

THE TETRAGRAMMATON

and the

CHRISTIAN GREEK SCRIPTURES

A comprehensive study of the
divine name (יהוה) in the original writings of
the Christian Greek Scriptures (New Testament).

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"In turn he that loves me will be loved by
my Father, and I will love him and
will plainly show myself to him."

John 14:21

Jesus, I want to be loved by the Father . . . I want to
be loved by you, too.
And Jesus, I want you to show me who you really are.
But Jesus, most of all, I want to really love you!

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www.tetragrammaton.org

All general Scripture quotations in this book are from either the
New World Translation or the
Kingdom Interlinear Translation.
Both are published by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society
of New York.

In certain instances which are identified as such,
quotations are made from either the Hebrew or English portions of
Hebrew versions. Unless otherwise identified, the Hebrew
version used is J¹⁸, *Greek Scriptures in Hebrew*.

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Note regarding index page numbers. In order to preserve the usefulness of the index references from the original book format, page number flags have been inserted into the text. For example, any index reference to page 3 will be found in the text between page number flags ••3•• and ••4••. The forward material is identified with Roman numeral page number flags as ••iv••, ••v••, etc. In some instances, a figure, table or other portion of text may be moved out of sequence in order to fit the page format. The out of sequence material will show the page number in parenthesis, for example, (••33••). The index page numbers never refer to the document page numbers located on the upper right- or left-hand corner of the header.

A Comment Regarding Terminology. This book was primarily written for Jehovah's Witness readers. Consequently, terminology common to Watch Tower publications is used rather than terminology more familiar to the average reader of religious materials. Specifically, the term *Christian Greek Scriptures* (or *Christian Scriptures*) is used rather than *New Testament*, and the term *Hebrew Scriptures* replaces the more familiar *Old Testament*. The divine name *Jehovah* is used rather than the more universally familiar *Yahweh*. *Inspired Christian writers* is the term used to identify the *New Testament writers*. In a more technical area, the Greek word for *Lord* is transliterated as *Kyrios* following the spelling preference of the Watch Tower Society rather than the common transliteration *Kurios*.

Reference material was limited to those publications familiar to the average Witness reader. For this reason, there are few references to books or research topics published by other than the Watch Tower Society.

Overview: THE SUBJECT OF THIS BOOK

This book ••i•• examines the use of the Tetragrammaton by the inspired writers of the Christian Greek Scriptures. But why study the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Scriptures now? Hasn't the presence of the Tetragrammaton already been established?

Identifying growth in biblical knowledge

Is biblical knowledge static, remaining the same today as it was a thousand years ago? Or does biblical knowledge grow with each successive generation, deriving benefit from discoveries made in its own time? *Without doubt, biblical knowledge grows.*

Witnesses worldwide strongly defend the inspiration and inerrancy of Scripture. The inspired Christian Greek Scriptures were complete when John finished writing in 98 C.E.¹ Thus, Scripture *itself* does not change. On the other hand, as more is learned of biblical history, culture, and ancient manuscripts, our *knowledge* of Scripture grows.

The New World Bible Translation Committee understood that biblical knowledge grows when it searched for evidence of God's name (יהוה) in Christian Greek Scripture manuscripts between 1947 and 1949. Again today, with an ever increasing availability of biblical information, we must re-examine the same question of the Tetragrammaton's presence in the Christian Scriptures.

This book explores the fascinating world of ancient second and third century documents, though it was written for the reader who does not have specialized training in Hebrew or Greek languages. However, it does not discuss the Tetragrammaton from the perspective of *theology*. This is a study of the ancient Greek manuscripts themselves.

Contemporary trends in manuscript research

Even the experienced Bible student is often surprised by the contemporary advances made in the study of ancient Bible manuscripts.

An example of this developing new light is evident in recent publications. The first Greek text used by the International Bible Students Association was the *Emphatic Diaglott*. In the foreword of the 1942 edition, the translator (Benjamin Wilson) credits the King James Version of 1611 with only eight Greek manuscript sources from the tenth century and later (p. 6, 1942 edition). In contrast, Wilson lists ••ii•• the known Greek manuscripts of his day (the 1860's) as "nearly 700" (the *Emphatic Diaglott* p. 6, 1942 edition). By the publication date of the 1983 edition of "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*," the editors state, "...there are more than 4,600 manuscripts in the original Greek" (p. 315). This number grew to "...over 5,000 manuscripts"² by the time of the 1990 edition of the same book (p. 316).

How can ancient manuscripts "come to light" throughout the 20th century? Two examples illustrate the process.

The first example began in 1947. A Bedouin shepherd threw a rock into the narrow opening of a cave above the Dead Sea and heard a pottery jar break. The jars of manuscripts he subsequently found are a part of the collection now known as the *Dead Sea Scrolls*. (A total of 11 caves containing manuscript material were eventually discovered. See the photo of these caves on page 322 of *Insight on the Scriptures*, Volume 1.)

Today, there are 225 Dead Sea Scroll documents containing either Hebrew Scriptures or commentaries on Bible books. In the 1950's, initial translations of the Dead Sea Hebrew Scripture documents were published. (For an example of the material which has been published since the late 1950's, see the discussion under the heading, "Papyrus manuscripts," in *Insight on the Scriptures*, Volume 2, pages 315-16.)

¹ Scripture writing dates are not precisely known. In order to establish a consensus throughout this book, we will use the writing dates given in the table "Christian Greek Scriptures (C.E.)," *Insight on the Scriptures*, Vol. 1, p. 310.

² Other publications including *Reasoning from the Scriptures* [1989, p. 64] and *The Bible—God's Word or Man's?* [1989, p.59] also give the number as 5,000.

A second example comes from manuscripts which contribute to our understanding of the Tetragrammaton's use in early copies of the *Septuagint*. In spite of the Watch Tower Society's insistence to the contrary, many questioned the claim that the Tetragrammaton was used in early copies of the *Septuagint*. Today, however, we know that the Watch Tower Society was correct. Important finds in a Cairo synagogue confirmed the place of יהוה in both the pre-Christian *Septuagint* and Origen's *Hexapla*. In 1959, P.E. Kahle published *The Cairo Gizeh* describing the use of the Tetragrammaton in Jewish copies of the *Septuagint*. In 1958, Giovanni Mercati's study of the Tetragrammaton in a *Hexapla* copy from the same synagogue was published. Then, beginning in 1944 with an article by W. G. Waddell and continuing into the 1970's, other scholars such as Kahle, J.A. Emerton, Sidney Jellicoe, and Bruce Metzger wrote articles in theological journals and published books verifying the existence of the Tetragrammaton in Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures.³

••iii•• *Thus, 2,000-year-old manuscripts which contribute new information to our understanding of Jehovah's Scriptures have been published since the release of the Christian Greek Scriptures in 1950.*

We live in an exciting age of Bible manuscript study. In the past 150 years, many ancient Bible manuscripts have been discovered. Just as important, however, has been the scholarly work of publishing these manuscripts. *In the end, the two examples of the discovery of new manuscripts and the publication of existing material converge into the single result of a more accurate English Bible as seen in the following example.*

Aleph (א), one of two primary Greek manuscripts on which the Kingdom Interlinear Translation's Greek text is based, was discovered in 1859. (This is recent when we realize that the manuscript itself was copied in the fourth century.) Because of the problems encountered in obtaining the manuscript from its original owners,⁴ it was not until 1911 that the first photographic reproductions were made available to biblical scholars. It was even later (1933 to 1938) that the manuscript was finally housed in the British Museum in England and carefully studied. Westcott and Hort published their Greek text in 1881 from a hand-copied reproduction of the manuscript. Thus, there was a substantial time interval between the discovery of this fourth century manuscript and the time when it could make a significant contribution to biblical understanding.

Emerging manuscript evidence today

Though many ancient manuscripts have come to light in the last 150 years, the discovery of new manuscript material will diminish with time. Will another cave be found with ancient manuscripts comparable to those from the environs of the Dead Sea? Probably not. How then can the number of Greek Scripture manuscripts increase from "nearly 700" in the 1890's to "more than 4,600" by 1983, and finally to "over 5,000"⁵ in 1990? The answer is not measured by new documents ••iv•• discovered in heretofore unknown caves or monasteries. For the most part, *the disclosure of new manuscripts represents the scholarly work of publishing previously unknown ancient documents allowing them to become usable resources for Bible translators.*

A scroll with Greek writing may have value as a curiosity piece, but it has little value as a textual resource. Before such a manuscript can make a contribution to Greek Scripture translation, its age, its place of origin, its relationship to other manuscripts of its day, and many other factors must be determined. In short, it will be subjected to an intense study for evidences of its authenticity. As we have seen in the previous examples, there is often a considerable time interval between the discovery of the actual manuscript and its placement within the body of texts used for Bible translation. We will see in a later chapter that 18 ancient papyrus manuscripts have been published since 1950. Thus, the

³ These sources are identified in the Bibliography.

⁴ The manuscript was discovered in the monastery library of a religious order on Mount Sinai. The original edition contained both the complete *Septuagint* and Christian Scriptures. The monastics had actually used a substantial number of sheets from the *Septuagint* Hebrew Scripture portion to start fires! However, when they realized its value, they were reluctant to release it until a sizable price was paid. See *Insight on the Scriptures*, Vol. 1, p. 323 for photos of both the manuscript and St. Catharine's Monastery. Also see the photo of the manuscript in *Insight on the Scriptures*, Vol. 2, p. 317.

⁵ These numbers are used merely for the sake of illustration. Full documentation of the actual manuscripts is found in the work of Kurt and Barbara Aland as cited in *The Bible—God's Word or Man's?*, p. 59.

cited references to the growth of available manuscripts encompass the entire process so that by 1990 over 5,000 Greek Scripture manuscripts had been discovered and published.

The primary focus of this book is not *new* manuscript discoveries since 1950, though the chapters reporting the papyri published since 1950, new information concerning the Tetragrammaton, and the work of George Howard⁶ certainly constitute new manuscript information. Nonetheless, the study of biblical manuscripts is a dynamic process. Material which was unobtainable 50 years ago is available to a Bible scholar or translator today. Just as the New World Bible Translation Committee evaluated the known biblical manuscripts of its day, so again, we must re-evaluate the entire body of contemporary textual and historical evidence.⁷

The work of the New World Bible Translation Committee

••v•• In order to maintain the highest standards of Bible translation integrity, the translation itself must be continually evaluated against the most current manuscript information. In October, 1946, Watch Tower Society president Nathan H. Knorr proposed that the Society produce a translation of the Christian Greek Scriptures. The work began in December, 1947. The Christian Greek Scripture portion of the *New World Translation* was presented to a joint meeting of the boards of directors of the Society's New York and Pennsylvania corporations on September 3, 1949. It was released for general use in a dramatic moment on August 2, 1950 before an assembly of 82,075 of Jehovah's Witnesses in New York's Yankee Stadium.

The Christian Greek Scriptures of the *New World Translation* was deemed necessary because of emerging biblical scholarship. *Jehovah's Witnesses Proclaimers of God's Kingdom* (pages 608-609) says,

Furthermore, older and more reliable Bible manuscripts were becoming available. The Greek language of the first century was becoming more clearly understood as a result of archaeological discoveries. Also, the languages into which translations are made undergo changes over the years.

Jehovah's Witnesses wanted a translation that embodied the benefits of the latest scholarship, one that was not colored by the creeds and traditions of Christendom, a literal translation that faithfully presented what is in the original writings and so could provide the basis for continued growth in knowledge of divine truth, a translation that would be clear and understandable to modern-day readers. The *New World Translation of the Christian Greek Scriptures*, released in 1950, filled that need.

Our task today

Since 1950, however, many advances have been made in the study of the Greek text. Just as it was necessary to evaluate Bible translations of that day in the light of emerging textual scholarship, so again today, the Christian Greek Scriptures of the *New World Translation* must be re-evaluated using the textual, historical, and scholarly understanding which has become available in the past 45 years.

We must take seriously a statement of the writers of *Jehovah's Witnesses Proclaimers of God's Kingdom* found on pages 146-148. Though the topic of discussion is prophesy, their comments can equally be applied to the new light emerging from ancient Greek manuscript discoveries and research:

••vi•• As reflected in their modern-day history, the experience of Jehovah's Witnesses has

⁶ George Howard's work with the *Shem-Tob Matthew Gospel in Hebrew*, which is reported in Chapter 5, would certainly describe the scholarly work dealing with manuscript *identification*. If it is finally substantiated, the result of Howard's identification is almost as significant as if a new manuscript had been discovered.

⁷ The distinction between a new understanding from *existing textual evidence* and the discovery of *new manuscripts* may be more easily illustrated than explained. The Watch Tower Society has long recognized that biblical understanding is *progressive*, though this certainly does not imply a continuous process of manuscript discoveries. An interesting series of examples of this awareness can be seen in Chapter 10, "Growing in Accurate Knowledge of the Truth," from the book *Jehovah's Witnesses Proclaimers of God's Kingdom*. The entire chapter is worth reading. On page 121, this comment is made:

Did [Charles Taze Russell and his associates] believe that they had all the answers, the full light of truth? To that question Brother Russell pointedly answered: "Certainly not; nor will we have until the 'perfect day.'" (Prov. 4:18, KJ) Frequently they referred to their Scriptural beliefs as "present truth"—not with any idea that truth itself changes but rather with the thought that their understanding of it was progressive.

been like that described at Proverbs 4:18: "The path of the righteous ones is like the bright light that is getting lighter and lighter until the day is firmly established." The shining of the light has been progressive, just as the light of early dawn gives way to sunrise and the full light of a new day. Viewing matters in the light that was available, they have at times had incomplete, even inaccurate, concepts. No matter how hard they tried, they simply could not understand certain prophecies until these began to undergo fulfillment. As Jehovah has shed more light on his Word by means of his spirit, his servants have been humbly willing to make needed adjustments.

Such progressive understanding was not limited to the early period of their modern-day history. It continues right down to the present...

In recent years a greater diversity of Bible study material has been provided to satisfy the needs of both mature Christians and new students from many backgrounds. Continued study of the Scriptures, along with fulfillment of divine prophecy, has in many instances made it possible to express Bible teachings with greater clarity. Because their study of God's Word is progressive, Jehovah's Witnesses have spiritual food in abundance, even as the Scriptures foretold would be true of God's servants. (Isa. 65:13, 14) Adjustments in viewpoint are never made with a view to becoming more acceptable to the world by adopting its declining moral values. On the contrary, the history of Jehovah's Witnesses shows that changes are made with a view to adhering even more closely to the Bible, being more like the faithful first-century Christians, and so being more acceptable to God.

This book will present a comprehensive study of the current understanding of historical and textual evidence which has a bearing on the Tetragrammaton and the Christian Greek Scriptures. To that end, this study again asks the same question raised by the translators of the *New World Translation* started their work in 1947: "Did the original inspired Christian writers use the Tetragrammaton in 237 instances while writing the Christian Greek Scriptures?"⁸

A personal study

The material in this book is primarily the result of a personal study. More than ten years ago, as a result of a very pleasant contact ••vii•• with two of Jehovah's Witnesses, the author began an intensive Scripture search to determine the identity of Jesus. It was much more than a study of the Greek text; it was a study with momentous personal consequences in the author's faith. Almost two years were spent in a meticulous study from the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. Early in that study, the importance of the Tetragrammaton (or *Kyrios*) in the Christian Greek Scriptures became apparent.

The material in this book represents some of the answers discovered in the author's personal study.

The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* published by the Watch Tower Society in 1969 and 1985 is an indispensable resource for this study. If possible, obtain both editions. This interlinear Greek-English Bible will give you first-hand information for the verification of much of the material contained in this book.

May Jehovah bless your study.

For the sake of credibility, the author was identified in the second edition of this book. As this material becomes generally known, there is no longer need for that precaution. The author has been in repeated contact with the Governing Body of the Watch Tower Society. If you need additional information, they can supply it to you at their discretion.

⁸We do not wish to imply that this question is an actual statement made by the New World Bible Translation Committee. The use of the divine name within the Christian Greek Scriptures, however, implies that this question was asked in some form, and was subsequently answered affirmatively.

Prologue

••viii•• "Did the original inspired Christian writers use the Tetragrammaton in 237 instances while writing the Christian Greek Scriptures?" is not an innocuous question. The answer will have momentous consequences on your life as one of Jehovah's Witnesses.

The author has talked with elders and publishers who believe that their faith is unaffected by the inspired Christian writers' use—or lack of use—of יהוה in the original Greek manuscripts.

Their perception of the importance of יהוה in the Christian Scripture text is profoundly inadequate!

The ancient biblical documents you will examine in this book will confront you with the most fundamental challenge to your faith as a Witness which you will ever encounter.

As a single example, if the Apostle John used the Tetragrammaton at Revelation 11:17, he wrote,

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, **יהוה** ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ

We thank you, **Jehovah** God, the Almighty... (NWT).

On the other hand, if John did not use יהוה, then he wrote,

Εὐχαρισταῦμέν σοι, **κύριε** ὁ θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ

We are giving thanks to you, **Lord** the God, the Almighty... (KIT).

The one addressed in this verse is clearly "God...the Almighty." Did John write this of *Jehovah* (יהוה), or did he write it of the *Lord* (Κυριος)?

The answer to this question is not found in theology. Nor is it found in personal conviction or even loyalty to an organization. *The answer is found through a careful examination of the ancient Greek manuscripts of the Christian Scriptures.*

With the help of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, this book will examine the earliest known Greek manuscripts and their surrounding context, in order to determine whether the inspired Christian authors wrote יהוה or Κύριος (*Kyrios*) in 237 specific instances in the Christian Greek Scriptures.

Your faith is unavoidably dependent on the answer which comes from the early Greek manuscripts themselves!

SECTION 1

The Tetragrammaton, inspiration, and a study
of the Christian Greek Scriptures.

Page 3

Chapter 1: WHAT IS THE TETRAGRAMMATON?

Page 20

Chapter 2: INSPIRATION AND THE CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURES

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Chapter 3: A GREEK INTERLINEAR STUDY (Part 1)

Page 44

Chapter 4: A GREEK INTERLINEAR STUDY (Part 2)

Chapter 1: WHAT IS THE TETRAGRAMMATON?

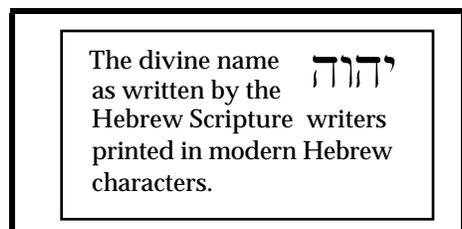
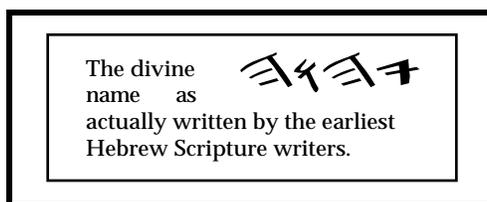
Regular readers of Watch Tower publications already understand the meaning of the word *Tetragrammaton*. However, it is worthwhile to give some background information for the benefit of those who are unfamiliar with the term.

••3•• *The Tetragrammaton is the divine name as it is written in Hebrew letters.* In English, God's name is written in its various forms as *Jehovah* or *Yahweh*.

Before going further, however, it will be of interest to look at the meaning of the word *Tetragrammaton*¹ itself. The Greek word *tetra* (τέτρα) is used as a prefix designating the number *four*. We find this word at Luke 3:1 where it refers to Herod as a district ruler or *tetrarch* as noted in the *New World Translation Reference Edition* footnotes. The tetrarch shared a kingdom area; he was one of four rulers. (In contrast, a single ruler is called a *monarch*.) The Greek word *gramma* (γράμμα) means *writings* or *letters*. Galatians 6:11 says, "See with what large *letters* (γράμμα) I have written YOU with my own hand." Thus, *Tetragrammaton* means *four letters*.² The term *Tetragrammaton* itself is not a word found in the Bible, but is a useful word describing the four Hebrew characters used in God's name.

Formation of the letters

The orthography (letter formation) of all written languages gradually develops over a period of time. That is especially true of Hebrew which has been written for thousands of years from ancient to modern times. The Tetragrammaton as first written



in the Hebrew Scriptures is depicted in the box on this page. The Watch Tower publication *The Divine Name That Will Endure Forever* (1984) gives two excellent illustrations of the divine name in its early written form. The first illustration on page 12 shows two occurrences found on a ••4•• pottery shard from the second half of the seventh century B.C.E. The second illustration on page 13 shows two occurrences from the Moabite Stone inscribed about 850 B.C.E. By carefully studying the examples given in that publication, slight differences in character³

formation can be detected between the two specimens. In both cases, however, the Tetragrammaton of this period of time has the general appearance of $\triangle \square \triangle \square$.

In the article "Hebrew II" found in *Insight on the Scriptures* (Vol. 1, p. 1072) the writers say,

The earliest Hebrew inscriptions known are recorded in an ancient script considerably different in form from the square-shaped Hebrew letters of later documents, such as those of the early centuries of the Common Era. The square-shaped style is often called "Aramaic," or "Assyrian." It is believed that the change from ancient Hebrew characters to square Hebrew characters took place during the Babylonian exile. However, as Ernst Würthwein says: "For a long while the Old Hebrew script remained in use beside the square script. The coins of the period of Bar Kochba's revolt (A.D. 132-135) bear Old Hebrew letters. Among the texts found in the Dead Sea caves are some written in the Old Hebrew Script."

Even though the formation of the characters has changed over time, the Hebrew spelling of the

¹ The word may properly be written either *Tetragrammaton* or *Tetragram*. Throughout this book we will use *Tetragrammaton*.

² *Aid to Bible Understanding*, p. 882.

³ The word *character* is more correctly used of written Hebrew than *letter*. We will generally use *letter* to refer to written Greek or English and *character* in reference to written Hebrew.

divine name itself has not. That is, both יהוה and יהוה are transliterated into English as YHWH. Since Hebrew is written from left to right, the ancient Hebrew character ה and the modern Hebrew character ך are both Y (Yohdh); ה and ו are both H (He'), and ו and ו are both W (Waw).

The designation *palaeo-Hebrew* is occasionally encountered in technical descriptions of written Hebrew. This term identifies the ancient style characters as represented by יהוה.⁴ ••5••

In the remainder of this book, we will follow the general practice of the Watch Tower Society in representing the Tetragrammaton of the early Hebrew Scripture writers with modern Hebrew characters. Thus, irrespective of the time period under consideration, we will use the four Hebrew characters יהוה to represent the Tetragrammaton. The reader should understand, however, that at any time prior to the Babylonian exile, the divine name would have been written יהוה.

The Tetragrammaton in its Hebrew background

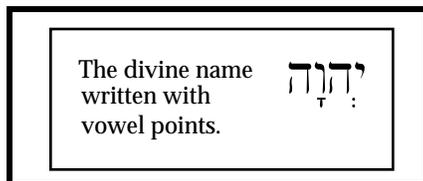
We encounter the divine name early in the Hebrew Scriptures. At Genesis 2:4 and 16, Moses wrote God's personal name for the first time when he said, "This is a history of the heavens and the earth in the time of their being created, in the day that Jehovah God made earth and heaven." When Moses wrote this verse, he penned the name of God with four Hebrew characters as יהוה.

Because Genesis 2:4 is the first reference to the divine name in the Bible, the *New World Translation Reference Edition* (p. 17) gives the following information in a footnote to this verse:

"Jehovah." Heb[rew], יהוה (YHWH, here vowel-pointed as *Yehwah*), meaning "He causes to Become" (from Heb[rew], הוה [*ha-wah*', "to become"]); LXX (Gr[ee]k) *Ky'ri-os*; Syr[ian], *Mar-ya*'; Lat[in], *Do'min-us*. The first occurrence of God's distinctive personal name, יהוה (YHWH); these four Heb[rew] letters are referred to as the Tetragrammaton. The divine name identifies Jehovah as the Purposer. Only the true God could rightly and authentically bear this name. See App[endix] 1A [in the Reference Bible].

Though the Tetragrammaton is God's most holy name, it is derived from a common Hebrew grammatical structure. Again, the *New World Translation Reference Edition* (p. 1561) gives us the following information:

"Jehovah" (Heb[rew] יהוה YHWH), God's personal name...is a verb, the causative form, the imperfect state, of the Hebrew verb הוה (*ha-wah*', "to become").



This is further amplified in *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* by William Gesenius (1865, pp. 249-250) wherein three primary English equivalent uses of the Hebrew verb הוה (*ha-wah*', "to ••6•• become") are listed. Gesenius

identifies the following English meanings: 1) *to come to pass, to happen, to be*; 2) *to begin to be, i.e. to become, to be made or to be done*; and 3) *to be*. These uses of the verb הוה give us a sense of the meaning behind the divine name.

A related topic is the *pronunciation* of the divine name. To understand pronunciation, we must consider Hebrew vowel points.

Until well after Jesus' time, the Hebrew language was written using only consonants. Sometime after 400 C.E. a group of Jewish scholars called Masoretes added vowel points in order to standardize pronunciation. We need to give an illustration of a written language without vowels. We can use the sentence, "Moses wrote the five books of the law." If we write the sentence without vowels, it looks

⁴ The reader interested in pursuing the subject of the Hebrew language further would profit by the useful information found under the heading "Hebrew II" in *Insight on the Scriptures*, Vol. 1, pp. 1068-1077. A complete table of Hebrew character formation from the ninth century B.C.E through modern Hebrew (including the time of Christ) is given on page 344 of the *Zondervan Pictorial Bible Dictionary*. In most instances, according to this table, the Hebrew character formation of Jesus' day is closely akin to the later square characters which are the predecessors to modern Hebrew.

like this:

m s s w r t t h f v b k s f t h l w

English, of course, uses regular vowel letters. However, later Hebrew script added *points* to identify vowel pronunciation. The points are marks under (or over) the consonants which inform the reader of the connecting sound (vowel). If we used our existing English vowels as *points*, the above sentence might look something like this:

m_os_es w_rt t_e h_i f_iv b_oks f t_e h_a l_aw

(In this example, double letters and vowels at the end of words were eliminated. Vowel *function* is found only in pronounced language components.)

The Hebrew Scriptures were originally written without vowel points. Therefore, during the time of the *Septuagint* and the early Christian era, the divine name contained only the Hebrew consonants without vowel markings, and was written יהוה. (The English phonetic equivalent is YHWH.) After vowel points were added, the name of God was written יהוה־ה. The English phonetic equivalent with vowel points is most likely transliterated into English as YeHWaH—or very probably YeHVaH as we will soon see.⁵ ••7••

(The exact pronunciation of any Hebrew Scripture word is equally uncertain. As stated, *the entire Hebrew Scriptures were devoid of vowel markings* until centuries after the last books were written. Presumably, when vowel points were added, the pronunciation of proper names was subject to greater uncertainty than more common words.)

From the above illustration of *missing* vowels, it should be obvious why we do not know the precise pronunciation of the divine name during Moses' day. We can be more confident of the pronunciation of the consonant portion (YHWH or YHVH) of the word. However, we cannot be certain of the vowel pronunciation because no corresponding written information was preserved. As a written word, the divine name without vowel points is the form we are concerned with in this study.

How did YHWH become *Jehovah*? Again, we quote from the *New World Translation Reference Edition* (p. 1561) which says,

To avoid the risk of taking God's name (YHWH) in vain, devout Jews began to substitute the word 'adona(y) for the proper name itself. Although the Masoretes left the four original consonants in the text, they added the vowels e (in place of a for other reasons) and a to remind the reader to pronounce adona(y) regardless of the consonants.

The Masoretic Jews added the vowels found in the name *Adonay* (which is properly translated in the English Hebrew Scriptures as *Lord*⁶) to the consonants of the Tetragrammaton in order to obtain a circumlocution⁷ for the divine name. The book *Aid to Bible Understanding* (pp. 884-885) says,

By combining the vowel signs of 'Adho-nay' and 'Elo-him' with the four consonants of the Tetragrammaton the pronunciations *Ye^ho-wah'* and *Ye^ho-wih'* were formed. The first of these provided the basis for the Latinized form "Jehova(h)." The first recorded use ••8•• of this form dates from the thirteenth century C.E. Raymundus Martini, a Spanish monk of the Dominican Order, used it in his book *Pugeo Fidei* of the year 1270.

⁵ The pronunciation of the vowel points are only known within modern Hebrew. The book *Reasoning from the Scriptures*, p.195 gives this further explanation.

No human today can be certain how [the divine name] was originally pronounced in Hebrew. Why not? Biblical Hebrew was originally written with only consonants, no vowels. When the language was in everyday use, readers easily provided the proper vowels. In time however, the Jews came to have the superstitious idea that it was wrong to say God's personal name out loud, so they used substitute expressions. Centuries later, Jewish scholars developed a system of points by which to indicate which vowels to use when reading ancient Hebrew, but they put the vowels for the *substitute expressions* [Adonay] around the four consonants representing the divine name. Thus the original pronunciation of the divine name was lost.

⁶ It is correctly written as *Lord*, but not in small capitals as *LORD*. In other words, *Lord* is the translation of *Adonay* and should not be confused with the faulty English Bible tradition which translated the Tetragrammaton as *LORD*. The *New World Translation* properly translates *Adonay* as *Lord*.

⁷ The pronounceable expression which replaces an ineffable (unpronounceable) word.

The reader should also be aware that there is uncertainty regarding the early pronunciation of the "W" consonant. The Hebrew character represented as "W" in the English transliteration of YHWH is *waw* (ו). (This Hebrew character's name is pronounced *vav*, though when identified in English letters, it is often written as *waw*.⁸ Interestingly, newer biblical Hebrew language texts actually transliterate the character in English as *vav* to reflect the preferred pronunciation.) In all likelihood, the above combination of characters from the Tetragrammaton and *Adonay* becomes YaHoVaH. *Aid to Bible Understanding* (p. 882) says, "These four letters (written from right to left) are יהוה and may be transliterated into English as YHWH (or, according to some, YHVH)." If the more appropriate phonetic reproduction of the divine name as pronounced in Moses' day is truly YHVH, the English word *Jehovah* more closely reproduces the ancient Hebrew character *waw* (ו) than does the English transliteration *Yahweh*.

For further reading concerning the divine name, consult Appendix 1A in the *New World Translation Reference Edition* (1984). Also, see Appendix 3A in the *Reference Edition* for a brief introduction to both Hebrew and Greek characters. The section contains a particularly useful description of Hebrew vowels. For a comprehensive study of the divine name, refer to the heading "Jehovah" in *Aid to Bible Understanding*, beginning on page 882, or under the same heading in *Insight on the Scriptures*, Volume 2, beginning on page 5.

The Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew Scriptures

God's personal name occupies a place of prominence in the Hebrew Scriptures. The Tetragrammaton occurs 6,961⁹ times in the Hebrew text.

The perspective of this book is a current historical and textual understanding for the use of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures. As such, we are not emphasizing the place of the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew Scriptures. However, *the reader must remember throughout this book that God's name is used extensively in ••9•• the Hebrew Scriptures, and that the textual evidence supporting its presence is beyond any doubt.* The *New World Translation* is to be commended for its use of the divine name in the Hebrew Scriptures.

The Tetragrammaton in the Septuagint (LXX)

Because there is sometimes confusion between the *Septuagint* and the Christian Greek Scriptures when the Tetragrammaton is being discussed, a brief introduction to the *Septuagint* is in order.

We are familiar with the history of the nation of Israel in the Hebrew Scriptures. During the periods of the judges and the theocracy under such leaders as Samuel, the nation of Israel was moving toward occupation and consolidation of the land. This consolidation as a united kingdom reached its climax in the days of King David and his son Solomon. However, because of King Solomon's disobedience to God, the kingdom was divided and weakened. Though good kings occasionally came to power, divine judgment eventually fell. The divided kingdoms of Judah and Israel were finally conquered, with each being led into captivity.

Without going into any of the details of the military and political defeats of Israel, we are aware that a typical form of conquest for that time was deportation of the populace to the conquering nation's homeland. Thus, colonies of Jews¹⁰ were established in various areas of the Mediterranean world. Alexandria (Egypt) became an important center for expatriate Jews. Alexandria was also the leading center of learning and Greek culture from about 350 B.C.E. until its conquest by Rome.

The Jewish religious leaders were confronted with a problem which they had not encountered before the days of national captivity. Many Jews living in Greek-speaking cultures could no longer read

⁸ *New World Translation Reference Edition*, p. 1570.

⁹ The book *Aid to Bible Understanding*, p. 885 says, "The Tetragrammaton occurs 6,961 times in the original-language text of the Hebrew Scriptures (this includes 134 times where the Masoretic text shows that ancient copyists [Sopherim] had changed the primitive Hebrew text to read 'Adho-nay' or 'Elo-him' instead of *Yehowah*)."

¹⁰ Strictly speaking, descendants of Abraham were not called Jews until post-exilic times. (See *Insight on the Scriptures*, Vol. 2, p. 73 under the heading "Jew(ess)" for more complete information.) In this book, however, we will use the term "Jew" in the generally accepted sense.

and understand the Hebrew Scriptures. Thus, in approximately 280 B.C.E.,¹¹ a group of Hebrew scholars began translating the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. There are some interesting—though uncertain—traditions surrounding that translation project. The least credible tradition says that the translators were supernaturally empowered and completed the entire work in 70 days. A more probable tradition is that 72 Hebrew scholars did (or at least began) the work. Whatever the truth is, the translation became known as the *Seventy*. Thus, we have ••10•• the name *Septuagint*, which is abbreviated with the Roman numerals LXX (70). (The name *Septuagint* is an Anglicized form of its early Latin name *secundum septuaginta interpretes*.)

However, regarding the *Septuagint* itself, we must make five statements which have a bearing on our study of the Tetragrammaton:

1. *We must recognize the importance of the Septuagint.* The *Septuagint* occupied an important place in both Jewish and Christian thought. It was a monumental and far-reaching translation. Among other things, it represented an understanding on the part of the Jews who used it that God's revelation was not confined to the Hebrew language. There is much to be learned from the study of its history and development. Though outside the scope of this book, a study of the Tetragrammaton in the *Septuagint* is an interesting and worthwhile subject.
2. *We must differentiate between the Septuagint and the Hebrew Scriptures from which it was translated.* The Hebrew Scriptures were written in Hebrew. (However, Daniel 4 was originally written by King Nebuchadnezzar—and then included in Daniel's prophetic book—in Aramaic. Portions of Ezra and Esther also contain Aramaic. See *Insight on the Scriptures*, Volume 1, page 1070 under "When Did Hebrew Begin to Wane?") As we have noted earlier, the *Septuagint* was a specific translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek language. The term *Septuagint* should never be used as a synonym for early Hebrew Scripture manuscripts written in Hebrew.
3. *We must differentiate between the Septuagint and other ancient Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures.* The *Septuagint* was not unique as a Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures.¹² However, the *Septuagint* version was widely accepted by both the Greek-speaking Jews and Gentile Christians. By the end of the third century C.E., however, a number of Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures were available. Three widely used translations were done by Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus. Aquila's translation of the Hebrew Scriptures is of particular interest. ••11•• Although many manuscripts are available today which contain *Kyrios* rather than the Tetragrammaton, a recent discovery was made in Cairo in which יהוה is clearly used within Aquila's Greek text.
4. *We must identify which editions of the Septuagint most likely contained the Tetragrammaton.* The *Septuagint* was a Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures which was widely circulated throughout the Greek-speaking world of its day. Today we know that the Tetragrammaton was generally used in copies of the *Septuagint* which were intended for Jewish readers.¹³ On the other hand, the *Septuagint* which was circulated in the Gentile world used the Greek word *Kyrios* (Κύριος)¹⁴ as a translation of the divine name. In Chapter 13 we will discuss this further, including the interesting problem of why so few copies of the *Septuagint* containing the Tetragrammaton have survived until today. *Aid to Bible Understanding* (p. 886) quotes Dr. Kahle from *The Cairo Geniza*

¹¹ "All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial," p. 307.

¹² Appendix J shows Origen's use of three—and sometimes as many as five—distinct Greek versions of the Hebrew Scriptures. These versions were all available by the end of the third century C.E. Early studies erroneously concluded that Origen's *Hexapla* used only the Greek word *Kyrios*. Today, however, we know that both the original *Hexapla*, as well as Aquila's version, did contain the Tetragrammaton in the Greek text. (See *Insight on the Scriptures*, Vol. 2, p. 9 for more information regarding Aquila's version. Appendix J gives a complete explanation of Origen's use of יהוה in the *Hexapla*.)

¹³ According to "All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial," (pp. 307 and 310) the *Septuagint* manuscripts containing the Tetragrammaton are principally the Fouad papyrus collection dating around the second or first century B.C.E. For a more complete discussion of the *Septuagint*, see the entry in *Insight on the Scriptures*, Vol. 2, p. 9 under the heading, "In the Christian Greek Scriptures." For a photographic reproduction of the Fouad manuscript showing the Hebrew lettering, see *Insight on the Scriptures*, Vol. 1, pp. 324 and 326.

¹⁴ See the *New World Translation Reference Edition* (pp. 1562-1564) for a partial list of these manuscripts.

as saying,

We now know that the Greek Bible text [the *Septuagint*] as far as it was written by Jews for Jews did not translate the Divine name by *Ky'rios*, but the Tetragrammaton written with Hebrew or Greek letters was retained in such MSS [manuscripts]. It was the Christians who replaced the Tetragrammaton by *ky'rios*, when the divine name written in Hebrew letters was not understood any more.

5. *Finally, we must make a clear distinction between the Septuagint and the Christian Greek Scriptures.* The *Septuagint* is a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. The translation work began in approximately 280 B.C.E.¹⁵ The books of the Law (the writings of Moses) were probably completed by 180 B.C.E.; the translation of the entire Hebrew Scriptures was probably not complete until the second century C.E. On the other hand, the Christian Greek Scriptures were written no earlier than 41 C.E. (Matthew) and no later than 98 C.E. ••12•• (the Gospel of John and 1, 2, 3 John).¹⁶ Despite the fact that the early Christian congregation extensively used the *Septuagint*, the two Scriptures are distinctly separate. One cannot surmise that if a true statement can be made of one, it will be equally true of the other. Stating that the Tetragrammaton was used in certain *Septuagint* versions is not proof *per se* of the Tetragrammaton's presence in the Christian Greek Scriptures in the absence of a thorough study of ancient Greek Scripture manuscripts themselves. However, this distinctiveness of the two Scriptures does not imply that the *Septuagint* did not greatly influence the Christian Scriptures. Both Jesus and the Christian Scripture writers extensively quoted the *Septuagint*.

The *Septuagint* was the Bible of the early Christian congregation. In most cases when the Christian Scripture writers quoted Hebrew Scripture, they used the *Septuagint* version rather than Hebrew documents. However, important as the *Septuagint* is to the history and study of the Christian Greek Scriptures, it is inaccurate to treat textual variations which are true of one as though they must also be true of the other. *The two documents are entirely independent entities, separated in time by over 200 years, and set apart by different cultures.*

The Tetragrammaton in the teaching of the Watch Tower Society

The use of the Tetragrammaton in the original writings of the Christian Greek Scriptures is a central teaching of the Watch Tower Society. The Society teaches that Jehovah's name—written as the Tetragrammaton—was used by the original writers of the Christian Greek Scriptures, and that the present content of the Greek text took form because of heresy and changes which were made by the scribes who copied the Scriptures. These scribes presumably changed the four Hebrew characters (YHWH) to the Greek word *Kyrios*.¹⁷

A concise summary of this teaching is given in Appendix 1D of the *New World Translation Reference Edition* (p. 1564). We quote in part:

Matthew made more than a hundred quotations from the inspired Hebrew Scriptures [in his gospel written in Hebrew¹⁸]. ••13•• Where these quotations included the divine name he would have been obliged faithfully to include the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew Gospel account. When the Gospel of Matthew was translated into Greek, the Tetragrammaton was left untranslated within the Greek text according to the practice of that time.

