) gives important information on the *New World Translation* and the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. This chapter strongly defends the textual reliability of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*.

Reasoning from the Scriptures, 1989. This book deals topically with a number of important subjects. To a reader unfamiliar with the Watch Tower Society's teaching, this is a practical reference book. The sections headed "Jehovah,"

"God," and "Jesus Christ," are particularly helpful.

The Divine Name That Will Endure Forever, 1984. This booklet will give information regarding the divine name. The brochure encompasses material generally known by ones of Jehovah's Witnesses. To those unfamiliar with the subject, this is a good, yet brief, introduction.

Should You Believe in the Trinity?, 1989. This booklet should be considered as a concise statement of the position of the Watch Tower Society on the person of Jesus Christ. The subtitle reads, "Is Jesus Christ the Almighty God?" This publication will give the reader a contrasting point of view to that in this book.

The Greatest Man Who Ever Lived, 1991. This book is a chronological account of the life of Jesus; it was not used in this study in regard to the Tetragrammaton. It was only cited for a particular reference to the person of Jesus.

"The Word," Who is He? According to John. This book was cited as a reference source merely to illustrate the I John 5:7b passage which does not appear in the best Greek manuscripts.

B. Reference materials cited by the Watch Tower Society

Watch Tower Society publications frequently cite biblical materials produced by outside publishers. This does not imply full ••320•• endorsement by the Watch Tower Society, but it acknowledges their understanding of the merit and scholarship of the work. Generally (as in the case of the

Septuagint), the Watch Tower Society's endorsement is of the work and not the specific publisher.

- ***The Greek New Testament***, United Bible Societies, Third Edition (Corrected), 1975. The UBS Greek text of the Christian Greek Scriptures is often used as the standard of comparison for textual accuracy. Comparison can be made between this and the Westcott and Hort text when a detailed study of Greek word usage is necessary. The text contains a *critical apparatus* which gives variant readings and their sources.

A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament, Third Edition, 1971. The Watch Tower Society does not list this volume *per se*. However, it is listed in this section inasmuch as it is the companion volume to the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* listed above. The volume gives the textual references and explanations to each of the *critical apparatus* entries in UBS.

- ***A Concordance to the Greek Testament***, editors W. F. Moulton and A. S. Geden, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh. This is the J²⁰ *Jehovah* reference. This volume gives two types of information which are useful in the Tetragrammaton study. First, it lists all of the *Kyrios* references in the entire Christian Greek Scriptures. Secondly, it gives the יהוה references for each Hebrew Scripture quotation. This volume should be consulted for the 1 Peter 2:3 reference which was omitted by the translators of the *New World Translation*. This source was also used as a reference for both 1 Peter 1:25 and 3:12.

The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament with an English Translation, Zondervan Publishing House, 1994. Though not an essential part of a Tetragrammaton study, it is of interest to locate *Kyrios* (Κύριος) references in the Hebrew Scripture *Septuagint*. This particular volume contains an English translation. Though it is not interlinear, the student who is not familiar with Greek would, nonetheless, be able to do a search for the single Greek word after locating the parallel verse in English. Any publisher's Greek/English *Septuagint* would equally serve the purpose.

- ***Origenis Hexaplorum (Origen's Hexapla)***, edited by Fridericus Field, and published by Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung in Hildesheim, Germany, 1964. This is a two-volume set with over 1900 pages of the reconstructed *Hexapla*. Regrettably, the foreword material is in Latin. Nonetheless, the volumes are extremely helpful to us in our study of the Tetragrammaton in Origen's ••321•• *Septuagint*. Even for the student who does not read Hebrew or Greek, the format of this book lends itself well to sight identification of יהוה as opposed to κύριος. The entries can be thoroughly searched for either of the two words. Chapter and verse identification follows that of the English text. This reference work *must* be studied for a definitive answer regarding Origen's use of יהוה in the *Septuagint*.
- ***The Gospel of Matthew according to a Primitive Hebrew Text***, by George Howard, published by Mercer University Press, Macon, Georgia, 1987. (The book was re-published in 1995 with a new title: ***Hebrew Gospel of Matthew***.) This is an excellent book and one which makes

an important contribution to biblical studies. It reproduces the Shem-Tob *Hebrew Gospel of Matthew* with an accompanying English translation. (This is the J² Hebrew version.) Included is a comprehensive study of the Gospel which strongly suggests that the original Gospel written in Hebrew by Matthew is its source. The book gives valuable information for a study of Matthew's Hebrew Gospel. If Howard's thesis is correct, this English translation of the text gives an interesting insight into the possible content of this *lost* Gospel.