Not only Matthew but all the writers of the Christian Greek Scriptures quoted verses from the Hebrew text or from the *Septuagint* where the divine name appears. For example, in Peter's

¹⁵ "All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial," p. 307. Also see *Insight into the Scriptures*, Vol. 2, p. 1152.

¹⁶ *Aid to Bible Understanding*, p. 318.

¹⁷ In this study, we will repeatedly refer to the Greek word *Κύριος*. However, rather than using Greek letters, we will transliterate it as *Kyrios* with English letters in a distinctive type face. For a more complete discussion of the use of the Greek word *Kyrios*, see *The Divine Name That Will Endure Forever*, Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, 1984. Note especially the article starting on page 23, "God's Name and the 'New Testament.'"

¹⁸ In this same section, Jerome is quoted as stating that there was a gospel written in Hebrew by Matthew. The testimony of Jerome must be accepted as reliable. There would be no reason to doubt that Matthew wrote a parallel gospel in Hebrew. We will evaluate Matthew's Hebrew Gospel in a later chapter.

speech in Ac 3:22 a quotation is made from De 18:15 where the Tetragrammaton appears in a papyrus fragment of the *Septuagint* dated to the first century B.C.E. As a follower of Christ, Peter used God's name, Jehovah. When Peter's speech was put on record the Tetragrammaton was here used according to the practice during the first century B.C.E. and the first century C.E.

Sometime during the second or third century C.E. the scribes removed the Tetragrammaton from both the *Septuagint* and the Christian Greek Scriptures and replaced it with *Ky'ri-os*, "Lord" or *The-os*, "God."

Concerning the use of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures, George Howard¹⁹ of the University of Georgia wrote in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 96, 1977, p. 63: "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 N[ew] T[estament] studies in that they form a literary analogy with the earliest Christian documents and may explain how N[ew] T[estament] authors used the divine name. In the following pages we will set forth a theory that the divine name, יהוה (and possibly abbreviations of it), was originally written in the NT quotations of and allusions to the O[l]d T[estament] and that in the course of time it was replaced mainly with the surrogate $\kappa\varsigma$ [abbreviation for *ky'ri-os*, "Lord"]. This removal of the Tetragram[maton], 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 text itself."

We concur with the above, with this exception: We do not consider this view a "theory," rather, a presentation of the facts of history as to the transmission of Bible manuscripts.

As we saw in the Overview to this book, the above quotation represents the perspective of the translators of the *New World Translation* based on the textual and historical perspective of the late ••14•• 1940's. Today, we are faced with the need to re-evaluate *any* Bible translation on the basis of the most recent understanding of the Greek manuscripts on which it is based. It would be the desire of all—whether we are talking of the Watch Tower Society as a whole or individual Witnesses—to have a copy of the Christian Greek Scriptures which faithfully reproduces exactly that which the apostolic authors wrote.

Throughout the remainder of this book we will be evaluating the most current textual and historical information available while asking a central question, "Did the original writers of the Christian Scriptures use the Tetragrammaton?" If so, what evidence remains today which will verify this claim?

The format of this book

Throughout this book, our study of the Tetragrammaton's presence in the Christian Greek Scriptures is based on historical and textual considerations. The final answer to the place of the Tetragrammaton in the original Christian Scripture writings will be based on ancient manuscript evidence. These manuscripts should indicate to us whether the original writers of the Christian Scriptures wrote the Hebrew word יהוה (the Tetragrammaton) or the Greek word Κύριος (*Kyrios*) in 237 instances within the Christian Greek Scriptures.

When we attempt a historical study of Greek manuscripts, we are not doing light reading. Therefore, in order to make this material as informative as possible, the following format will be used: general information is found within the main chapters, supplementary information is added in footnote form, and finally, highly technical material has been placed in the appendices. This appendix information deals with the form of the Greek text itself, the translation footnotes from the *New World Translation*, information concerning the Hebrew versions which substantiates the 237 *Jehovah* references, and much more on which this study was based. Though this information is necessary for a proper study of the historical Greek text, it has been separated from the main chapter material in order to simplify reading.

Keeping our focus

We will frequently refer to certain subtopics throughout this book. In the interest of being as accurate as possible, four of these subtopics need a brief explanation.

¹⁹ See Appendix D for a partial reproduction of the George Howard paper.

Two of these subtopics (the pronunciation of God's name and the *Septuagint* version in relationship to the Tetragrammaton) need attention now in order to avoid unnecessary qualifying statements. ••15••

A third subtopic (the use of God's name today) deserves a brief comment in order to avoid misunderstanding. The fourth subtopic dealing with *Kyrios* and *Theos* is a mere technicality which is important only because we need to be precise in our description without continually referring to superfluous details.

THE PRONUNCIATION OF GOD'S NAME

The most cumbersome of these first two subtopics is the proper pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton itself. Neither יהוה nor YHWH (or YHVH) is entirely satisfactory. The Hebrew characters are accurate, but they are meaningless to all but the most informed Bible student. There is no debate by either the author or the Watch Tower Society that יהוה is best represented by the English consonants YHWH, unless it would be to represent it as YHVH. It is the attempt to expand these consonants to a pronounceable name that makes the topic cumbersome in a book such as this. The English consonants are an acceptable *written* transliteration, but they are unpronounceable. Adding vowels further complicates the problem. Fortunately, F.W. Carr makes an observation which will simplify the debate,

A common trap some translators fall into is thinking that an attempt is being made to closely approximate the more commonly accepted Hebrew term "Yahweh" with the English form "Jehovah." Many fail to realize (or chose to ignore) the fact that "Jehovah" is the English translation, not the Hebrew approximation.²⁰

If we can be content with an English translation of all other Bible names (including *Jesus* rather than *Iesous*), we can be comfortable with *Jehovah*.

A study of the pronunciation of God's name is not our intent. It is a worthwhile topic, but it is outside the context of this book. We will alternate between the term *divine name* and the translated English name *Jehovah* because they are familiar. The important issue is reverence and obedience to this wonderful God, rather than a specific Anglicized pronunciation of his name. The issue of pronunciation of God's name may best be summarized by a statement from *Insight on the Scriptures*, Volume 2, page 6:

Hebrew Scholars generally favor "Yahweh" as the most likely pronunciation. They point out that the abbreviated form of the name is Yah (Jah in the Latinized form), as at Psalm 89:8 and in the expression *Halelu-Yah* (meaning "Praise Yah, you people!"). (Ps 104:35; 150:1, 6) Also, the forms *Yehoh'*, *Yoh*, *Yah*, and *Ya'hu*, found in the Hebrew spelling of the names of Jehoshaphat, ••16•• Joshaphat, Shephatiah, and others, can all be derived from Yahweh...Still, there is by no means unanimity among scholars on the subject, some favoring yet other pronunciations, such as "Yahuwa," "Yahuah," or "Yehuah."

Since certainty of pronunciation is not now attainable, there seems to be no reason for abandoning in English the well-known form "Jehovah" in favor of some other suggested pronunciation.

On the other hand, substitution of *LORD* for the divine name is a more important issue than mere pronunciation. Within the English Bible tradition, the Hebrew Scripture translators have often used the capitalized word *LORD* to represent יהוה. The author feels that the removal of God's proper name from Scripture is a regrettable practice. Even though every translation which attempts to bring the divine name into the written Hebrew Scriptures will encounter the problematic choice of an appropriate form, we commend the translators of the *New World Translation* for their effort in moving away from the tradition of translating יהוה as *LORD*.

There is currently a trend within some evangelical Protestant groups to acknowledge and use the divine name in their teaching and singing. It is the author's opinion that the consistent emphasis on the reverent use of God's name by the Watch Tower Society has borne fruit in these branches of the Christian congregation. It would be impossible to quantify that influence on a large scale, but the author is aware of the contribution Witnesses have made to his own life in this regard.

²⁰ *The Divine Name Controversy*, Firpo W. Carr, p. 104.

THE SEPTUAGINT AND THE TETRAGRAMMATON

A second subtopic deserving a brief comment is the degree to which the Tetragrammaton was used in the *Septuagint* version. The Tetragrammaton, rather than *Kyrios*, was most certainly used in early translations of the *Septuagint*. The Tetragrammaton continued to be used through the third century C.E. in *Septuagint* copies used by Jews. Gentile Christians, on the other hand, translated יהוה as κύριος (*Kyrios*) in their copies of the *Septuagint*. (We will discover why this was true in Chapter 13.) Though we will refer to the *Septuagint* within the remaining chapters of this book because it has a bearing on our study of the Tetragrammaton, we wish to avoid lengthy qualifications. We must simply remember that new evidence today substantiates that יהוה was used in Jewish copies of the *Septuagint* while *Kyrios* was used in ••17•• Gentile copies. (Again, for the student interested in further study of the use of the Tetragrammaton in the *Septuagint*, we would recommend the material suggested earlier in *Insight on the Scriptures*, Volume 2, page 9 under the heading "In the Christian Greek Scriptures," or the parallel reference in *Aid to Bible Understanding*, on page 386. In addition, there is a section in the ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY which lists material substantiating the Tetragrammaton in early Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures.)

It may serve our purpose here to include a single quotation regarding the presence of the Tetragrammaton in the *Septuagint*.

On the transcription of the Divine Name [in the LXX] B.J. Roberts wrote in 1951: "The problem still remains unsolved and is under discussion." If any change has taken place over the past decade it is in a movement still further away from the position of Baudissin. This scholar had maintained that right from its origins the LXX had rendered the Tetragrammaton by Κύριος [Kyrios], and that in no case was this latter a mere substitute for an earlier Ἀδωναί [Adonai]. Thus he denied the evidence of Origen that in the more accurate manuscripts the Divine Name was written in ancient (palaeo-Hebrew) script and the later testimony of Jerome to the same effect. As Waddell pointed out, Baudissin's summary statement is "flatly disproved" by the Fouad Papyrus, and now a Qumran fragment of Leviticus ii-iv, written in a hand closely akin to Fouad 266, has been found to render the Tetragrammaton by ΙΑΩ. Kahle is also of the opinion, and claims the concurrence of C.H. Roberts, that in the Rylands Papyrus Greek 458, at Deuteronomy xxvi.17 where the text breaks off just before the appearance of the Divine Name, the original bore not κύριος as Roberts originally supposed, but the unabridged Tetragrammaton. It would seem therefore that the evidence most recently to hand is tending to confirm the testimony of Origen and Jerome, and that Kahle is right in holding that LXX texts, written by Jews for Jews, retained the Divine Name in Hebrew Letters (palaeo-Hebrew or Aramaic) or in the Greek imitative form ΙΙΙΙΙ, and that its replacement by Κύριος was a Christian innovation.²¹

With this information in hand, we can avoid repeated qualifications concerning confirmed evidence of the Tetragrammaton in the *Septuagint*. However, statements relating to the Tetragrammaton in the *Septuagint* should not be understood as applying to the Christian Greek Scriptures. As pointed out earlier, the reader must be aware that ••18•• the *Septuagint* and the Christian Greek Scriptures are entirely different documents.

USING GOD'S NAME TODAY

In order to avoid misunderstanding, we need to clarify our position concerning the use of God's name today. On the one hand, we are examining the historical and textual occurrences of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures. We could *never* advocate either adding or removing words from Scripture because of personal or theological preferences. Therefore, our viewpoint must be that *the occurrence of the Tetragrammaton within the Christian Scriptures today must reflect the exact usage by the original writers*. If the Tetragrammaton was used by the original writers, it must not be removed. If it was not used by the original writers, it must not be added.

On the other hand, do we feel that it is appropriate to use God's personal name today? Most

²¹ From *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, Sidney Jellicoe, 1968, pp. 271-272. See also the two books *Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations*, edited by Sidney Jellicoe and *Essays in Biblical Greek: Studies on the value and use of the Septuagint*, Edwin Hatch, 1970, p. 149.

certainly! It is the author's personal practice to do so.

We ask that the reader keep in mind that *the subject of this book is limited to the historical and textual evidence for the Tetragrammaton within the Christian Greek Scriptures*. Nonetheless, regarding the use of God's personal name in either public or private worship, *we feel that it is entirely appropriate and pleasing to God to use it freely with the highest sense of his holiness*.

JEHOVAH REFERENCES

The name *Jehovah* appears 237 times in the Christian Greek Scriptures of the *New World Translation*. In 223 instances, *Jehovah* is used in place of the Greek word Κύριος (*Kyrios*). In 13 instances, *Jehovah* is used in place of θεός (*Theos*), and in one instance (James 1:12), *Jehovah* is derived from a specific Greek grammatical construction.

Generally, we will use the English transliteration *Kyrios* rather than the Greek word itself. At times, we will distinguish between *Kyrios* and *Theos* in the interest of completeness or technical necessity. In most cases, however, when there is no need for the precision, we will use *Kyrios* to include the 13 instances of *Theos*, the single case in James 1:12, and the 223 instances of *Kyrios* proper.

Furthermore, the Greek language requires agreement between parts of speech, depending upon the grammatical usage of a word in its sentence. For that reason, the Greek word Κύριος may have any one of eight spellings. (See Appendix C for a discussion of the various forms of this Greek word.) Again, we will let *Kyrios* stand inclusive of all grammatical forms. ••19••

CHAPTER SUMMARY. The Tetragrammaton is the four-character Hebrew name of God. Until 400 C.E., Hebrew writing did not contain vowel points. Prior to the addition of vowel points, the divine name was written יהוה. The Tetragrammaton is widely used throughout the Hebrew Scriptures, giving ample textual evidence to support the use of God's personal name in the Hebrew Scripture portion of English translations.

1. The *Septuagint* is the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures which was begun in Alexandria about 280 B.C.E. It is a distinctly different document from the Christian Greek Scriptures. The two should not be confused, though the *Septuagint* was extensively used by the early Christian congregation.
2. The name of God should be frequently and respectfully used in both corporate and private meetings.

Addendum to Chapter 1

Just prior to the publication of this book, an important and scholarly work by Greg Stafford entitled *JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES DEFENDED an answer to scholars and critics* was released by Elihu Books (1998). On pages 1-8 Stafford gives another example of current thinking regarding the pronunciation of the divine name. Stafford, in turn, refers to earlier studies done by F.W. Carr.

The book by Firpo W. Carr, *The Divine Name Controversy* (Stoops Publishing, 1991) must also be consulted. Dr. Carr has done important work with computer searches to reconstruct the pronunciation of the divine name from ancient Hebrew manuscripts.

Both Stafford and Carr favor *Yehowah* as the closest English approximation to the ancient Hebrew pronunciation of the divine name. In both cases, they agree that the word *Jehovah* is an appropriate English translation.

We will gladly defer to the scholarship and opinion of these two men regarding the pronunciation of the divine name. However, because the type for this book has already been set, additional comments regarding Stafford or Carr's favored pronunciation will not be added. Nonetheless, this book is in complete agreement with the positions of Stafford and Carr that the divine name most certainly should be used in English translations of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Either book is available from Stoops Manufacturing Co., 10 N. Elliott Ave., Aurora, Missouri, 65605.

Chapter 2: INSPIRATION AND THE CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURES

Before going further in our study of the Tetragrammaton, we must consider the inspiration of Scripture. We are primarily concerned with the Christian Scriptures in this study.

••20•• It should be obvious that the inspiration of Scripture is of paramount importance. Logically, if the Bible were not inspired (and thus, infallible), the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Scriptures would merely become a historical and textual topic of scholarly interest. However, to those of us who hold a view of inspiration which acknowledges that God had purpose for *each word* the inspired writers used, the inspiration of Scripture itself becomes a foundation on which we must build our study of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures. The author concurs with the Watch Tower Society in the view that God inspired each word of the original Christian Scriptures.

The study of the inspiration of Scripture is not an all-or-nothing discussion. It is not simply divided between those who believe in full inspiration and those who categorically reject any involvement by God in the human writing of the Bible. Christendom has introduced much confusion into the discussion of inspiration by way of debates regarding partial inspiration, faulty human authorship, and the like.

The author appreciates the position taken by the Watch Tower Society regarding inspiration and inerrancy.¹ Before going further, we need to review the meaning of the inspiration of Scripture,² for this will characterize the Greek texts with which we are dealing. Much of this discussion can be verified in the book "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*."³

The meaning of inspiration

The term *inspiration* is frequently used in reference to the Bible. In the book already mentioned, we read,

••21•• "All Scripture is inspired of God." These words at 2 Timothy 3:16 identify God, whose name is Jehovah, as the Author and Inspirer of the Holy Scriptures. [And further that] Jesus...set the highest value on God's word, declaring, "Your word is truth."⁴

Though often not addressed as such, the fundamental question in a study of inspiration is the character of God. We must ask ourselves, "What kind of book would Jehovah write?" It would be a book entirely free of error. Furthermore, because successive generations would read it, the Author would carefully protect his book so that it might be read in the most accurate form possible. Regarding its survival, *The Bible—God's Word or Man's?* says,

[The Bible] says: "The saying of Jehovah endures forever." (1 Peter 1:25) If the Bible really is the Word of God, no human power can destroy it. And right up into this 20th century, this has been true. (p. 24)

"*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*," continues by saying,

All the words of the inspired Scriptures are "faithful and true," bringing immeasurable benefits to those who heed them.—Rev. 21:5.

How do these benefits come about? The complete expression of the apostle Paul at 2 Timothy 3:16, 17 supplies the answer: "All Scripture is inspired of God and beneficial for teaching, for reproving, for setting things straight, for disciplining in righteousness, that the man of God may be fully competent, completely equipped for every good work." The inspired Scriptures, then, are beneficial for teaching right doctrine and right conduct, setting things straight in our minds and lives,

¹ Inerrancy describes Scripture's freedom from error. Strictly speaking, inerrancy applies to the *original* manuscripts rather than later copies or translations. Nonetheless, we can use our Bible today with the confidence that the Hebrew and Greek text is totally reliable.

² Just as does the Watch Tower Society, we limit our use of the word *inspiration* to the 66 canonical books of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. That is, we do not include the Apocrypha.

³ This is an excellent book dealing with the accuracy of both the Hebrew and Christian Greek Scriptures. For a more complete study than we can present here, we recommend the material from *Study Four* to the end of the book. *Study Six*, "The Christian Greek Text of the Holy Scriptures," is particularly helpful.

⁴ "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*," p. 7.

and reproof and disciplining us so that we may walk humbly in truth and righteousness.⁵

Because we understand that the source of Scripture is Jehovah himself, we do not expect a faulty Bible. However, we need to be careful that we correctly understand what we mean when we say that Scripture is without error. The *original* writings were free of error. Could copies—and translations—of the original writing contain errors? History shows us that this has happened. That does not mean we cannot have confidence in our Bible, but it means that we must remember that we are talking about the original Hebrew and Christian Greek Scriptures when we say there is no error.

To this point, we have only talked about the *result* of inspiration; that is, that God as an Author would not make mistakes. But we still ••22•• have not explained the *process* called inspiration. We understand the *process* when we learn the definition of the word *inspiration*. To quote our previous source, "The expression 'Inspired of God'...is translated from the Greek *Theopneustos*, meaning 'God-breathed.'"⁶ For the most part, we do not know how God gave his revelation to each of the original writers. (In some cases, however, the writer tells us. Daniel is an interesting example of a Scripture writer explaining how God communicated various revelations to him. John also describes the process in the book of Revelation as, "A revelation by Jesus Christ... And he sent forth his angel and presented [it] in signs through him to his slave John" [1:1].) Yet, irrespective of the individual process God used, we believe that God gave each writer his thoughts in such a way that they wrote the *very words* which Jehovah intended to communicate to the readers.

Inspiration and scribal errors

Prior to the invention of the printing press by Johannes Gutenberg in 1456, all documents were hand copied. Needless to say, hand copied texts contained errors.⁷

There is a fascinating history regarding the reproduction of ancient manuscripts which is too long to tell here. However, a study of that history will indicate the inadequacy of making simple generalizations about the resulting manuscripts or the scribes who produced them. In some cases, the procedures used for hand copying texts were followed with extreme care and resulted in few scribal errors. The Jewish scribes who copied the Hebrew Scriptures probably developed the highest standards for accuracy by counting numbers of lines and characters of a copied section. However, because of this intensive labor, fewer old manuscripts were kept,⁸ reducing the number of texts available for study today. On the other hand, Greek texts copied by Gentiles were ••23•• often copied more hurriedly, resulting in more frequent scribal error. Nonetheless, though they are somewhat less accurate, there are many more of these copies available for study.

Nor was scribal error always accidental. Copying mistakes probably account for the bulk of the manuscript errors. Yet, there were also errors which were intentionally inserted into the text, having the objective of either introducing or removing theological biases. Origen (who lived between 182 and 251 C.E.) was a leading writer in the early Christian congregation era. He wrote regarding intentional alteration of manuscripts in his day:

Nowadays, as is evident, there is a great diversity between the various manuscripts, either through the negligence of certain copyists, or the perverse audacity shown by some in correcting the text, or through the fault of those, who, playing the part of correctors, lengthen or shorten it as they please (*In Matth. tom. XV, 14; P. G. XIII, 1293*).⁹

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁶ "All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial," p. 9.

⁷ Printing presses do not eliminate all errors. However, it is easier to identify an error when it is identically repeated in all copies from a single press run. Hand copied manuscripts produce random errors which are unique to a single copy and thus are more difficult to locate. Of course, printed documents are also more recent.

⁸ In many cases, when a Hebrew Scripture text became too worn to be used in public synagogue reading, it was reverently buried after copies were made. In some cases, before burial, it was kept in a special room of the Synagogue called a *Geniza*. (The word may also be spelled *Genizah*.) Some of the richest finds of ancient manuscripts have come from these Genizas when scrolls destined for destruction were misplaced. A famous such find was from a Geniza in Cairo. (See the reference to the book, *The Cairo Geniza* in *Insights on the Scriptures*, Vol. 2, p. 9.)

⁹ Quoted in *The Identity of the New Testament Text* by Wilbur Pickering, Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1977, p. 42.

As ones who love and respect God's written word, we would strongly denounce any attempt to alter Scripture. We would correctly demand a faithful reproduction of God's revelation by both the scribal copyists in early centuries and a translator's rendering of the text into another language today.

Inspiration and a correct text

If we believe that Scripture was inspired by God, then we want to know the exact words he caused the Scripture authors to write. For this reason, we desire Scripture manuscripts which are free of all scribal error and corruption. Will we ever obtain these perfect documents?

Far from being a hopeless dilemma, the probability of reconstructing the Christian Scripture text as originally written by its human authors is high—and, in fact, has already been largely completed. This is true because a large number of early Christian Greek Scripture manuscripts have been discovered. First, however, we need to briefly review a branch of scholarly study called *textual criticism*.¹⁰ Textual criticism is the study of the *text* (the written words themselves) to determine the most likely wording of the original ••24•• writers. These scholars work with the oldest obtainable Greek manuscripts.

"*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*" succinctly defines textual criticism on page 318. The authors say, "Textual criticism is the method used for reconstruction and restoration of the original Bible text."¹¹

(We must clearly differentiate between the terms *textual criticism* and *higher criticism*. As we have already indicated, *textual criticism* is concerned with the reconstruction of the original text. This is very different from the similar sounding term *higher criticism* which describes a literary study of the Scriptures. *Higher criticism* has often been extraordinarily speculative and used by some to discredit the reliability and inspiration of Scripture.¹² *Textual criticism*, however, is an important ally of those who love Scripture and desire to know what Jehovah originally communicated to man.)

Textual criticism is probably best understood by using the following illustration. Say, for instance, that the original edition of an important historical document had been destroyed. Imagine that printing presses did not exist before its loss. Thus, only copies—or copies of the copies—of the document would be available for examination. As you would expect, there would be errors made in the copying process. If you were assigned the responsibility of establishing the most accurate reproduction of the original document, could you do it? You certainly could. First, you would look for as many copies as you could find. Secondly, you would attempt to establish the date when each copy was made, looking for the oldest manuscripts. Then you would establish some guidelines to determine the reliability of each copy. Finally, you would compare all the copies to each other in order to reconstruct the original document.

The oldest manuscripts would probably be the most accurate because fewer copies would be interposed between them and the original. A very old copy could be a copy made from a copy of the original. If very old, it could be a copy made from the original itself. A more recent copy, however, may have a large number of copies between it and the original. The greater the number of copies between it and the original, the greater the probability of error. In the same way, the older the ••25•• manuscript of any portion of Scripture, the more likely is its accuracy. (We say *likely* because there could be exceptions. If, for example, it could be shown that a more recent copy had been made from a very early copy, then the recent copy might be more accurate than other older copies.)

Returning to the subject of Bible manuscripts, we find that many ancient copies of the Greek Scriptures exist today.¹³ Furthermore, a significant number are available with dates in the third century C.E. Some of these manuscripts are referred to in the footnotes of the *New World Translation*

¹⁰ See the Bibliography for two excellent books describing textual criticism and the transmission of the Greek text: *The Text of the New Testament* by Bruce Metzger, and *Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism* by Harold Greenlee.

¹¹ Strictly speaking, *textual criticism* as indicated by this quotation is a branch of study which is distinct from *inspiration*. However, for our purposes in maintaining brevity, we are combining the subjects of the purity of the Greek Scripture text and the study of textual criticism under the heading of inspiration.

¹² See the comments on higher criticism in the book *The Bible—God's Word or Man's?* pp. 31-32 and 38-43.

¹³ See the table on page 313 in "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*."

and are extremely important references in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. (See Appendix F for actual reproductions of an early Greek manuscript.)

Today biblical scholars actually possess copies of the Christian Greek Scriptures made between 201 and 300 C.E. The original writers wrote between 41 C.E. (Matthew) and 98 C.E. (the Gospel and Epistles of John).¹⁴ This means that the oldest extant (currently existing) copies were made within a relatively few years—to at most 150 years—of the Christian Scriptures' writing. In one case, a very small manuscript portion of the Gospel of John is available which was copied about 125 C.E. This was about 25 years after the original was written.¹⁵

Again, consider the illustration above. How would you compare the copies after you had assembled them chronologically? Could you actually determine what the original said? Again, the answer is yes. Say, for instance, that each copy had ten copying errors. You would soon find that each copy had dissimilar errors. That is, the errors in each copy would be random—the errors would not always be in the same word or location in each manuscript. (On the other hand, if you found a repeated and identical error in a series of manuscripts, you could assume that they were copies from a common source containing the identified error.) Now you would tabulate the highest frequency of ••26•• agreement (that is, copies which were the same for a given sentence or word) for determining the most likely possible reading of the original. (Again, there are exceptions. One exception to the highest frequency of agreement is made when a large number of copies can be traced to an earlier copy with errors.)

Needless to say, we have oversimplified the problem of identifying errors. In practice, there are many steps which must be taken to determine the authenticity of any variation within a Greek manuscript. The process is not done simply or casually; however a high degree of certainty can be attained.

In this way, biblical scholars (such as Westcott and Hort, the textual critics who produced the Greek text used in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*) have been able to compare the available manuscripts and determine the content of the original Christian Scriptures with amazing accuracy. This is aided by the fact that there are over 5,000 ancient manuscript portions in the original Greek language available today.¹⁶ A very accurate summary of the reliability of our Greek text is given in the reference cited:

F.J.A. Hort, who was co-producer of the Westcott and Hort text, writes. . . "If comparative trivialities. . . are set aside, the words in our opinion still subject to doubt [in the Greek text] can hardly amount to more than a thousandth part of the whole New Testament. . . ." Sir Frederic Kenyon [says] "The interval then between the dates of original composition and the earliest extant evidence becomes so small as to be in fact negligible, and the last foundation for any doubt that the Scriptures have come down to us substantially as they were written has now been removed."¹⁷

Inspiration and today's Bible

Before leaving the subject of inspiration, we need to apply the truth of inspiration to the Bible we possess today. The subject of inspiration forces us to recognize the intervention of Jehovah himself in the entire process. Not only has he revealed his message to inspired Scripture writers, but he has made provision throughout history to assure its availability to each generation as a trustworthy guide to faith.

¹⁴ *Aid to Bible Understanding*, p. 318.

¹⁵ "All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial," pp. 316-317. From other sources (Metzger) we have a description of this very small manuscript portion. (It measures only about 2½ by 3½ inches and contains portions of John 18:31-33 on one side and 18:37-38 on the other.) It is called the John Rylands fragment, and is classified as P⁵². Its importance comes from its date and location. It was written—as determined by the style of its script—in the first half of the second century and was discovered in the Nile River area of Africa. Contrary to claims propagated by German scholarship during the first half of this century, it establishes that the Gospel of John was written early enough to have been circulated from Ephesus and copied in Africa by this early date. See *Insight on the Scriptures*, Vol. 1, p. 323 for a color photograph of P⁵².

¹⁶ "All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial," p. 316.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

Jehovah's concern with Scripture did not stop after he gave it to the inspired writers. We often fail to recognize Israel's great care for its preservation. In spite of their times of idolatry and careless walk with Jehovah, they nonetheless possessed a consuming passion for the accurate safeguarding of their Scriptures. The Hebrew Scriptures we ••27•• possess today owe much to countless Jews throughout history who sacrificed their lives for it. God himself intervened in that process so that his Word was not lost during Israel's wanderings, their military defeats and captivities, and the times of their political turmoil.

Jehovah continues to intervene in the transmission of his inspired writings since the completion of the Christian Greek Scriptures. Throughout the history of the early Christian congregation, the rise of the political church of Rome, the dark ages in Europe, and the awakening of both secular and religious scholarship in our own cultural history, God has preserved the Scriptures so that we can know him in truth today.

Jehovah has used men and women of diverse callings and interests to assure accurate transmission of the biblical text. There have been martyrs willing to risk their lives in order to hide precious scrolls. There have been unknown copyists who devoted their lives to accurately reproducing Scripture in spite of the pressure of the political and religious institutions to produce a "Bible" in support of sectarian dogma. There have been scholars who combed the monastery libraries of the Sinai Peninsula and Northern Africa for ancient manuscripts, always in search of older and more reliable copies of the Greek Scriptures.

However, as important as the *means* of preservation is, we must never overlook the author of Scripture himself. *The God who inspired Scripture will certainly take the necessary precautions to preserve it.*

Thus, we can be certain today that we have a faithful reproduction of the very words the apostolic writers penned almost 2,000 years ago. On page 64, *Reasoning from the Scriptures* says,

In the introduction to his seven volumes on *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, Sir Frederic Kenyon wrote: "The first and most important conclusion derived from the examination of them [the papyri] is the satisfactory one that they confirm the essential soundness of the existing texts. No striking or fundamental variation is shown either in the Old or the New Testament. There are no important omissions or additions of passages, and no variations which affect vital facts of doctrines. The variations of text affect minor matters, such as the order of words or the precise words used...But their essential importance is their confirmation, by evidence of an earlier date than was hitherto available, of the integrity of our existing texts."

Is the Greek Scripture text trustworthy?

No better conclusion for this chapter can be given than a brief quotation from the book *The Bible—God's Word or Man's?* found on pages 59 and 60 under the heading, "Is the Text Trustworthy?"

••28•• Is it possible that these eyewitness testimonies [of the disciples] were accurately recorded but later corrupted? In other words, were myths and legends introduced after the original writing was completed? We have already seen that the text of the Christian Greek Scriptures is in better condition than any other ancient literature. Kurt and Barbara Aland, scholars of the Greek text of the Bible, list almost 5,000 manuscripts that have survived from antiquity down to today, some from as early as the second century C.E. The general testimony of this mass of evidence is that the text is essentially sound. Additionally, there are many ancient translations—the earliest dating to about the year 180 C.E.—that help to prove that the text is accurate.

Hence, by any reckoning, we can be sure that legends and myths did not infiltrate into the Christian Greek Scriptures after the original writers finished their work. The text we have is substantially the same as the one that the original writers penned, and its accuracy is confirmed by the fact that contemporaneous Christians accepted it.



CHAPTER SUMMARY. The question of inspiration and the reliability of the Greek text of the Christian Greek Scriptures has been the primary concern of this chapter.

1. The source of the Scriptures is Jehovah himself. We can be certain that God would not give us a Bible with errors. By this we mean that the *original* writings were without error.
2. The process of inspiration is best understood from the definition of the word. *Inspired of God* comes from the Greek word *The-op neu-stos*, meaning *God-breathed*. Jehovah gave the original writers his thoughts in such a way that they wrote the words that he intended to communicate to mankind.
3. The Greek text of the Christian Greek Scriptures which we have today is essentially error-free. We can verify this because:
 - a. We have many early manuscripts—some dating little more than a hundred years after the time when the originals were written.
 - b. We have a large number (over 5,000) of ancient Greek manuscripts to study.
4. Inspiration must also consider the intervention of Jehovah in the continued faithfulness of his written revelation to man. We believe that the God who is capable of *inspiring* Scripture is also capable of assuring its preservation.

Chapter 3: A GREEK INTERLINEAR STUDY (Part 1)

We have reached a point in our discussion of the Tetragrammaton at which we must examine each of the 237¹ *Jehovah* citation references in the Christian Greek Scriptures.

••29•• The translation work on the Christian Scriptures of the *New World Translation* was started in December, 1947 and completed in September, 1949.² Consequently, the footnote references supporting the Tetragrammaton are now more than 45 years old.³ In Chapters 3 and 4, we will re-examine these references in the light of present understanding of textual and historical information published by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society.

These two chapters will also give the reader a concise explanation of the footnote reference system employed in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. (Surprisingly, the footnote references are not well understood by most Witnesses who use this helpful interlinear edition for study.)

The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* and its footnotes

The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation of the Greek Scriptures*⁴ contains an immense amount of information regarding the 237 occurrences of the name *Jehovah* in the *New World Translation's* Christian Greek Scriptures. The bulk of the information in the following chapters comes from the 1969 edition because it is the more comprehensive of the two. However, the 1985 edition includes additional Hebrew version citations which are not found in the earlier edition.

The footnote and reference system used in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* is comprehensive and easy to use. Nonetheless, a brief ••30•• explanation is necessary in order to enhance their usefulness. The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* contains three complete Christian Scripture texts. The main section contains both a faithful reproduction of the original Greek text and an interlinear word-for-word English translation. The right-hand column consists of a parallel *New World Translation* text.

Each time the divine name appears in the *New World Translation* text, an attached asterisk (i.e. *Jehovah**) identifies a footnote for that verse. *Within each footnote, the reader is given a first group of citations consisting of Hebrew translations containing the Tetragrammaton, and a second group of citations identifying early Greek manuscripts which use *Kyrios* (Lord).*

1. The first group of textual sources consists of Hebrew translations which use the Tetragrammaton in that verse. These occurrences of יהוה substantiate the English translation *Jehovah*. The Hebrew translations are identified as J¹, J², J³, and so on, continuing to J²⁷. Each of the letter and superscript symbols are known as "J" references because they support the name *Jehovah* in the *New World Translation*.
2. The second group of textual sources consists of a select number of early Greek manuscripts and Armenian, Syriac, and Latin versions which substantiate the Greek word *Kyrios* (or, on occasion, *Theos*). The Greek manuscripts are identified by a unique symbol assigned to each as Å, A, B, C, D,⁵ L, P⁴⁵, P⁴⁶, P⁴⁷, P⁶⁶, P⁷⁴, and P⁷⁵. The Latin and other language versions are identified as Arm, It, Sy, Sy^P, Sy^C, Sy^H, Sy^{hi}, Sy^P, Sy^S, Vg, Vg^C, and Vg^S. These manuscripts support the word *Lord* (from *Kyrios*) in both the Greek and English portions of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. (Refer

¹ Appendix 1D of the *New World Translation Reference Edition* (1984) lists an additional 72 references where the name *Jehovah* appears in the footnotes of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, but not in the main text. For the sake of brevity, these references will not be included in the final study summary of Appendix B.

² See "All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial," (1990), p. 324.

³ We do not mean to imply that the footnote reference material has not been edited since 1949. The publication of the 1969 and 1985 editions of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* are themselves significant examples of more recent editing.

⁴ Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, 1969 and 1985. After using the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* in personal study for a number of years, the author has developed a great appreciation for this publication.

⁵ D (the Bezae Codices) is identified in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* as including both a Greek and Latin text. The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* footnote does not differentiate between a Greek or Latin citation. Presumably the reference is parallel in both texts.

to Appendix A for identification of each notation symbol.)

In a helpful introductory section of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, each of these footnote reference texts is enumerated with a brief description and publication date. For example, J⁷ of group 1 above (which is the document cited most frequently) is listed as the "Greek Scriptures in Hebrew." This is a translation (version) of the original Greek Scriptures into Hebrew published by Elias Hutter of Nuremberg in 1599. Thus, the footnote reference "J⁷" in the *New World Translation* tells us that the choice of the name *Jehovah* in a particular verse is based on the use of God's name in this 1599 Hebrew translation.

••31•• This same *Jehovah* footnote also lists Greek manuscripts identified in group 2 which support the choice of Westcott and Hort in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. In most cases, their choice from the best extant manuscripts was the Greek word *Kyrios* (Κύριος) and is translated *Lord*. If, for example, the footnote lists "B" as the Greek manuscript evidence, it is referring to a Greek Scripture manuscript called the *Vatican MS. No. 1209* which is a fourth century Greek manuscript. (That is, the evidence supporting the Greek word used in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* shows that *Kyrios* was known to have been used as early as the fourth century—between 301 to 400 C.E.)

In almost all cases, both the "J" references and the *Kyrios* references will cite multiple Hebrew versions or Greek manuscripts.

The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* format

It is possible that some readers are unfamiliar with the format of an interlinear Bible. Though we will be referring to Matthew 1:24 in ••32•• the following chapter, it may be helpful to the reader to see a reproduction of the actual format consisting of the Greek text, the word-for-word English translation beneath each corresponding Greek word, and the *New World Translation* column on the right. The footnotes for all verses are grouped together at the bottom of the page. Figure 1 shows Matthew 1:22-24 as these verses appear in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*.

<p>22 τούτο δέ ὅλον γέγονεν ἵνα This but whole has happened in order that πληρωθῆ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Κυρίου might be fulfilled the (thing) spoken by Lord διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος 23 Ἴδου through the prophet saying Look! ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει καὶ The virgin in belly will have and τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ will give birth to son, and they will call the ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰμμανουήλ ὃ ἐστὶν name of him Immanuel; which is μεθερμηνεύμενον Μεθ ἡμῶν ὁ θεός. being translated With us the God.</p>	<p>22 All this actually came about for that to be fulfilled which was spoken by Jehovah* 23 "Look! The virgin will become pregnant and will give birth to a son, and they will call his name Immanuel," which means, when translated, "With Us Is God." 24 Then Joseph woke up from his sleep and did as the angel of Jehovah* had directed him, and he took his wife home.</p>
<p>24 Ἐγερθεὶς δέ ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ Having been awakened but the Joseph from τοῦ ὕπνου ἐποίησεν ὡς προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ the sleep did as directed to him the ἄγγελος Κυρίου καὶ παρέλαβεν τὴν γυναῖκα angel of Lord and he took along the woman αὐτοῦ of him;</p>	

22* Jehovah, J¹⁻⁴, 7-14, 16-18, 22-24, 26; Lord, ÅB. 24* Jehovah, J¹⁻⁴, 7-14, 16-18, 22-24; Lord, ÅB.

Figure 1: Format of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*.

The study and its headings

Before reading further, look carefully at the example of the study shown on the following page. You will see that each of the 237 *Jehovah* references occupies a horizontal line. On that single line, you will find the various categories of information (represented by the individual column headings) which are true of that verse. Six headings (including the verse reference) come directly from the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. The remaining four columns are derived from Hebrew Scripture quotations.

There are ten headings in the study. We will briefly explain the meaning of each of these categories which are shown on page 33 before looking at the information in greater depth. (The complete study is given in Appendix B.)