Ante-Nicene Fathers; The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325, edited by A. Cleveland Coxe, 1994, Hendrickson Publisher, Inc., 10 Volumes. This set will give the reader insight into the issues and thinking of the early church as seen through the writings of its leaders. In many cases, both the antagonists and protagonists of a given issue are quoted. These volumes represent the earliest church literature from its inception until 325 C.E. This material has been reprinted by several publishers, including the series by Scribners and Sons and Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.

Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, edited by Philip Schaff, also published by Hendrickson Publisher, Inc., 1994. This 14-volume set is a continuation of the above volumes, covering the time period *after* 325 C.E.

• ***The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge***, published by Baker Book House, 1952. This 12-volume set (with two supplementary volumes and an Index) was frequently utilized for historical, and general, non-sectarian information. The primary articles consulted

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were "Bible Text," and "Bible versions," both found in Volume 2. (These sections included material on the *Septuagint*, the Masoretic text, the *Hexapla*, Aquila's and Symmachus' Greek versions, Origen's work, and the like.) In addition, the headings, "Origen" (Vol. 8), "Gnosticism" (Vol. 4), ••322•• "Masorah" (Vol. 7), and "Arianism" (Vol. 1) were consulted with additional reference to supplementary topics. An encyclopedia such as this is useful inasmuch as it is non-sectarian and is concerned with historical data rather than present applications to doctrinal systems.

- ***The Cairo Geniza***, by Paul I. Kahle, Oxford, 1959. This book gives much insightful information regarding a number of topics related to the Tetragrammaton in the Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures. Many specific manuscript illustrations are discussed. Important information regarding Origen and the second column of the *Hexapla* is also included. The book is well worth reading.

McClintock & Strong Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature, re-published by Baker Book House Company, 1981. This 12-volume set was consulted only under the headings of "Origen" (Vol. 7) and "Septuagint" (Vol. 9). Though somewhat dated because it is a reprint of the original 1867 publication, the work still stands as the most comprehensive Bible literature encyclopedia in English, and is well worth consulting for these two headings.

Dictionary of New Testament Theology, Colin Brown (General Editor), Zondervan Publishing House, 1975. This three-volume set is cited frequently in Watch Tower

publications. It is an extremely valuable resource for the English reader who desires a complete description of Greek words found in the Christian Greek Scriptures. (Frequent reference is made to *Septuagint* vocabulary and usage.) The volume contains ample English indexing; a knowledge of the Greek language is not necessary for use of this reference source. It is a translation of a German work and is generally non-sectarian in its information.

Theological Word Book of the Old Testament, R. Laid Harris, Gleason Archer Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke, Moody Press, Chicago, 1980. In Volume I, page 210 (entry 484), an excellent, non-sectarian explanation of the word יהוה is given. The writers hold the view that יהוה is *not* derived from the common verb הוה (*hawa*) and therefore has a unique (though unknown) meaning. In fact, this is a position which is more favorable to the Watch Tower Society's viewpoint of the uniqueness of the divine name than the statements generally made by the Watch Tower Society itself.

The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible, edited by Frederic G. Kenyon, Emery Walker Ltd. of London, 1937. This book contains ••323•• numerous photographs of the Chester Beatty manuscripts. From these facsimile reproductions, the reader can study the actual texts as written in approximately 200 C.E. It is an astonishing experience to view actual photographic reproductions of Scripture pages which were read less than ten years after the death of the Apostle John!

Zondervan Pictorial Bible Dictionary, edited by M. Tenny, 1963. This one-volume dictionary gives a wide range

of technical information regarding Bible lands, history, manuscripts, and the like.

Patrologiæ Cursus Completus (*Complete Writings of the Fathers*), edited by J.P. Migne and published in Paris in 1862. This is the standard reference for the complete collection of writings of the church fathers in their original Greek text. Unfortunately for the English reader, the Greek text is accompanied by a Latin translation. Volume 7, ***Origenis Opera Omnia*** (*Origen's Complete Works*) is a source used in Appendix J.

C. Helpful reading from outside sources

This bibliography has emphasized reading materials which are available to an active Jehovah's Witness. However, for those able to obtain books from outside sources, the texts identified in this section will give additional material regarding early manuscript data and the problems within textual criticism. Because most of the works in this section are recognized reference sources, many of them may be cited by the Watch Tower Society, though the citation is unknown to this author.