- (1) GREEK SCRIPTURE REFERENCE. This column identifies the 237 references which use the name *Jehovah* in the *New World Translation*. They are listed in many sources, such as Appendix 1D of the *Reference Edition*.⁶ (Also refer to Appendix A.)
- (2) GREEK WORD USED IN KIT. This column exactly reproduces the Greek word used in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. It is generally a form of the word *Kyrios*, though there are some exceptions. Spelling is not always identical because the final letters of certain words must be in agreement with corresponding grammatical functions according to the word's use as an object or a subject, and whether it is used with a preposition or is possessive. Refer to Appendix C for a complete description of the Greek word *Kyrios*.
- (3) ENGLISH TRANSLATION IN KIT. This column lists the English word used to translate *Kyrios* in the Greek portion of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*.
- (4) EARLIEST MANUSCRIPT DATE SUPPORTING "LORD" (OR "GOD"). This column lists the date of the earliest Greek manuscript footnote ••34•• citation using *Kyrios*.⁷ In most instances, more than one manuscript is cited. The date is usually identified by century in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation's* footnote. For the sake of comparison, century dates are transposed to year dates. (That is, the fourth century is listed as 301 to 400.) Only a single citation from the manuscript bearing the earliest date will be shown. All dates are from the Common Era.
- (5) EARLIEST VERSION DATE SUPPORTING "JEHOVAH." This column gives the date of the earliest known Hebrew translation which uses the Tetragrammaton. In many cases, multiple references are cited in the actual footnote. Again, only the earliest date will be shown. (Note that in category 4 above, the evidence cited in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* is always a Greek manuscript. In the case of the evidence cited for the Tetragrammaton, the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* always cites a Hebrew translation [version].) Again, all dates are from the Common Era.
- (6) NAME USED IN THE NEW WORLD TRANSLATION. This column lists the name used in the *New World Translation*. Because this is a compilation of the 237 occurrences of the divine name, it will in all cases be *Jehovah*. The divine name is included at this point so that a full comparison can be made with other information in the study.
- (7) HEBREW SCRIPTURE QUOTATION USING THE DIVINE NAME. In certain cases, the writer of the Christian Greek Scriptures quoted a Hebrew Scripture verse *in which the divine name is a part of the verse itself*. In cases where the divine name was directly quoted as a part of the particular Hebrew Scripture passage cited, the Hebrew Scripture passage is identified in this column. The primary source used by the translation committee for Hebrew Scripture references was J²⁰ A *Concordance to the Greek Testament* by Moulton and ••35•• Geden. *When the Hebrew entry is*

⁶ The *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures Reference Edition*, pp. 1565-1566.

⁷ The New World Bible Translation Committee used a limited number of Greek manuscripts as the basis for its footnote citations. Five manuscripts with somewhat later dates (Ä, A, B, C, and D dated between 301 and 600 C.E.) are generally cited. A small, additional group of earlier manuscripts (P⁴⁵, P⁴⁶, P⁴⁷, P⁶⁶, P⁷⁴, and P⁷⁵ which are dated as early as 200 C.E.) are listed in the EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS USED section of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, 1985 edition. However, these important earlier manuscripts are not cited in the *Jehovah* footnotes in the books represented by these manuscripts (the Gospels of Luke and John, 1 and 2 Peter, Jude, or Revelation). In addition to the manuscripts listed, numerous older Greek manuscripts are currently available. Consequently, the dates in this column are not the *earliest dates known* but merely represent the earliest dates used in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* footnotes. See the footnote references numbered 8, 10, 13, and 14 in Appendix B. Also see Appendix I for a comprehensive tabulation of early Greek Scripture manuscripts.

A comparison of the 237 *Jehovah* references

(••33••)

Information from the <i>Kingdom Interlinear Translation</i> 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 ² -citation	Hebrew Scripture quotation referring to the divine name	Cross reference citation only	No quotation or reference to the Hebrew Scriptures
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		Ho 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 ⁷	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	Zc 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	

Mark 11:9 and following is found in Appendix B.

¹ Early 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 given 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 fourth century C.E. is written as 301-400.

²⁻⁶ See Appendix B for other footnotes found in this section.

found in J²⁰, the Hebrew Scripture reference is entered in bold font. A standard font in this column indicates that the Hebrew Scripture reference was found in the center column of the *New World Translation Reference Edition* or other resource materials.

- (8) HEBREW SCRIPTURE QUOTATION REFERRING TO THE DIVINE NAME. In many cases, the Greek Scripture writer cites a Hebrew Scripture verse in which *the divine name is not found in the verse itself, though Jehovah is clearly identified in the Hebrew Scripture context as the subject of the cited verse*. In these instances, the Hebrew Scripture passage will be identified in this 8th column. (Notice the difference between columns 7 and 8. In column 7, the actual name of Jehovah appears in the quotation. In column 8, the name *Jehovah* is not a part of the Hebrew Scripture quotation, yet the name of Jehovah is clearly included in the context of the verse.)
- (9) CROSS REFERENCE CITATION ONLY. Our primary source of Hebrew Scripture quotations for this study was the center column cross references of the *New World Translation Reference Edition*. Consequently, a distinction must be made between a true Hebrew Scripture quotation by an apostolic writer, as against mere cross references to subject- or parallel-thought citations in which the divine name occurs. The center column reference does not identify the form of cross references employed. The latter are informative citations, yet for our purposes, they must be segregated from those of column 8 above. As we will see later in this chapter, the mere presence of a parallel subject in the Hebrew Scriptures does not indicate that the inspired Christian writer was quoting that verse. In some cases, the cross reference is to a subject entirely distinct from the divine name. In these instances, an "X" indicates that the Hebrew Scripture verse is not applicable. No entry is made when the citation refers to a Christian Scripture verse.
- (10) NO QUOTATION OR REFERENCE TO THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES. In a certain number of the 237 *Jehovah* references, the inspired Christian Scripture writer was not quoting the Hebrew Scriptures. All passages which lack a Hebrew Scripture source will be identified in this final column with an "X."

The study and its background

In the actual study done by the author, all *Kyrios* (Κύριος) references in the entire Christian Greek Scriptures were evaluated. The complete *Kyrios* list was obtained from the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* J²⁰ reference. However, since there are a number of column entries which apply only to those passages in which *Kyrios* has been ••36•• translated as *Jehovah* in the *New World Translation*, the total study has been divided. Thus, the 237 *Jehovah* references appear in Appendix B with the above ten columns of tabulated information. The total 714 occurrences of *Kyrios* in the Greek Scriptures appear in Appendix C in which the English translation found in the *New World Translation* is given.⁸ For the sake of contrast, Appendix C also includes the *Jehovah* references with the exception of those instances where *Jehovah* was translated from *Theos* (God).

Obtaining the manuscript dates for the respective wording is relatively simple. The footnote for each *Jehovah* passage found in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* always gives a "J" reference identifying one or more Hebrew translation(s) which have a known publication date. In addition, the footnote usually gives an ancient Greek manuscript reference with a *Lord* reading. With this information, the reader can consult the EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS section in the foreword material of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* to find the manuscript date.

Completing the section on the Hebrew Scripture references is more time-consuming, though it is not complicated. First, each *Jehovah* verse is examined in the *New World Translation Reference Edition* Bible. When there is a quotation from a Hebrew Scripture source, its reference is given in the center

⁸ As a matter of reference to the original study, the Greek portion of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* uses the word *Kyrios* 714 times. Of these occurrences, the *New World Translation* renders the word as *Lord* 405 times, as *Jehovah* 223 times, as *Master* (or *master*) 53 times, as *Sir* (or *sir*) 17 times, as *lord* 7 times, as *owner* 5 times, as *God* once, and in one instance the word is not translated. Plurals and possessives of the same word are counted as a single category. In a small number of cases, not all upper case *Lord* citations refer to Jesus. In the Greek language, quotations commence with an upper case letter. Therefore, in a few instances where a quotation includes an address to someone other than Jesus as *Sir*, the word *Kyrios* may be capitalized. (For an example, see Luke 13:25.)

column. The Hebrew Scripture passage is then read, allowing its subsequent placement in the proper category. If the Greek Scripture writer quoted a verse which employed the divine name in the Hebrew Scripture verse, the reference is noted in the column entitled HEBREW SCRIPTURE QUOTATION USING THE DIVINE NAME. Special notice should also be taken of the references set in bold type. The bold type indicates citations from J²⁰ which show the Tetragrammaton in a Hebrew Scripture verse quotation. *These citations represent the most decisive evidence of a quotation source containing ••37•• יהוה, and are always given precedence over other cross reference citations.*⁹

In many cases, the divine name is not a part of the verse quoted from the Hebrew Scriptures by the Greek Scripture writer, although *Jehovah* is clearly identified in the Hebrew Scripture context. In these instances, the passage is identified in the column HEBREW SCRIPTURE QUOTATION REFERRING TO THE DIVINE NAME. The division between actual citation of the divine name and contextual reference to the divine name was made for the sake of interest and precision. *The two categories do not represent a difference of importance.* The 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 use the divine name in the actual verse itself. In the study summary, these two categories will be counted as a single entity.

Some further explanation is required for the column heading CROSS REFERENCE CITATION ONLY. The *New World Translation Reference Edition* has a complete, multi-function cross reference column in the center of the page. As is common practice, this type of cross reference system will include numerous classes of cross references depending on the subject of the verse. As would be expected, when a *Jehovah* verse is quoted from the Hebrew Scriptures, the Hebrew Scripture reference is given.¹⁰ However, there can be confusion if the intent of the cross reference system is not understood. In frequent cases, Hebrew Scripture references are given which refer to a subject- or parallel-thought which contains the divine name, but is not a Hebrew Scripture verse from which a quotation was made. Numerous examples could be given. At Mark 5:19, Jesus tells the man who had been called *Legion* to "Go home ••38•• to your relatives, and report to them all the things Jehovah*^c has done for you..." The "c" footnote cites Exodus 18:8 which says, "And Moses went to relating to his father-in-law all that Jehovah had done to Pharaoh and Egypt on account of Israel." This is a useful comparison to the phrase, "All that Jehovah had done," but it is certainly not to be understood as a direct quotation.¹¹ In other cases, the footnotes are mere parallels in subject matter. At Romans 14:6 Paul says, "...and he who does not eat does not eat to Jehovah*^b..." with the "b" footnote referring to Leviticus 11:8 which says, "YOU must not eat any of their flesh, and YOU must not touch their dead body. They are unclean for YOU."

There are two further qualifications which must be made regarding this column heading CROSS REFERENCE CITATION ONLY. In some cases, cross references are given to Greek Scripture verses. Since

⁹ Few differences exist between the *New World Translation* cross references given as the primary quotation source and J²⁰. When differences in citations for a given quotation between Bible editors do exist, however, it indicates no sense of discrepancy or confusion. Frequently, an important passage will be quoted numerous times throughout the Hebrew Scriptures. Even Moses reiterated what he himself had written; the book of Deuteronomy summarizes much of which was given in Exodus and Leviticus.

¹⁰ In most cases, the actual cross reference to the Hebrew Scripture quotation is not directly linked to the word *Jehovah*, but is attached to a separate word within the verse. As an example, Matthew 3:3 says, "Listen! Someone is crying out in the wilderness, 'Prepare the way of Jehovah,* you people! Make his roads straight.'" In this case, the quotation source of Isaiah 40:3 is given in footnote "f" rather than the asterisk following *Jehovah*. The asterisk (*) merely identifies the textual sources authenticating the divine name. Some care is needed when using these references so that Hebrew quotation sources are not overlooked.

¹¹ We would certainly not be justified in substituting the name *Jehovah* in place of the *Lord Jesus* in each occurrence throughout the Greek Scriptures for the idea expressing, "...something that the Lord did..." based on this statement regarding an event in Moses' life! Many similar examples from other parallel references would show the error which would be introduced by taking a common phrase in the Hebrew Scriptures which used Jehovah's name to introduce the name of Jehovah into the work of Jesus in the Greek Scriptures. The phrase "Following Jehovah fully..." illustrates how subject- or parallel-thought cross reference citations could be misused. This phrase with slight alteration is found at Numbers 32:12, Deuteronomy 1:36, and Joshua 14:8, 9, and 14. It would completely violate the biblical meaning at Luke 9:61 to introduce the name *Jehovah* into the passage making the man Jesus asked to follow him say, "I will follow you, Jehovah; but first permit me to say good-bye to those in my household."

these verses are outside the purview of our search for *Hebrew Scripture* quotations, the category is left blank. (For example, see 1 Corinthians 16:7.) In a few cases, the cross reference to the Hebrew Scripture has insufficient bearing on the divine name to justify its exclusion—though the cross reference remains valuable for other purposes. (For example, see 1 Corinthians 7:17 and Psalm 143:10 with Isaiah 46:11.)

In many cases, however, the Greek Scripture passages have no quotation source in the Hebrew Scriptures. When this is the case, the verse is noted under the column, NO QUOTATION OR REFERENCE TO THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES.

In our final summary, we will combine the results of the two columns CROSS REFERENCE CITATION ONLY and NO QUOTATION OR REFERENCE TO THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES. Inasmuch as the focus of this portion of our study is the determination of genuine Hebrew Scripture quotations, it would be erroneous to include mere parallel references in the count. Both of these columns, in fact, represent the ••39•• absence of a direct quotation in the Greek text from the Hebrew Scriptures which uses the divine name.

The reader must be aware that assigning quotation sources is not a precise science. In some cases, a certain objectivity may be employed; the J²⁰ references can be directly counted, and many of the *New World Translation* footnote references to Hebrew Scripture verses are clear enough to indicate obvious quotation. In other cases, however, any decision regarding selection of verses allowed as a quotation source is subjective. For this reason, the figures given in these categories must be regarded tentatively—it is not the author's intention that they be viewed as absolute numbers. The best solution to this dilemma is for the reader to do his own evaluation of each of the 237 *Jehovah* references. Notwithstanding this difficulty, the policy followed in this research was to recognize a cross reference as an allowable quotation source whenever possible. *If error was made, it was on the side of allowing use of uncertain cross references rather than excluding them.*

For an example of the first entries from Matthew, refer to page 33. You will notice that the first six columns of information come from the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. That means that all dates and information regarding the original Greek words recorded in the study are dates and textual information established by the Watch Tower Society.

A surprising discovery

We are uncertain of the expectations of readers in the early 1950's when they first began studying their new translation. Today, however, experience indicates that readers of the *New World Translation* presume that the majority of the 237 occurrences of Jehovah's name in the *New World Translation's* Christian Greek Scriptures come from passages where the inspired Christian writer inserted a quotation from the Hebrew Scriptures. However, this is not the case. As seen in Appendix B, the *New World Translation* introduces the divine name in the Christian Greek Scriptures 125 times in which there is no quotation source(s) from the Hebrew Scriptures. That is, only 112 references in the Greek manuscripts are quotations of the Hebrew Scriptures which contain the divine name. Thus, a majority of the occurrences of the name *Jehovah* in the Christian Greek Scriptures will be listed in either the category, NO QUOTATION OR REFERENCE TO THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES, or CROSS REFERENCE CITATION ONLY.

The discovery that more than half of the Jehovah references in the Greek Scriptures are not quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures may be surprising to many. The following quotation from the *New World ••40•• Translation* Appendix 1D may leave the reader with the impression that all 237 *Jehovah* references come directly from the Hebrew Scriptures:¹²

To know where the divine name was replaced by the Greek words Kuvrio" and Qeov", 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 Kuvrio" and Qeov" and the personality with which to clothe them.

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

¹² The *New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures Reference Edition*, pp. 1564-1565.

Hebrew versions to confirm our rendering.¹³

A second surprising discovery

There is a second discovery which may also surprise the reader. From today's vantage point of more than 45 years after the original textual materials were gathered, there is an apparent disparity between the dates supporting the Tetragrammaton and those supporting evidence that the original writers of the Christian Greek Scriptures used *Kyrios*. Of the 237 *Jehovah* references, 232 are documented by the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* footnotes as using the word *Kyrios* in extant Greek manuscripts as early as the fourth century C.E. When information from the foreword of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* is used in conjunction with "*All Scriptures is Inspired of God and Beneficial*," (1983 edition, p. 312), seven¹⁴ of these references are affirmed to the year 200 C.E. as using *Kyrios* rather than the Tetragrammaton. Said another way, if the Tetragrammaton had been used by the original writers, *all* indications of its use had disappeared ••41•• within 100-200 years (at most) of the time the apostolic authors wrote. In seven instances substantiated by the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* (1985 edition, p. 15 in reference to P⁴⁶ and P⁷⁵), evidence of the Tetragrammaton would have been lost a mere 102 years after its writing. *In the thousands of manuscript remains which are now available, we realize that there is an absence of even a single example of יהוה in the Greek Scriptures.* Secondly, we now see that evidence for the Tetragrammaton is extremely late. The earliest Hebrew manuscript containing the Tetragrammaton is from 1385 C.E. with the most frequently cited evidence coming from 1599 C.E.

It is interesting to note the specific dates and frequency of citation for several of the more important documents used in the 1947-1949 translation. The earliest Hebrew language version of the Greek Scriptures used to document the Tetragrammaton dates from 1385 C.E. This version is J² and is cited 16 times in the "J" footnotes. (In Chapter 5 we will find evidence that J² may have greater weight than merely being a version.) The most frequently cited version—J⁷—is the Elias Hutter translation dating from 1599 C.E. with 181 references. The two earliest Greek manuscripts indicating that *Kyrios* is the original reading cited in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation's* footnotes date from the fourth century C.E. These are *Vatican MS. No. 1209* and *À (Aleph)-Sinaitic MS.*¹⁵ These two documents account for 232 references in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. With today's availability of textual evidences, if we consider only the date as the basis of comparison, the Greek manuscripts give by far the stronger evidence that *Kyrios* (rather than the Tetragrammaton) was used by the original Greek Scripture writers inasmuch as these two Greek manuscripts predate the J² and J⁷ documents by at least 1,000 years.

Because of its length, the complete study is not duplicated in this chapter. It is reproduced in its entirety in Appendix B.

Remember the objective which prompted this study: our goal was to evaluate our new understanding of the textual and historical evidence supporting the Tetragrammaton in the original Christian Greek Scriptures which may not have been readily available to the New World Bible Translation Committee 45 years ago. From our study thus far, we have discovered that the most current information—researched •• 42•• entirely from Watch Tower Society documents—does not give clear documentation for early Hebrew or Greek sources containing יהוה. The only sources cited by the

¹³ In the quotation above, the reader must note that the "agreement . . . which confirms our rendering," does not come from the Hebrew Scriptures, but rather from Hebrew versions (translations) which are dated 1385 C.E. and later.

¹⁴ Luke 10:27 and 13:35, and John 1:23, 6:45, 12:13, and 12:38 (twice), are represented in P⁷⁵. John 1:23, 6:45, 12:13, and 12:38 (twice) are also represented in P⁶⁶. Both of these composite manuscripts are dated *circa* 200 C.E., which places them a mere 102 years after John wrote his epistle. *Kyrios* rather than the Tetragrammaton is used throughout these very early Greek manuscripts. ("*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*," 1983 edition, p. 312).

¹⁵ Because this particular manuscript is cited frequently in this study, a brief explanation of its textual notation is in order. The textual notation used to identify this Greek manuscript is the Hebrew letter *Aleph* (א). The identifying name of the manuscript itself is *Sinaitic*, and *MS* is the notation for *manuscript*. The parenthetical notation "*(Aleph)*" is merely supplying the English pronunciation for the Hebrew letter א.

translation committee are relatively recent versions done since 1385 C.E. On the other hand, the Greek manuscripts supporting *Kyrios* are easily documented to a very early date.



CHAPTER SUMMARY. A study of the presence of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures must evaluate the earliest and most reliable texts from which our present Bible comes. This is particularly true in light of our progressive understanding of the textual and historical material which has become available since the completion of the *New World Translation* more than 45 years ago. The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* gives substantial information in the following areas:

1. For a given passage using the divine name *Jehovah* in the *New World Translation*, the footnotes will direct the reader to both "J" translation documents which cite uses of the Tetragrammaton, and to ancient Greek manuscripts which cite *Kyrios*.
2. The introductory portion, EXPLANATION OF THE SYMBOLS USED IN THE MARGINAL REFERENCES from the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, will give a brief history and location of each document cited in the footnotes. This information will include the date of writing.
3. The majority of the 237 instances in the *New World Translation* in which the divine name is used in the Greek Scriptures are *not* derived from the Hebrew Scriptures. Only 112 of these instances have a traceable source in the Hebrew Scriptures. The remaining 125 *Jehovah* instances rely solely on Hebrew translations made after 1385.
4. The earliest Hebrew language version of the Greek Scriptures used to document the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures dates from 1385 C.E. and is cited 16 times in *Jehovah* footnote references. The most frequently cited version dates from 1599 C.E. and is cited 181 times in the *Jehovah* footnote references.
5. All extant Greek Scripture manuscripts use *Kyrios* rather than the Tetragrammaton. The two early Greek manuscripts which are most frequently cited in the *Jehovah* footnotes date from the fourth century C.E. These Greek manuscripts are *Vatican MS. No. 1209* and ••43•• Å (*Aleph*)-*Sinaitic MS*. These two manuscripts alone are cited 232 times. Thus, the footnote references from the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* themselves give substantially stronger support for *Kyrios* than יהוה.

Chapter 4: A GREEK INTERLINEAR STUDY (Part 2)

In Chapter 3, we introduced a study of the word *Kyrios* (Κύριος) from the Christian Greek Scriptures. The study specifically evaluates the 237 instances in which the *New World Translation* renders *Kyrios* as *Jehovah*.

••44•• In this chapter we will complete the study with particular attention to the "J" footnote nomenclature given in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*.

The "J" reference footnotes

The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* gives interesting reference and footnote material for each occurrence of the divine name. We are particularly interested in the footnote form and references for two types of information: first, specific ancient Greek manuscript sources and, secondly, later Hebrew versions. For example, the interlinear portion at Matthew 1:24 reads:

24 Ἐγερθεὶς δέ ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου
 Having been awakened but the Joseph from the sleep
 ἐποίησεν ὡς προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἄγγελος Κυρίου
 did as directed to him the angel of Lord
 καὶ παρέλαβεν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ
 and he took along the woman of him;

In the right hand margin, the *New World Translation* reads:

24 Then Joseph woke up from his sleep and did as the angel of Jehovah* had directed him, and he took his wife home.

Because the divine name is used, footnote "24*" is added at the bottom of the page.¹ The footnote reads:

24* Jehovah, J¹-4,7-14,16-18,22-24; Lord, ÅB.

A description of all Greek manuscript and "J" symbols is included under the heading EXPLANATION OF THE SYMBOLS USED in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. The approximate date in which the Greek manuscripts were written and the publication date of the Hebrew translations are given. *For the sake of brevity within the recorded information for the study itself, we only cite the earliest or most concise* ••45•• *textual references.*² That is, in the case of the Hebrew translations, we will cite the publication date of the earliest entry given. In the case of the Greek manuscripts cited, we will give the date range of only the oldest manuscript identified in the footnote. (The complete list of Greek manuscripts and Hebrew translations cited within the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* is summarized in Appendix A.)

The Matthew 1:24 footnote cites 18 Hebrew translations and two Greek manuscripts. For the sake of illustration, we will look at two of these entries. The Hebrew translation J⁷ and the Greek manuscript Å (Aleph) Sinaitic MS are explained on pages 26 and 29 of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, 1969 edition, as follows:³

¹ The center column of the *New World Translation Reference Edition* refers the reader to Appendix 1D which gives only the Hebrew version information. In Appendix 1D, the Hebrew translations J¹-4,7-14,16-18,22-24 are cited though the Greek manuscripts ÅB are not.

² The earliest "J" document used in this verse is J² which bears a date of 1385. Because J², J³, and J⁴ are all related documents, it is clearer to use J⁷ for this illustration. (J⁷ is the earliest complete Hebrew version.) In the main study, however, the date from the earliest manuscript is always the date given.

³ The same entries within the 1985 edition read as:

J⁷ Christian Greek Scriptures in 12 languages, including Heb., by Elias Hutter, Nuremberg, 1599.
 Å (Aleph) Codex Sinaiticus, Gr., fourth cent. C.E., British Museum, H.S., G.S.

J⁷

Greek Scriptures in Hebrew. In 1599 Elias Hutter of Nuremberg, Germany, published his translation of all the Christian Greek Scriptures into Hebrew. This was the first complete Hebrew version of all the canonical Christian Greek Scriptures, forming a part of Hutter's *Polyglott New Testament* of 1599. (A copy is found at the New York Public Library.)

Ⲱ (Aleph)

Sinaitic MS. An uncial Greek manuscript of the 4th century in codex form. Originally it evidently contained the whole Bible, including all the Christian Greek Scriptures. It is at present possessed by the British Museum, London, England.

The footnotes in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* are concise and easy to read, though a basic understanding of their format is first necessary. The footnote reading "24* Jehovah, J^{1-4,7-14,16-18,22-24}; Lord, ⲰB." contains the following information. The "24*" refers to the asterisk after *Jehovah* in verse 24. Following the verse identification, the word *Jehovah* indicates the list of documents which support the use of the divine name in the *New World Translation*. The documents are given as J^{1-4,7-14,16-18,22-24}. This tells us that the Hebrew translations J¹, J², J³, J⁴, and each of J⁷ to J¹⁴, J¹⁶ to J¹⁸, and J²² to J²⁴ all contain the Tetragrammaton in this verse. The footnote then cites two Greek manuscripts ••46•• identified by the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* which substantiate *Kyrios* (Lord) for this same verse. The Greek manuscripts are Ⲱ (Aleph) *Sinaitic MS* and B (*Vatican Manuscript No. 1209*).

The reader should be aware that the Greek manuscripts used as footnote references in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* are merely representative of a select few early examples. We have already referred to the statement on page 319 of "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*," which tells us that over 5,000 Greek manuscripts of the Christian Scriptures exist. The Watch Tower Society does not document any of these Greek texts as using the Tetragrammaton rather than *Kyrios*.⁴

A brief comment regarding version citations is in order. The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* footnotes also include citations of ancient versions (Christian Scripture translations into Latin, Syriac or other early languages) in support of *Lord*. This is a common and useful practice within ancient textual studies. Even though the version is not a Greek text, it can be a valuable resource in determining the original wording of the Greek text. The case for the Tetragrammaton as against *Kyrios* serves as a useful illustration.

The *Latin Vulgate* by Jerome is one of the citations frequently used in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* in support of *Lord*. (It is identified as *Vg.*) The Latin word used by Jerome gives an indication of the reading of the Greek text he used for his translation. Since Jerome originally published his *Vulgate* in 400 C.E., his Greek text was from this date or earlier. Had the Greek text contained the Tetragrammaton, Jerome would have either transcribed the Hebrew letters or translated the divine name into Latin. On the other hand, if the Greek text used the word *Kyrios*, Jerome would have translated it as *Dominus*. In either case, an early version gives strong indication—though not proof—of the Greek words used in early manuscripts.

Manuscript dates in the *Jehovah* footnotes

The *Jehovah* footnotes also direct us to meaningful information regarding manuscript dates.

By this point in the book, the reader must be aware that the age of a manuscript is of great importance. The axiom, "Older is better" is seldom more appropriate than in biblical manuscript studies. This is ••47•• true because older manuscripts are closer in time to the original inspired Scriptures than more recent manuscripts.⁵

A careful review of any given *Jehovah* footnote reveals an interesting comparison of textual dates. Revelation 4:11 is one of the important *Jehovah* verses. Later in this book, we will return to this verse. For now, however, it will give us an important illustration of the manuscript *writing* (or *publication*) date available from the footnotes.

⁴ The Watch Tower Society documents occurrences of the Tetragrammaton in only the *Septuagint*. See Appendix 1c, *New World Translation Reference Edition*.

⁵ However, this statement recognizes the qualifications made in Chapter 2 under the heading "Inspiration and a correct text."

The verse appears in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* as follows:

11 Ἄξιός εἰ, ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν,
 Worthy you are, the Lord and the God of us,
 λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν,
 to receive the glory and the honor and the power,
 ὅτι σὺ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα,
 because you created the all (things)
 καὶ διὰ τὸ θέλημά σου ἦσαν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν.
 and through the will of you they were and they were created

The *New World Translation* quoted in the right hand margin translates the verse:

11 "You are worthy, Jehovah,* even our God, to receive the glory and the honor and the power, because you created all things, and because of your will they existed and were created."

At the bottom of the page, the *Jehovah* footnote is given:

11* Jehovah, J7,8,13,14,16,18; Lord, ἄVgSy^h.

The "11*" verse footnote lists six Hebrew versions (J7,8,13,14,16,18) which substantiate *Jehovah*, and two early Greek manuscripts (ἄ *Sinaitic MS* and A *Alexandrine MS*) and two versions (the Latin *Vulgate* and a Syriac version) which substantiate *Lord*. Though the dates of the various versions and manuscripts are not given in the footnote itself, we can acquire this information from the section entitled EXPLANATION OF THE SYMBOLS USED in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* where the publication dates of 1599, 1661, 1838, 1846, 1866, and 1885 C.E. respectively are given for these Hebrew versions. The early Greek manuscripts are dated from the fourth and fifth centuries (300 to 499 C.E.) and the two versions are given dates of 405 and 464 C.E. respectively.

As a further illustration of the information given in the footnotes, it will be helpful to identify each of the references given for both the ••48•• Tetragrammaton and *Lord* in this verse. They are listed by reference symbol, identification of the version or Greek manuscript, and by date as listed in the introductory material in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. In Table 1, we start with the information listed for various versions of the Greek Scriptures translated into Hebrew, each of which uses the Tetragrammaton.

J7	<i>Christian Greek Scriptures in Hebrew;</i> Elias Hutter.	1599
J8	<i>Christian Greek Scriptures in Hebrew;</i> William Robertson.	1661
J13	<i>Christian Greek Scriptures in Hebrew;</i> A. McCaul and others.	1838
J14	<i>Christian Greek Scriptures in Hebrew;</i> John Christian Reichardt.	1846
J16	<i>Christian Greek Scriptures in Hebrew;</i> John Christian Reichardt and Joachim H. R. Blesenthal.	1866
J18	<i>Christian Greek Scriptures in Hebrew;</i> Isaac Salkinson.	1885

Table 1. The Hebrew versions substantiating *Jehovah* at Revelation 4:11.

From this same verse, a similar (though shorter) list⁶ is given for the word *Kyrios* which is generally translated as *Lord*. This is shown in Table 2.

Ⲙ	<i>Sinaitic MS</i> ; an uncial Greek manuscript.	4th cent.
A	<i>Alexandrine MS</i> ; an uncial Greek manuscript.	5th cent.
Vg	<i>Latin Vulgate</i> ; a revision of Old Latin by Eusebius Jerome.	405 C.E.
Sy ^h	<i>Syriac Peshitta Version</i> .	464 C.E.

Table 2. The Greek word Κύριος (*Kyrios*) substantiating *Lord* at Revelation 4:11.

••49•• The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* cites six Hebrew version sources for Revelation 4:11. The date of the earliest version is 1599 C.E., while the latest version is dated 1885 C.E. By way of contrast, two Greek manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries (301-400 C.E., and 401-500 C.E. respectively) are cited for this verse in support of the Greek word *Kyrios*.

A frequent oversight

It is easy to lose sight of small but significant details when dealing with a research project. For several years in his own research, the author overlooked the importance of the discrepancy in dates between the Hebrew versions and the Greek manuscripts.

Consider what these dates tell us. The translators of the *New World Translation* chose to use the divine name in 237 select verses on the basis of supporting evidence from Hebrew translations of 1385 C.E. and later. By way of contrast, the earliest evidence available for the Greek word *Kyrios* (*Lord*), referred to in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation's* footnotes, was from reliable Greek manuscripts dating as early as 300 C.E.

The new understanding we now have of textual and historical information which has come to light since the translation of the Christian Scriptures of the *New World Translation* forces us to ask an important question. Why are Hebrew translations published in 1385 C.E. and later considered to be more reliable textual sources for the ••50•• Christian Scriptures than the Christian Scriptures themselves which can be verified to the third or fourth century C.E. with approximately 5,000 manuscripts?

A summary of our study

It is time to summarize the data from our study. This information is taken from the complete study recorded in Appendix B and the summary at its conclusion. Reference is also made to the original study of the 714 *Kyrios* references reproduced in Appendix C.

The *New World Translation* uses the divine name *Jehovah* 237 times in the Christian Greek Scriptures. The summary of each of these instances according to the footnotes in the

⁶ The number of references to *Kyrios* (or *Lord*) passages are fewer in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* only because the editors have chosen to cite so few of the existing Greek manuscripts available today. These manuscripts are uniform in their use of *Kyrios* (or *Theos*) rather than the Tetragrammaton. The United Bible Societies' Christian Greek Scripture textual apparatus (see the Bibliography for the *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*), which shows all textual variants in cited Greek manuscripts, was consulted for each of the 237 *Jehovah* references. This volume lists all major Greek Scripture manuscript variations from which translators must choose. The following tabulation was made for each of the *Jehovah* references. Seventy one of the 237 references are specifically discussed in this textual apparatus. *The presence of the Tetragrammaton is never mentioned for any of these 71 verses, and is therefore not considered as a textual variant in any known Greek manuscript.* Further, because the remaining 166 references are not mentioned, we are assured that no basis for textual variants exists in any of the 237 *Jehovah* references. A discussion of *Kyrios* (Κύριος) [*Lord*] and *Theos* (θεός) [*God*] as the choice for the specific verse occurs 31 times. The discussion of the textual preference for *Kyrios* at Revelation 18:8 and 19:6 is particularly noteworthy, and should be consulted.

Kingdom Interlinear Translation is as follows:

Total occurrences of the name <i>Jehovah</i> in <i>NWT</i>	237
Occurrences quoted from Hebrew Scriptures	112 ⁷
Occurrences without a Hebrew Scripture source	125 ⁸
Corresponding Greek word in <i>Kingdom Interlinear Translation</i>	
<i>Kyrios</i> (Κύριος)	223
<i>Theos</i> (θεός)	13
Other (James 1:12)	1
Corresponding English word in <i>Kingdom Interlinear Translation</i>	
For <i>Kyrios</i> (Κύριος)	Lord
For <i>Theos</i> (θεός)	God
Other (James 1:12)	he
Date range of Hebrew Translations supporting יהוה	1385 to 1979
Date range of manuscripts supporting Κύριος	200 to 400 C.E. ⁹

••51•• For the sake of evaluation, it is of interest to compare the above information with the total occurrences of the word *Kyrios* in the entire Christian Greek Scriptures. The following summary information is derived from the comprehensive study of the word *Kyrios* found in Appendix C and evaluates the English translation of the Greek word in both the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* and the *New World Translation*.

<i>Kingdom Interlinear Translation</i>	
<i>Kyrios</i> translated as <i>Lord</i> .	651
<i>Kyrios</i> translated as <i>lord</i> or <i>lords</i> .	62
<i>Kyrios</i> translated as <i>Lords</i> .	1
Total occurrences of <i>Kyrios</i> (κύριος) in <i>KIT</i> .	714
<i>New World Translation</i>	
<i>Kyrios</i> translated as <i>Lord</i> . ¹⁰	406
<i>Kyrios</i> translated as <i>Jehovah</i> .	223
<i>Kyrios</i> translated as <i>Master, master, or masters</i> .	53
<i>Kyrios</i> translated as <i>Sir, sir, or sirs</i> .	17
<i>Kyrios</i> translated as <i>lord</i> .	8
<i>Kyrios</i> translated as <i>owner</i> or <i>owners</i> .	5

⁷This includes 92 quotations in which the divine name is directly found in the Hebrew Scripture verse, and 20 references in which the divine name is clearly used in the context but is not found in the verse itself. (The 92 references include 42 definitive citations from J²⁰.) *In all cases, however, the entire number of 112 instances are to be regarded as a proper quotation of the divine name.*

⁸The total of 125 instances in which the divine name appears in verses which are *not* quotations of Hebrew Scripture references includes 58 instances in which the *New World Translation Reference Edition* cross reference indicates a Hebrew Scripture passage as a subject- or parallel-thought reference and six instances in which the cross reference merely includes other subjects related to the Christian Greek Scripture verse. This leaves a total of 61 instances in which the name *Jehovah* appears in the Greek Scriptures of the *New World Translation* in which there is no cross reference source of any kind to a Hebrew Scripture quotation source.

⁹All six instances at the Gospel of John and two instances at Luke are dated by "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*," (1983 edition, p. 312) as early as *circa* 200 C.E. Each of the three instances at 1 Peter, the six instances at 2 Peter, the three instances at Jude, and four instances at Revelation are dated—by the same source—between 201 and 300 C.E.

¹⁰Initial 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). In these cases, the grammatical structure of the respective sentences requires a capital letter.

<i>Kyrios</i> translated as <i>God</i> .	1
<i>Kyrios</i> not translated.	1
Total representation of <i>Kyrios</i> (κύριος) in NWT.	714

It is particularly interesting to note the variety of English words used by the *New World Translation* for the 714 occurrences of the word *Kyrios* throughout the Christian Greek Scriptures. However, since we are primarily concerned with the English words *Lord* and *Jehovah*, we will confine our comments to these two words.

A simple evaluation of the material from Appendix C indicates that *Lord* is the preferred translation choice for *Kyrios* in the *New World Translation*. It appears as *Lord* 406 times. With only rare exceptions as noted, these 406 occurrences are references to Jesus Christ. The reader is encouraged to carefully study the material in Appendix C, paying particular attention to John's use of the word in the book of Revelation. John uses the Greek word *Kyrios* 23 times in which the ••52•• *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* gives the English translation as *Lord* 20 times and as *lord(s)* three times. On the other hand, the *New World Translation* gives the English translation as *Jehovah* 12 times, as *Lord* eight times, and as *lord(s)* three times.

Making the study personal

This book is a study of textual and historical information. Consequently, it is appropriate that a synopsis expressing the author's personal conclusions from his own research be given. At this point, however, a misapplication of the information-gathering process often follows.

Some will read the information just given with a *positive* bias. Because they are predisposed to *agree* with the author, they will pronounce the information as trustworthy and will accept its veracity with no further personal study.

Their response is faulty. *An author's conclusions do not make the information true.* The conclusions must be verified against the factual foundation of the study. In all probability, neither time nor resources permit the reader to examine every document used in the original research. But a careful study of the information given in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* should be conducted by the reader before endorsing the author's conclusions.

In this regard, the information in Appendices A, B, and C should be carefully examined by consulting the actual text of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. When all information has been verified, then the reader may safely form his own conclusions without depending on the author's opinion. With this degree of verification by the reader, the information the author gives merely supplements the information-gathering process of the reader, and the conclusions formed become those of the reader himself.

On the other hand, others will read this same information with a *disapproving* bias. Because this second group of readers may have a predisposition to *disagree* with the author, they will likely pronounce the information as inaccurate and may dismiss its possible merit without further study.

Their response is also faulty. In all likelihood, this second group of readers will also have insufficient time or resources to duplicate the entire research done by the author. This group of readers, however, must carefully examine the footnote references in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. Again, the final conclusion must result from a personal study of the primary data rather than from a hasty response to the author's statements.

••53•• Either group of readers will profit from the empirical content of this study. By design, this study is not based on an interpretation of Scripture. It is based on historical and textual data. (We certainly understand, however, that history and biblical manuscript studies can be distorted.) Ancient Greek manuscripts exist today which can be examined for their content. Do these manuscripts contain יהוה or Κύριος? *This is the question each reader must ultimately determine for himself.*

At this point, the reader would profit greatly by temporarily laying this book aside in order to do a careful personal study of each *Jehovah* footnote in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. Even better, a complete search of the 714 *Kyrios* passages including each *Jehovah* footnote reference would give the reader a valuable insight into the use of this word in the Christian Scriptures. Appendices B and C can be used to obtain verse locations, but the conclusions should be the reader's. With *Jehovah* God's help, the reader may draw his own conclusions regarding the presence of the Tetragrammaton within the

Christian Greek Scriptures.¹¹

••54•• On this note we close this chapter, but look ahead to the remainder of the book. Neither accept nor reject the forthcoming information on the basis of what you *think* the correct answer should be. Whenever possible, directly evaluate the primary sources of information for yourself *and then draw your own conclusion* regarding the place of the Tetragrammaton in the inspired Christian Greek Scriptures.