- ***The Divine Name Controversy (Vol. 1)*** by Firpo W. Carr, published in 1991 by Stoops Publishing, 10 N. Elliott, Aurora, MI 65605. Dr. Carr has done extensive work with computer aided reconstruction from ancient Hebrew manuscripts for the pronunciation of the divine name. Even though the Tetragrammaton's vowel sounds were not reproduced in ancient manuscripts, the pronunciation of similar consonant-vowel combinations were preserved

through later Masoretic vowel pointing. From these preserved consonant-vowel combinations in other words of the Hebrew Scriptures, Carr has reproduced the probable pronunciation of the divine name. This book is certainly worthwhile reading.

- JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES DEFENDED an answer to scholars and critics***, by Greg Stafford, Elihu Books, Huntington Beach, California, 1998. The scholarship represented in this book is superb; the author knowledgeably uses both Greek and Hebrew languages to argue his position. As the title suggests, the book is an apologetic ••324•• which covers a number of topics. Stafford emphasizes the Watch Tower's position that Jesus is the highest of the Father's creation. Though the author of this book (*The Tetragrammaton and the Christian Greek Scriptures*) and Stafford hold entirely different viewpoints regarding the deity of Christ, it is refreshing and informative to gain the perspective of a scholar dealing with Scripture in depth. The reader who is not a Jehovah's Witness would profit by carefully and thoughtfully examining this book.
- The Text of the New Testament, Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration***, Second Edition, by Bruce Metzger, published by Oxford University Press, 1968. This volume is still in print. *This book is an excellent introduction to the subject of textual criticism.* (Textual criticism considers the history and restoration of the Greek manuscripts of the Christian Greek Scriptures.) This book gives sufficient descriptions and textual background to be completely understandable, and yet the reader who does not have a prior knowledge of the Greek language will have no difficulty with the material. A basic understanding of

textual criticism is essential for anyone doing a serious study of the Tetragrammaton in the Greek Scriptures inasmuch as the resolution of the Tetragrammaton's presence primarily deals with this branch of textual study. This book is theologically *neutral* in that it is dealing with textual history. It should be interesting reading for Witnesses intent on understanding the process of Scripture transmission through the past two millennium.

Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism, by J. Harold Greenlee, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1975. This is a similar book to the one above. It is a shorter volume and can profitably be read as a supplement in that it contains additional information. However, the text by Metzger should be the first choice.

A Greek-English Lexicon, by W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, University of Chicago Press, 1979 edition. This is a comprehensive Greek lexicon (dictionary) used for both the Greek Christian Scriptures and other early Christian literature. This volume would not be used by most readers, but was consulted for this study.

The Canon of Scripture, by F. F. Bruce, Inter Varsity Press, Downers Grove, Illinois, 1988. This book gives an excellent introduction to the critical problems encountered in determining which ancient writings are to be regarded as Scripture. The subject is handled in its historical context by a highly recognized author; it is not •••325••• theologically oriented, and should be informative reading for any one of Jehovah's Witnesses interested in pursuing the study.

Manuscripts of the Greek Bible, An Introduction to Greek Palaeography, by Bruce M. Metzger, Oxford

University Press, New York, 1981. This large size book gives much technical information regarding ancient Greek manuscripts from one of the leading authorities in the field. Many facsimile reproductions of actual manuscripts are included. This book is a valuable resource for the serious student.

Eyewitness to Jesus, by Carsten Peter Thiede and Matthew D'Ancona, Doubleday, New York, 1996. This is a revealing book considering our theme of the new light on ancient Greek manuscripts which is becoming available today. In addition to their main topic of dating the Magdalen papyrus manuscript of Matthew to the 60's C.E., the authors have suggested earlier dates for numerous P manuscripts. In addition, the authors add considerable new information to the possibility of Christian Scripture manuscripts found in the Dead Sea Caves. Reference is also made to *Nomina Sacra*. This book is well worth reading.

Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D., by A.H.R.E. Paap, published by E.J. Brill, [South Africa], 1959. This book is one of a limited number of books in English devoted to the subject of the *surrogates* (contracted words) which are found in early Greek papyri manuscripts. Paap argues that these abbreviated words (such as $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ for κύριος [*Lord*]) were not mere scribal shorthand notations, but were used to indicate sacred names (*Nomina Sacra*). The book is highly technical with copious citations of ancient manuscripts. The book is available only through library loan services; for this book's research, the author was limited to an incomplete photocopy reproduction of the material.

The Gnostic Gospels, by Elaine Pagels, Random House, Inc., New York, 1979. This book is included merely because of the reference to the Gnostic Gospels in Chapter 8. Neither the author nor the Watch Tower Society would consider these writings as coming from Jehovah. Nonetheless, the topic could be profitably pursued inasmuch as the issue of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures is not unlike other areas of textual controversy throughout religious history.

D. References citing יהוה' in Greek manuscripts

•••326••• This section cites journal articles and other reference materials which support the presence of the Tetragrammaton in Greek manuscripts of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae, Iohannis Card. Mercati, Bybliotheca Vaticana, 1958. This large size book shows the photographically reproduced *Ambrosia* manuscript of Origen's *Hexapla*. The photographs are accompanied by type-set text for approximately 150 verses between Psalm 17 and Psalm 88. The Tetragrammaton is clearly in evidence.

Manuscripts of the Greek Bible, An Introduction to Greek Palaeography, Bruce M. Metzger. See above.

The Cairo Geniza, Paul I. Kahle. See above.

The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11, J.A. Sanders, Oxford, 1965. This book shows an example of the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton embedded in a square character Hebrew text of Psalm 119.

The Septuagint and Modern Study, Sidney Jellico, Oxford, 1968. This book contains some discussion of the Tetragrammaton in the *Septuagint*.

The Journal of Theological Studies

"The Tetragrammaton in the LXX" W. G. Waddel, Vol. XLV, No. 179-80, July-October, 1944.

"Were Greek Transliterations of the Hebrew Old Testament Used by Jews Before the Time of Origen?" J.A. Emerton, Vol. XXI, 1970.

"A Further Consideration of the Purpose of the Second Column of the Hexapla" J.A. Emerton, Vol. XXII, April, 1971.

Journal of Biblical Literature

"The Greek Bible Manuscripts Used by Origen" P.E. Kahle, Vol. LXXIX, Part II, June, 1960.

GLOSSARY

••327••

Apparatus, critical: See *Textual Apparatus*.

B.C.E.: Before common era. See *C.E.*

Blasphemy: To speak lightly or carelessly of God. An offense punishable in the time of the Hebrew Scriptures by stoning (Lev. 24:10-16). Pronunciation of the divine name (יהוה) was, during certain periods of Jewish history, considered blasphemy.

C.E: Common Era. The dating system based on the Gregorian calendar wherein year 1 follows the traditional birth of Christ.

Canon: The writings which are accepted as being inspired of God. In reality, the accepted canon of Scripture is the acknowledgment by men of the process of inspiration which has already been acted out by God. Jehovah's Witnesses (and many in Christendom) recognize the 66 books of the Bible as the canon.

Christendom: As used in this book, all organized religions outside the auspices of the Jehovah's Witness organization which claim allegiance to Jesus Christ.

Church fathers: See *Patristics*.

Circumlocution: Evasion in speech of a word which should

not be pronounced; the pronounceable word itself. In Hebrew culture, the ineffable (unpronounceable) name of God was often replaced with the circumlocution *Adonai*.

Codex: A book form of ancient manuscripts. By the second or third century of the Christian era, documents were bound with thongs forming volumes, rather than being rolled in the form of scrolls. The Greek Scriptures were originally written and circulated as scrolls. Soon after, however, they were re-copied and bound in codex form. The codex could contain more written material than the scroll. The majority of the early manuscript copies available today are codices.

Cognate: ••328•• The stem or root from which descendent words with a common meaning are derived. As illustrated earlier in this book, *sit*, *sat*, and, *to be seated*, are cognates of the infinitive verb *to sit*.

Consonant: A speech sound characterized by constriction or closure at one or more points in the breath channel. In contrast, a vowel is an unrestricted sound. In some ancient languages (Hebrew, for example) only the consonant sounds had corresponding written characters (letters). Thus, the alphabet used by the Hebrew Scripture writers consisted only of *consonant* sound symbols and did not record vowel sounds.

Divine name: The personal name of God as represented by the Tetragrammaton (the four Hebrew letters יהוה). The divine name is transliterated as YHWH, and is often written as *Jehovah* or *Yahweh*.

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Embed: As used in this book, the placement without alteration of a foreign language word into the body of a text of another language. Specifically, it describes the placement of the Tetragrammaton written in Hebrew characters within a Greek manuscript.

Extant: As used of ancient manuscripts, a preserved or *existing* manuscript.

Gloss: A brief explanation of a difficult word or phrase in the margin of an ancient manuscript. The *gloss* may be the work of either the original copyist or a later scribe, but it was not the work of the inspired author himself.