CHAPTER SUMMARY. The footnote information supplied with each *Jehovah* reference in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* leads to the following conclusions:

1. In all 237 *Jehovah* references found in the *New World Translation*, the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* gives two sets of dates. The earliest dates verify that *Kyrios* (*Lord*) was in all Greek manuscripts between 301 and 400 C.E. The later dates support the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew versions dated 1385 C.E. and following.
2. In most instances outside of the 237 *Jehovah* references, the Greek word *Kyrios* (when used as a title) is identified with the person of Jesus Christ by the *New World Translation*. (*Kyrios* is translated as *Lord* 406 times. See Appendix C for further explanation.)
3. The suitability of the Tetragrammaton for the 237 *Jehovah* passages is derived *only* from later Hebrew translations. The earliest supporting evidence comes from 1385 C.E., with the bulk of the evidence coming from 1599 C.E. and later. In fact, *no direct textual evidence showing the Tetragrammaton in the original Christian Greek Scriptures is given by the Watch Tower Society*.
4. The translators of the *New World Translation* used the word *Jehovah* rather than *Lord* in 237 selected references. Thus, 26 Hebrew versions dating from 1385 C.E. are given more importance than are the approximately 5,000 Greek manuscripts, dating from the fourth century C.E., which use the word *Lord*.

¹¹ For some, this may be difficult because of inexperience with personal Bible research. If this is the case, the following suggestion may be helpful. Do a personal study of the footnotes for each of the 237 *Jehovah* references in the *New World Translation*, looking for evidence of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures. You only need the *New World Translation Reference Edition* and the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. (No knowledge of the Greek language is necessary for this study. You will merely be identifying a form of Κύριος or θεός which is always written over the English word *Lord* or *God*.) The *Reference Edition* gives you the 237 *Jehovah* references in Appendix 1D (on page 1565) and ample cross reference material for the Hebrew Scripture quotations in the center column. The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* gives you the complete "J" footnote and the explanation of the nomenclature and dates for each Greek manuscript and Hebrew version. Be certain to read the foreword material in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* before starting your study. Establish the columns for data which you feel are necessary for your own particular study and enter the material from each of the 237 *Jehovah* references in the appropriate column. You could duplicate some or all of the 10 headings used in Appendix B. However, you may wish to simplify the information you enter in your personal study. (For example, you may not wish to identify J²⁰ quotations since not all citations of Hebrew quotations are found in the "J" references.) However, once you have started your study, make it your own. Do not merely copy Appendix B. (After you have started your study, do not even *consult* Appendix B until you are completely finished!) Do not be concerned if your study differs from the results in this book. In many cases such as Hebrew Scripture quotations, there are a number of possible verse references from which you may choose, inasmuch as the verse—or parallel thought—may appear in numerous Hebrew Scripture references. Whatever you do, *make it your own personal study*.

SECTION 2

Hebrew manuscripts and their place in the
inspired Christian Greek Scriptures.

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Chapter 5: MATTHEW'S GOSPEL IN HEBREW

Hebrew language and manuscript studies are important for an accurate understanding of the Christian Greek Scriptures. Both the Hebrew language and culture strongly influenced the Greek words and ••57•• thought patterns used in the Christian Scriptures. Though the majority of the Hebrew Scripture quotations come from the *Septuagint*, by no means is this always true. In some instances, such as the book of Hebrews, the writer translated directly from Hebrew to Greek when quoting Scripture.

Thus, a comprehensive study of the Christian Scriptures must also consider Hebrew language documents. In the case of this present study, however, there is even greater need to become acquainted with Hebrew texts, inasmuch as verification of the divine name in the *New World Translation* Christian Greek Scriptures comes directly from Hebrew sources.¹

In this and the following two chapters, we will consider three topics dealing with Hebrew language manuscripts.

An early Hebrew Gospel

The August 15, 1996 *The Watchtower* introduced an important book by George Howard.² Howard's book, *The Gospel of Matthew According to a Primitive Hebrew Text*,³ evaluates the final section (identified as a *book*) within a work published by Shem-Tob ben-Isaac ben-Shaprut in the 1380's. This Jewish physician, whom we will identify simply as Shem-Tob, published a polemic⁴ entitled ••58•• *Even Bohan* (אבן בוהן, "The Touchstone") which consisted of 17 *sections* or *books*. On the first page of the introduction, Howard describes Shem-Tob's work.

Of the original books the first deals with the principles of the Jewish faith, the next nine deal with various passages in the Bible that were disputed by Jews and Christians, the eleventh discusses certain haggadic [commentary] sections in the Talmud used by Christians or proselytes to Christianity, and the twelfth contains the entire Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew along with polemical comments by Shem-Tob interspersed throughout the text.

Howard's book is concerned with the final portion of Shem-Tob's work in which this Jewish apologist reproduced a complete Gospel of Matthew in the Hebrew language.

The basis of our interest

We are interested in Howard's work for two reasons. First, Howard presents persuasive evidence that this is a late recension of the actual Hebrew Gospel written by Matthew. If this is true, then this Hebrew Gospel should not be ranked as a Hebrew version, but as an actual descendant of the work of the Apostle himself.

Howard states that further scholarly work must be done to establish the validity of this claim. Nonetheless, should this Hebrew Gospel of Matthew be fully authenticated as a recension of the *lost* first century Hebrew Gospel, it will shed important textual light on Christian Scripture manuscript

¹ On page 12 in the Foreword of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* (1985 edition) the New World Bible Translation Committee says:

We have looked for some agreement with us by the Hebrew versions we consulted to confirm our own rendering [of the divine name]. Thus, out of the 237 times that we have restored Jehovah's name in the body of our translation, there is only one instance wherein we have no support or agreement from any of the Hebrew versions. But in this one instance, namely, at 1 Corinthians 7:17, the context and related texts strongly support restoring the divine name.

² The reference appears on page 13 in the article, "Jesus' Coming or Jesus' Presence—Which?"

³ Permission has been granted from Mercer University Press, Macon, Georgia, 31207 to reproduce material in this chapter from *The Gospel of Matthew According to a Primitive Hebrew Text* by George Howard, 1987. This includes the Hebrew and English quotations from Shem-Tob's *Matthew* and miscellaneous citations throughout this chapter taken from Howard's book.

⁴ Webster's *New Collegiate Dictionary* defines a polemic as, "An aggressive attack on or refutation of the opinions or principles of another."

studies. This is an exciting discovery!

Secondly, the Shem-Tob manuscript is one of the "J" documents listed in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* footnotes. J² is the actual Shem-Tob *Matthew*, while J³ and J⁴ are identified as revisions.⁵ The ••59•• summary of these three "J" references as given in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* (1969 edition, pages 28-29) reads,

J²

Matthew in Hebrew. About 1385 a Jew named Shem Tob ben Shaprut of Tudela in Castile, Spain, wrote a polemical work against Christianity entitled *Eben Bohan* in which he incorporates *Matthew* in Hebrew as a separate chapter. (Cursive manuscripts of Shem Tob's *Eben Bohan* are found at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York City.)

J³

Matthew and *Hebrews* in Hebrew. Sebastian Münster revised and completed an imperfect manuscript copy of Shem Tob's *Matthew*. This he published and printed in Basel, Switzerland, in 1537. Later, in 1557, Münster published his Hebrew version of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. (A copy is found at the New York Public Library.)

J⁴

Matthew in Hebrew. A revision of Münster's *Matthew* made and published by Johannes Quinquarboreus, Paris, France, 1551. (A copy is found at the New York Public Library.)

Identification of Shem-Tob manuscripts

Howard identifies nine Shem-Tob manuscripts used in his study. (That is, nine separate manuscripts of the Shem-Tob *Matthew* text were available for comparison.) One of the nine is presumably the actual J² manuscript used by the New World Bible Translation Committee and is housed in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York.

Earlier we discussed *textual criticism* and the study of variant manuscripts. The nine Shem-Tob manuscripts give an example of this process. On pages x and xi (Roman numerals 10 and 11) of his introduction, Howard identifies all these manuscripts as 15th to 17th century copies. Of these, some are identified as being of fair quality, though they evidence considerable revision in regard to the improvement of grammar and were edited with the view of bringing them into agreement with the wording of the Greek Gospel of Matthew. Other manuscripts he classifies as being of mediocre quality. Some of the manuscripts are incomplete. Two manuscripts are identified as being of high quality with the least amount of copyist editing. Howard generally relied on these latter two high-quality manuscripts for the translation of the Gospel of Matthew included in his book.

The testimony supporting Matthew's Hebrew Gospel

••60•• There is abundant and early evidence that Matthew wrote a Gospel in the Hebrew language. Jerome, writing in the fourth century, is quoted in the reference edition of the *New World Translation* as follows:

"Matthew, who is also Levi, and who from a publican came to be an apostle, first of all composed a Gospel of Christ in Judaea in the Hebrew language and characters for the benefit of those of the circumcision who had believed. Who translated it after that in Greek is not sufficiently ascertained. Moreover, the Hebrew itself is preserved to this day in the library at Caesarea, which the martyr

⁵ On pages 160-162 in the book cited, Howard argues against Münster's work being a revision of Shem-Tob. However, whether or not J² is a revision of Shem-Tob is moot from the perspective of its use as a "J" reference. The concern of the New World Bible Translation Committee was the *wording used* in this Hebrew text, not its source. The use of יהוה (or ה') in J² remains unaltered. Nonetheless, Howard identifies Münster's work as coming from an older Hebrew tradition rather than from a translation of the Greek text (pp.160-176). Therefore, J³ probably correctly stands as an authentic Hebrew language Gospel and should not be classified as a version. In the same section, Howard identifies Jean du Tillet's Hebrew *Matthew* as also coming from a Hebrew Gospel source rather than being a translation from Greek. Thus, J¹ would also be listed as a Hebrew Gospel rather than a Hebrew version. Redefining J¹, J², J³, and J⁴ as Hebrew Gospels originating from an original Hebrew text gives the New World Bible Translation Committee a considerably stronger position than merely identifying these "J" documents as Hebrew versions.

Pamphilus so diligently collected. I also was allowed by the Nazarenes who use this volume in the Syrian city of Beroea to copy it."⁶

There is no reason to doubt the veracity of Jerome's statement. In all likelihood, Matthew, a Jew employed by Rome as a tax collector, was capable of writing in Hebrew,⁷ Greek, and Latin. It is certainly probable that he wrote a Gospel account to his fellow Israelites in the spoken language of the day. It is entirely possible that the Gospel we have today was a translation⁸ by Matthew himself from his Hebrew ••61•• Gospel. Jerome's statement implies that the Hebrew text he copied was identifiable by him as a parallel of the Greek Gospel of Matthew.

In the book we are consulting by George Howard, he gives further evidence of Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew (pp. 156-157). The following quotations from early writers merely represent a few of the better preserved references:

Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 3.1.1

Matthew also issued a written Gospel among the Hebrews in their own dialect while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and laying the foundations of the Church.

Origen as quoted by Eusebius, *H.E.* 3.24.6

As having learnt by tradition concerning the four Gospels, which alone are unquestionable in the Church of God under heaven, that first was written that according to Matthew, who was once a tax collector but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, who published it for those who from Judaism came to believe, composed as it was in the Hebrew language.

Eusebius, *H.E.* 3.24.6

Matthew had first preached to Hebrews, and when he was on the point of going to others he transmitted in writing in his native language the Gospel according to himself, and thus supplied by writing the lack of his own presence to those from whom he was sent.

From the abundant evidence available, there would be no reason to doubt that the Apostle Matthew did, in fact, compose a Gospel written in Hebrew. Further, we can be certain that this Hebrew

⁶ *New World Translation Reference Edition*, 1984, p. 1564.

⁷ It has long been held that the conversational language of Palestine in Jesus' day was limited to Aramaic rather than Hebrew. However, based on manuscripts from the Dead Sea Scrolls, Howard gives evidence that biblical Hebrew was used as a spoken language in Jesus' day (*Op Cit.*, pp. 155 to 156). Consequently, Matthew could just as well have written in Hebrew as in Aramaic. The reader should be aware, however, that Hebrew and Aramaic are closely related languages. They use a similar script and vocabulary, and primarily differ in areas of grammatical structure.

⁸ Howard presents convincing evidence that the Shem-Tob *Matthew* (which is J²) is actually a copy of this early Matthew Hebrew Gospel. He then makes the following comments on pages 225 to 226 (*Op cit.*),

If the conclusion to this study is correct, namely, that the old substratum to the Hebrew Matthew found in the *Even Bohan* [J²] is an original Hebrew composition, the question of the relationship of this old Hebrew substratum to the canonical Greek text is of great importance. As stated before, three basic possibilities exist: (1) The old substratum to Shem-Tob's text is a translation of the Greek Matthew. [A conclusion from an earlier discussion], in the judgment of this writer, rules out this possibility. (2) The Greek Matthew is a translation of the old Hebrew substratum. This likewise does not appear to be a possibility. Although the two texts are accounts of the same events basically in the same order, careful analysis of their lexical and grammatical correspondences fails to support the Greek as a translation. (3) Both the old Hebrew substratum and the Greek Matthew represent compositions in their own respective languages. This latter appears to be the best explanation of the evidence. It implies that the two texts are two editions in different languages of the same traditional material with neither being a translation of the other.

There is evidence from ancient times that this sometimes occurred. Josephus tells us that his work, *The Jewish War* (75-79 C.E.), was first written in Aramaic or Hebrew and then translated in Greek (Josephus, *War* 1.3). The evidence suggests, however, that Josephus did not actually translate, in a literal sense, the Semitic original, but, in fact, virtually rewrote the whole account. The Aramaic/Hebrew original apparently served only as a model for the Greek version to follow.

In regard to the Hebrew and Greek Matthew, their similarity in arrangement and wording suggest that one, as in the case with Josephus, served as a model for the other...Any conclusion in regard to the priority of the Hebrew Matthew vis-a-vis the Greek, or vice versa, must not be hastily drawn. Which one came first will be determined conclusively only after much further study and accumulation of evidence.

Gospel was copied and circulated for an extended period of time among Hebrew-speaking readers.

Shem-Tob as a recension of Matthew's Hebrew Gospel

••62•• We are unable to give an adequate representation of Howard's valuable work in this brief chapter. At the very least, we will over-simplify the complexity of identifying Shem-Tob's *Matthew* as a recension of the original Hebrew Gospel. Howard has done a great deal of textual work leading to his conclusions which require appropriate qualification rather than a simple statement identifying J² (Shem-Tob's *Matthew*) as the Hebrew Gospel written by Matthew himself.

Nonetheless, we are left with the fascinating possibility that in J² we possess a copy of the Apostle Matthew's Hebrew Gospel despite the fact that it has passed through successive generations of unknown copyists and editors. Even though this editing weakens the full impact of the Gospel, it gives us much greater insight into Matthew's work in Hebrew than does any other source known today.

After a series of comparisons of Shem-Tob's Hebrew text with the Greek canonical Matthew, Howard makes this comment on pages 176-177:

These examples show that in some way the First Gospel in Shem-Tob fits into a process of textual evolution that began in primitive times and culminated in du Tillet [J¹] in the sixteenth century, or possibly later if our survey should include subsequent Hebrew texts of Matthew. The suggestion made here is that the gospel text incorporated into the *Even Bohan* was not a freshly made translation of the first Gospel by Shem-Tob, but was a reproduction, possibly with some revision by Shem-Tob himself, of an already existing literary Hebrew tradition that had been in the process of evolution for some time.

On page 223 Howard adds this comment:

The text also is written in a kind of Hebrew one would expect from a document composed in the first century but preserved in late rabbinic manuscripts. It is basically composed in biblical Hebrew with a healthy mixture of Mishnaic Hebrew and later rabbinic vocabulary and idiom.

In these summary statements, *Howard is saying that Shem-Tob's Matthew was copied—and possibly further edited by Shem-Tob himself—from a series of manuscripts which traced their origin back to the original Gospel the Apostle Matthew had written in the Hebrew language.* Even as we now understand the variations introduced in a text from successive hand copying through generations, we understand the significance of Howard's terminology stating that the present Shem-Tob *Matthew* "fits into a process of textual evolution."⁹ ••63•• Nonetheless, the importance of the work leading up to this statement (assuming that it can be fully substantiated with additional scholarly efforts) ranks the work of Howard among the dramatic textual advances in Christian Scripture studies.¹⁰

It is intriguing to realize that this book published in 1987 changes our thinking from regarding Shem-Tob's work as a mere translation, to the realization that it may be an actual copy—albeit flawed—of the work of the Apostle himself!

The divine name in Shem-Tob's *Matthew*

In the context of this study, our interest in Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew is the use of the Tetragrammaton. Does Shem-Tob use the divine name?

Howard transcribed the entire Hebrew Gospel according to the most trustworthy extant manuscripts. Of this transcription he says,

The printed [Hebrew] text preserves the British Library manuscript and D in their relevant

⁹ The reader may well ask why it is so difficult to be certain of the original wording of this text when we are so confident of the wording of the Christian Scriptures. The answer is found in the limited number—and recent age—of extant Hebrew manuscripts available for comparison. There are a limited number of Hebrew Gospels coming from this tradition which are available for study. (That is, only manuscripts which evidence transmission of the original work of Matthew could be used. Hebrew *versions* must be entirely excluded.) Secondly, of the potential manuscripts which fall into this category, all are recent copies, presumably dating from the 13th century and later. In contrast, we have some 5,000 partial to complete manuscripts of the Christian Scriptures some of which date to the second and third centuries.

¹⁰ It is evident from the footnote references in *The Gospel of Matthew According to a Primitive Hebrew Text* that others have contributed to this study as well.

sections along with their errors and inconsistencies in spelling and grammar. Periods and question marks have been added editorially to the printed Hebrew. In a few instances where the base text has a lacuna [a missing part within the text], the text of another manuscript is printed within parentheses.

In addition to the Hebrew text, Howard gives a parallel English translation on the facing page. The line format and verse numbers allow the reader who is unfamiliar with Hebrew to scan the text for the divine name with reasonable certainty.

Before evaluating the Hebrew text itself, we must review an interesting section of Howard's book under the heading, "The Divine Name" found on pages 201-203. On page 201, he says:

A set of interesting readings in the Hebrew Matthew of Shem-Tob is a series of passages incorporating the Divine Name ••64•• symbolized by ׁה (apparently a circumlocution for השה, "The Name"). This occurs some nineteen times. (Fully written השה occurs at 28:9 and is included in the nineteen.) Usually the Divine Name appears where the Greek reads kuvio" [Lord], twice (21:12 mss, 22:31) where the Greek reads qeov" [God], and twice where it occurs alone (22:32; 27:9). (1) It regularly appears in quotations from the Hebrew Bible where the M[asoretic] T[ext] contains the Tetragrammaton. (2) It occurs in introductions to quotations as, for example, at 1:22, "All this was to complete what was written by the prophet according to the LORD "; and at 22:31, "Have you not read concerning the resurrection of the dead that the LORD spoke to you saying." (3) In narratives apart from quotation it occurs in such phrases as "angel of the LORD" or "house of the LORD ." Thus, 2:13, "As they were going, behold, the angel of the LORD appeared unto Joseph saying"; 2:19, "It came to pass when King Herod died the angel of the LORD appeared in a dream to Joseph in Egypt"; 21:12, "Then Jesus entered the house of the LORD "; 28:2, "Then the earth was shaken because the angel of the LORD descended from heaven to the tomb, overturned the stone, and stood still."

We should also consider the information in a footnote from page 202 which says in part,

By incorporating the Hebrew Matthew into his *Even Bohan*, Shem-Tob apparently felt compelled to preserve the Divine Name along with the rest of the text. ׁה in Shem-Tob's Matthew should not be viewed as a symbol for both Adonai and the Tetragrammaton as was customary for Hebrew documents copied during the Middle Ages. The author of the Hebrew Matthew uses Adonai and ׁה discriminately. He uses Adonai in reference to Jesus and ׁה only in reference to God. Since אדוני (often itself abbreviated as אדו) refers to Jesus, not God, throughout the text, the author's use of ׁה is a symbol only for the Tetragrammaton and in all probability stands for the circumlocution השה, "The Name."

The following passages have been reproduced from the Shem-Tob *Matthew* in George Howard's *The Gospel of Matthew According to a Primitive Hebrew Text*. The English translation taken from the same book is reproduced under the Hebrew text. The first passage from Matthew chapter one shows two examples within verses 22 and 24 of the surrogate ׁה which replaces the circumlocution השה meaning *The Name*. (In the remainder of the chapter, we will generally identify either the surrogate or a longer written form as simply the *circumlocution*.) This passage also shows an interesting instance in which there is a variance between the *New World Translation* and Shem-Tob. At verse 20, the *New World Translation* reads, "Jehovah's ••65•• angel," whereas Shem-Tob reads, "an angel." Where applicable in the following examples, the reading from the *New World Translation* is inserted into the English text in brackets. The divine name is circled and connected to its corresponding translation in the English text.

Matthew 1:20-23

20 ובחשבו בזה הדבר בלבו והנה מלאך גראה אליו בחלום ואמר יוסף
בן דוד אל תירא לקחת אשתך מרים שמרוח הקדוש היא מעוברת.

20 While he thought on this matter in his heart, behold an [Jehovah's *NWT*] angel appeared unto him in a dream and said: Joseph son of David do not fear to take your wife Mary because she is pregnant by the Holy Spirit.

21 ותלד בן ותקרא שמו ישוע כי הוא יושיע את עמי מעונותם.

21 She will bear a son and you will call his name Jesus because he will save my people from their sins.

22 כל זה לנמור מה שנכתב מאת הנביא על פי ה'.

22 All this was to complete what was written by the prophet according to the **Lord** [Jehovah NWT].

23 הנה העלמה הרה ותלד בן וקראת שמו עמנואל שרל עמנו אלקים.

23 Behold the young woman will conceive and bear a son and you will call his name Emmanuel, that is, God with us.

24 ויקץ יוסף משנתו ויעש ככל אשר צוה אותו מלאך ה' ויקח את אשתו.

24 Then Joseph awoke from his sleep, did according to all which the angel of the **Lord** [Jehovah NWT] commanded him and took his wife.

In the following two examples, we encounter variations in the circumlocution within the Shem-Tob manuscript itself. The reference at Matthew 5:33 adds the Hebrew letter *Lamedh* (ל) which is the preposition "to" in combination with the circumlocution for the divine name. The reference at Matthew 28:9 shows the circumlocution written in full.

Matthew 5:33

33 עוד שמעתם מה שנאמר לקדמונים לא תשבעו בשמי לשקר ותשיב לה' שבעתך.

33 Again you have heard what was said to those of long ago: You shall not swear by my name falsely, but you shall return to the **Lord** [Jehovah NWT] your oath.

••66••

Matthew 28:9

9 והמה הולכות וישף עבר לפניהם אומר השם וישעכן. והם קרבו אליו ויקדו לו וישתחוו לו.

9 As they were going Jesus passed before them saying: May the **Name** deliver you ["Good day!" NWT]. They came near to him and bowed down to him and worshipped him.

In the last example, we see a reference using the circumlocution within the Shem-Tob *Matthew* whereas the *New World Translation* does *not* use the divine name.

Matthew 21:12

12 ויבא ישף בית ה' וימצא שם הקונים והמוכרים. ויהפוך לוחות השלחנים והמושבות מוכרי היינים.

12 Jesus entered the house of the **Lord** [temple NWT] and found there those who buy and sell. He overturned the tables of the money-changers and the seats of those who were selling doves.

The divine name is used 18 times in the Gospel of Matthew within the *New World Translation*. In contrast, the circumlocution which stands for the divine name (including all variants of its written form) is used 19 times in the Shem-Tob *Matthew*. Table 3 compares these references in the two Matthew Gospels.

As one can see, there are no discrepancies in the translation *sense* between the use of the circumlocution in Shem-Tob's *Matthew* and the divine name in the same locations of the *New World Translation*. The variants are merely textual alterations in wording. (We must add, however, that in dealing with textual variations between manuscripts, we may make the statement that certain differences are inconsequential. This does *not* imply that we are not concerned with the end result of textual studies. When the work is completed, *it is our goal to obtain the exact wording of the inspired Scripture writers.*) For example, in some instances (1:20, 2:15, and 4:4) Shem-Tob does not include the divine name, whereas the Westcott and Hort text uses Kyrios (Kuvrio"). The reverse is also

true at 27:9. In one instance (27:10) Shem-Tob uses *Adonai* rather than the circumlocution for *The Name*. In two instances (22:31-32) the *New World Translation* uses *God* rather than *Jehovah*. At 28:9 Shem-Tob uses "The Name" as a form of greeting whereas the Westcott and Hort Greek text uses the word *chairete* (Caivreteæ) which is a greeting derived from the word *Rejoice*.

	Shem-Tob	NWT		Shem-Tob	NWT
Matthew			21:9	יְהוָה	Jehovah
1:20	∅	Jehovah	21:12	יְהוָה	temple
1:22	יְהוָה	Jehovah	21:42	יְהוָה	Jehovah
1:24	יְהוָה	Jehovah	22:31	יְהוָה	God
2:13	יְהוָה	Jehovah	22:32	יְהוָה	God
2:15	∅	Jehovah	22:37	יְהוָה	Jehovah
2:19	יְהוָה	Jehovah	22:44	יְהוָה	Jehovah
3:3	יְהוָה	Jehovah	23:39	יְהוָה	Jehovah
4:4	∅	Jehovah	27:9	יְהוָה	∅
4:7	יְהוָה	Jehovah	27:10	אֲדוֹנָי	Jehovah
4:10	יְהוָה	Jehovah	28:2	יְהוָה	Jehovah
5:33	יְהוָה	Jehovah	28:9	הַשָּׂמֶי	Good day

Table 3. The divine name in Shem-Tob's *Matthew* compared with the *New World Translation*.

••67•• In and of themselves, these are not significant *textual* differences. What is bothersome, however, is that there is *variation of any kind* in light of the presumption that the *New World Translation* represents a corrected text which better reflects Matthew's original Gospel.

Before leaving this section, it will be of interest to compare the frequency of the footnote citations in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* for each of the four "J" references which come from this Hebrew tradition. The four are: J¹—*Matthew* by Jean du Tillet (1555), J²—Shem-Tob's *Matthew* (1385), J³—*Matthew* by Münster (1537), and J⁴—a revision of Münster's *Matthew* by Quinquarboreus (1551). Table 4 indicates the presence (*yes*) or absence (*no*) of a footnote citation to the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew text. (Note that the Shem-Tob text does not actually contain the Tetragrammaton, but contains a circumlocution as indicated. In the cases of J¹, J³, and J⁴, we are citing the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* footnote without reference to the actual document for verification.)

If each of the four recensions were perfect transmissions of the original Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, we would see identical *yes* or *no* responses across each line. Of course, no hand copies separated from the original by 1300 years are perfect. Thus, the above table gives an idea of the textual variation which has crept into these recensions during this period of time.

Table 4 is included merely for its interest in comparing the four Hebrew recensions from this early Hebrew manuscript tradition. The ••68•• variations in no way cast doubt on the veracity of the Shem-Tob manuscript.

	Shem-Tob	J ¹	J ³	J ⁴		Shem-Tob	J ¹	J ³	J ⁴
Matthew					4:10	yes	yes	yes	yes
1:20	no	no	yes	no	5:33	yes	yes	yes	no
1:22	yes	yes	yes	no	21:9	yes	no	no	yes
1:24	yes	no	yes	yes	21:42	yes	yes	yes	yes
2:13	yes	no	no	no	22:37	yes	yes	no	no
2:15	no	no	no	no	22:44	yes	yes	no	yes
2:19	yes	no	no	yes	23:39	yes	yes	yes	yes
3:3	yes	yes	no	yes	27:10	yes	yes	no	yes
4:4	yes	yes	yes	yes	28:2	yes	no	no	yes
4:7	yes	yes	yes	yes					

Table 4. The divine name in Shem-Tob's *Matthew* (J²) compared with the use of the divine name in J¹, J³, and J⁴.

The crucial issues

The differences between the Shem-Tob *Matthew* and the representation of Matthew in the *New World Translation* Christian Scriptures are not great. Nonetheless, two areas of comparison between a probable recension of Matthew's ancient Gospel and the *New World Translation's* Matthew surprise us in light of the assertion that the *New World Translation* reinstates the divine name which was removed by carelessness and heresy.

1. We would expect that an accurate restoration of the Gospel of Matthew would parallel the use of the divine name in a recension of Matthew's Hebrew language Gospel with high precision. However, as we have seen in Table 3, this is not the case. In spite of the fact that there is precise correspondence in 15 instances where Shem-Tob uses *The Name* (or a related form) and the *New World Translation* uses *Jehovah*, we are, nonetheless, left with eight instances in which one or the other does *not* exactly correspond in the use of the divine name. Considering the claim that the *New World Translation* restores the wording of the Christian Scriptures to its original written form, this variation is too large to be acceptable. Stated in mathematical terminology, we have only a 0.65 correlation, whereas we would expect close to a 1.00 correlation for a true restoration. (That is, of a total of 23 occurrences of the divine name in either or both the Shem-Tob *Matthew* and the Gospel of Matthew ••69•• in the *New World Translation*, there is agreement in 15 instances. Thus, 15 divided by 23 equals 0.65, whereas the ideal of 23 divided by 23 equals 1.00.)
2. In and of itself, the presence of a circumlocution meaning *The Name* (יְהוָה) rather than the Tetragrammaton (יהוה) itself is not of great significance considering typical textual variants found within textual criticism studies. In this case, however, it is cause for concern. The New World Bible Translation Committee assures us that Matthew used the Tetragrammaton. This is in sharp contrast to Matthew's use of a circumlocution.¹¹ *If Matthew wrote יְהוָה in its surrogate form, or even יְהוָה (The Name in written form), he did not, in fact, write the Tetragrammaton.* As we have already seen, Shem-Tob's *Matthew* is a recension which "fits into a process of textual evolution." We may speculate that Matthew himself used the Tetragrammaton and it, too, was changed in time. However, we are nonetheless confronted with the reality that *the current text we possess which gives indication of Matthew's Hebrew writing does not use the Tetragrammaton.*

New light on Christian Scripture studies

Our search in this book is for new light on ancient Christian Scripture manuscripts. We are particularly looking for information ••70•• which was unavailable to the New World Bible Translation Committee in the late 1940's. Most certainly the discovery that Shem-Tob's work is no longer considered a Hebrew version is *new light* indeed! In the 1969 edition of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* (page 16), the New World Bible Translation Committee is quoted as saying,

There is evidence that various recensions of the Hebrew and Aramaic versions of Matthew's

¹¹ In the "Questions from Readers" from the August 15, 1997 *The Watchtower*, the following question and answer is given:

Is the Tetragrammaton (the four Hebrew letters of God's name) found in the Hebrew text of Matthew copied by the 14th-century Jewish physician Shem-Tob ben Isaac Ibn Shaprut?

No, it is not. However, this text of Matthew does use *hash-Shem'* (written out or abbreviated) 19 times, as pointed out on page 13 of *The Watchtower* of August 15, 1996.

The Hebrew *hash-Shem'* means "the Name," which certainly refers to the divine name. For example, in Shem-Tob's text, an abbreviated form of *hash-Shem'* appears at Matthew 3:3, a passage in which Matthew quoted Isaiah 40:3. It is reasonable to conclude that when Matthew quoted a verse from the Hebrew Scriptures where the Tetragrammaton is found, he incorporated the divine name in his Gospel. So while the Hebrew text that Shem-Tob presented does not use the Tetragrammaton, its use of "the Name," as at Matthew 3:3, supports the use of "Jehovah" in the Christian Greek Scriptures.

...Shem-Tob's text of Matthew included "the Name" where there is good reason to believe that Matthew actually used the Tetragrammaton. Thus, since 1950, Shem-Tob's text has been used as a support for employing the divine name in the Christian Greek Scriptures, and it still is cited in *The New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures—With References*.

account persisted for centuries among the early Jewish Christian communities of Palestine and Syria. Early writers, such as Papias, Hegesippus, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Symmachus, Irenaeus, Pantaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Pamphilus, Eusebius, Epiphanius and Jerome, give evidence that they either possessed or had access to Hebrew and Aramaic writings of Matthew.

How delighted these men would be today to see this confirmation in George Howard's book of their early statement. In 1950, they could only look back to evidence of the *use* of these Hebrew and Aramaic recensions of Matthew's account. In all probability, today we are able to look at a reconstructed Hebrew Gospel of Matthew itself!

If this document is ultimately verified as a late copy of Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, we will, for the first time in modern biblical studies, have limited access to his *lost* Hebrew Gospel. Of course, editorialized changes over the centuries have reduced its precision. Yet, it remains a valuable research tool.

The work of Shem-Tob has been known among Jewish and Christian scholars since it was published in the late 14th century. As such, it was cited 16 times in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* footnotes as a Hebrew version with the identification nomenclature of J². With Howard's recent research, however, we have an entirely new insight into the reading of Matthew's Hebrew Gospel which was available only through speculation to those working on the *New World Translation* between 1947 and 1949.

We now know that the best surviving recension from the work of the Apostle Matthew verifies the use of the divine name in the 20 instances indicated in Table 3. We also know that these same 20 instances use a circumlocution rather than the Tetragrammaton and that they differ in verse location from the 18 references to *Jehovah* in the *New World Translation*.



CHAPTER SUMMARY. Shem-Tob, a Jewish physician writing in the 1380's, included a Hebrew Gospel of Matthew as the last *book* in his polemic against Christianity. There is convincing evidence that this ••71•• old Hebrew Gospel is a revision (passing through many copyists and editors) of the Hebrew Gospel written by the Apostle himself. If this ultimately proves to be true, then the "J" reference used in the footnotes of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* identified as J², is, in fact, the closest reproduction of this early work.

1. There should no longer be any reasonable debate that Matthew wrote a Hebrew language Gospel. Early writers such as Jerome, Irenæus, Origen, and Eusebius have left ample testimony to this work.
2. The evidence presented by George Howard indicates that Shem-Tob's *Matthew* was not a translation from Greek sources. Rather, it contains a Hebrew writing style which marks it as a document which was composed in the first century using biblical Hebrew and subsequently edited in the following centuries.
3. Shem-Tob's *Matthew* uses the divine name. However, it is not in the form of the Tetragrammaton, but is rather a surrogate form of the circumlocution *The Name* (ׁן). Though it is impossible to tell from the present form of this Gospel whether or not Matthew actually used the Tetragrammaton, the substantial evidence remaining today gives no support for this claim.
4. The correlation between the use of the circumlocution for the divine name in Shem-Tob's *Matthew* and the use of *Jehovah* in the Christian Scriptures of the *New World Translation* is not strong. There are 15 instances in which the two agree, and eight in which there is a variance. This gives a correlation of a mere 0.65, in contrast to an ideal 1.00. It would be expected that a restored Gospel of Matthew would more closely approximate a recension of the work of the Apostle himself.
5. The Shem-Tob *Matthew* gives a wonderful example of new light in biblical texts. This knowledge regarding the Hebrew Christian Scriptures was not available to the Bible Translation Committee prior to the publication of the *New World Translation* in 1950.

Chapter 6: THE TEXTUAL SOURCE OF HEBREW VERSIONS

Because of the central ••72•• position given to the Tetragrammaton within Hebrew versions, our study of the Tetragrammaton and the Christian Greek Scriptures must evaluate these translations and the textual source from which they are derived.

A Hebrew version is found!

In the early stages of this Tetragrammaton study, a search was made for available "J" documents. As a result, the Hebrew version J¹⁸ was discovered in a local library.¹ However, it was only after re-reading the title page of J¹⁸ some two years later that its significance became clear. A second version was found several years later in a second library.

The Watch Tower Society universally uses the word *version* to mean *translation*. More typically, the action of rendering a text from one language into another is called *translation*, while the resulting book is called a *version*. An English Bible is one in which the biblical ••73•• languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek) have been translated into English. Thus, every English Bible is a version, including both the *King James Version* and the *New World Translation*. Similarly, any Hebrew version consists of the Christian Greek Scriptures translated into the Hebrew language. (Obviously, only the Christian Greek Scriptures could be translated into a Hebrew version. The Hebrew Scriptures in the Hebrew language is not a version.)

That is what J¹⁸ is. *It is a translation! J¹⁸ is a translation from Greek into Hebrew.*

As a Hebrew version, J¹⁸ is not unique. It is merely one of many Hebrew versions cited in the "J" footnotes. However, it is important because it is a Hebrew version which became available for study.

Evaluating J¹⁸

J¹⁸ is one of the Hebrew versions used by the New World Bible Translation Committee to substantiate its use of the Tetragrammaton. The 1969 edition of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* gives the following information on page 29 regarding this version:

J¹⁸

Greek Scriptures in Hebrew. In London, England, in 1885, a new Hebrew translation of the Christian Greek Scriptures was published. This new translation was commenced by Isaac Salkinson and completed after his death by Christian David Ginsburg. Our oldest copy is of the third edition published in 1891. This has been compared with the small edition published by the Trinitarian Bible Society, London, England, in 1939, and also with the Hebrew-English New Testament published in

¹ Three separate editions of this Hebrew translation are grouped together as the single "J" reference identified as J¹⁸. As indicated by the New World Bible Translation Committee, each edition contains the same Hebrew text. The first edition was published in 1885. The second edition was published in 1939. The third edition was published in 1941 and included an English side text. Though the imprint date is not given, the edition used for this study was published by the Trinitarian Bible Society of London and includes the English side text.

In spite of the lack of a publication date in the Hebrew version used for this study, it can be definitively identified as J¹⁸ by two unique footnote references. At Acts 22:17 the Apostle Paul says, "But when I had returned to Jerusalem and was praying in the temple, I fell into a trance*..." The asterisk (*) in the *New World Translation Reference Edition* takes us to the footnote which says,

"17* "I fell into a trance," אָב; J^{13,14,17,22}, "Jehovah's hand was upon me"; J¹⁸, "Jehovah's spirit clothed me."

As cited in this footnote reference, this version we are using clearly has this identifying phrase at Acts 22:17 which says,

לְבִשְׁתִּי	יְהוָה	רוּחַ
me clothed	Jehovah (of)	spirit (the) and

This version which we are using is also identifiable as J¹⁸ by the solitary J¹⁸ citation in the footnote at Romans 14:4 since this version uses יְהוָה at this verse. (See footnote 12 in Chapter 14.)

Needless to say, the references at Acts 22:17 and Romans 14:4 amply identify this version as J¹⁸. The attention to detail also gives us an insight into the exacting effort made by the New World Bible Translation Committee in its work.

1941 by the same Society. [The 1985 edition of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* lists no dates.]

Based on the footnote reference material found in the *New World Translation*, we anticipate finding the Tetragrammaton in this Hebrew version. When we study the 237 *Jehovah* references, a large number of the footnotes cite J¹⁸. As expected, we will find confirmation of the Tetragrammaton exactly as listed in the *New World Translation*. Look carefully at the passage from Luke 1:16-34 reproduced on page 77. Luke 1:16, 17, 25, 28, and 32 all contain *Jehovah* references.² In each of these verses, the use of the Tetragrammaton can be verified. The footnotes ••74•• appear in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* for these verses as follows:

16*, 17# Jehovah, J^{7-18,22-24}; Lord, ✕AB.

25* Jehovah, J^{7-18,22,23}; Lord, ✕AB.

28* Jehovah, J^{5,7-18,22,23}; Lord, ✕AB.

32* Jehovah, J^{5,-18,22-24}; Lord, ✕AB.