Gnostic Gospels: Writings of the Gnostics. (See *Gnosticism*.)

Gnosticism: A widely held philosophy during the time of the early church. The name is derived from the Greek word *gnosis* meaning *knowledge*. Though religiously independent of Judeo-Christian thought, it often incorporated certain biblical teachings and raised its influence among early Christians. It is classified as a *mystery* religion because it laid emphasis on secret or esoteric revelations.

Greek Christian Scriptures: The 27 books of the Bible from Matthew through Revelation. Also known as the New Testament.

Hebrew Scriptures: The 39 books of the Bible from Genesis through Malachi. The *Septuagint* (which see) is

properly called the Hebrew Scriptures. Also known as the *Old Testament*.

Inerrant (Inerrancy): In reference to the Scriptures, the quality of the original written documents which were free from error.

Inspiration: ••329•• A prerogative of God whereby he caused human writers to express his will and his intended words through their writings. Specifically, the Bible is held by Jehovah's Witnesses and many in Christendom to be the inspired revelation of God to man.

Inspired: In reference to the Scriptures, their possession of the quality of *inspiration*. (See *Inspiration*.)

Interlinear text: A text wherein an exact word-by-word translation is juxtaposed below the original foreign language text. For our consideration in this book, a Greek Scripture interlinear text has the Greek text as written by the inspired authors with a literal English translation for each word.

Jehovah: An English pronunciation of the divine name. Historically, the name *Jehovah* is derived from the consonants of the Tetragrammaton (יהוה) in combination with the vowels of *Adonai*. (See *Divine name*.)

Kyrios (Kurios): The English transliteration of the Greek word Κύριος. The word is generally translated as *Lord* in reference to Jesus Christ. It conveys the meaning of *Master* when used as a proper noun.

Lectioary: An ancient Scripture manuscript which was arranged according to calendar order for public or private reading. Entire Scripture portions are included in lectionaries, though they consist of selected biblical passages for reading on given days rather than in their traditional biblical form. Lectionaries are valuable in the work of *textual criticism* (which see) because they reproduce Scripture portions *verbatim*.

Manuscript: An ancient handwritten literary document. Biblical scholars study Greek manuscripts of the Greek Scriptures in order to determine the actual words used by the inspired authors. The oldest extant Christian Scripture manuscripts are from the second century. Some manuscripts as late as the seventeenth century may also be useful. An early version (which see) is also identified as a manuscript.

Masorettes (Masorah): The Jewish tradition (Masorah) which defined and preserved the pronunciation of the Hebrew Scriptures during public reading. The original Hebrew Scriptures were written without indicating vowel sounds; accepted vowel pronunciation was taught to a young Jewish boy through rote memory and practice in the formal schools. (See *Consonants*.) The Masorettes (a Jewish sect which advocated traditional pronunciation of the Hebrew Scriptures), worked in the period of time between the sixth and eleventh ••330•• centuries C.E. Our interest in the Masorettes concerns their work in adding vowel points to the Hebrew Scriptures. (See *Vowel points*.)

Minuscule: A Greek script of smaller letters developed about the beginning of the ninth century especially for the production of books. *Minuscule* consisted of joined letters in a cursive or *running* hand. Most extant Greek Scripture manuscripts available today are Minuscules. (See *Uncial*.)

New Testament: The 27 books of the Bible from Matthew through Revelation. (See *Christian Greek Scriptures*.)

Nomina Sacra: From the Latin for *Sacred Name*, used for a certain class of *surrogates* (which see) indicating sacral importance. Some scholars have argued that the entries $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ (for *Lord*) and $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ (for *God*) do not represent mere contractions or abbreviations, but rather that they were used to identify specific names of great importance in Scripture. The term *Nomina Sacra* is not used by these scholars as a synonym for *divine name*.

Old Testament: The 39 books of the Bible from Genesis through Malachi. The *Septuagint* (which see) is properly called the Hebrew Scriptures. (See *Hebrew Scriptures*.)

Palimpsest: A velum (animal skin) document which was scrapped to remove the original writing and re-used for a later document. Due to the scarcity and cost of writing materials, quality vellums were often erased so that the skins could be used again. In most palimpsests, it is the original document which is of greatest importance. The first writing can often be seen with ultra-violet light or special photography techniques.