Fortunately for us, J¹⁸ includes an English text on each facing page, allowing us to identify the Tetragrammaton and other material within the Hebrew text. The reader must be aware, however, that since all of these versions were translated into modern Hebrew, the Tetragrammaton in all of the "J" reference versions contains Hebrew vowel points. Consequently, the written form is somewhat different from what we are accustomed to seeing in Watch Tower publications. (The Watch Tower Society generally reproduces the Tetragrammaton without vowel points. For an explanation of Hebrew vowel points, refer again to Chapter 1. Refer also to the *New World Translation Reference Edition*, page 1570, Appendix 3A for more complete information.)

However, we must look at the flyleaf information from the Hebrew Christian Scripture version identified as J¹⁸. It is important enough that the title page has been reproduced on page 76.

**THE
NEW TESTAMENT
OF
OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR
JESUS CHRIST**

Translated out of the original Greek: and with
the former translations diligently compared
and revised, by His Majesty's special command

Did you notice the lines giving reference to the source material for the Hebrew version? Read them again!

Translated out of the original Greek: and with
the former translations diligently compared . . .

As we observed earlier, the word *version* simply means *translation*. Yet, while studying the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Scriptures of these Hebrew versions, it seldom occurs to us that we are talking about *translations* from the ancient Greek text.

Hebrew versions come from the Greek Scriptures

••75•• Hebrew versions are merely translations from another language into Hebrew.³ (In almost

² These passages were randomly chosen simply because of the large number of times the Tetragrammaton was represented on a single page. Any other Tetragrammaton footnote references in this version would also verify the use of the Tetragrammaton in the J¹⁸ version.

³ In the August 15, 1996 *The Watchtower* article entitled, "Jesus' Coming or Jesus' Presence—Which?" the writers cite an example of contrasting Hebrew words. (The article is not, however, dealing with the divine name.) In the article on page 13, this comment regarding Hebrew versions is made: "Bear in mind that modern Hebrew versions are *translations* that may not present exactly what Matthew penned in Hebrew." (Italics theirs.)

all cases, the Hebrew version was translated from *Koine* Greek, though J⁹ was translated from the Latin *Vulgate*. In Chapter 5, we considered the intriguing possibility that the Shem-Tob *Matthew* [J²] is a late recension of Matthew's Hebrew Gospel. If this is true, then J² must be classified as an original document rather than a translation. Further, the revisions of Shem-Tob's *Matthew* would be classified as revisions of an original Hebrew document rather than revisions of a translation. These revisions may include J³ and J⁴.) Of course, it is of interest that these particular Hebrew translators used the Tetragrammaton in their Hebrew versions. However, we are not primarily concerned with a Hebrew translator's choice of words, but the specific word used by the writers of the *original* text from which the Hebrew version was translated. While writing the Christian Greek Scriptures, *did the inspired writers use the Tetragrammaton* (written in Hebrew as יהוה) or did they use the Greek word *Kyrios* (Κύριος) in such passages as Luke 1:16, 17, 25, 28, and 32?

This particular Hebrew version tells us from which text it was translated. J¹⁸ was "*Translated out of the original Greek.*" Where, then, must we look for evidence that the original writers of the Christian Greek Scriptures used the Tetragrammaton 237 times? *We must look in the Greek Scriptures themselves!* Yet, as we have already discovered, the most reliable Greek text possessed by the Watch Tower Society uses *Kyrios* in each of these 237 instances. *In no case does the Tetragrammaton appear in the Westcott and Hort Greek text.*⁴ In 223 instances, this Greek text clearly uses the Greek word *Kyrios*

(••76••)

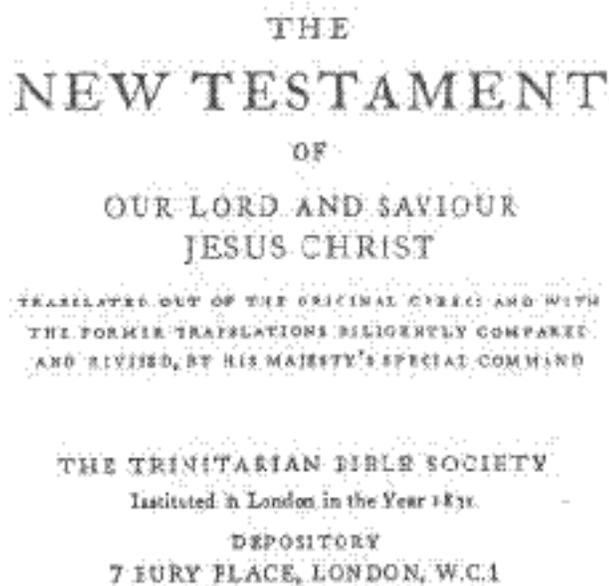


Figure 2. The English and Hebrew title pages from the Hebrew version identified as J¹⁸. Note the credit stating that the text was TRANSLATED OUT OF THE ORIGINAL GREEK.

⁴There is another possibility which must be pursued regarding the reliability of the Greek text itself. Is the Westcott and Hort text on which the *New World Translation* based the most accurate Greek text? Is it possible that the translators of these Hebrew versions had a more reliable Greek text in the 14th to 16th centuries than exists today? Refer to Appendix E for an evaluation of the Greek texts wherein we discover that the primary text available to these Hebrew version translators was the work of Erasmus.

(Κύριος) in one of its cognate forms.⁵ In 13 instances, the Greek word *Theos* (θεός) is ••78•• used, and in one instance it comes from grammatical agreement in the sentence which again refers to *Kyrios* (Κύριος).⁶

(••77••)

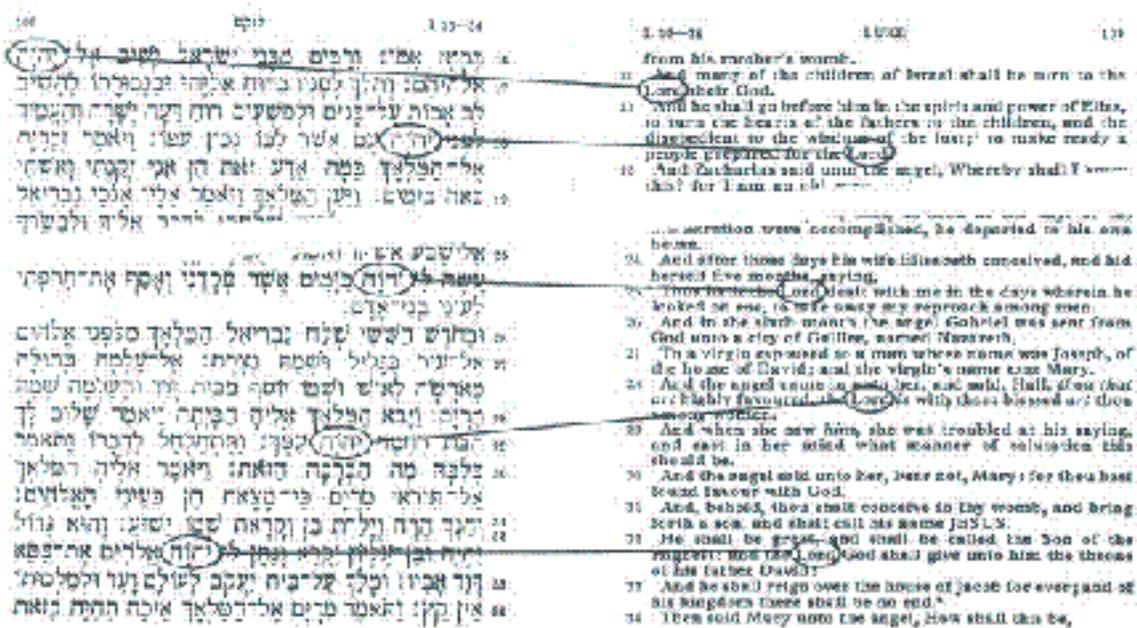


Figure 3: Luke 1 from the Hebrew version identified as J18.

Consider the implications of Hebrew texts as versions. With the exception of Shem-Tob's *Matthew* and its revisions, *all Hebrew textual sources which the New World Translation uses to substantiate that the Tetragrammaton was in the original writings of the Christian Greek Scriptures are themselves translated from the Greek text itself.*

There would be no reason to doubt that *all* Hebrew versions, unless otherwise noted, came from Greek manuscripts. However, in the absence of doing independent research on each "J" document, we can make the following statement: First, with the possible exception of the Shem-Tob *Matthew* and its revisions, no ancient Hebrew Christian documents are known to exist today. Secondly, the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* (in both its 1969 and 1985 editions) lists the following: J⁵ is "translated from the Greek;" J⁷ is a "translation from Greek Scriptures;" J⁶, J¹¹, J¹³, J¹⁵, J¹⁷, J¹⁸, J¹⁹, and J²⁴ are "translations;" J⁸, J¹², J¹⁴, and J¹⁶ are "versions;" J², J²², J²³, J²⁵, J²⁶, and J²⁷ are listed without a source; J³, J⁴, and J¹⁰ are revisions of another "J" reference; J⁹ is a "translation from the Latin *Vulgate*;" J¹ is listed as "a version ... from an ancient manuscript of *Matthew* in Hebrew;" J²¹, is the *Emphatic Diaglott*, a Greek text which uses *Kyrios* (Κύριος) in the Greek text but introduces *Jehovah* in the English text; and J²⁰, the *Concordance to the Greek Testament*, which lists all entries under the heading ΚΥΡΙΟΣ (Κύριος).

⁵ The word *cognate* means one of numerous forms of a word having a single root. The English words *sitting*, *sit*, and *sat* are cognate forms of the English verb infinitive *to sit*. See Appendix C for the cognate forms of *Kyrios* (Kuvrio").

⁶ This information is given in Appendix B.

The reader of "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*" is left with no doubt that all of these versions (with the exception of J⁹) have the Greek texts as their source.

From at least the 14th century onward, translations of the Greek Scriptures into the Hebrew language have been produced. These are of interest in that a number of them have made restorations of the divine name into the Christian Scriptures. The *New World Translation* makes many references to these Hebrew versions under the symbols "J" with a superior number (page 319).

On page 309 of the same text, a box on the chart describing the *New World Translation* says, "23 Hebrew Versions ... translated either from the Greek or from the Latin Vulgate..." As already mentioned, however, J² may be a recension of an actual Christian Hebrew Gospel, and J³ and J⁴ may be a revision of this recension.

As a result of our present evaluation of textual material, we now realize that 26 (or possibly 23) Hebrew translations used to verify the ••79•• presence of the Tetragrammaton were themselves translated from a known Greek text *which does not contain the Tetragrammaton*.

Evidence used to support the Tetragrammaton

Since we no longer possess the original Christian Greek Scripture documents, we must reconstruct the text from the approximately 5,000 extant manuscript copies currently available. Some system must be devised to accomplish this task. In a general sense, this is done with a system of reciprocal relationships between the best ancient texts and the presently accepted Greek text. This can most simply be illustrated as a *textual source* line moving in time from the ancient manuscripts to the present Greek text, in which the most reliable of these manuscripts become the source of the accepted modern Greek text. However, the modern Greek text must be evaluated for its accuracy. This is done through a return *supporting evidence* line moving toward textual affirmation from the current Greek text back to the most reliable Greek manuscripts.

Does this reciprocal relationship between the most ancient extant Greek manuscripts and the modern Greek text result in a reliable reproduction of the writings of the inspired Christian authors? It must be obvious that our entire faith in the Christian Scriptures is dependent on this system for gathering evidence. The subject of this book is the Tetragrammaton, and not the entire body of Scripture writings. Yet, we must recognize that the certainty of any one part of the Christian Scriptures is no greater or lesser than the certainty of the whole. *We cannot bring the textual transmission of Kyrios in 237 instances into doubt without bringing the textual transmission process of the entire Christian Greek Scriptures into question. Conversely, if we find the Christian Greek Scriptures to be a trustworthy communication from God to man, we cannot make an exception wherein only the Tetragrammaton was removed leaving no trace in any known manuscripts today.* We are not suggesting that the reliability of God's Word depends on personal understanding. We are saying, however, that if the textual transmission process has been vindicated through careful study of ancient manuscripts for the whole of the Christian Greek Scriptures, it must be accepted as equally reliable for 237 instances of the Tetragrammaton.

Figure 4 graphically represents this system of evidence. The *textual source* line for both Erasmus⁷ Greek text and the more recent ••80•• Westcott and Hort Greek text comes from ancient Greek

⁷ We will refer here and later to Erasmus' Greek text rather than precisely identifying a number of texts resulting from his work. Erasmus was a Dutch theologian who lived from 1466-1536. He published the first printed Greek text in 1516. His first edition was based on inferior manuscripts ranging from the tenth to the 15th centuries. He later published revisions in 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535 with increased use of better and older manuscripts. Following Erasmus, others published Greek manuscripts which were largely based on his text, though they incorporated even earlier manuscripts. These later scholars included Robert Estienne Stephanus who published editions from Paris in 1546, 1549, 1550, and 1551. Theodore Beza published nine Greek texts in Geneva between 1565 and 1604. The *Textus Receptus* on which later editions of the *King James Version* is based is the 1550 edition of Stephanus. A later but very important text was produced by Johann Griesbach between 1796 and 1806. Its significance lies in its system of manuscript classification and the degree of his critical textual work. This is the text of the *Emphatic Diaglott* published by the Watch Tower Society. The Greek text of Erasmus and his immediate successors was a great advancement for that time. However, the 1881 edition of Westcott and Hort found in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* is a far superior Greek text. (*Insight on the Scriptures*, Vol. 2, pp. 313-314.)

manuscripts.⁸ As indicated in this figure, the earliest available Greek texts use the Greek word *Kyrios* in the majority of the 237 *Jehovah* passages found in the *New World Translation*. In no case do any of the copies of the Greek writings use the Tetragrammaton (יהוה). We can also see in the figure that the *supporting evidence* line for *Kyrios* (Κύριος) in the Westcott and Hort text goes back to the earliest available copies of the Greek writings.

However, the figure shows us something quite different regarding the *textual source* line for the divine name as found in the Christian Scriptures of the *New World Translation*. (The reader must be aware that this figure shows only the *textual source* and *supporting evidence* lines for the Tetragrammaton in the *New World Translation*. With the exception of the Tetragrammaton, the *textual source* and the *supporting evidence* for the remainder of the *New World Translation* is through the reliable Westcott and Hort Greek text which is traceable to the earliest copies of the Greek Scriptures.) The *New World Translation* uses 26 (or 23) Hebrew versions as the textual source for the Tetragrammaton in 236 of the 237 instances which use the divine name in the Christian Greek Scriptures. As a result, *the textual source and the supporting evidence are the same Hebrew versions*. There is no outside supporting evidence. But notice that these versions ••81•• were translated from Erasmus' Greek text. One can clearly study the Erasmus text in each of these 237 passages to determine whether or not the Tetragrammaton is used. Today we know that it is not! (See Appendix E for reproductions of Erasmus' Greek text.)

From our present perspective of textual and historical evidence, we now realize that the translators of the *New World Translation* should have asked, "What word does the *original Greek manuscript* use in each of these 237 instances?" The answer is easily determined. The *Kingdom*

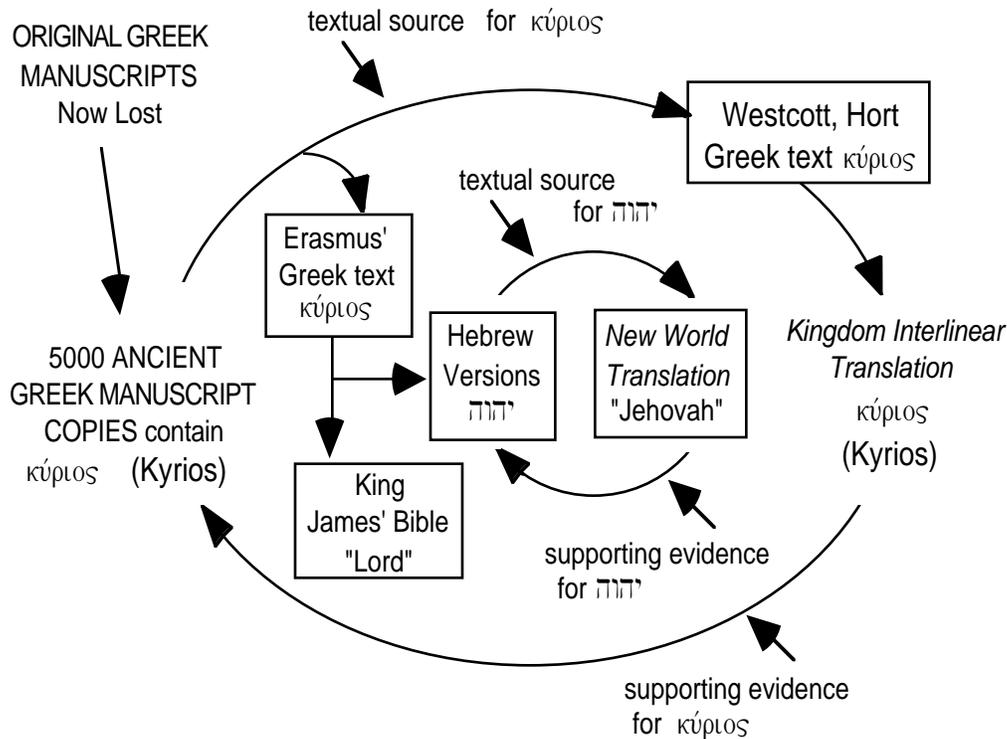


Figure 4: The textual sources for *Kyrios* (Κύριος) and the Tetragrammaton (יהוה) as used in the *New World Translation*.

⁸ The reader should understand that neither Erasmus nor Westcott and Hort had access to the original Christian Greek Scriptures. Of course, they were working from copies of copies. The Westcott and Hort text, however, represents very early manuscripts. It relies heavily on the Greek manuscripts identified as א (Aleph) and B (Vatican MS. 1209), both of which are highly reliable fourth century manuscripts. (See Appendix A for a description of these two manuscripts.)

Interlinear Translation shows us that the original Greek Scripture writers used the word *Kyrios* (Κύριος) in 223 of the 237 instances in which *Jehovah* has been inserted into the Christian Greek Scriptures of the *New World Translation*.

After evaluating the textual evidences, we also discover that it cannot be argued that the Hebrew Christian Scriptures came from more reliable ancient sources which have now been lost. All the Hebrew Christian Scriptures used as "J" references were translated since 1573⁹ C.E., and the most frequently quoted early Hebrew translation was published in 1599 C.E. These were not translations done from ancient, ••82•• lost texts. These Hebrew translations came from the same Greek texts which were used for the King James Version translated in 1611.

As we evaluate our personal understanding of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures, we often discover that we have failed to grasp the significance of the Hebrew versions as being mere *translations*. We frequently fail to realize that the footnote evidence used for the "restoration of the divine name" in the *New World Translation* is ultimately based on the very Greek texts which the translators are disputing.

We have raised an important area of inquiry in this chapter. If the Hebrew versions were based on early Greek manuscripts which have now been lost, we would need to carefully pursue a study to reconstruct these ancient texts. In so doing, we would determine whether the Hebrew versions contain manuscript evidence supporting the inspired Christian writers' use of the Tetragrammaton.

In contrast, however, we have discovered that the Hebrew versions are based on Greek manuscripts which are readily examined today. These Greek manuscripts clearly substantiate the use of *Kyrios* rather than the Tetragrammaton.



CHAPTER SUMMARY. Hebrew Christian Scriptures have two sources; they are either *recensions* or *translations*. In Chapter 5 we evaluated a recension of an early Hebrew gospel. In this chapter, we have considered an important topic when evaluating Hebrew versions. Of necessity, Hebrew versions are translated from manuscripts of another language. Consequently, it will be these source language manuscripts which will give us important information regarding the inspired Christian writers' use of the Tetragrammaton.

All Hebrew **versions** trace their source to ancient Greek manuscripts of the Christian Greek Scriptures. (The only exception is J⁹ which comes from the *Latin Vulgate*.) Inasmuch as these versions were published in the 16th century and later, we are able to verify the Greek text used as their source. In 223 instances, the Greek word *Kyrios* (Κύριος), rather than the Tetragrammaton, is found in the Greek text. The Tetragrammaton used in these Hebrew translations was never derived from יהוה in the Greek text.

⁹This omits J¹⁻⁴ which we are counting as recensions and revisions rather than translations. J² is dated from 1385.

Chapter 7: THE LIMIT OF INSPIRATION

We discussed ••83•• the meaning of inspiration in Chapter 2. As we come to the end of this section dealing with Hebrew manuscripts, we must return to a related subject. In 237 selected instances, the New World Bible Translation Committee has given greater authority to 26 Hebrew versions than to the best extant Greek manuscripts. This forces us to re-evaluate what we will call the *limit* of inspiration. Because inspiration *includes* only certain writings as Scripture, it has consequently *excluded* all others.

The technical term for the *limit of inspiration* is *canon*.¹ The canon of Scripture identifies the 66 books comprising the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures.² In this chapter we will use both terms. However, we will generally use the term *limit of inspiration* because it is more descriptive to those who are less familiar with the term *canon*.

The need to define the limit of inspiration was mandatory for the first century Christian congregation.³ Early in the history of the Christian congregation, the scope of the inspired writings was debated. Marcion (born about 100 C.E.) was the first to publish a definitive list of sacred writings. To accommodate his heretical teachings, he restricted his full acceptance of Scripture to Paul's Epistles. In so doing, he excluded all books of the Hebrew Scriptures and modified the Gospels to fit his own teaching.

••84•• At a later period, Gnostic Gospels (such as those found in 1945 in Nag Hammadi, Egypt) were circulated as authoritative guides for faith. (These writings are Coptic translations made about 1,500 years ago from Greek manuscripts of 350 to 400 C.E. The first Gnostic writings probably were known as early as 120 to 150 C.E.)

In more recent times, men like Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon religion, have proffered writings claimed to be latter revelations of inspired truth from God.

It is imperative, therefore, that each of us come to a firm understanding of the limit of inspiration. We must know what *is* inspired Scripture. We must also know what is *outside the limit* of inspired writing. On what basis do we reject the writings of Joseph Smith, the Gnostic Gospels, or even the early non-canonical writings of the Christian congregation as non-authoritative?

General considerations of canon

Scripture as a whole—including both the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures—is identified by established prerequisites. An introductory lesson to the canon of Scripture in "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*" says:⁴

What are some of the divine indications that have determined the canonicity of the sixty-six books of the Bible? First of all, the documents must deal with Jehovah's affairs in the earth, turning men to his worship and stimulating deep respect for his work and purposes in the earth. They must

¹ The word *canon* comes from the Latin word *kanon*, which refers to a measuring rod. The idea in English is the *rule* or *standard* by which something is measured. Specifically, the *Bible canon* came to denote the catalog of inspired books worthy of being used as a straightedge in measuring faith, doctrine, and conduct. (*Aid to Bible Understanding*, p. 290). The canon, as used here, is the list of books accepted as inspired Scripture.

² Not all groups within Christendom recognize the same canon. The Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox traditions add the books of the Apocrypha to their canon of the Hebrew Scriptures. However, a canon of the Christian Greek Scriptures comprised of the 27 books as they appear in the *New World Translation* is recognized by most Christian groups.

³ During the persecution of the Christian congregation by Rome at the end of the first century, it was a serious crime to possess either the Hebrew or Greek Scriptures. (Possessing hidden scrolls could result in death.) As a result, it was important for late first century believers to determine which writings they were willing to risk their lives to protect. A ruse was occasionally used to elude Roman authorities. Early Christians would relinquish a scroll which was not viewed as Scripture (such as the *Shepherd of Hermas* or the *Epistle of Clement*) to the authorities for its destruction in order to protect an inspired Gospel or Epistle. Thus, early persecution contributed to the recognition of the canon.

⁴ From pages 299-300. The reader should review the entire chapter for a more complete account of the canon of Scripture. "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*" Study Four—The Bible and Its Canon.

give evidence of inspiration, that is, be products of holy spirit. (2 Pet. 1:21) There must be no appeal to superstition or creature worship, but, rather, an appeal to love and service of God. There would have to be nothing in any of the individual writings that would conflict with the internal harmony of the whole, but, rather, each book must, by its unity with the others, support the one authorship, that of Jehovah God. We would also expect the writings to give evidence of accuracy down to the smallest detail.

Beyond these general considerations, however, the Christian Scriptures depend on somewhat different criteria for canonicity from those of the Hebrew Scriptures. In the case of the Hebrew Scriptures, the writings were produced over a protracted period of time from Moses to the post-exilic writers. Though dealing with God's program for Israel, these writings come from numerous contextual settings including wilderness wanderings, entering and conquering a new land, a stable ••85•• kingdom period under David and Solomon, the divided kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and the time of exile and return. In contrast, the Christian Scriptures have a setting consisting of three distinct divisions. The first division is the ministry of Jesus to the Jewish nation (the Gospels). The second records the spread of the Kingdom message to the Gentile world. (This includes both the historical account in Acts and the resulting Epistles.) The final division consists of a future prophesy given in the book of Revelation. With the exception of the future scope of Revelation, the Christian Greek Scriptures are confined to a brief period of time. The entire 27 books were written between 41 C.E. (Matthew) and 98 C.E. (the Gospel of John) by authors who lived during Jesus' ministry. Consequently, the limit of inspiration of the Christian Greek Scriptures considers both the men who wrote and the date at which the Scriptures were complete.

The men who wrote

Fundamental to the canonicity of the books of the Christian Greek Scriptures are the credentials of the writers themselves. It is clearly understood that each writer was either a direct participant in the ministry of Jesus, or was, at the least, a contemporary of the events and in direct contact with those who were participants.

Matthew, John, James, Peter, and Jude were direct participants, though neither James nor Jude were among the 12 disciples. We are not certain of Mark's role, though it is often suggested that he was in the Garden during Jesus' arrest.

When Jesus was arrested at Gethsemane and the apostles fled, he was followed by "a certain young man wearing a fine linen garment over his naked body." When the crowd tried to seize him too, "he left his linen garment behind and got away naked." This young man is generally believed to be Mark. (*"All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial,"* p. 181.)

On the other hand, Luke undoubtedly did not witness Jesus' public ministry, as he was probably raised in Antioch. However, he was later in direct contact with individuals who closely followed Jesus. On page 187, *"All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial"* says,

Luke was not, of course, an eyewitness of all the events he records in his Gospel, not being one of the 12 and probably not even a believer until after Jesus' death. However, he was very closely associated with Paul in the missionary field.

Paul, of course, was a contemporary of the events, but was certainly not sympathetic during the early years of the Christian congregation. Before his ••86•• conversion, Paul (Saul) was its most determined foe. However, Paul describes his apostleship at 1 Corinthians 15:8-9, "But last of all he appeared also to me as if to one born prematurely. For I am the least of the apostles, and I am not fit to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the congregation of God."

We thus understand that the period of time during which inspired Christian Scriptures were written was confined to the lifetimes of the Apostles. On page 410 of *Insight on the Scriptures*, Volume 1, the writers say,

The apostles clearly had divine accreditation and they spoke in attestation of such other writers as Luke and James, the half brother of Jesus. By holy spirit the apostles had "discernment of inspired utterances" as to whether such were of God or not. (1 Co 12:4) With the death of John, the last apostle, this reliable chain of divinely inspired men came to an end, and so with the Revelation, John's Gospel, and his epistles, the Bible canon closed.

The canon of Scripture is closed

In the last sentence of the material quoted above, we see another characteristic of the Christian Greek Scripture canon. The canon was closed when the last Apostle died. The Christian Scriptures do not include writings of devout men of the second century. On pages 409-410 of *Insight on the Scriptures*, Volume 1, the writers say,

By the end of the second century there was no question but that the canon of the Christian Greek Scriptures was closed.

The canon, including the list of books making up the Christian Greek Scriptures, was already settled [before the Council of Carthage in 397 C.E.], not by the decree of any council, but by the usage of Christian congregations throughout the ancient world.

(For a very complete discussion of the canon, see the article in *Aid to Bible Understanding* beginning on page 290. Particularly note the section under the heading CHRISTIAN GREEK SCRIPTURES. Also see the comparable material in *Insight on the Scriptures*, Vol. 1, pp. 406-410.)

Therefore, our understanding of the limit of inspiration leads us to a single conclusion. No supplementary information can be *added* to the inspired revelation of the Christian Greek Scriptures beyond that which was written by the inspired Christian writers themselves. This is the reason why we categorically dismiss the writings of Joseph Smith, the Gnostic Gospels, or even the early non-canonical writings of the Christian congregation as being outside the limit of inspiration.⁵

••87•• We must be careful, therefore, that we do not unwittingly re-open the canon of Scripture by claiming that there are other inspired texts. We do not accept the later *revelations* of Gnostic Gospels or hidden writings on gold tablets as coming from God. We believe God has closed additions to Scripture since the apostolic authors' deaths. Therefore, *we must be careful that we do not give Hebrew translations of the 14th century and following the status of recent additions to the Christian Scripture canon.* We must accept the oldest and most reliable manuscripts of the Christian Greek Scriptures as being the best representation of the inspired Scripture which Jehovah gave to his early followers.⁶

The subject of canon deals with more than merely which *books* are to be included in the Bible. It also includes every part of the text, including the *words* themselves. The translators of the *New World Translation* reflect their understanding of this important truth when they deal with problematic Christian Greek Scripture texts such as the final chapter of Mark.⁷ They most certainly identified a spurious (false) addition to the *Textus Receptus* (King James Version) at 1 John 5:7b which says, "the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one."⁸ The Westcott and Hort text does not include this final portion of the verse.

••88•• Equally, the canon must determine which *words* are to be included in a given passage. It is a question of the limit of inspiration (or canon) when Hebrew translations completed in the 14th century and later are granted a greater status of inspiration than the verifiable Greek texts of the

⁵ There are many reasons we dismiss the writings of Joseph Smith and the Gnostic Gospels. Among these reasons is their lack of harmony (agreement) with the 66 canonical books. On the other hand, *The Gospel of Clement* is rejected as non-canonical even though the content is in agreement with Scripture as a whole.

⁶ We must allow, of course, for the careful scrutiny of textual evidence as described in the second chapter.

⁷ Look carefully at Mark 16 in the *New World Translation Reference Edition*, page 1239. The translators give the textual support for each of the endings. The reader can appreciate both the necessity and difficulty of dealing with these textual issues.

⁸ This addition gives an interesting illustration of *intentional* error in the Greek text. Though the error was introduced into the Greek text at a very late date (around 1520 C.E.), the change was so important to the proponents of this wording that a copyist reproduced *the entire Christian Scriptures* in order to *plant* this one error. Erasmus did not believe the text was correct, but as promised, he included the added words in his 1522 Greek Scripture edition. Nonetheless, he included a lengthy footnote expressing his reservation concerning its authenticity. After further research, Erasmus removed it from his subsequent edition of the Greek text. Today, the error is quite traceable to a particular family of Latin versions. It is only found in four Greek manuscripts and appears in no current English versions other than those in the King James tradition. (See Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament*, p. 101. For confirmation also see "The Word" *Who is He? According to John*, p.9)

second to fourth centuries C.E.⁹

The search for the Greek Scriptures *Inspired of God*

It is our desire today to possess the most accurate reproduction possible of the original writings of the inspired Christian authors. We want each word in our Greek text to be exactly those words which the authors themselves used. Specifically, in each of the 237 instances in which the *New World Translation* uses *Jehovah* in its translation of the Christian Greek Scriptures, we want to know if the original authors wrote Κύριος or יהוה. However, since the original writings have long since been lost, we must resolve this question from *copies* of their writings.

Epistles and gospels from many authors were circulated among the growing first century congregations. There were many more writings than the 27 in the canon of the Christian Greek Scriptures we accept today. Paul himself wrote a letter to Laodicea (Colossians 4:16) which is not included in the canon. However, among all the numerous writings of the first two centuries, it is only the 27 "books" found in the *New World Translation* Christian Greek Scriptures which have been acknowledged for two millennia as the written revelation of God.¹⁰

The limit of inspiration is the dividing line between the writings we will accept as inspired by Jehovah and writings which do not carry the weight of inspiration. Other early Christian writings may give insight into the words of the original writers. For example, *The First Epistle of Clement* may give valuable information regarding the wording of the *Septuagint* Scriptures. However, these extra-biblical sources can never have greater textual importance than the canonical writings themselves. Therefore, a Hebrew translation which uses the ••89•• Tetragrammaton (יהוה) cannot be used to alter the original Greek manuscript text. This is particularly true in that we can determine that the Tetragrammaton was not used in the Greek manuscript from which any given Hebrew version was translated.¹¹

Figure 5 indicates the process used by the New World Bible Translation Committee to bring the Tetragrammaton (יהוה) into the Christian Greek Scriptures. To do so, it cited 26 Hebrew translations from a considerably later era. By using this method, the reality of ••90•• inspired Scripture is seriously undermined by claiming that recent Hebrew versions are a better indication of the intent of the divine author than are the best preserved Greek manuscripts copied only a century after the original writings.

Bringing the issue into focus

We all share a deep commitment to God's inspired Scriptures wherein we fully accept the absolute reliability of the original writings of the inspired Christian authors. We must, then, be careful that we do not lose our focus. We give allegiance to the original writings, not mere translations of those writings.

The "J" reference Hebrew versions are not early apostolic texts. They are not even writings of the early Hebrew Christian congregation. They are late Hebrew translations; a Gospel of *Matthew* was available as early as 1385;¹² the remainder were published in 1537 and later from the Greek texts of Erasmus and the *Textus Receptus*.¹³

⁹ Generally speaking, both *passages* and *words* are the domain of textual criticism rather than canon. However, in this chapter we are identifying them as issues of canon because the question extends to which ancient *texts* should be acknowledged as inspired because of their unique use of the Tetragrammaton. The precedent of accepting isolated wording within Hebrew translations as being more authoritative than the Greek texts from which they were translated presents unique and complicated issues within both textual criticism and the canon of Scripture.

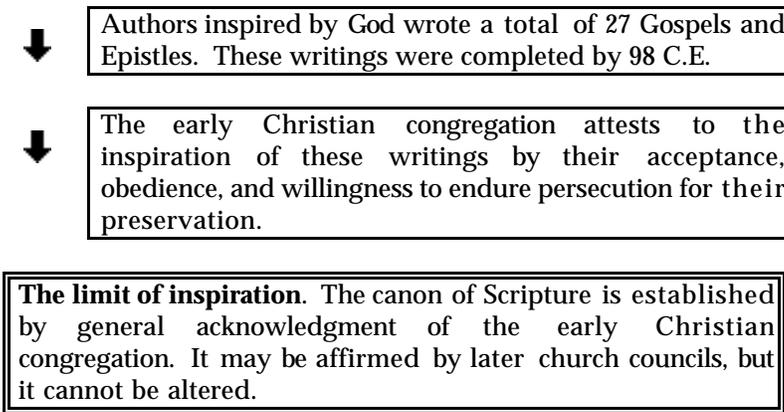
¹⁰ Of course, we include the Hebrew Scriptures within the writings we accept as canonical. However, this chapter is considering only the Christian Greek Scriptures.

¹¹ See Appendix E for the Greek text used in the early Hebrew translations.

¹² As noted in Chapter 5, this may be a recension of an earlier Gospel written by Matthew in Hebrew.

¹³ Erasmus' Greek text was generally favored at this time, however other similar texts reflecting Erasmus' editions were also available. In the above comments we are using both *Erasmus' Greek text* and the *Textus Receptus* as general terms rather than attempting to give precise source identifications.

The Hebrew versions are not a canonical source of verification for the original inspired writings of the apostolic writers. They are merely late translations from a known Greek text.



—Death of the last inspired Christian writer.—

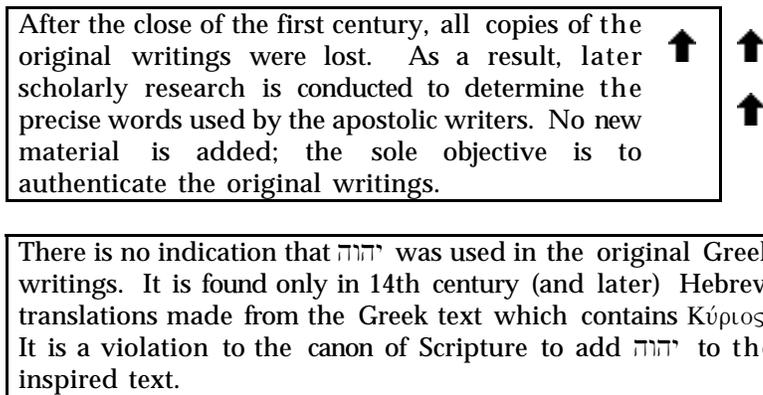


Figure 5. The canon of the Christian Greek Scriptures and its subsequent verification.

The weight of the evidence

Figure 5 is a summary of our prior discussion of the original Greek Scripture text, its transmission through two millennia, and our belief in its divine inspiration.

It is the objective of this book to look at the textual and historical evidence for the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures. Insofar as it is humanly possible, each of us must step aside from our theological positions and return to a simple evaluation of the text itself. It must never be our objective to force Scripture to say what we want it to say. We must allow the divine author to say what *he* intended to say through the original, inspired writers.

We must objectively evaluate the evidence for the original Greek word in each of the 237 instances in which the *New World Translation* reads *Jehovah* in the Christian Greek Scriptures. *Our final conclusion must be based on the supporting evidence of textual and historical information.*

••91•• Clearly, the 26 "J" reference Hebrew versions contain the Tetragrammaton. However, we must then pursue the source of the Hebrew translators' original texts. With the possible exception of the *Shem-Tob Matthew* and the Hebrew versions derived from this source, we must accept the statement of the New World Bible Translation Committee that the remainder of these Hebrew

versions are translations of the Greek text itself.¹⁴

As we have seen earlier, the writers of *Jehovah's Witnesses Proclaimers of God's Kingdom*,¹⁵ view the Greek text of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* as a reliable reproduction of the written Greek of the inspired writers. From this interlinear translation we see both the early evidences for the Greek word *Kyrios* and a complete body of information describing the Hebrew versions, their recent dates of publication, and their textual source in translation.

From this information, each of us must come to a personal conclusion regarding the place of the Tetragrammaton in the original Christian Greek Scripture writings. In light of our strong belief in the inspiration of Scripture, we must strongly object to any claim which alters Jehovah's Word merely because certain Hebrew versions use the Tetragrammaton when translating *Kyrios* from a known Greek text. *To accept late Hebrew translations as a higher authority than the best preserved Greek manuscripts from which they were translated violates our understanding of the canon of the Christian Greek Scriptures.*

In closing this chapter on the limit of inspiration, we are left with a startling question. With all of Jehovah's care in producing and preserving his inspired Scriptures, is it reasonable to think that he allowed the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures—and the important truth it conveys—to be entirely lost from all extant Greek manuscripts? Was the presence of the Tetragrammaton lost so completely *that it is only found in Hebrew translations made since 1385?*



CHAPTER SUMMARY. The importance of Scripture is directly attributable to its affirmation as being inspired by God. We obey Scripture because it comes from God, not because of its literary or ••92•• historical quality. For inspiration to have any meaning in application, it must have a limit. This limit identifies those writings which are *inside* the boundaries of inspiration (and thus qualify as *God's Word*) as opposed to those writings which are *outside* these boundaries (and thus cannot be authoritatively claimed as inspired). Our use of the designation *limit of inspiration* is synonymous with the more technical term *canon*.

1. The limit of inspiration, more technically known as the canon of Scripture, is the dividing line between the writings we will accept as inspired by Jehovah and writings which do not carry the weight of inspiration.
2. The limit of inspiration includes only those writings which are directly attributable to the apostolic writers. Later *revelations* or manuscripts of any kind must be excluded.
3. The objective of each Christian reader of Scripture is to possess a reproduction of the Christian Greek Scriptures which is as faithful to the wording of the original writers as possible. Each reader needs to know if the original authors wrote *Kyrios* (Κύριος) or the Tetragrammaton (יהוה) in the 237 instances in which the *New World Translation* inserts the divine name *Jehovah*.
4. To accept late Hebrew translations as a higher authority than the best preserved Greek manuscripts from which they were translated violates our understanding of the canon of the Christian Greek Scriptures.

¹⁴ On page 78 the Hebrew versions which were translated from a Greek text were identified.

¹⁵ See Chapter 27 entitled "Printing and Distributing God's Own Sacred Word" in *Jehovah's Witnesses Proclaimers of God's Kingdom*. For a description of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, refer to page 610 in this same book.

Greek manuscripts and other historical and textual considerations which bear on the Tetragrammaton and the Christian Greek Scriptures.

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Chapter 11: THE TETRAGRAMMATON OR LORD QUANDARY

Chapter 8: THE GREEK TEXT IN THE FIRST CENTURY

In the previous ••95•• section we evaluated Christian Scriptures which were written in the Hebrew language. In the present section, we will consider evidence dealing with the Tetragrammaton which comes from Greek language sources. The present chapter looks at the Greek text and writing materials of the first century.

Written Greek in the first century

Most readers are familiar with the form of the Greek text used by the early Christian congregation. However, a brief recapitulation of written Greek and textual materials is pertinent to our discussion of the Tetragrammaton inasmuch as the question at hand is one of textual transmission.

Alexander the Great dreamed of a unified empire under his rule using a common language. Though he died in 323 B.C.E. at the age of 32 with many unfulfilled aspirations, his legacy to the world of his day was the Greek language.¹ Following Alexander's vast military conquests, Greek was widely spoken until about 500 C.E. at the end of the Roman empire.²

Greek in the first century was known in two forms. *Classical* Greek was the language of literature and formality. The everyday street language was called *Koine* (common) Greek. God chose *Koine* Greek as the vehicle of communication for the latter portion of the Bible.

Both vellum (animal skin) and papyrus were used as writing materials during the time of the early Christian congregation. Though vellum was used prior to the first century, its cost and scarcity prevented its widespread employment. It is not hard to imagine why an impoverished and imprisoned Paul would choose the more readily available and less expensive papyrus reed paper for his epistles.

At the time of the early Christian congregation, the customary written document was a scroll rather than a codex in leaf or book form. However, by the early part of the second century, the Greek Scriptures ••96•• were collected into codices because it allowed the convenient assembly of a greater quantity of written material.

Up to this point in the book, the reader may have wondered how ancient manuscripts are dated. For example, how can scholars determine that one manuscript "comes from the fourth century" or, in another case, "from about 200 C.E.?" The answer is determined by script style, writing materials, and, in some cases, circumstances surrounding the manuscript.

Greek script style

The simplest classification of Greek manuscripts is by letter style. From the first century until the ninth century, the letters used were a form of upper-case called *uncials*. The uncial script did not separate words and used no accent or punctuation marks. Though this crowded style of writing seems foreign to us today, it was expedient in order to conserve scarce writing materials.

In Chapter 4 we gave the following English-Greek citation at Revelation 4:11 in modern *Koine* Greek with punctuation and accent marks:

"ΑΞΙΟΣ	εί,	ὁ	κύριος	καὶ	ὁ	θεὸς	ἡμῶν,
Worthy	you	are,	the	Lord	and	the	God
							of
							us,
λαβεῖν	τὴν	δόξαν	καὶ	τὴν	τιμὴν	καὶ	τὴν
to	receive	the	glory	and	the	honor	and
							the
							power,
ὅτι	σὺ	ἔκτισας	τὰ	πάντα,			
because	you	created	the	all	(things)		

¹ See *Insight on the Scriptures*, Vol. 1, pp. 70-71 for a more complete description of Alexander the Great. Also see page 9 of the article, "How the Bible Came To Us," in the August 15, 1997 *The Watchtower*.

² Interestingly, even the Roman empire was forced to accept Greek as the international language. Official affairs of state in Rome and all military communication was conducted in Latin. However, Greek was used as the common diplomatic and trade language within the Roman provinces. Nonetheless, indigenous languages were also preserved as evidenced on the day of Pentecost. (Acts 2:711)

When John wrote this passage in uncial script with joined letters, it appeared as,³

ΑΞΙΟΣΕΙΟΚ̄ΣΚΑΙΟΘ̄ΣΗΜΩΝΛΑΒΕΙΝΤΗΝΔΟΞΑΝΚΑΙΤΗΝΤΙΜΗΝ
ΚΑΙΤΗΝΔΥΝΑΜΙΝΟΤΙΣΥΕΚΤΙΣΑΣΤΑΠΑΝΤΑ

In the sixth century, a new writing style called the *cursive* or *minuscule* manuscript was beginning to develop. By the ninth century, this writing style was fully implemented and used what we call lower-
••97•• case script today. The same passage quoted above was written in minuscule Greek letters as,

αξιολσειοκ̄σκαιοθ̄σημωνλαβειντηνδοξανκαιτηντιμην
καιτηνδυναμινοτισυεκτισασταπαντα

Other features in the writing itself may also give an indication of its date. Not all penmanship changes are as noticeable as that from uncial to minuscule letters. Small changes such as letter formation can often be observed over time and become a means of dating manuscripts. Details such as accents, column arrangement, or capitalization may also give indication of a manuscript's date of writing.

Ancient Christian Scripture manuscripts do not give a calendar date indicating when the manuscript was copied, though in some later manuscripts scribes added a footnote giving the copy date and even the location where the copy was made. Nonetheless, a particular Greek Scripture manuscript may use unique letter formations which are identifiable in secular documents. If a comparison with secular documents can be made which shows the same writing style, a date may be established if historically verifiable contemporary events are mentioned.

Writing materials

A second aid in classifying early Greek manuscripts is the type of writing materials used. This generally involves the material on which the manuscript was written. The sheet material used was either papyrus or vellum (animal skins). In the first century, reed papyrus from Egypt was commonly used because of its lower cost. Knowing the source and method of papyrus manufacture for a given period of time may lead to the assignment of a manuscript date which is written on an identifiable papyrus material. Vellum also evidenced variation over time in its manufacturing process and the manner in which sections were joined. (Vellum scrolls consisted of smaller sections of skin laced together, whereas parchment scrolls could be manufactured in continuous lengths.)

In some cases, the type of ink used can also be identified. Though more difficult to determine, ink composition or a determination of its permanence may also give an indication of date and manuscript origin.⁴

Circumstances surrounding the manuscript

••98•• This third step used for dating manuscripts is simply a catch-all category. Many manuscripts may have unique circumstances associated with their discovery which help identify them chronologically. Relative dating techniques are often used whereby an archaeological find may be assigned a date based on its close proximity to a feature or strata with a known date. For example, a coin may be found *in situ* (at the same location) with a manuscript. Generally, coins have inscriptions or an emperor's image which establish a precise range of possible minting dates for the coin. The close proximity will give the manuscript some chronological identification.

The same may be true in the study of ancient manuscripts. For example, the Dead Sea Scrolls can be

³ This illustration was generated by removing the spaces and accents from the Greek text and substituting an uncial font. In all likelihood, the orthography is extremely close to that which John used. However, this illustration was not copied from a reproduction of an early uncial manuscript. The following illustration showing minuscule script was again done on the computer by using font substitution rather than consulting an actual ancient Greek manuscript. We do not have any indication that the original writers used surrogates. However, by the second century both *Kyrios* (Κύριος) and *Theos* (θεός) were written in their surrogate forms as κ̄ς and θ̄ς. See the Glossary for a definition of surrogates.

⁴ The bulk of the material regarding the form of the Greek text has come from *Aid to Bible Understanding*, pp. 1106-110, with supplementary information from *The Text of the New Testament* by Bruce Metzger and *Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism* by J. Harold Greenlee.

dated, in part, because it is known that the entire area was conquered by the Romans in 69 and 70 C.E. These scrolls, of necessity, were hidden prior to that time. (For other reasons, they could not have been hidden *after* the Roman destruction.)

Manuscripts may also be dated on the basis of non-biblical margin comments or art accompanying the text. The form of the document may also give indication of its date. Though there is a significant overlap between scrolls and codices, a manuscript in codex form (bound leaves) would date from the early second century or later. As the codex became more common, its binding presumably also changed.

In all of the above mentioned means of dating manuscripts, it must also be borne in mind that geographical differences also existed. For example, the Greek penmanship in Africa may have exhibited unique characteristics as against the penmanship in Europe during the same period of time. It is these types of evidences which also help establish the geographical source of a manuscript.

Assigning dates to manuscripts, however, is never highly precise. For that reason, we generally see dates given for ancient manuscripts by century. That is, it is impossible to date a manuscript with any higher precision than somewhere within a 100 year span of time. In a few rare cases, some identifiable feature allows a manuscript to be dated more precisely, and for this reason a date such as "*circa* 200 C.E." may occasionally be given.

Unchanged wording

We must make a brief comment in order to avoid misunderstanding. Penmanship most certainly has changed from the time the apostolic writers recorded their gospels and epistles. However, *the words themselves have not been altered.*

The modern writing of *Koine* Greek as found in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* has separated words and has added accent ••99•• marks, punctuation, and upper-case letters at the beginning of quotations. However, the text exactly reproduces the spelling of the Greek words as recorded by the apostles themselves.⁵

The abundance of extant Greek manuscripts

The intent of this brief section is to emphasize the large number of Greek manuscripts which are available today. First, however, we need to offer this brief explanation. In reference works such as "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*," and *Insight on the Scriptures*, abundant recognition is given to this large quantity of extant Greek manuscripts. The limited footnote references to Greek manuscripts in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* are not in any way disparaging of this manuscript evidence. Rather, the Westcott and Hort Greek text primarily concerned itself with two reliable manuscripts and did not frequently cite other textual evidence.⁶

Nonetheless, when using the footnote materials in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, a reader will often gain a first impression that there is scant Greek manuscript evidence for the use of *Kyrios* in

⁵ Recovering the *exact* text as written is, of course, the objective of textual criticism. Only in this way can the reader today know the precise tenses of verbs, subjects and objects of sentences, and the like. Unlike contemporary language study, the student involved in biblical Hebrew or Greek study is attempting to retrogress in time to the actual language of the Bible characters themselves.

⁶ There is a reason why these two Greek manuscripts justifiably receive such prominent attention. The Greek text of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* is the work of two textual critics: Brooke Foss Westcott (1825-1901) and Fenton John Anthony Hort (1828-92). In 1881 they published their work, the most noteworthy critical edition of the Greek Scriptures ever produced by British scholarship. It was the opinion of Westcott and Hort that the two complete Greek manuscripts *codex Vaticanus* (identified as "B") and *codex Sinaiticus* (identified as "Ⲛ") represented the available texts which were the most similar to the original apostolic writings. Their own commendation of these two texts states:

It is our belief (1) that the readings of ⲚB should be accepted as the true reading until strong internal evidence is found to the contrary, and (2) that no readings of ⲚB can safely be rejected absolutely, though it is sometimes right to place them only on an alternative footing, especially where they receive no support from Versions or Fathers.

For obvious reasons, the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation's* footnotes will strongly reflect these two Greek manuscripts at the exclusion of others. (Both the information and quotation are from *The Text of the New Testament*, Bruce Metzger, pp. 129-133.)

the 237 Christian Scripture *Jehovah* references. A typical footnote may list five to ten Hebrew translations supporting *Jehovah*, and only two Greek ••100•• manuscript sources (with two supplementary Latin or Syriac translations) supporting *Lord*.

At first glance, this will often indicate that there is substantially more support for the Tetragrammaton in the early texts than there is for the Greek equivalent of *Lord*.

It is not the intent of this section to review earlier statements substantiating the fact that the original authors did not use the Tetragrammaton in their writings. However, we must emphasize the abundant early Greek manuscript evidence which is available today. On page 443, Volume 1 of *Insight on the Scriptures* says,

There are available for comparative study more than 13,000 papyrus and vellum manuscripts containing the whole or a part of the Christian Greek Scriptures, dating from the 2nd to the 16th century. Of these, some 5,000 are in Greek, and the remainder in various other languages. More than 2,000 of the ancient copies contain the Gospels and more than 700, the letters of Paul. While the original writings themselves are not currently extant, copies date back to the second century, which is very close to the time the originals were written. This vast number of manuscripts has enabled Greek scholars in the course of years to produce a highly refined Greek text of the Scriptures, confirming in many respects the dependability and integrity of our present-day translations of the Christian Greek Scriptures.

Appendix I (A Catalog of Greek Manuscripts) has been included in the back of the book to show the reader the massive amounts of textual evidence on which the present Christian Greek Scriptures rest. Carefully review the information given in that appendix. The reader should not neglect to scan this voluminous list of early Greek manuscripts. The *New World Translation* cites only a total of 12 Greek manuscripts and eight early versions to substantiate the Greek word *Kyrios* (Κύριος), whereas there are 754 Greek manuscripts, 86 versions, and 149 lectionaries cited in Appendix I alone.

For understandable reasons, the Westcott and Hort text of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* does not make abundant reference to many extant Greek manuscripts beyond *Vatican Manuscript No. 1209 (B)* and *Sinaitic MS (Ξ)*. However, *there is massive early textual evidence available today which substantiates the entire Greek Christian Scriptures. Included in these Greek manuscripts is unanimous evidence supporting the use of the Greek word Kyrios (Κύριος) for 223 instances wherein Jehovah is used in the New World Translation Christian Scriptures.*

Unorchestrated distribution of manuscripts

••101•• We now encounter an interesting question in our study of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures. That question is simply, "Why did some ancient manuscripts survive while others were lost?" If we have thought to ask this first question, then it would occur to us to ask a second question with the Tetragrammaton manuscripts in mind. "Is it probable that *none* of the Tetragrammaton manuscript copies survived, while 5,000 *Kyrios* manuscript copies remain?"

The history of manuscript transmission to successive generations is a portrayal of two unorchestrated processes. One is the process of *copying* manuscripts. The other is the process of *distributing and preserving* these same manuscripts. Each of these two processes is so unsupervised and uncontrollable that they take on the appearance of random events.

Most of us have had some contact with the notion of random events or *probability*. It is helpful to understand that we are actually talking about an application of probability when we compare variant readings within extant ancient Greek manuscripts. Of the total copies made in the early centuries, only a small percentage of these copies survived. Surviving copies of ancient Christian Scripture manuscripts represent a *random selection* of the original number of manuscripts.⁷

There was most likely a random distribution of manuscript accuracy when the first copies of the original Greek Scripture documents were made. While making the very first copies, most scribes paid close attention to detail and made nearly flawless copies. On the other hand, there were undoubtedly

⁷ We are fully confident that Jehovah God has carefully guarded his written word and did not allow its destruction outside of his control. This does not mean that *random probability* is not operative, but it means that God is in control of the process. It is interesting, however, to realize that a statement saying that *all copies of the correct text were lost is a direct affront to the ability of God to care for the Christian Greek Scriptures through time.*

some scribes who carelessly made early copies which had more than an average number of copying mistakes. These copies, from the most accurately copied to the most carelessly copied were potentially recopied and carried to remote locations of the Roman empire.

What kind of copies have survived to our day? Again, we would expect a random distribution of the most accurate to the most carelessly reproduced copies. Preservation was not particularly conditioned by the precision exercised by scribes or copyists. Preservation was determined by factors such as the absence of early invading armies, a warm, dry climate, or preservation in a forgotten monastery.⁸

••102•• We do not discount Jehovah's supervision in the preservation of the Greek manuscripts. However, we are suggesting that there are at least two types of random processes which have produced the copies of early Greek manuscripts which we possess today. The first random process dealt with the factors which reproduced either good or poor *copies* of the original Greek Scriptures. The second random process concerns factors which caused certain manuscripts to *survive* while the rest were lost or destroyed.

We can state the problem in a slightly different way. We can only conjecture as to some unknown number representing the total number of Christian Greek Scripture portions produced in the first ten centuries of the Christian era. (Most certainly the actual number would be in the hundreds of thousands, inasmuch as copying Scripture was an ongoing process.) Of this number, some manuscripts were destroyed soon after they were copied. Some had a long and useful life and were copied many times, producing further generations of copies duplicating their unique idiosyncrasies. A small number of these copies were carried to geographical locations whose climatic conditions aided in their preservation. Of the huge number of possible early Greek manuscripts, only a small number of the total would eventually be preserved and located so that they could come to light for scholarly research in the period of time between the 16th century and today.⁹

In order to explain the Tetragrammaton's removal from the Christian Greek Scriptures, we must superimpose over this first set of random probabilities a second condition requiring a very carefully planned, non-random series of events. What would be required in order to obliterate the presence of the Tetragrammaton from the original writings of the Christian Greek Scriptures? The entire train of events would need to be altered. No longer could we allow a random process of copying and preserving documents. We would be forced to believe that in all other aspects concerning the preservation of Greek Scripture ••103•• documents, a true random distribution took place.¹⁰ Yet, only in this one area concerning the removal of the Tetragrammaton, would we accept the fact that both the copy process and the preservation of the text became completely uniform. Though we see no evidence of that fact today, we are asked to believe that *all* inspired Christian writers used the Tetragrammaton. Then we would need to acknowledge that *all* third century copyists used only *Kurios*. We would next need to believe that *all* copies containing the Tetragrammaton were subsequently lost at a precise point in time so that they were never again copied. Finally, we would need to believe that there was *total* agreement among *all* patristics¹¹ from the second century on that this new corrupted text represented

⁸ This is exactly the fascinating story behind the Greek manuscript Ⲁ (*Aleph*) cited so frequently in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. As mentioned earlier, it was found in 1859 by the German textual critic Friedrich von Tischendorf at the monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai.

⁹ Interest in preserving the Scripture text is in no way confined to the 16th century and later. Before the time of Christ, Jewish scholars had developed extremely precise means of insuring faithful transmission of the Scriptures. Later Jewish Masoretic scholars devoted their entire lives to this primary pursuit. Again, Origen gives us an outstanding example of textual work done in the third century. (See Appendix J.) Countless other examples throughout early history can also be given. Nonetheless, from the time of Erasmus (during the 16th century) until the present time, there has been a concerted effort to identify the most reliable biblical texts. The invention of the printing press and the discovery of numerous important manuscripts in this later period of history have contributed much to a renewed effort in the study of textual criticism.

¹⁰ This is not a hypothetical model. A study of textual criticism will show exactly this random distribution of textual variants in the history of the text. In fact, it is this discernible randomness which makes the entire study of textual criticism viable.

¹¹ *Patristics* identifies those men of the early Christian religious community who are known today by their writings. In other religious literature they are often called the *church fathers*.

the true apostolic writings.

All the while, we would need to ignore the countless early Christians who suffered daily for their faith, many to the point of martyrdom. We would need to believe that they would give their lives to protect their precious Scriptures from the Romans, but when heretics forcefully acquired all scrolls containing the Tetragrammaton, they willingly acquiesced with such unanimity and silence that no protest was ever recorded!

This would be a most unprecedented event within the history of the early Christian congregation. For a heresy of this magnitude to take place so soon after the Apostles' deaths is most difficult to believe. That it could be so well controlled that not a single reference to its existence has been preserved is beyond reasonable belief.¹² That all traces of the ••104•• supposed early documents which contained the Tetragrammaton could be completely expunged in the short interval required, however, becomes a statistical impossibility.



CHAPTER SUMMARY. This chapter has evaluated the Greek text of the first century Christian congregation.

1. The Greek text of the early Christian congregation was written in joined letters without word separation called an uncial text. No punctuation or accent marks were used. Nonetheless, as both writing itself and the form of the text changed through time, the actual words of the Greek Scriptures have survived without alteration.
2. The *New World Translation* cites only 12 Greek manuscripts and eight early versions in support of the Greek word *Kyrios* (Κύριος) in the 237 *Jehovah* passages. On the other hand, the United Bible Societies' *Greek New Testament* actually cites 754 Greek manuscripts, 86 versions, and 149 lectionaries in support of the *Kyrios* passages within the Christian Greek Scriptures. In all, there are a total of over 5,000 extant Christian Greek manuscripts.
3. We fully acknowledge that the transmission of the Sacred Scriptures was under the careful plan and supervision of Jehovah. Nonetheless, there was an apparent randomness in the method he used to preserve these texts. The accuracy of the various texts which have been safeguarded, and their geographical location which made preservation possible, were *random* events. On the other hand, removal of all traces of the Tetragrammaton would, of necessity, have been a deliberate and planned undertaking. It would represent a statistically impossible series of events for the Tetragrammaton to have been removed from copies of the original writings, leaving no trace of that heresy today.

¹² In truth, it is even *more* difficult to imagine because of the fourth century controversy over the person of Christ. (The controversy is generally known in history as *Arianism*, named after Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria who died in 336 C.E.) It is not our intent to evaluate the theological position of either group in that debate. Nonetheless, this event of history most certainly gives us an insight into the presumed presence of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures. One group maintained that the Son was not of the same substance as the Father, understanding him to be a created being, though preexistent to the created world. There is considerable writing of the early patristics dealing with this controversy from both sides of the argument. We must ask ourselves a very important question. If, as is claimed, there was evidence of any kind that the Tetragrammaton was used 237 times in the Christian Greek Scriptures by the original authors, why did those advocating a created Jesus never bolster their argument with this information? No single logical argument would have supported their cause more eloquently than the citation of the Tetragrammaton from within the Greek Scriptures' texts. Or are we to believe that men living in 350 C.E. had never read Greek Scripture manuscripts which still existed from the apostolic times? In fact, Origen contributed substance to this controversy by his teaching that the Father and the Son possess a separate essence, calling Jesus "a secondary God," and the Father "*the God*" (*Schaff-Herzog*, Vol. 1, p. 278). Most certainly, the writings of Origen himself would have provided the textual evidence necessary to substantiate the presence of the Tetragrammaton, had it been available.

Chapter 9: MANUSCRIPT PUBLICATION DATES

In the preceding ••105•• chapters of this book, we have only referred to manuscripts by their probable *date of origin*. Because this book is concerned with new manuscript light which has become available since the work of the New World Bible Translation Committee was completed, we must now consider a distinctly different date. We must also determine the manuscript *publication* date. The manuscript publication date is important because it is the earliest date at which a particular Greek manuscript becomes available for Bible translation.

This chapter is solely concerned with papyrus manuscripts. Generally speaking, the papyrus documents represent the oldest extant Greek Scripture documents available for study. Vellum (animal skin) documents of the Greek Scriptures are more recent.

Before a manuscript has value in Scripture translation, its authenticity must be identified. We must show how a Greek manuscript goes from being an unknown scroll to becoming a credible biblical document.

Manuscripts are found

The dry and arid regions of Palestine, the Sinai Peninsula, and North Africa have preserved countless ancient manuscripts. For simplicity's sake, we can characterize the discovery of biblical manuscripts in one of three ways.

Manuscripts found by untrained indigents. In the Overview, we told the story of the Bedouin shepherd who found the first scrolls in the Qumran caves. This story has been repeated many times in the history of manuscript discovery. In this first instance, a local resident of the area accidentally discovered an ancient document without understanding its significance. Documents discovered in this way are usually poorly handled or stored—many times merely hidden in a house—resulting in regrettable damage to the fragile pages. At some point, the documents may be speculatively sold for a small amount of money, passing into the hands of an antiquities dealer.

The contents of such a document may be entirely unknown. The antiquities dealer, however, will vaguely ascertain the document's contents in order to enhance its value for sale. He may attempt to copy a portion of the writing to show to a language professor, or may actually display a portion of it by removing damaged pages. The antiquities dealer often acts covertly, because many governments forbid private ownership and sale of ancient documents.

••106•• At some point, the antiquities dealer may sell the document to an intermediary who surreptitiously removes the document from the country of origin. Eventually, the document may become part of a foreign library or personal acquisition such as the Chester Beatty or Bodmer collections.

Needless to say, by the time the document is ready for scholarly study, much of the history of its location and association with other parts of the archeological site has been lost. Nor can it be assumed that every document found in this way will prove to have value. Only a small number of manuscripts eventually attain recognition as authentic ancient documents which make a contribution to biblical studies. (Many such documents have proven to be inconsequential personal correspondence between unknown individuals or inventory lists of a long-forgotten villa.)

Manuscripts discovered by trained collectors. The story of the discovery of the important *Codex Sinaiticus* manuscript (*Aleph*) by Tischendorf in 1844 at the St. Catharine Monastery is an example of an independent collector making an important manuscript discovery. As we have already seen, some of the leaves of the Hebrew Scriptures were already in a wastebasket, destined to start fires. Because of the urgency expressed by Tischendorf for their preservation, the amount ultimately paid to the monastic order for the almost complete Bible was considerably higher than the price of paper used to start morning fires!

In the past 150 years, many important biblical manuscripts have been discovered through the painstaking—and sometimes fortuitous—efforts of scholarly or wealthy collectors. In many instances, these finds have resulted in some preservation of the details surrounding the document's original location and association with other written materials or artifacts.

Manuscripts discovered by archaeologists. Not all manuscripts have been randomly discovered by untrained shepherds or townspeople. The *Dead Sea Scrolls* actually represent a significantly larger number of documents and artifacts which have been discovered by trained archaeologists than by the early fortune hunters. (The early finds, however, represented the important *Isaiah Scroll* and other major manuscripts.)

(••107••)

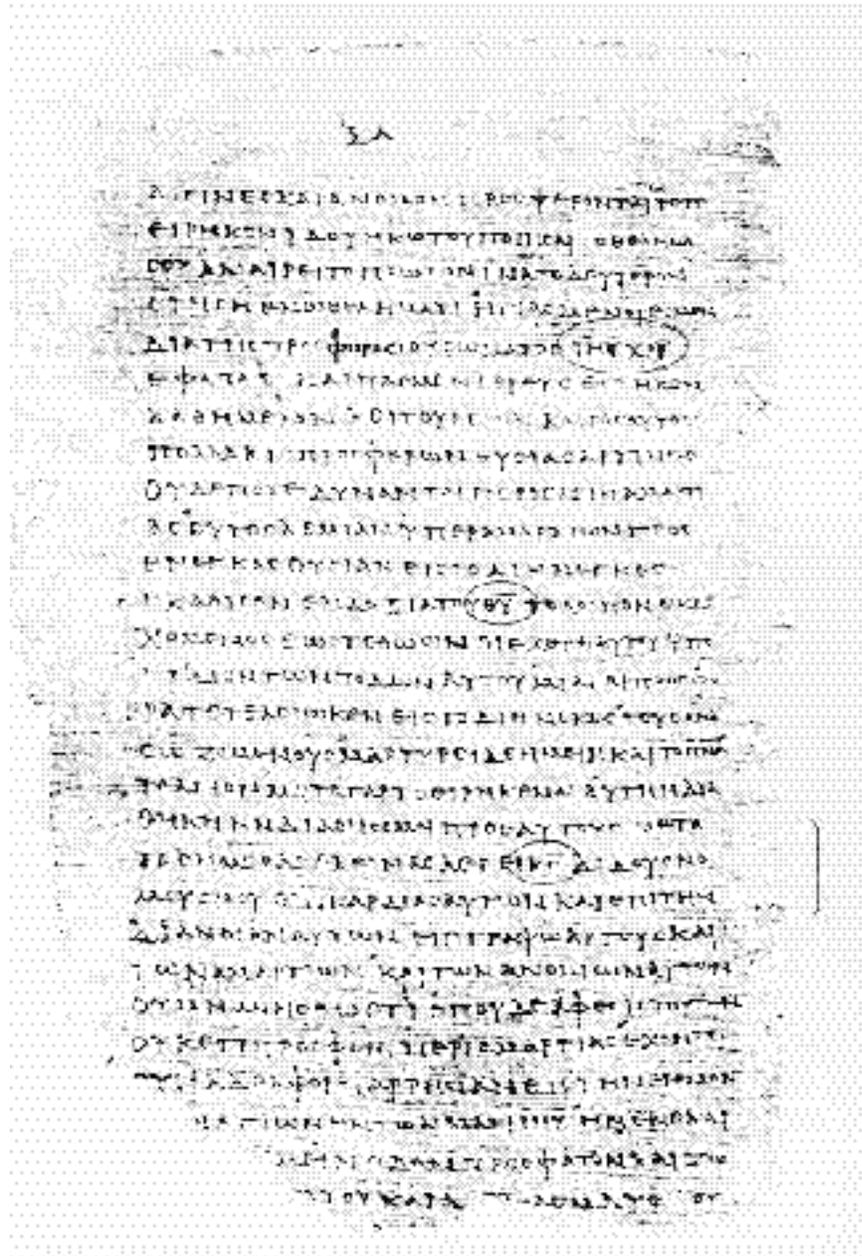


Figure 6. Hebrews 10:8-20 from P⁴⁶, a manuscript dated about 200 C.E. Note the surrogates for ΙΗΣΟΥΣ (ΙΗΥ) [Jesus] and ΚΡΙΣΤΟΥ (ΚΡΥ) [Christ] at 10:10; ΘΕΟΥ (ΘΥ) [God] at 10:13, and ΚΡΙΣΤΟΣ (ΚϞ) [Christ] at 10:16 (*Jehovah* in the *New World Translation*).

It has often been through the efforts of governments wanting to protect these manuscript and archaeological materials that trained personnel have been allowed to conduct archaeological explorations throughout the area in which ancient biblical documents are best preserved. Biblical archaeological sites such as Masada, the Qumran caves, and the environs of Jerusalem itself, have all been sources of

••108•• biblical documents found by work crews under the supervision of professional archaeologists. (However, North Africa, rather than the three geographical areas just given, is the primary source of the papyrus manuscripts.) When trained archaeologists and manuscript experts are involved in the recovery process, optimum preservation of the contextual information surrounding a manuscript is maintained. This information may facilitate establishing the copy date of the manuscript itself.

Two interesting examples

The papyrus document identified as P⁵² represents an interesting example of a scrap of papyrus which became a major Greek Scripture manuscript discovery.¹ The entire manuscript consists of a small and irregularly shaped fragment of the Gospel of John, measuring about 2¹/₂ by 3¹/₂ inches. It was acquired by Bernard P. Grenfell in Egypt in 1920. In 1934, C. H. Roberts of the Oxford University in England was sorting through hundreds of mixed unidentified Greek manuscripts which belonged to the John Rylands Library at Manchester. He recognized and identified this small scrap as coming from John 18:31-33 and 37-38. (Verses 31-33 are on the front of the scrap, verses 37-38 are on the back.) More importantly, after careful study of the script style, he identified the manuscript as coming from the first half of the second century. In 1935, Roberts published an important booklet entitled, *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel in the John Rylands Library*, in which he identified this portion as a copy from this early date. Pages 316-317 of *"All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial"* identify the date for this manuscript fragment as 125 C.E. (For a photo reproduction of the manuscript, see *Insight On the Scriptures*, Volume 1, page 323.)

This small scrap is now the oldest known copy of the Christian Scriptures, dating to within 30 years of the original writing by the Apostle himself. By its early date, this small manuscript definitively disproves the higher criticism contention that the Gospel of John was written by an unknown author in 160 C.E. (See footnote 12 in Chapter 2.)

In this chapter we are primarily concerned with new light on Greek manuscripts which have been published since 1950.² As we will see, P⁶⁶ gives us this type of example.

••109•• A Genevan bibliophile by the name of M. Martin Bodmer acquired a number of important biblical manuscripts. Among them is the papyrus manuscript P⁶⁶ which consists of six quires (a large page which is folded and slit to form what is today called a bindery *stitch*) measuring about 6 by 5¹/₂ inches. It contains John 1:1-6:11 and 6:35b-14:15. In 1956, Victor Martin, Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Geneva, published his study of this manuscript identifying the date of its production as *circa* 200 C.E. Later, an additional 46 pages of this same manuscript was acquired by M. Bodmer and subsequently published by Martin in 1958.

The copy date and the publication date

With the examples given above, we can now differentiate between *copy date* and *publication date*. By *copy date*, we mean the approximate time at which a particular manuscript was produced by a scribe or copyist. Thus, for example, P⁶⁶ is judged to have been copied by a scribe about 200 C.E. This does not tell us, however, when this manuscript became available for scholarly study. This latter information we will express as the manuscript's *publication date*. From the example above, we see that the scholarly work done by Professor Martin to establish the date in which this manuscript was copied was made available (published) in 1956 and 1958.

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all information in this chapter regarding papyrus manuscripts comes from *The Text of the New Testament* by Bruce Metzger. The general information comes from pages 36-42. The tabulated information comes from pages 247-256.

² The 1985 edition of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* identifies p⁶⁶, P⁷⁴, and P⁷⁵ in its footnote citations. However, this was not material available to the original translators, as these manuscripts were published in 1958, 1961, and 1961 respectively.

The difference between *copy date* and *publication date* is important to the work of the Bible translator. The textual critic works toward assembling the most exact reproduction possible of the apostolic authors' Greek writing. The translator works toward conveying the exact sense of the apostolic writers' words into understandable modern language. The final translation represents the combined efforts of both the textual critic and the modern Bible translator. However, the translator is dependent on the work of the textual critic because the translator has access to a Greek text only after the textual critic has completed his work. It is thus the published results of the textual critic which gives the translator the most reliable wording of the Greek text. (Some textual critics have also acted as translators. In the case of the *New World Translation*, however, the Translation Committee was primarily dependent on the work of the textual critics Westcott and Hort. The Committee availed itself of supplemental assistance from other textual critics as well.) Presumably, unless the translator is also working as a textual critic on unpublished documents, he will be unaware of new Greek manuscript discoveries until after their publication date.

••110•• The papyrus identification system indicates the dissimilarity between copy date and publication date. Ostensibly, the first papyrus Greek Scripture manuscript which was identified was assigned the symbol P¹ which stands for Papyrus^{classification #1}. The second papyrus was classified as P², with each successive classification following.

Needless to say, ancient documents are not discovered in their chronological order. The first papyrus placed in this classification system (P¹) was from the third century C.E., the second (P²) was from the sixth century, the third (P³) was from either the sixth or seventh century, the fourth was an early copy from the third century, and so on for each of the classified papyri numbered through P⁷⁶. In fact, some of the latest papyri to be classified are some of the earliest. P⁴⁶, P⁶⁴, P⁶⁶, and P⁶⁷ are all dated *circa* 200 C.E.

Papyri publication dates roughly correspond with their individual discovery date. Consequently, papyrus manuscripts found early tend to have early publication dates, while later manuscripts carry more recent dates. However, there are exceptions. For one reason or another, a manuscript may not be classified immediately after it is found. As we will see in the following tabulated information, the dates of discovery represented by the superscript on the "P" symbol do not coincide with an exact sequence of publication dates. Classification often results from the presumed importance of the manuscript or the availability of individuals who are qualified to do the necessary research. In the example above, P⁵² was overlooked for many years merely because its insignificant size and mix with numerous other small manuscript portions obscured its great importance.

Papyrus manuscripts and the 237 *Jehovah* references

In this chapter, we are primarily concerned with new light which has become available in Christian Greek Scripture studies since 1950. Specifically, we want to determine what bearing this new light has on the issue of whether *Kyrios* or the Tetragrammaton was used in the Greek Scriptures.

In the following tabulation of papyrus manuscripts, information will be given for those manuscripts classified as P¹ through P⁷⁶ which contain one (or both) of two types of information.

- I. Information will be given for any classified papyrus manuscript which was published after the completion of the Christian Scriptures portion of the *New World Translation* in 1950.
- II. Information will be given for any classified papyrus manuscript which contains one or more of the 237 *Jehovah* passages cited in the Christian Scriptures of the *New World Translation*.

••111•• Before evaluating the information tabulated from these 76 extant papyrus manuscripts in Table 5, a brief explanatory comment should be made regarding the information presented:

1. The headings are as follows: *No.* identifies the individual papyrus by its classification number; *Extant portions* lists the passages found in the manuscript; *Date Copied* identifies the time period in which the ancient manuscript was produced; *Published* identifies the date at which the manuscript's contents and assigned date of copy was released to the scholarly community for study; *"J" Ref.* Κύριος identifies those passages from the 237 *Jehovah* references in the *New World Translation* in which a form of the Greek word Κύριος was used in the papyrus

manuscript; *Papyrus* יהוה indicates the number of occurrences of the Tetragrammaton within these papyrus manuscripts for any of the 237 *Jehovah* passages; *NWT Jehovah* indicates the number of *Jehovah* references in the *New World Translation* found in the cited papyrus.

2. Specialized information is included under the heading *Extant portions*.

- a. The chapter and verse citations are to be read consecutively with the hyphen read as *through*. For example, in P¹¹ the entry, "1 Cor 1:17-23; 2:9-12, 14; 3:1-3, 5-6; 4:3-5:5, etc.," is understood to mean, "the manuscript includes 1 Corinthians chapter 1 verses 17 through 23, chapter 2 verses 9 through 12, chapter 2 verse 14, chapter 3 verses 1 through 3, verses 5 and 6, and chapter 4 verse 3 through chapter 5 verse 5," and so on.
- b. Within each series of entries, a bold parenthetical number indicates one of the 237 *Jehovah* entries in the *NWT*. In several instances such as P⁴⁶, multiple occurrences of *Jehovah* are each shown with an individual verse number such as **(8)**, **(8)**, **(8)**, indicating that *Jehovah* occurs three times at Romans 14:8.
- c. An entry identified with a dagger (†) indicates that the manuscript is fragmentary or words are missing from the text.
- d. A book name with no reference citations indicates that the book is complete in the manuscript. Notice the entries for P⁴⁶ which indicate that 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, and Hebrews are complete. Nonetheless, these entries may show bold citations of *Jehovah* references. (For example, "Col **(1:10)**, **(3:13)**," etc.)
- e. The book order is given according to the English Bible. In some cases, the actual papyrus manuscript will include books in a different order.

3. Information ••112•• regarding the Greek word used in any papyrus manuscript is readily available from *The Greek New Testament* published by the United Bible Societies. For this study, the third edition was used. The verse was consulted in the UBS text for each of the 237 *Jehovah* references contained in any papyrus manuscript. These are the references identified within bold typeface parentheses. If there is a variant (changed wording) in any credible Greek manuscripts, the UBS apparatus (textual footnote) lists the manuscripts and their wording.³ All *Κύριος* (Κύριος) entries were verified. All entries identifying any of the 76 papyrus manuscripts were noted. From this information, the two columns "J" Ref. Κύριος and *Papyrus* יהוה were derived. The discrepancies between the columns "J" Ref. Κύριος and *NWT Jehovah* are accounted for in the footnotes.