Patristics: In a general sense, the leaders of the Christian

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congregations (church) in the first five centuries. The term more specifically identifies the leaders *who left written material*, irrespective of their theological persuasion. The significance today of the patristics is their written documents which give insight into the activities of the early Christian congregation period. Scripture was often quoted in their writings. Therefore, they become a source of verification for the wording of the Christian Greek- and Hebrew Scriptures. These writers are usually identified as the *church fathers* in general religious writing.

Papyrus (Papyri): A reed *paper* produced in Egypt and exported to much of the known world during the period of the inspired Christian writers. Undoubtedly, the Greek Scriptures were originally written on this material. The manuscripts written on this material are called *Papyri*.

Recension: A critical revision of a text. A biblical manuscript recension is the result of deliberate critical work by an early (and generally unknown) editor to correct presumed errors in the text. In regard to biblical manuscripts, the term *recension* is often used to mean a particular *family* of manuscripts; one may refer to the *Alexandrian recension*.

Recto: From the Latin *rectus* meaning "right." The right, or front, side of a leaf in reference to an ancient manuscript. The side on which the papyrus run horizontally. Because of the folding system in codices, ••331•• the text on the back (*recto*) sometimes preceded that on the front (*verso*).

Scribe: A copyist who reproduced the Scriptures by hand.

In the early Christian congregation era, many copies were probably done privately. In later centuries (beginning with Constantine), copies were often made in *scriptorium*s, where the text was read phrase-by-phrase while a group of scribes (often educated slaves) copied as they listened.

Septuagint: A Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. It was completed approximately 280 B.C.E., and was the Scripture predominantly used in the early Christian congregation. It is often identified by the Roman numeral "LXX" (70). The term *Septuagint* is often—though imprecisely—used to identify any of a number of unique Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Surrogate: Common words often abbreviated in ancient (hand written) documents in order to save writing effort and manuscript material. These *abbreviations* are known as *surrogates*. A line was usually drawn over the surrogate to mark it as such. Examples of surrogates are $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ (from κύριος for *Lord*) and $\overline{\theta\varsigma}$ from (θεός for *God*). (See *Nomina Sacra*.)

Tetragrammaton (or Tetragram): The divine name written in four Hebrew letters as יהוה. The word *Tetragram* comes from the Greek words *tetra*, (τετρά) meaning *four*, and *gramma*, (γράμμα) meaning *letters*. Thus, *Tetragram* means *four letters*. (See *Divine name*.)

Textual Apparatus: Citations for the Greek Scripture text which establish probability. In certain instances, a given passage will have alternate wording possibilities from assorted ancient manuscripts. The *Textual Apparatus* will cite alternate wordings as an aid to the translator in

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selecting the most probable word(s) used by the original writer.

Textual criticism: The study of copies of any written work of which the original is unknown, with the purpose of ascertaining the original text. For our purposes, *textual criticism* is the art which brings us the actual wording of the inspired writers of the Christian Greek Scriptures.

Theos: The Greek word θεός translated into English as *God*.

Translate: The process of reducing (written) communication in the language of origin to (written) communication which conveys the same message to a receiving language. Notice that by definition, translation does not preserve *word order*, but rather communication *sense*.

Transliterate: ••332•• The process of transcribing the *phonetic sounds* of one language into a written (or pronounceable) word in the receiving language. The word *Christ* is a frequently encountered example. The Greek word χριστός (*christos*) is transliterated into the English word *Christ*.

Uncial: The formal Greek penmanship style used during the time of the early Christian congregation. As against the cursive (or *running hand*) used for non-literary documents, *uncial* orthography was used for literary compositions. It consisted of individually formed upper-case letters. The written document had no spacing between words. Most Greek Scripture manuscripts written before the tenth

century use uncial letters. (See *Minuscule*.)

Variant: An alternate reading which differs from the common wording within a majority of Greek manuscripts for a given passage. Generally, the majority of extant Greek manuscripts will favor one reading (or word) whereas a smaller number will favor a second. In this case, the second reading is called a *variant*.

Version: A synonym for a *translation* when referring to a Scripture portion.

Verso: From the Latin *vertere* meaning "to turn." The back side of a manuscript leaf where the fibers run vertically. (See *Recto*.)

Vowel point: A vowel *marker* added to written Hebrew consonants by the Masoretes. (See *Masoretes* and *Consonants*.)

Vowel: (See *Consonant*.)

Yahweh: A representation of the personal name of God derived from the four Hebrew letters יהוה (YHWH). When incorporating the vowels from *Adonai*, this form of the divine name is written in English as JEHOVAH.

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NWT = *New World Translation*; MS(S) = manuscript(s);
fn = footnote

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