A simple summary of this information will be given in Table 6. The reader may wish to move ahead to that summary. For completeness, however, the information is given in full as follows:

(••112-115••)

No.	Extant portions	Date Copied	Published	"J" Ref. Κύριος	<i>Papyrus</i> יהוה	<i>NWT Jehovah</i>
P ¹	Mt 1:1-9, 12, 14-20 (20) , 23.	3rd	1898	1	none	1
P ²	Jn 12:12- (13) -15.	6th	1906	1	none	1

³ 1 Corinthians 10:9 says "Neither let us put Jehovah to the test...." The UBS text uses neither the Tetragrammaton nor Κύριος. Rather, it uses the word Χριστόν [Christ] with a footnote reference to the textual apparatus. In the textual apparatus, we find that the word Χριστόν [Christ] has a {C} rating which means that "there is a considerable degree of doubt whether the text...contains the...reading selected for the text." Subsequently, a large number of manuscripts (including P⁴⁶), versions, lectionaries, and patristics using the word Χριστόν are cited as the first choice of the editors. A second choice is the word κύριον [Lord] which includes both *κ* (*Aleph*) and B from the Westcott and Hort text. A third choice is θεόν [God] with two supporting manuscripts and one patristic. The final choice, with only a single supporting manuscript, eliminates the words τὸν Χριστόν [the Christ] altogether. The complete UBS footnote entry is as follows:

{C} Χριστόν P⁴⁶ D G K Ψ 88 330 451 614 629 630 1241 1739 1881 1984 2492 2495 *Byz Lect* it^{ar,d,dem,e,f,g,x,z} vg sy^{rp,h} cop^{sa,bo} Marcion Theotecnus Irenaeus^{lat} Clement Origen Ambrosiaster Ephraem Epiphanius Chrysostom^{3/4} Pelagius Augustine Ps-Oecumenius Theophylact // κύριον *κ* B C P 33 104 181 326 436 1877 2127 sy^{hmg} arm eth Chrysostom^{1/4} Theodoret Cassiodorus John-Damascus Sedulius-Scotus // θεόν A 81 Euthalius // omit τὸν Χριστόν 1985

No.	Extant portions	Date Copied	Pub- lished	"J" Ref. Κύριος	ⲓⲏⲏⲧ	NWT Jehovah
P ³	Lk 7:36-45; 10:38-42.	6th or 7th	1882 1885 1963	none	none	none
P ⁴	Lk 1:58-(58)-59, 62-(66)-(68)-(76)-2:1, 6-7; 3 8-38; 4:2, 29-32, 34-35; 5:3-8, 30-38; 6:1-16.	3rd	1938	3 ⁴	none	4
P ⁵	Jn 1:23-(23)-31, 33-41; 16:14-30; 20:11-17, 19-20, 22-25.	3rd	1898	1	none	1
P ⁷	Lk 4:1-2.	5th	1957	none	none	none
P ⁸	Act 4:31-37; 5:2-9 (9); 6:1-6, 8-15.	4th	?	1	none	1
P ¹¹	1 Cor 1:17-23; 2:9-12, 14; 3:1-3, 5-6; 4:3-(4)-(19)-5:5, 7-8; 6:5-7, 11-18; 7:3-6, 10-14.	7th	1868 1957	2	none	2
P ¹³	Heb 2:14-5:5; 10:8-(16)-22, 29 - (30) - (12:5) - (12:6)-12:17.	3rd or 4th	1951	4	none	4
P ⁴⁵	Mt 20:24-32; 21:13-19; 25:41-46; 26:1-39; Mk 4:36-40; 5:15-(19)-26, 38-6:3, 16-25, 36-50; 7:3-15, 25-8:1, 10-26, 34-9:8, 18-31; 11:27-33; 12:1, 5-8, 13-19, 24-28; Lk 6:31-41, 45-7:7; 9:26-41, 45-10:1, 6-22, 26-(27)-11:1, 6-25, 28-46, 50-12:12, 18-37, 42-13:1, 6-24, 29-14:10, 17-33; Jn 10:7-25, 31-11:10, 18-36, 43-57; Act 4:27-(29)-36; 5:10-(19)-20, 30-39; 6:7-7:2, 10-21, 32-(33)-41, 52-(60)-8:1, 14-(22)-(24)-25 (25), 34-(39)-9:6, 16-27, 35-10:23, 31-(33)-41; 11:2-14, 24-12:5, 13-(17)-22; 13:6-(10)-(11)-(12)-16, 25-36, 46-(47)-(48) ⁵ -(49)-14:3 (3), 15-23 (23); 15:2-7, 19-26, 38-(40)-16:4, 15-(15)-21, 32-(32)-40; 17:9-17.	3rd	1933	21	none	21
P ⁴⁶	Rom 5:17-6:3, 5-14; 8:15-25, 27-35, 37-9:(28)-(29)-32; 10:1-(13)-(16)-11:(3)-22, 24-33, 35-(12:11)-(19)-14:(4)-(6), (6), (6)-8 (8), (8), (8), 9-(11)-15:9 [†] , 11-(11)-33; 16:1-23, 25-27; 1 Cor [†] (1:31), (2:16), (3:20), (4:4), (4:19), (7:17), (10:9) ⁶ , (10:21), (10:21), (10:22), (10:26), (11:32), (14:21), (16:7), (16:10), 2 Cor [†] (3:16), (3:17), (3:17), (3:18), (3:18), (6:17), (6:18), (8:21), (10:17), (10:18), Gal [†] (3:6), Eph [†] (2:21), (5:17), (5:19), (6:4), (6:7), (6:8), Phil [†] , Col [†] (1:10), (3:13), (3:16) ⁷ , (3:22), (3:23), (3:24), 1 Th 1:1, 9-10; 2:1-3; 5:5-9, 23-28; Heb. (2:13), (7:21), (8:2), (8:8), (8:9), (8:10), (8:11), (10:16), (10:30), (12:5), (12:6), (13:6).	c. 200	1934 1936	64	none	64

⁴ P⁴ omits Κύριος (*Kyrios*) at Luke 1:68.

⁵ P⁴⁵, P⁷⁴, and ⲁ (*Aleph*) [Westcott and Hort] use Κύριος (*Kyrios*) whereas B (*Vatican MS. No. 1209*) [Westcott and Hort] uses θεός (*theos*).

⁶ P⁴⁶ uses κριστόν (*Christ*) whereas ⲁ (*Aleph*) [Westcott and Hort] uses κύριον (*Lord*).

⁷ P⁴⁶, ⲁ (*Aleph*) [Westcott and Hort], B (*Vatican MS. No. 1209*) [Westcott and Hort] all use θεός (*theos*).

Manuscript Publication Dates

No.	Extant portions	Date Copied	Pub-lished	"J" Ref. Κύριος	ⲉⲓⲃⲏ	Papyrus NWT Jehovah
P47	Rev 9:10-(11:17), (15:3), (15:4), (16:7)-17:2. [†]	end of 3rd	1934	4	none	4
P49	Eph 4:16-29, 31-5:13.	end of 3rd	1958	none	none	none
P50	Act 8:26-(26)-32; 10:26-31;	4th or 5th	1937	1	none	1
P59	Jn 1:26, 28, 48, 51; 2:15-16; 11:40-52; 12:25, 29, 31, 35; 17:24-26; 18:1-2, 16-17, 22; 21:7, 12-13, 15, 17-20, 23.	7th	1950	none	none	none
P60	Jn 16:29-19:26. [†]	7th	1950	none	none	none
P61	Rom 16:23, 25-27; 1 Cor 1:1-2, 4-6; 5:1-3, 5-6, 9-13; Phil 3:5-9, 12-16; Col 1:3-7, 9-(10)-13; 4:15; 1 Th 1:2-3; Tit 3:1-5, 8-11, 14-15; Phlm 4-7.	c. 700	1950	1	none	1
P63	Jn 3:14-18; 4:9-10.	c. 500	1953	none	none	none
P64	Mt 26:7, 10, 14-15, 22-23, 31-33.	c. 200	1953	none	none	none
P65	1 Th 1:3-(8)-10; 2:1, 6-13.	3rd	1957	1	none	1
P66	Jn 1:1-(23)-6:11, 35-(45), (12:13), (38), (38)-14:26, 29-21:9. [†]	c. 200	1958	5	none	5
P67	Mt 3:9, 15; 5:20-22, 25-28.	c. 200	1956	none	none	none
P68	1 Cor 4:12-17, 19-(19)-21; 5:1-3.	7th (?)	1957	1	none	1
P72	1Pt, (1:25), (3:12), (12), 2 Pt (2:9), (11), (3:8), (9), (10), (12); Jude (5) ⁸ , (9), (14).	3rd or 4th	1959	12	none	12
P74	Act 1:2-5, 7-11, 13-15, 18-19, 22-(24)-25; 2:2-4, 6-(20)-(21)-(25)-(34)-(39)-(47)-3:(19)-(22)-26; 4:2-6, 8-(26)-27, 29 (29)-(5:9)-(19)-(7:31)-(33)-(49)-(60)-(8:22)-(24)-(25)-(26)-(39) - (9:31) - (10:33) ⁹ - (13:44) ¹⁰ - (13:47) - (13:49) - (16:32) ¹¹ - (18:21) ¹² -(19:20)-(21:14)-27:25, 27-28:31; Jas 1:1-6, 8-19, 21-23, 25, 27-2:15, 18-22, 25-3:1, 5-6, 10-12, 14, 17-4:8, 11-14; 5:1-3, 7-9, 12-14, 19-20; 1 Pt 1:1-2, 7-8, 12-13, 19-20, 25 (25); 2:7, 11-12, 18, 24; 3:4-5; 2 Pt 2:21; 3:4, 11, 16; 1 Jn 1:1, 6; 2:1-2, 7, 13-14, 18-19, 25-26; 3:1-2, 8, 14, 19-20; 4:1, 6-7, 12, 16-17; 5:3-4, 10, 17; 2 Jn 1, 6-7, 12-13; 3 Jn 6, 12; Jude 3, 7, 12, 18, 24-25.	7th	1961	30	none	32

⁸ P72 uses θεός Χριστός (*theos christos*) [God Christ] whereas Ⲁ (Aleph) [Westcott and Hort] uses κύριος (*Kyrios*).

⁹ P74 uses θεός (*theos*) whereas P45 uses Κύριος (*Kyrios*).

¹⁰ Both P74 and Ⲁ (Aleph) [Westcott and Hort] use Κύριος (*Kyrios*) whereas B (Vatican MS. No. 1209) [Westcott and Hort] uses θεός (*theos*).

¹¹ P45, P74 and Ⲁ (Aleph) [Westcott and Hort] use Κύριος (*Kyrios*) whereas B (Vatican MS. No. 1209) [Westcott and Hort] uses θεός (*theos*).

No.	Extant portions	Date Copied	Pub-lished	"J" Ref. Κύριος	יהוה	NWT Jehovah
P75	Lk 3:18-22, 33-4:2, 34-5:10, 37-6:4, 10-7:32, 35-43, 46-(10:27)-(13:35)-18:18; 22:4-24:53; Jn 1:1-(23), (6:45), (12:13), (12:38), (12:38)-13:10; 14:8-15:8. [†]	early 3rd	1961	7	none	7
P76	Jn 4:9, 12.	6th	1959	none	none	none

Table 5. A comprehensive list of papyrus manuscripts published since 1950 which give new light on the Tetragrammaton in the Greek Scriptures. In no instance is יהוה represented.

••115•• In addition to the above published papyrus manuscripts, there are a small number of manuscripts which have been assigned numbers but have either not been published, or have had incomplete work done ••116•• regarding their copy date. These include P⁷³, P⁷⁷, P⁷⁸, P⁷⁹, P⁸⁰, and P⁸¹. There is one additional fourth century fragment from 1 Peter which has not been assigned a number.¹³

New manuscript light since 1950

We can now summarize our findings. At the beginning of the book we asked, "Did the original apostolic writers use the Tetragrammaton in 237 instances while writing the Christian Greek Scriptures?" We then explored whether new light from studies of ancient Christian Scripture manuscripts would help answer this question.

The summary information in Table 6 gives valuable new insights into the presence of the Tetragrammaton in some of the earliest Greek manuscripts. Eighteen of these manuscripts were unknown to the New World Bible Translation Committee when it completed its work in 1950. (However, both P³ and P¹¹ had been published in some form at an earlier date.)

These new manuscripts represent very early dates. Three manuscripts were actually copied *circa* 200 C.E. Another five manuscripts were copied within the first four centuries, three of which are clearly from the third century. However, of these eight very ancient manuscripts, not all contain passages among the 237 *Jehovah* references. Nonetheless, there are 29 occurrences of the Greek word *Kyrios* represented in these new documents from the third—to the latest—fourth century. If all newly published manuscripts are counted, there are a total of 63 occurrences of *Kyrios* in these same passages in which *Jehovah* has been inserted into the English text of the *New World Translation* Christian Scriptures.

The most significant question we can ask, however, is this: "In these very old, yet recently published manuscripts, do we find the Tetragrammaton?" The answer is, "No, we do not." In these 18 manuscripts published since 1950, there are a total of 65 passages in which we would expect to find the Tetragrammaton in the earliest manuscripts. (These passages are identified in the following summary as the "Total number of NWT *Jehovah* passages since 1950.") Yet, *there is not a single occurrence of the Tetragrammaton in any of these passages*. If we evaluate the same information for all 237 passages of which we find 163 represented within these papyri (these 163 passages are identified as the "Total papyri passages where NWT inserts ••118•• *Jehovah*") we again find the complete absence of any manuscript reference to יהוה.

With a significant increase today in the new light on very early Greek manuscripts, we find overwhelming evidence that the Tetragrammaton is not used in any extant copies of the Greek Scriptures since 200 C.E.

¹² All texts use θεός (*theos*).

¹³ The above information comes from Metzger (*op. cit.*). However, inasmuch as the book we are citing was published in 1968 (and reprinted in 1978), some of this publication work may now have been completed.

(••117••)

No.	Date Copied	Published	"J" Ref. Κύριος	Papyrus יהוה	NWT Jehovah
P3	6th or 7th	1882 1885 1963	none	none	none
P7	5th	1957	none	none	none
P11	7th	1868 1957	2	none	2
P13	3rd or 4th	1951	4	none	4
P49	end of 3rd	1958	none	none	none
P59	7th	1950	none	none	none
P60	7th	1950	none	none	none
P61	c. 700	1950	1	none	1
P63	c. 500	1953	none	none	none
P64	c. 200	1953	none	none	none
P65	3rd	1957	1	none	1
P66	c. 200	1958	5	none	5
P67	c. 200	1956	none	none	none
P68	7th (?)	1957	1	none	1
P72	3rd or 4th	1959	12	none	12
P74	7th	1961	30	none	32
P75	early 3rd	1961	7	none	7
P76	6th	1959	none	none	none
Total of all papyri published					75 ¹⁴
Total papyri published since 1950					18
Earliest papyrus date					c. 200
Total papyri passages where NWT inserts <i>Jehovah</i>					163
Total number of NWT <i>Jehovah</i> passages since 1950					65
Total uses of <i>Kyrios</i> (Κύριος) in all papyri					160
Total uses of <i>Kyrios</i> (Κύριος) since 1950					63
Total uses of יהוה in all papyri					none

Table 6. A summary of papyrus manuscripts published since 1950 which give new light on the Tetragrammaton in the Greek Scriptures. In no instance is יהוה represented.



CHAPTER SUMMARY. In the time since the completion of the *New World Translation* Christian Scriptures, there has been a significant increase in new light and knowledge of biblical manuscripts. Of the total 75 earliest copies of the Scriptures represented in the papyri, 18 have been published for scholarly study since 1950.

1. The new light we now possess includes some of the earliest known copies of the Greek Scriptures.

¹⁴ The number of consecutively numbered papyri is 76. However, P⁷³ has not yet been published.

Three of these new manuscripts were copied in approximately 200 C.E. Another three were copied by the end of the third century, and another two no later than the fourth century.

2. Within this group of eight new manuscripts which were copied no later than the fourth century, there is not a single appearance of the Tetragrammaton. With only two exceptions, *Kyrios* is clearly used in the text. (The two exceptions are found in P⁷⁴, and both use *theos* rather than the Tetragrammaton.)
3. The evidence now available from the earliest Greek Scripture manuscripts (the papyri) gives a combined witness of 160 occurrences of *Kyrios* and two occurrences of *theos* in 163 of the 237 *Jehovah* passages. The remaining *Jehovah* references are not substantiated by these earliest papyri manuscripts, yet no later Greek manuscript evidence gives any indication of the use of the Tetragrammaton.

Chapter 10: REMOVAL OF THE TETRAGRAMMATON FROM EARLY GREEK MANUSCRIPTS

The New ••119•• World Bible Translation Committee believed that the Tetragrammaton was used by the original Greek Scripture writers, but then removed by scribes and copyists by the fourth century. *This possibility requires careful scrutiny inasmuch as verification of the Tetragrammaton's removal is the sole condition justifying restoration of Jehovah's name to the Christian Scriptures.*

This chapter considers the textual evidence which will confirm or refute the claim that the Tetragrammaton was removed from the original Greek Christian Scripture manuscripts.

Needless to say, a description of the Tetragrammaton's removal is not found in the writings of the Christian Scriptures themselves for the obvious reason that an altered text would not report the process of its own corruption. Rather, the issue of removal will be resolved through an examination of historical and textual material bearing on the original Greek manuscripts. The reader must also be aware that this chapter addresses the presence of the Tetragrammaton only in the Christian Greek Scriptures and not in the *Septuagint*.

The position of the Watch Tower Society

By way of introduction, the teaching of the Watch Tower Society is summarized in this quotation from the *New World Translation Reference Edition*, 1984, page 1564:

Matthew made more than a hundred quotations from the inspired Hebrew Scriptures. Where these quotations included the divine name he would have been obligated faithfully to include the Tetragrammaton in his Hebrew Gospel account. When the Gospel of Matthew was translated into Greek, the Tetragrammaton was left untranslated within the Greek text according to the practice of that time.

Sometime during the second or third century C.E. the scribes removed the Tetragrammaton from both the Septuagint and the Christian Greek Scriptures and replaced it with *Ky'ri-os*, "Lord" or *The-os*, "God."

[Quoting George Howard] "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 N[ew] T[estament] quotation of and allusions to the O[ld] T[estament] and that in the course of time ••120•• it was replaced mainly with the surrogate $\kappa\bar{\rho}\varsigma$ [abbreviation for *Ky'ri-os*, "Lord"]."

We concur with the above, with this exception: We do not consider this view a "theory," rather, a presentation of the facts of history as to the transmission of Bible manuscripts.

Defining the search for the Tetragrammaton

Irrespective of one's view regarding the existence of the Tetragrammaton in the original Christian Greek Scriptures, a study exploring its presence should evaluate six specific issues.

These six topics are given in descending order of importance. If the first statement can be substantiated, the remaining evidence is merely corroborative. If it cannot be substantiated, each of the descending statements must give appropriate degrees of confirming evidence.¹

1. The majority of the earliest extant Christian Scripture manuscripts should show the Tetragrammaton or a reasonable derivative embedded in the Greek text.
2. Early and abundant extant manuscripts of the Christian Greek Scriptures should show evidence of the Tetragrammaton's removal.

¹ The first statement would establish the Tetragrammaton as a reality in the Christian Greek Scriptures with no other supporting evidence needed. In its absence, the second would give strong evidence of its original existence. The third and fourth statements are natural consequences which must be observable had the original Scriptures been so radically changed in the second or third century. The fifth statement is merely corroborative if we hold the Greek manuscripts of the Greek Scriptures to be those which are inspired of God. The sixth is simply a practical concern which addresses geographical diversity. In no case, however, can later evidence alone establish the Tetragrammaton's presence if substantial indication is not attestable in early manuscripts.

3. The writings of the early patristics should record a debate ensuing from the Tetragrammaton's removal.
4. Early non-canonical writings should include reference to the Tetragrammaton.
5. The Tetragrammaton should be identifiable in Christian Scriptures written in the Hebrew language during the apostolic or early Christian congregation era.
6. The geography of the area establishes the setting to be considered in the Tetragrammaton's removal.

Christian Greek Scriptures which use the Tetragrammaton must be substantiated

The Watch Tower Society teaches that the original Christian Greek Scriptures used the Tetragrammaton in the 237 instances in ••121•• which the name *Jehovah* has been inserted into the *New World Translation*. If this is true, one of two conditions *must* exist, and preferably *both* should be true for appropriate verification.

1. The majority of the earliest extant Christian Scripture manuscripts should show the Tetragrammaton or a reasonable derivative embedded in the Greek text.

Our previous discussions of the inspiration of Scripture and its inerrancy is based on an important premise. *For any portion of Scripture to be accepted as authoritative, it must be verified by authentic, ancient manuscripts.* We cannot validate the original words of Scripture on any basis other than the most exacting manuscript study. Were we to allow mere speculation to dictate the words of the text, the door would be opened to a plethora of *sectarian Bibles* of all types. If the Tetragrammaton was used in the original writings of the apostolic authors, we must be able to find the Hebrew letters יהוה embedded² in the earliest extant copies of these Greek manuscripts. There is no other source of information or tradition which can take precedence over the earliest and most accurate Greek copies of the Christian Scriptures.

The reader must be aware that there are no extant Greek manuscripts which contain the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures. We can appropriately require the same degree of evidence for the Tetragrammaton which we demand for any other correction of variants in the Greek text. In the absence of a single occurrence of the Tetragrammaton in any of the 5,000 extant Greek manuscripts of the Greek Christian Scriptures, we can conclude that all discussion of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures is mere speculation.³

Furthermore, neither is there any evidence of Greek lettering used as a substitution for the Hebrew letters יהוה. No Christian Greek Scripture manuscripts are reported by the Watch Tower Society to contain a derivative such as the Greek letters ΠΙΠΙ (PIPI) which *are* found in certain copies of the *Septuagint* and Origen's *Hexapla*.

Finally, as we close this first topic dealing with the presumed removal of the Tetragrammaton from the Christian Greek Scriptures, ••122•• we must be reminded of an essential reality. *Within the Greek text used today, whether this be the Westcott and Hort text used in the **Kingdom Interlinear Translation**, or the **United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament**, there is not a single instance of a word which has been reinstated to the Greek text without textual support in ancient Greek manuscripts.* Could the Hebrew letters יהוה represent the first and only case in which this is permissible?

2. Early and abundant extant manuscripts of the Christian Greek Scriptures should show evidence of the Tetragrammaton's removal.

No originals of the Greek Scripture writings remain. For that reason, all evidence for the content of the Greek Scriptures comes from subsequent and successive copies.

Irrespective of the word used by the original writers in these 237 instances, the word would be formidably established in the manuscripts after the first 30 or more years of the Christian

² *Embedment* precisely expresses this Hebrew word's placement into a Greek text. It would not be a *translation* because it would be an exact importation of the Hebrew word, including its meaning and orthography, into the Greek text. The upper-case Greek letters ΠΙΠΙ (PIPI) would be a *graphic symbol* of the Hebrew name of God.

³ Of the total 5,000 whole or partial Christian Greek Scripture manuscripts which are known to exist, the Watch Tower Society does not identify a single document in which the Tetragrammaton was used.

congregation.⁴ Because of the great travel distances between congregations and their individual need for manuscripts, many copies of the originals came into existence in this brief time interval. There is no basis for accurately estimating the number of copies which were in circulation 30 years later. However, considering the fact that the congregations were dispersed by severe persecution, that rapid growth was experienced, and that both congregation- and privately-held copies were in use, the numbers must have been in the hundreds, if not thousands, of individual copies for each book within this short period of time.

Presuming now that the passages containing the Hebrew word יהוה were changed to Κύριος, what would have needed to occur? In the first place, it would have been impossible to gather *all* existing manuscripts containing יהוה for destruction at a single time. There would simply have been too many manuscripts with too wide a distribution for this to take place. Initially, only a few manuscripts in selected locations could have been destroyed. Willful destruction of manuscripts would have been even more difficult because many Christians had preserved them through perilous times of persecution and personal risk.

Thus, what is called a *textual variant* would have resulted rather than an abrupt and complete change. That is, there would have ••123•• emerged a mix of manuscripts with some using יהוה and others using Κύριος.⁵ As time went on, assuming a consensus among a strong element advocating the heresy, a larger percentage of manuscripts would have now contained the variant form Κύριος. However, because of the resistance to alterations and the diversity of geographical location, copies containing the original יהוה would have remained in circulation.

There are examples of manuscript longevity which we have already seen. Jerome, who died in 420 C.E., reports having personally used Matthew's Hebrew Gospel. Needless to say, this document (or copies of it) was available for at least 300 years after its writing.

Therefore, if יהוה was altered to Κύριος, we would expect to see a progressive change wherein older documents contained the original, while newer copies contained the variant.⁶ The distribution would have been further commingled because more recent copies would have occasionally been made from older documents, and יהוה would have randomly reappeared.

However, the change would not always have been as simple as going from יהוה to Κύριος. Because the Christian Greek Scriptures were primarily circulated in Gentile territory, we would expect to see variants prompted by language confusion rather than theological bias. Thus, we would probably find early variants with a form of derived Greek lettering such as the ΠΙΠΙ (PIPI) variant found in the *Septuagint*, or the Greek phonetic reproduction ΙΑΩ (YAW). Further, if the original יהוה had been corrupted, it would not have *universally* changed to Κύριος. We would expect to find a variety of Greek words which could have been traced back to the יהוה source, but which would have differed from the Greek word chosen in other manuscripts. For that reason, in each of these 237 references, we would find a *variety* of Greek words in extant manuscripts rather than the single word Κύριος.

Consequently, we would expect a change of the Tetragrammaton to *Kyrios* in the second and third centuries to leave identifiable manuscript evidence. Even if all copies containing the Tetragrammaton itself were lost, significant evidences of the alteration would remain in extant Greek manuscripts.

The Watch Tower Society teaches that prior to the copying of any manuscripts of the Christian Greek Scriptures which are known today, ••124•• the Tetragrammaton was changed to *Kyrios* by copyists and scribes. This argument encounters a formidable obstacle. The rapidity and completeness of such a change would have been unprecedented. The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* amply

⁴ We have stated 30 years as an absolute minimum time simply because the Apostle John wrote at least 30 years after the first manuscripts of Matthew and Paul were circulated. Most certainly, at least John's epistles would have reflected a warning if the early use of the Tetragrammaton had been altered in his lifetime. The reader must understand, however, that both the 30 year period of time and the presupposition that John would have commented on the alteration are outside of any verifiable data available.

⁵ In actuality, there would also be a mix expected *within* a single manuscript. Not all of the 237 passages would be uniformly altered in each manuscript.

⁶ Because subsequent users of a manuscript frequently made corrections, we would also expect to find a small number of manuscripts in which the Tetragrammaton was overwritten with *Kyrios* or a Greek substitution for the divine name.

establishes that Greek manuscripts of the fourth century (300 C.E. and later) carried only the word *Kyrios* with no reference to the Tetragrammaton. In the book "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*" (p. 313), several examples of leading papyrus manuscripts are cited which move the date of known uses of *Kyrios* even closer to apostolic times. As we saw in the last chapter, P⁴⁷ includes four passages from Revelation 9:10-17:2 which are translated as *Jehovah* in the *New World Translation*. This manuscript was copied by 300 C.E. The book of Revelation was written by John about 96 C.E. so that these four uses of *Kyrios* are verified to within 204 years of the original writing.

Another manuscript from the third or fourth century identified as P⁷² contains 12 *Kyrios* passages translated as *Jehovah* in the *New World Translation*. This manuscript, which contains Jude and 1 and 2 Peter, was copied between 201 and 399 C.E.

A third manuscript which the Watch Tower Society uses as a reference, is identified as P⁶⁶. It contains five *Kyrios* passages which are translated in the *New World Translation* as *Jehovah*. This manuscript is identified as *circa* 200 C.E. Since these five passages come from the Gospel of John (which was written about 98 C.E.), these copies were made approximately 102 years after the original writing.⁷ The inescapable truth is that, as early as 102 to not more than 204 years from the writing of the Christian Greek Scriptures, we have substantial evidence that the Christian congregation fully accepted *Kyrios* (Lord) as the appropriate word in these passages.

According to the information published by the Watch Tower Society, it is left entirely to speculation as to how the original Greek Christian Scriptures could have been written using the Tetragrammaton, and then to have been so completely changed within a mere 102 to 240 years, leaving no trace of the corruption. (That is, to use the best dates available to us, John probably wrote Revelation in 96 C.E. and his Gospel in 98 C.E. Paul's last epistles were written in 61 C.E.) That leaves a period of time between 98 and 200 C.E. in which the entire heresy would have needed to arise, altered all documents which have remained today, altered all documents of which we have copies today, and so completely established itself as the corrupted theology that there was no surviving written debate between the patristics. Yet the book "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and ••125•• Beneficial*," moves the dates even closer together when it says,

...but discoveries of older Bible manuscripts during the past few decades take the Greek text back as far as about the year 125 C.E., just a couple of decades short of the death of the apostle John about 100 C.E. These manuscript evidences provide strong assurance that we now have a dependable Greek text in refined form (p. 319).

That a heresy of such radical proportions could have swept the entire Roman Empire during the short period between even 96 and 300 C.E., and that it could have been so complete as to remove all traces of the change, is difficult to imagine. Could we then imagine that it happened "just a couple of decades" after the death of the apostle John?

Early non-biblical writings must reflect the controversy

The early non-biblical writings of the Christian congregation consisted of commentaries and polemics of numerous writers as well as non-canonical *devotional* writings. We would expect these two important sources to mention the presence of the Tetragrammaton within the original apostolic writings.

3. The writings of the patristics should record a debate ensuing from the Tetragrammaton's removal.

The development of the Christian congregation was marked by writing. In many cases, this writing was in the form of letters or epistles. (The Christian Greek Scriptures owe much to letter writing. The Gospel of Luke, the book of Acts, all of Paul's writings, Hebrews, James, 1 and 2 Peter, Jude, and the three epistles of John are all addressed as letters to congregations or individuals. Even the book of Revelation is addressed to "the seven congregations that are in the [district of] Asia." [Revelation 1:4.]

By the second century, however, the writing of letters of instruction as well as considerably longer

⁷ Refer to the footnote section of Appendix A for this information.

works of philosophy and theology became an accepted part of the new Christian congregation. A significant amount of that writing has been preserved for us today.⁸

In 325 C.E. the First Council of Nicaea was convened. For our purposes, the content of that council is not important. However, the writings of the patristics are categorized on the basis of this ••126•• council. A group called the Ante-Nicene fathers wrote before 325 C.E.⁹ *The writers before 325 C.E. can be considered to be reliable reporters of the theological debates following the establishment of the early Christian congregation between 100 and 325 C.E., though we would in no way be obligated to accept their individual points of view.* (The writings of the patristics are widely recognized by the Watch Tower Society. The testimony of Jerome regarding Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, the work and commentary of Origen concerning the *Septuagint*, and the reluctance of the Jews to pronounce the divine name are examples of information reported by the Ante-Nicene writers. A cursory glance through *Aid to Bible Understanding* shows numerous quotations from both secular and Christian writers of that era. Examples abound from Tacitus and Josephus [cf. page 317], Origen [cf. page 456], Jerome [cf. page 520], Irenaeus, Africanus, and Eusebius [cf. page 640], Augustine [cf. page 671], and many others.)¹⁰

Through these writings, much is known about the early *Christian congregation* and the world in which it existed. It is reasonable to assume that the importance of any issue in the life of the early congregations would be displayed by the amount of contemporary material written.

Before going further, we need to understand the amount of written material and subject matter of these writers. The author evaluated a standard encyclopedic reference which is available in most large public libraries. The nine-volume set is entitled, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, and is published by Charles Scribners' Sons. These volumes contain writings by men living in the Common Era. Among them were Justin Martyr (who lived from 110 to 165),¹¹ Irenaeus (120 to 202), Polycarp (? to 155), Tatian (a student of Justin), Theophilus (? to ?; one book was known to be written in 181), Tertullian (150 to 220), and many others.

These nine volumes make an important contribution to the study of the Tetragrammaton. First, notice that these men typically wrote within 20 to 120 years of the original writing of the Greek Scriptures. ••127•• (Polycarp was actually a student of the Apostle John.) These men would certainly have been aware of a heresy as great as a corruption of the Tetragrammaton to *Kyrios*. This would have been particularly true if this alteration had caused them to recognize Jesus as having possessed the essential nature of Jehovah himself (by using *Kyrios* as an all-inclusive term) rather than having been a created being (by distinguishing between *Kyrios* and יהוה).

Secondly, the volume of their writings gives us an idea of the probability of mentioning such a heresy. The nine-volume set to which we have referred has a total of 5,433 pages of translated material. (Indices and biographical material were not included in this count.) With some 1,000 words per page, these writers have given us approximately 5,400,000 words. For the sake of comparison, the 1984 reference edition of the *New World Translation* has 1,494 Scripture pages with approximately 750 words per page. Consequently, there are about 1,120,000 words in the entire *New World Translation Bible*. Therefore, *the writings of the patristics between the apostolic period and 325 C.E. represented in this encyclopedic set alone amount to the equivalent of approximately five complete Bibles.* There are other known writings which are not included in these volumes such as the extensive *Commentaries* by Origen. Certainly, in this many pages, the heresy of the Tetragrammaton's removal would have been mentioned.

By way of example, one section of these nine volumes was evaluated. An important early writer named Irenaeus wrote a book (it was actually a scroll) in the second century entitled *Against Heresies*.

⁸ All the writings of the early patristics were transmitted to us today in the same manner as the Christian Greek Scriptures. That is, we have only copied materials, never original writings.

⁹ *Ante-Nicene* simply means, "Before the Nicene council," which was convened in 325 C.E. This is a simple chronological classification of the writers rather than a statement of their theological position. The writings of the patristics are divided by the time of writing into *Ante-Nicene*, *Nicene*, and *Post-Nicene*.

¹⁰ Examples of this familiarity with the writings of the patristics and secular authors from the era are common in readily available publications as well. For example, see the reference to Josephus' writings on page 11 in the *Watchtower* magazine, April 15, 1996.

¹¹ Most birth and death dates for these writers are approximations.

This work has 258 pages in the English translation. Conveniently, the publisher of this nine-volume set included a comprehensive Scripture index for each volume. Thus, reference to a particular Scripture passage cited by any of the patristics can be located. Consequently, some of the pertinent 237 *Jehovah* passages were located in Irenaeus' *Against Heresies* to ascertain his awareness of the presumed substitution of *Kyrios* for the Tetragrammaton. No indication was found that Irenaeus expressed concern with the presumed change in the verses he quoted. Instead, he quoted these verses with full acceptance of the word *Lord*.¹²

••128•• The following citations give examples of Irenaeus' work. The Scripture paraphrases and brief commentary by Irenaeus in the left-hand column are from *Against Heresies* as translated into English and published in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* by Charles Scribners' Sons, copyright 1899. In the right-hand column the verse which Irenaeus cited is quoted from the *New World Translation*.

*Against Heresies**New World Translation*

The **Lord** then, exposing him [the devil] in his true character, says, "Depart, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve."
(Vol. 1, p. 549)

Then Jesus said to him: "Go away, Satan! For it is written, 'It is **Jehovah** your God you must worship, and it is to him alone you must render sacred service.'
(Matthew 4:10 NWT)

For in no other way could we have learned the things of God, unless our Master, existing as the Word, had become man. For no other being had the power of revealing to us the things of the Father, except His own proper Word. For what other person "knew the mind of the **Lord**," or who else "has become His counselor?"
(Vol. 1, p. 526)

For "who has come to know **Jehovah's** mind, or who has become his counselor?"
(Romans 11:34 NWT)

Then again Matthew, when speaking of the angel, says, "The angel of the **Lord** appeared to Joseph in sleep."
(Vol. 1, p. 422)

But after he had thought these things over, look! **Jehovah's** angel appeared to him in a dream.
(Matthew 1:20 NWT)

When he says in the Epistle to the Galatians: "...Even as Abraham believed **God** and it was accounted unto him for righteousness."
(Vol. 1, p. 492)¹³

Just as Abraham "put faith in **Jehovah** and it was counted to him as righteousness."
(Galatians 3:6 NWT)

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For Peter said "...For David speaketh concerning Him, I foresaw the **Lord** always before my face."
(Vol. 1, p. 430)

For David says respecting him, "I had **Jehovah** constantly before my eyes."
(Acts 2:25 NWT)

¹² The volume used for this study was in *English* not Greek. (A search for a Greek copy proved futile.) Therefore, we can only assume that *Kyrios* or its equivalent was used. (For complete substantiation of *Kyrios* in Greek, see the preceding comments regarding *First Clement*, the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Didache*.) However, our objective at this point is to discern any comment by Irenaeus as to the impropriety of a word substitution for the Tetragrammaton. He makes no such comments. Rather, he uses the passages as they appear in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* and adds no comments regarding an alleged Tetragrammaton corruption.

¹³ This is an interesting example of agreement. Irenaeus and the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* both use *God* (theos), whereas the *New World Translation* uses *Jehovah*.

Iranaeus indicates no awareness that copyists and scribes conspired to remove the divine name from the Christian Greek Scriptures, even in those instances where the *New World Translation* inserts the name of Jehovah.¹⁴ Thus, a man writing a mere 50 years after the death of the Apostle John was content with Jesus' title *Kyrios* for the same passages which the translators of the *New World Translation* believe were altered from the Tetragrammaton by carelessness or fraud.

4. *Early non-canonical writings should include reference to the Tetragrammaton.*

Numerous early *devotional* writings are available from the first century. An interesting example is the *Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians*. This epistle is regarded as a genuine writing of the Apostle Paul's companion Clement who is mentioned at Philippians 4:3.¹⁵ The epistle was written sometime between 75 and 110 C.E., with the greater probability that it was written shortly after 100 C.E. Therefore, Clement's use of either the Tetragrammaton or *Kyrios* would reflect both the practice of the first century Christian congregation, and presumably that of Paul himself. (Based on the date of this epistle, this assertion would be true of at least the practice of the early Christian congregation even if the author was not the companion of the Apostle Paul.)

Clement universally used *Kyrios* as the designation for Jesus when he referred to him as *Lord*. However, he also frequently quoted (or ••130•• alluded to) Hebrew Scripture references in which the *New World Translation* inserted *Jehovah*. The following quotations from the *Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians*¹⁶ are taken from the book entitled *The Apostolic Fathers*,¹⁷ which gives the Greek text with an English translation. Where Clement used a word which was translated into English as *Lord*, the actual Greek word will be shown parenthetically. The chapter- and verse designation within *First Clement* precedes the quotation. The Hebrew Scripture reference is given following the quotation. The Hebrew Scripture verse is quoted from the *New World Translation* in the right-hand column.

First Clement

1 Clement 8:2 And even the Master of the universe himself spoke with an oath concerning repentance; "For as I live, said the **Lord** (κύριος), I do not desire the death of the sinner so much as his repentance." (Ezek. 33:11)

New World Translation

Say to them, "As I am alive," is the utterance of the **Lord Jehovah**, "I take delight, not in the death of the wicked one, but in that someone wicked turns back from his way." (Ezek. 33:11)

¹⁴ We believe this to be an accurate portrayal of Iranaeus' work. However, the few brief quotations we are able to give in this limited space are far from comprehensive. The reader would do well to evaluate these citations for himself in a local library. In this way, entire sections can be checked for content.

¹⁵ The historical and textual evidence strongly attributes the authorship of the *First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians* to Paul's companion. We will accept the author as this Clement. On the other hand, the reader should understand that the biblical Clement is not accepted unequivocally among all historians as the true author. Further background on the book and author is abundantly available in the preface material to this epistle. A so-called *Second Epistle of Clement* is generally regarded as being the work of another (and later) author rather than Clement himself. Therefore, only the first epistle can be relied upon for our purposes here.

¹⁶ This is not to be confused with the canonical book of 1 Corinthians.

¹⁷ Published by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., copyright 1912. The English translator is Kirsopp Lake. The following information on pages 143-144 of this book regarding the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Didache* is also taken from *The Apostolic Fathers*.

1 Clement 8:4 "Come and let us reason together, saith the **Lord** (κύριος): and if your sins be as crimson, I will make them white as snow..." (Isa. 1:18)

"Come, now, you people, and let us set matters straight between us," says **Jehovah**." Though the sins of you people should prove to be as scarlet, they will be made white just like snow..." (Isa. 1:18)

1 Clement 13:5 "I know assuredly that the **Lord God** (κύριος ὁ θεός) is delivering to you this land..." (Josh. 2:9)

"I do know that **Jehovah** will certainly give you the land..." (Josh. 2:9)

1 Clement 15:5-6 "May the **Lord** (κύριος) destroy all the deceitful lips . . . Now will I arise, saith the **Lord** (κύριός), I will place him in safety." (Ps. 12:3, 5)

"Jehovah will cut off all smooth lips... I shall at this time arise," says **Jehovah**. "I shall put [him] in safety..." (Ps. 12:3, 5)

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1 Clement 16:2-3 For it says, "Lord (Κύριε), who has believed our report, and to whom was the arm of the **Lord** (κυρίου) revealed?" (Isa. 53:1)

"Who has put faith in the thing heard by us? And as for the arm of **Jehovah**, to whom has it been revealed?" (Isa. 53:1)

In no case did Clement use the Tetragrammaton in his Epistle to the Corinthians. Thus, we know that Clement—a first century leader of the Christian congregation and presumably a disciple and companion of the Apostle Paul—consistently used *Kyrios* rather than the Tetragrammaton when quoting the Hebrew Scriptures.¹⁸

We are left with the conclusion that either Clement—notwithstanding his probable leadership role in the first century Christian congregation and his association with the Apostle Paul—was a heretic because he abandoned the use of the Tetragrammaton, or that the Gentile first century Christian congregation did indeed use *Kyrios* in their Greek Scriptures.

Was Clement alone, or did others follow his use of *Kyrios* when quoting from the Hebrew Scriptures?

We find a similar pattern among other writers of the time. Another epistle from the end of the first century or early part of the second is called the *Epistle of Barnabas*. Though this epistle is traditionally held to be a work of Paul's companion, Barnabas, it most certainly is not an authentic work of this man. Nonetheless, it was held in high esteem by the early Christian congregation. At this point we are not debating inspiration. Our only concern is whether *Kyrios* or the Tetragrammaton was used in these early writings when the Hebrew Scriptures were quoted. Again, the *Epistle of Barnabas* followed the same pattern as *First Clement*. The writer of the epistle quoted Isaiah 1:11 as saying:

"What is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me?" saith the **Lord** (κύριος). "I am full of burnt offerings..." (Barnabas 2:4)

••132•• This same verse is given in the *New World Translation* as,

"Of what benefit to me is the multitude of your sacrifices?" says **Jehovah**. "I have had enough of whole burnt offerings..." (Isaiah 1:11 NWT)

Many similar example are found in this epistle where verses such as Psalm 118:24, Jeremiah 7:2, Isaiah 1:10, Isaiah 45:1, and Deuteronomy 5:11 are quoted using the Greek word *Kyrios* rather than the Tetragrammaton. We have used a single example because of the need for brevity. However, the reader

¹⁸ In addition to the 5 passages from the Hebrew Scriptures given above, Clement also quoted 17 verses using *Kyrios* in which the *New World Translation* uses *Jehovah* (Ex. 32:31; Deut. 4:34; Deut. 32:9; Ps. 22:6-8; Ps. 24:1; Ps. 32:2; Ps. 32:10; Ps. 34:11, 15, 16, 17; Ps. 69:31; Ps. 118:20; Prov. 3:12; Prov. 20:27; Isa. 6:3; and Isa. 40:10). Clement quoted two additional verses which the *New World Translation* renders as *Jah* (Ps. 118:18 and 19).

is encouraged to study the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Didache* mentioned below for himself.

A similar pattern of using *Kyrios* rather than the Tetragrammaton is found in a document called the *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. This writing comes from the first half of the second century. It was written as the teachings of the 12 disciples of Christ, however, the anonymous author did not claim that it was written by them. Again, we are not referring to the *Didache* because it has any merit as Scripture. However, it does reflect the understanding and practice of the early Christian congregation. The *Didache* quoted Hebrew Scripture passages using *Kyrios* rather than the Tetragrammaton in a manner similar to *First Clement* and *Barnabas*.

The question might be asked, "In this grand heresy of the Tetragrammaton's removal, could *all* the writings of the patristics have been altered?" As we will see in the final discussion of geography in this chapter, the enormity of the task would have made alteration of the writings of these men impossible. *A second, but more formidable objection, however, would have been the foresight necessary to anticipate such an undertaking. The need to change the writings of the patristics so a future generation would not know of the heresy would never have occurred to a group of copyists in the second or third century. After all, if it had been a theological controversy, contemporaries would have been aware of it. It is totally unreasonable to think that such a concerted effort would have been made to recopy vast quantities of manuscripts in order to hide a controversy which was already common knowledge. Even more, it would be ludicrous to think that these scribes and copyists could have planned such an undertaking solely for the purpose of beguiling future generations of scholars!*

From this brief examination of early non-canonical devotional writings we find that the writers never used יהוה in Hebrew Scripture citations which contain the Tetragrammaton.

5. The Tetragrammaton should be identifiable in Christian Scriptures written in the Hebrew language during the early Christian congregation era.

••133•• We have already evaluated the J² reference identified as the *Shem-Tob Matthew* in Chapter 5. In that chapter we recognized the important contribution George Howard has made in a tentative identification of this manuscript as a recension of an original Hebrew Gospel written by Matthew himself. We hope that further work will be done on this important subject. In the mean time, with all due caution pending further textual study, we will acknowledge Howard's work as the best example available of the presumably lost Hebrew *Matthew* which was reported by Jerome.

In this chapter, we are evaluating six issues which merit exploration in order to discern the Tetragrammaton's presence in the Christian Greek Scriptures. Inasmuch as the Watch Tower Society cites the presence of the Tetragrammaton in Matthew's Hebrew Gospel as evidence for the restoration of *Jehovah* in the Christian Scriptures, we must turn to the *Shem-Tob Matthew* for evaluation.

In Chapter 5, we discovered that the *Shem-Tob Matthew* does not, in fact, use the Tetragrammaton. Rather, it uses the surrogate ה (for השם, which means "The Name") as a circumlocution replacing the Tetragrammaton (יהוה). This does not mean that Matthew himself may not have used the Hebrew letters יהוה.¹⁹ It merely means that any indication that he did so is now lost.

Inasmuch as J² is the only potential extant Hebrew language Gospel or Epistle from the apostolic era, we must conclude this heading by acknowledging that the Tetragrammaton is not presently identifiable in *any* Christian Scriptures written in the Hebrew language during the apostolic or early **Christian congregation** era. The single extant manuscript cited, however, used a surrogate for a circumlocution meaning "The Name."

¹⁹ We need to be careful, however, that we not too quickly assume that Matthew would have used the Tetragrammaton because he was a Jew writing to fellow Jews. In fact, Matthew was the only gospel writer who used a circumlocution for the word "God" in the expression "kingdom of God." (Matthew used the circumlocution "kingdom of the heavens" 32 times. He used the expression "kingdom of God" only four times [12:28, 19:24, 21:31, and 21:43] and the expression "kingdom of my Father" [26:29] once.) The other three Gospels, which were addressed to Gentiles, used the same expression without the circumlocution as the "kingdom of God." (Parallel passages most clearly show this difference between the Gospel writers' use of the "kingdom of God" and the "kingdom of the heavens." See Matthew 5:3 with Luke 6:20, Matthew 13:31 with Luke 13:19, and others.) In reference to this expression, "the kingdom of God," we see that Matthew tended to *avoid* using the word "God" presumably because he was writing to Jews.

Removal of the Tetragrammaton must reflect the setting in which it occurred

••134•• This last topic is not a major issue since many manuscript anomalies may fall outside of expected parameters. Therefore, this topic does not bear heavy weight, but it must be considered because any removal of the Tetragrammaton from the written Christian Scriptures would have occurred in a physical context.

6. The geography of the area establishes the setting to be considered in the Tetragrammaton's removal.

To this point in the book, our study has focused on the manuscripts themselves. We will now consider a practical matter in the *preservation* of these manuscripts. A cursory evaluation of the earliest manuscripts and the geographical locations where they were found will reveal an obvious relationship between climatic conditions and manuscript preservation. As we have already seen, the common writing material in the first century was papyrus. It was made in Egypt from reeds and exported throughout the Roman empire. Papyrus was a fragile material and did not survive in the cold, wet climates of the early Gentile congregations.²⁰ The oldest known Christian Greek manuscripts have almost always come from warm, dry climates. For this reason, the oldest surviving Greek Scripture manuscripts have largely come from northern Africa and the Sinai peninsula.

The papyrus fragments of the Chester Beatty collections (P⁴⁵, P⁴⁶, and P⁴⁷) came from this area. As mentioned earlier, they have been dated *circa* 200 C.E.

All of this has an important bearing on our discussion of the presumed removal of the Tetragrammaton from the original writings. Even though Christianity spread quickly in the Roman world (which included parts of the three continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa), there is a significance to both the geographical and cultural isolation of northern Africa. The early Christian congregation in Africa developed a unique character and experienced the rise of its own leaders. It did not necessarily duplicate the ecclesiastical perceptions and events of the congregations in the Middle East, Europe, and Asia Minor.

Consider what the presumed removal of the Tetragrammaton implies. It requires that the early congregations in Africa understood and ••135•• acted upon the distinction between Κύριος and יהוה in their Scriptures. (This is true unless it could be argued that the African congregations were not *true* Christian congregations because they did not know God's name as *Jehovah*. However, because of the early date of the establishment of the Christian congregation in Africa, that argument would require that the Tetragrammaton was lost in the lifetime of the Apostles!) It then requires that this distinction was lost in the African congregations with no mention in the surviving biblical and non-canonical writings which have survived to today. Further, it requires that this unprecedented change took place so quickly that יהוה came to Africa and was then lost a mere 104 years after the Apostle John wrote!

More than anything else, however, the loss of the Tetragrammaton would require us to believe that this divisive heresy could have been orchestrated so thoroughly that *all traces of the original teaching of the Apostles could have been eliminated from three continents by 200 C.E.*

CHAPTER SUMMARY. We have considered six topics in our query concerning the presumed loss of the Tetragrammaton from the original Greek Scripture writings. Each of these topics has been influenced in some way by our current understanding of textual and historical evidences which have become available since the late 1940's.

1. There are no known Christian Greek Scripture manuscripts which use the Tetragrammaton. Yet there are 5,000 extant manuscripts which use *Kyrios*, with the oldest reliably dated between 201

²⁰ Parchment (animal skin) was used long before the time of Christ. However, the Egyptian trade in less costly papyrus assured this less durable material's predominant place as the common writing material until the third or fourth century. The oldest manuscripts from Europe and Asia have survived on parchment (also known as vellum) because of its greater durability.

and 300 C.E. This fact alone represents an insurmountable obstacle to the inclusion of the Tetragrammaton into current translations of the Christian Greek Scriptures.

2. No textual change of the Christian Greek Scriptures could happen universally and instantaneously. Any change in which *Kýrios* would have been substituted for יהוה would have left a mix of early manuscripts showing both forms. Further, such a change would have left variants in the Greek wording representing parallel but not exact substitutions.
3. An alteration in the Christian Greek Scriptures from יהוה to *Kýrios* would have had a profound influence on the theology of the first century Christian congregation. Had these 237 references been changed from the Tetragrammaton to *Kyrios*, the understanding of the persons of Jehovah and Jesus would have been radically altered. It is inconceivable that such an extreme change could have occurred with ••136•• no objection on the part of the early Christian congregation writers and no championing of divergent views by its proponents.

The frequent issues of heresies and controversies which surfaced in the early history of the Christian congregation are known today because of the literary exchanges made in the writings of the patristics. (In many cases, the writings of both the heretical faction and the defenders of the faith are represented.) Thus, the debates of the Gnostics, Nominalists, Donatists, Marcionists, Manichaeans, the Arian controversy, and many others are well known and documented for us today. Yet in all of this, a debate concerning the removal of the Tetragrammaton was never once addressed.²¹ Most certainly, considering the magnitude of the supposed alteration, it would have been mentioned had it occurred.

4. There are numerous early writings apart from Scripture. These non-canonical Greek writings frequently quoted passages from the Hebrew Scripture. There is no evidence that the writings of the earliest Christian congregation era used the Tetragrammaton in these quotations. Rather, these writings freely used the Greek word *Kyrios* when quoting or alluding to Hebrew Scripture passages. The earliest of these writings would have been no more than 10 to 30 years after the last Gospel was written. It is inconceivable that within 10 to 30 years of the final writing of Scripture these corrupted writings could have freely circulated in the early Christian congregation if they contained a heresy as serious as the misrepresentation of the nature of Jesus.
5. There is the possibility of an original Christian Scripture gospel written in Hebrew which remains from the apostolic era. This *Shem-Tob Matthew* used the surrogate ה (for יהשם, which means "The Name") as a circumlocution. If Matthew used the Hebrew letters יהוה, any indication that he did so is now lost.
6. The geographical spread of the early congregations mitigates against a uniform heresy which could expunge all written evidence of an earlier teaching without any trace.

²¹ Considering their massive contents, the author has done only a cursory reading in these volumes. However, this statement can be made based on the *lack of evidence* given by the Watch Tower Society. It is safe to assume that evidence in the writings of the patristics describing the removal of the Tetragrammaton, were it available, would have quickly been brought to the attention of their readers. As previously noted, the book *Aid to Bible Understanding* frequently cites the writings of the patristics. It is obvious that the editors were conversant with the majority of these early works.

Chapter 11: THE TETRAGRAMMATON OR LORD QUANDARY

Webster's *New Collegiate Dictionary* defines ••137•• a quandary as "A state of perplexity or doubt." In this chapter, we encounter five topics with potential opposite and conflicting answers. The urgency of our quandary, however, is that inspired and inerrant Scripture does not allow *contradictory* answers regarding the presence of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures. The Tetragrammaton was either used in the original writings and is subject to textual verification at each of its appearances, or it was not, and therefore cannot be inserted into the translated text.

We must recognize, however, that Jehovah God did not introduce our present quandary. It was never his intent to give us Scriptures which contained perplexity or doubt about its written content. Nor has he allowed the process of manuscript preservation to produce uncertainty regarding the original words used by the inspired Christian writers.¹ Our quandary today is a result of conflicting reports regarding the contents of the historical Greek manuscripts which we now possess. Confusion will result when speculative wording is introduced into the inspired Christian writers' texts. The Tetragrammaton cannot be added to the Christian Greek Scripture text without perplexing results in the absence of any manuscript or historical evidence showing that it was used by the original writers.

The quandary of יהוה or Κύριος

The goal of this book is to evaluate the textual and historical evidence supporting the Tetragrammaton in the original Christian Greek Scriptures. We are particularly concerned with textual information which has come to light since the Christian Scriptures of the *New World Translation* was completed in the late 1940's. In this examination we have successfully avoided theological and subjective discussions of Scripture or the person of God.

••138•• However, without losing sight of our goal and its objective approach, we must eventually confront the reason we are studying the Tetragrammaton in the first place. The presence—or absence—of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures is not a trivial exercise to determine irrelevant wording of ancient Greek manuscripts. Rather, the Tetragrammaton's presence—or absence—confronts us with momentous implications to our faith. Consequently, we must evaluate five topics from the Tetragrammaton or *Kyrios* debate which contain inherent quandary.

QUANDARY #1: A TRANSLATION DISCREPANCY

A conflict between the two Christian Greek Scriptures published by the Watch Tower Society introduces our first quandary. The word *Kyrios* is the choice of the Greek text and is translated as *Lord* in the interlinear portion of the Watch Tower's Greek text, while the *New World Translation* uses the divine name *Jehovah* for the same passages. Thus, there seems to be simultaneous endorsement for two contradictory assertions. The first assertion by the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* Greek text is that the Tetragrammaton was *not* used by the original writers.² The second assertion is that the *New World Translation* properly restores the Tetragrammaton 237 times.

If the Greek text published by the Watch Tower Society is authentic, then the appropriate word is

¹ This statement does not disallow the need for textual criticism. The real foundation of the quandary of this chapter, however, goes *beyond* the issues of textual criticism. This quandary exists because accepting the presence of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures is contingent on elevating a hypothetical body of first-century Greek manuscripts to the status of primary inspiration. These hypothetical first-century manuscripts which purportedly contain the Tetragrammaton have never been specifically identified, have never been reported by the early patristics, and have left no copies preserved as extant manuscripts.

² This is the obvious assertion of the text inasmuch as the Westcott and Hort Greek text purports to reproduce the exact wording of the original documents.

Kyrios. Generally, *Kyrios* is translated as *Lord* in reference to Jesus Christ. *Lord* is the preferred translation choice of the *New World Translation* in 406 cases.³ On the other hand, the *New World Translation* uses the divine name *Jehovah* in 237 instances. If *Jehovah* is indeed correct, then the Greek text is in error.⁴

This conflict between the use of *Kyrios* and the Tetragrammaton at a single location presents a unique disparity. Thus, we encounter three assertions which cannot coexist without compromise:

1. First, we concur with the authors of "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*" that "The Greek Scriptures we have today are substantially the same as when they were written...Sir Frederic Kenyon [is quoted as saying] 'The interval then between the dates of original composition and the earliest extant evidence becomes so ••139•• small as to be in fact negligible, and the last foundation for any doubt that the Scriptures have come down to us substantially as they were written has now been removed.'"⁵
2. The text of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* clearly demonstrates that *Kyrios* is the Greek word used and that the manuscripts substantiating its occurrence originated between the second, and never later than the fourth century C.E. Manuscript evidence given in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* clearly demonstrates that *Kyrios* was fully accepted by the Christian congregation as early as 104 years—to no later than 301 years—from the time of its original writing.
3. On the other hand, the "J" footnotes substantiating the use of the Tetragrammaton (translated as *Jehovah* in the *New World Translation*) are also given as evidence that the inspired Christian writers used יהוה, though this evidence is from a much later period of time. The earliest date given is 1385. If the third assertion is true, then the first assertion is compromised and the second becomes highly improbable as we have seen earlier. If the second assertion is true, the first assertion remains true, but the third assertion is invalidated.

We struggle with this apparent discrepancy. If the Greek text is reliable, then all of its words must be reliable, and the preeminence given to the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew translations made in the 14th century C.E. cannot be justified.

We understand the limitations the translators faced with the textual information which was available in the late 1940's. With the greater availability of manuscript information today, however, we must strive for a reconciliation of the above discrepancy. *If we do not reach a satisfactory solution, we would have a Greek text which would be highly reliable at all other points, and yet would be consistently at fault in the single area of its transmission of the Tetragrammaton.* That is, the Greek word *Kyrios* would be regarded as the correct reading and should be translated as *Lord* in all cases where it refers to Jesus' human ministry. Yet, in selected cases where the passage is referring to divine attributes, the Greek word *Kyrios* would be regarded as an error.

Therefore, we must answer this first quandary. We are told that the Greek text of the Christian Scriptures is trustworthy for faith. Do we accept these Scriptures as published in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, or do we acknowledge the alternate wording of the ••140•• *New World Translation* in these 237 instances as having precedence over the Greek text?

This first quandary we encounter is particularly troubling for those of us seeking Jehovah's guidance in our lives from the Scriptures. The presence of *Kyrios* in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* and *Jehovah* (derived from the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew versions) in the *New World Translation* is not merely an issue of translation wording. The presence of either *Kyrios* or the Tetragrammaton represents a disparity in authenticity between the two texts.⁶ One of the two texts must be accepted as authoritative, while the other is rejected as inferior in these 237 instances. Both cannot be authentic.

³ Refer to Appendix C.

⁴ Obviously, the original manuscripts were not written in English. The most accurate statement above would be "If יהוה is indeed correct, then the Greek text is in error."

⁵ "*All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial*," p. 319.

⁶ The Greek text of Westcott and Hort is identified as a single text. Properly stated, however, verification of the Tetragrammaton does not come from a single text but from a composite of multiple Hebrew translations.

QUANDARY #2: WHICH TEXT IS INSPIRED?

In the first quandary, we encountered the problem of two contradictory texts. We now encounter the important implication of the *inspiration* of the text.

How do we delineate the biblical text we accept as the *inspired* revelation of God? Is God's revelation in the Christian Scriptures confined to the best available Greek texts? *Or do we acknowledge that sources other than the earliest Greek manuscripts, such as Hebrew translations created since the 14th century, carry greater authority?*

We agree among ourselves that the text we will accept as authentic is that which most closely reproduces the actual words of the original inspired Christian writers. Therefore, the trustworthiness of inspired Scripture is demonstrated by a historically verifiable text.

We must first evaluate the Greek text of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. In the book *JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES Proclaimers of God's Kingdom*, the writers describe the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* on page 610:

As part of the earnest effort of the New World Bible Translation Committee to help lovers of God's Word to get acquainted with the contents of the original *Koine* (common Greek) text of the Christian Greek Scriptures, the committee produced *The Kingdom Interlinear Translation of the Greek Scriptures*. This was first published by the Watch Tower Society in 1969 and then updated in 1985. It contains *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, as compiled by B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort. At the right-hand side of the page appears the *New World Translation* text (the 1984 revision in the updated edition). *But then, between the lines of Greek text, there is another translation, a very literal, word-for-word ••141•• rendering of what the Greek actually says according to the basic meaning and grammatical form of each word.* This enables even students who cannot read Greek to find out what is actually in the original Greek text. [Italics added.]

On the same page, Thomas Winter is quoted from "*The Classical Journal*" as saying of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*:

This is no ordinary interlinear: the integrity of the text is preserved, and the English which appears below it is simply the basic meaning of the Greek word. Thus the interlinear feature of this book is no translation at all. A text with instant vocabulary more correctly describes it.⁷

There can be no debate that the Greek text of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* uses the word Greek *Kyrios* (Κύριος) 714 times throughout the Christian Greek Scriptures. This includes the entire 223⁸ instances in which the *New World Translation* renders *Kyrios* as *Jehovah*.⁹

On what basis can the divine name be *reinstated* to the Greek Scriptures of the *New World Translation*? There is only one acceptable justification for this translation choice. *Since the inspired Christian Scriptures is the written record of the original authors, there would need to be incontrovertible evidence that the apostles themselves used the Tetragrammaton in their original writings. Further, this evidence would be admissible only if it could be textually verified in the most authoritative extant Greek manuscripts.* Speculation regarding *possible* use cannot be employed to alter Jehovah's inspired Scriptures.

We are thus faced with a second quandary. In regards to the 237 *Jehovah* references, is the most accurate reproduction of the inspired Word of God represented in the earliest and most reliable Greek manuscripts of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, or is it to be found in Hebrew translations from the 14th century and later?

This second quandary is imposing. When we deny the authenticity of any portion of the best textual evidence for the Greek Scriptures, and when, in its place, we substitute the wording of a group of Hebrew translations which were based on those same Greek texts, we have redefined inspiration. We have denied the inspiration of the Greek texts in these 237 instances, and have given specific wording found in certain Hebrew versions a superior status of divine inspiration. Are we free to redefine inspiration in this way with no textual evidence of the Tetragrammaton in the original inspired Christian writings?

⁷ See a similar endorsement on the cover of *The Watchtower*, Feb. 1, 1998.

⁸ Not all *Jehovah* references are derived from *Kyrios*. (See pages 18-19.)

⁹ See the summary information on pages 50-51.

QUANDARY #3: BLASPHEMY AND THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

••142•• A third quandary is encountered in the inspired Christian writers' use of Hebrew Scripture quotations governed by laws forbidding blasphemy. This prohibition would prevent the Greek Scripture authors from citing a Hebrew Scripture verse which is true only of Jehovah and subsequently applying that verse to a mere created being. Yet, we frequently see a pattern in the Christian Greek Scriptures where the inspired Christian writers quoted a Hebrew Scripture verse which is true of Jehovah and then applied it to Jesus.

Using Jehovah's holy name falsely is blasphemy and was met with serious consequences. (See Deuteronomy 5:11 and Leviticus 24:15-16.) The writers of the Christian Greek Scriptures knew this. The book *Aid to Bible Understanding* tells us that it constituted blasphemy if Jehovah's attributes were ascribed to another being. On page 239, under the heading "BLASPHEMY" IN CHRISTIAN GREEK SCRIPTURE TIMES, the authors say,

Blasphemy includes the act of claiming the attributes or prerogatives of God, or ascribing these to another person or thing. (Compare Acts 12:21, 22.)

Thus, in all instances where Hebrew Scriptures using the divine name were quoted in the Christian Greek Scriptures and then were applied to Jesus, the inspired Christian writers could have done only one of three things. (We are talking about the original writers—not *later* scribes and copyists):

- a) They could have copied¹⁰ the Hebrew Scripture passage word-for-word in the Greek language and then inserted the Hebrew letters of ••143•• the Tetragrammaton into the Greek text when the divine name was found.
- b) The original writers could have intentionally blasphemed by copying the passage which referred to Jehovah, replacing the divine name with *Kyrios*. (This possibility is obviously unacceptable.)
- c) Finally, they could have copied the Hebrew Scripture passage and intentionally inserted the title *Kyrios* in the place of the Tetragrammaton with the full understanding of the early Christian congregation that the action was appropriate and did not constitute blasphemy.

We must object to the second possibility! To those of us who love and reverence Jehovah's revelation to man in the Holy Scriptures, the second possibility is neither worthy of Jehovah himself nor of the writers he chose to convey His message to mankind. We believe that "All Scripture is inspired of God..." (2 Timothy 3:16). We could never concede that God's chosen writers intentionally manipulated the text.

Thus, we are left with only two possibilities. The first is that the original writers used the Tetragrammaton and, subsequently—either through negligence or through intentional manipulation of the text by later scribes and copyists—the Tetragrammaton was changed to *Kyrios* to make a direct reference to Jesus. The second possibility is that the writers themselves *intentionally—and with the early Christian congregation's full knowledge and approval*—used the title *Kyrios* (which frequently identified Jesus) in place of the Tetragrammaton. By doing this, they ascribed the attributes of Jehovah's name to Jesus.¹¹

¹⁰In most instances, the inspired Christian writers quoted Hebrew Scripture verses from the *Septuagint* (which was already written in Greek) rather than translating them into Greek from the original Hebrew language. *Insight on the Scriptures* says, "In a number of cases the writers of the Christian Greek Scriptures evidently made use of the Greek *Septuagint* translation when quoting from the Hebrew Scriptures." (Vol. 1, p. 1206). In some cases—the book of Hebrews is one example—the inspired Christian writer actually translated the verses into the Greek language as he wrote. We are reporting the three possibilities above as though the inspired Christian writers were transcribing the Hebrew Scripture verses from the Greek language *Septuagint*. The effect of this argument would have been the same in those cases where the inspired Christian writers were translating from the Hebrew Scriptures, though it would have also involved the translation process. In addition, merely for the sake of this argument, we will also assume that the *Septuagint* copy which was used employed the Hebrew letters of the Tetragrammaton rather than the Greek word *Kyrios*.

¹¹We have not said that the original writers *substituted* *Kyrios* for the Tetragrammaton. The idea of strict *substitution* is too rigid as a category. If the third possibility were true, then it would also be the case that the title *Kyrios* was applicable to **either** Jehovah or Lord [Jesus]. Certainly, many verses could be read using the divine name as found in the *New World Translation*. Jesus' statement to the Devil is a good example: "It is Jehovah your God you must worship..." (Luke 4:8). However, this flexibility of application would imply an equality between יהוה

Consider the importance of these two possibilities. First, if the original writers *did* use the Tetragrammaton, then we must be able to find strong manuscript evidence of its use in early Greek Scriptures. We cannot imagine that Jehovah would allow confusion between his divine name and the title of a mere created being without sufficient evidence to correct the error. On the other hand, what if the original writers *did* use Jesus' title in place of the Tetragrammaton? It was either the ••144•• highest form of blasphemy or it was the strongest statement possible of the unique and total equality of Jesus with Jehovah.

The importance of the final alternative should be clear. For example, consider Isaiah 45:21-24 which says:

"Is it not I, Jehovah, besides whom there is no other God... By my own self I have sworn...that to me every knee will bend down, every tongue will swear, saying, 'Surely in Jehovah there are full righteousness and strength.'"

If the Apostle Paul used the Tetragrammaton in this quotation, Romans 14:11 would read as it does in the *New World Translation*:

"As I live,' says Jehovah, 'to me every knee will bend down, and every tongue will make open acknowledgment to God.'"

On the other hand, if the Apostle Paul was referring to Jesus when he used the title *Kyrios* (which is the choice of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*), then the verse would read:

"As I live,' says the Lord (Jesus), 'to me every knee will bend down, and every tongue will make open acknowledgment to God.'"[NWT wording]¹²

If Paul himself used Jesus' title *Kyrios*, then either Paul was guilty of blasphemy, or, under the inspiration of God, he was identifying Jesus (*Kyrios*) with Jehovah.

A logical question could be asked, "Can we know whether the original writers intended to use the Tetragrammaton or whether they *purposely* replaced the divine name with *Kyrios* when quoting these Hebrew Scriptures?" Without a statement from either the writers themselves or other reliable historical documents, we can know nothing of their decision process while writing. However, we can infer what they decided to do from the evidence we find in their writing. *If the ••145•• writers intended to use the Tetragrammaton, we would expect to find ample evidence within Greek manuscripts to substantiate its use in the original Christian Greek Scriptures.* On the other hand, if they did *not* intend to use the Tetragrammaton, then we would expect to find clear evidence that they used the title *Kyrios* which is most frequently applied to Jesus. If the evidence shows that the original writers used *Kyrios* in these verse locations, then we know that they copied the Hebrew Scripture passage, intentionally inserting Jesus' title for the Tetragrammaton. By extension, we know that whatever the inspired Christian writers wrote was done under inspiration, with the full understanding of the early Christian congregation, and their action did not constitute blasphemy.

More simply stated, the inspired Christian writers wrote exactly what they *intended* to write. When the addressee received the original letter, each word contained in the scroll was precisely the word the writer *intended* the congregation or individual to read. The textual process does not debate the author's intention. It is aimed only at restoring the words of the original document. When we have exactly reproduced the contents of the original document, we can be assured that we have the precise

and *Kyrios* which is found in this third possibility rather than an inequality between them which requires that the separate identities be maintained. We will fully develop this idea in Chapter 14.

¹² It is interesting to note that the same author (the Apostle Paul) quotes Isaiah 45:21-24 in Philippians 2:10-11: "So that in the name of Jesus every knee should bend... and every tongue should openly acknowledge that Jesus Christ is *Kyrios* (Lord) to the glory of God the Father." However, with the same wording and the same human author, the *New World Translation* renders *Kyrios* as *Lord* in one case (Philippians 2:10-11), and as *Jehovah* (with added quotation marks) in the other (Romans 14:11). This introduces an interesting contradiction. If the Isaiah passage is read in context, it is very clear that Jehovah is saying, "Is it not I, Jehovah, besides whom there is no other God... There being none excepting me?... By my own self I have sworn... that to me every knee will bend down, every tongue will swear..." In these two verses, the Greek text published in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* has *both* Jehovah and the Lord (Jesus) receiving the worship which the Isaiah passage has reserved solely for Jehovah. A careful reading of the 3 passages in their entirety—using the *Kingdom Interlinear Text* where applicable—is encouraged.

word which the author *intended* to communicate.

For a complete perspective of the significance of this issue, the reader is encouraged to carefully study each reference in the two columns of Appendix B titled *Hebrew Scripture quotation using the divine name* and *Hebrew Scripture quotation referring to the divine name*. First, read the passage in its complete context from the Hebrew Scripture. Then, using a *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, read both the English interlinear portion and the verse from the *New World Translation*. You will discover that the few examples given in this section inadequately illustrate how extensively the divine name from the Hebrew Scriptures was used in these verses.

We must carefully examine the Hebrew Scripture verses cited by the writers of the Christian Greek Scriptures. Many of these verses contain statements which are applicable only to Jehovah God. When these verses are cited by the inspired Christian writers as applying to *Kyrios*, they have committed blasphemy if *Kyrios* is a created being. Under inspiration, the Apostles would not blaspheme by applying a verse to another which was true only of Jehovah God. We face an insurmountable quandary when we introduce a condition¹³ which causes the inspired Christian writers to blaspheme in their use of Hebrew ••146•• Scripture citations. As we have seen throughout this book, this problem is alleviated (though not eliminated) if the original manuscripts used the Tetragrammaton. If, however, there is no textual evidence for the Tetragrammaton in the original manuscripts, then we must reconcile the full impact of this quandary without resorting to inserting the Tetragrammaton into the text where it was not originally written.

QUANDARY #4: THE SUBJECT IS IDENTIFIED WITH "GOD...THE ALMIGHTY"

A fourth quandary deals with the context of numerous passages referring to "God...the Almighty." If the inspired Christian writer used the Tetragrammaton in these verses, identification of יהוה with "God...the Almighty" is straightforward. However, if the inspired Christian writer used the word *Kyrios*, we are faced with the quandary wherein *Kyrios* is identified as *God Almighty*.

When the Apostle John was on the Isle of Patmos, he was given a vision which we now know as the book of Revelation. John extolled a divine being numerous times throughout the book. At Revelation 1:8 he quotes this One as saying:

"I am the Alpha and the Omega" says [*then John wrote either "Lord"¹⁴ or "Jehovah"¹⁵ whom he identified as "God"], "the One who is and who was and who is coming, the Almighty."*

Again, at Revelation 11:17 John wrote,

"We thank you, [*again, John wrote either "Lord" or "Jehovah" whom he again identified as "God"], the Almighty, the one who is and who was, because you have taken your great power and begun ruling as king."*

We need to see the sharp contrast between these two textual choices. We can compare the sense of the verse in the *New World Translation* and the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. (The quotation from the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* comes directly from the interlinear portion. Consequently, the word order is that of the Greek sentence itself.)

••147••

New World Translation

Kingdom Interlinear Translation

"I am the Alpha and the Omega," says **Jehovah** God, "the One who is and who was and who is coming, the Almighty." Revelation 1:8

I am the Alpha and the Omega, is saying **Lord**, the God, The (one) being and the (one) was and the (one) coming, the Almighty. Revelation 1:8

¹³ We introduce a condition foreign to the Scriptures' intent when we redefine Jesus' person outside of the understanding and intent of the inspired Christian writers.

¹⁴ *Lord* is the translation choice of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* at both Revelation 1:8 and 11:17.

¹⁵ *Jehovah* is the translation choice of the *New World Translation* at both Revelation 1:8 and 11:17.

"We thank you, **Jehovah** God, the Almighty, the One who is and who was, because you have taken your great power and begun ruling as king."
Revelation 11:17

We are giving thanks to you, **Lord**, the God, the Almighty, the (one) being and the (one) was, because you have taken the power of you the great and you reigned. Revelation 11:17

If John used the Tetragrammaton when he wrote these two verses, then it is clear that *God* and the *Almighty* refer to Jehovah. On the other hand, if John used the Greek word *Kyrios*,¹⁶ then the subject of these two verses is the one to whom the title *Kyrios* applies. *Since John consistently used the title Kyrios to refer to Jesus throughout the book of Revelation,¹⁷ then it would be proper to understand that John was identifying the Lord (Jesus) with "God" and the "Almighty."* This is particularly true for Revelation 1:8 because Revelation 1:17-18 (quoted below) identifies Jesus with the title *First and Last* which is identical in meaning with the title *Alpha and Omega*, which are the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet. Rev. 17:14 7:14 11:4 fn

"Do not be fearful. I am the First and the Last, and the living one; and I became dead, but, look! I am living forever and ever..."

There are other similar examples in the book of Revelation. Notice each of the following verses as quoted from the *New World Translation* and the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*:

••148••

New World Translation

Kingdom Interlinear Translation

And I heard the altar say: "Yes, **Jehovah** God, the Almighty, true and righteous are your judicial decisions."
Revelation 16:7

And I heard of the altar saying Yes, **Lord**, the God, the Almighty, true and righteous the judgment of you.
Revelation 16:7

"Praise Jah, YOU people, because **Jehovah** our God, the Almighty, has begun to rule as king." Revelation 19:6

Hallelujah, because reigned **Lord** the God of us, the Almighty. Revelation 19:6

Similar instances are found in the book of Revelation where the subject, whether *Lord* or *Jehovah*, is identified with *God*. (See Revelation 4:8 and 11, 15:3, 18:8, 19:6, 21:22, and 22:5-6.) Identical patterns are found in other portions of the Christian Greek Scriptures as well. The important issue to notice is this: if the Tetragrammaton was used by the original author in the verses cited, then the reference was to *Jehovah*, whom John was referring to as "God...the Almighty." On the other hand, if the Apostle John wrote the Greek word *Kyrios* (as given in the Greek text of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* and 5,000 ancient Greek manuscripts), then the Lord Jesus was identified with¹⁸ "God...the Almighty."

¹⁶ The Greek word *Kyrios* (Κύριος) meaning *Lord*, is the word used in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*.

¹⁷ According to the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* Greek text, the Apostle John used the word *Kyrios* 19 times when referring to *Lord*. In addition, John used *Kyrios* twice in which the context identified another personage. (One instance is the second occurrence of "lord" in the phrase, "Lord of lords," [*Kyrios* of *kyrios*] found at 17:14. The other is John's address to one of the older persons at 7:14 which is translated as *lord*.) A third instance is unclear. (At 11:4 *Kyrios* appears as "lord of the earth" in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, and "Lord of the earth" in the *New World Translation*.) For a complete reference to all uses of the Greek word *Kyrios* in the book of Revelation, see the second section of Appendix C.

¹⁸ The wording concerning Jesus as being "identified with," or "included with the subject as 'God ... the Almighty,'" is adequately self-explanatory at this point. We will make an important qualification in Chapter 14 regarding the dual usage of the word *Kyrios*. For now we will continue to use the statement as it reads. When referring to the *Kingdom*

Whether or not the original authors of the Greek Scriptures used the Tetragrammaton is of great importance to each of us. In the examples we have observed, if John did **not** use the Tetragrammaton at Revelation 1:8 or 11:17, then John, under inspiration, said that Jesus himself was included in the address with "God...the Almighty." Though the writers of the article "Salvation, What It Really Means" (*The Watchtower*, August 15, 1997, p. 6) reached their conclusion apart from the Greek text at these verses, they certainly understood the importance of the issue when they said,

Has your church taught you the true relationship between God and Christ? Or have you been led to believe that Jesus himself is ••149•• Almighty God? *Your salvation depends upon having the correct understanding.* (Emphasis added.)

The fourth quandary was created by the absence of any textual evidence supporting apostolic use of the Tetragrammaton in the original writings. The title *Kyrios* is inextricably linked with the person of Jesus. Yet, such writers as John in the book of Revelation identify the title *Kyrios* with *God Almighty*.

QUANDARY #5: CERTAIN PASSAGES ASSIGN THE SUBJECT ATTRIBUTES OF GOD HIMSELF

Though similar in result to passages which identify the subject of a verse with "God...The Almighty," there is a fifth quandary dealing with *attribution* rather than *identification*. Many passages unique to the Christian Greek Scriptures give the subject equality with the Father by *attributing qualities to him which are reserved for Jehovah God*. These include many passages in the Greek Scriptures where *Kyrios* (Lord) is translated *Jehovah*. These verses say something about the subject which could only be true of Jehovah. If the verse is not a quotation from the Hebrew Scriptures, then the passage must be carefully studied to see to whom the verse is referring in the Greek Scripture, because the subject is being given attributes which belong to Jehovah himself.

Of the 237 occurrences of the name Jehovah in the Christian Greek Scriptures of the *New World Translation*, only 112 are quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures in which the name of Jehovah is found in either the verse quoted or in its context.¹⁹ For example, Isaiah 45:23 says, "Is it not I, Jehovah...that to me every knee will bend down..." This is quoted in Romans 14:11, "'As I live,' says Jehovah, 'to me every knee will bend down...'" This is a *direct quotation* because the name of Jehovah is part of the citation.

On the other hand, 125²⁰ of the 237 occurrences do not cite any Hebrew Scripture passages. They are merely passages which use *Kyrios* (Lord)—or occasionally *Theos* (God)—in the Christian Greek Scripture text. It is this last group of 125 occurrences of the name *Jehovah* in the *New World Translation's* Christian Greek Scriptures in which there is no quotation source in the Hebrew Scriptures which concern us here.

••150•• From the perspective of the Watch Tower Society, there are many passages in the Christian Greek Scriptures in which the Tetragrammaton *must* be the original word used—otherwise, in many cases, the passage would be giving Jesus attributes of Jehovah God. Earlier in this chapter we briefly examined Philippians 2:10-11. This passage in Philippians equally illustrates this present quandary. Clearly, the quotation from Isaiah 45 is saying that every knee will bow to Jehovah. This devotion and worship is reserved for him alone. Yet Philippians 2 tells us that Jesus also will receive worship and devotion which belongs to Jehovah. Paul the Apostle ascribes to Jesus this same devotion which belongs to Jehovah God.

Another example of attributes belonging to Jehovah is given at Revelation 4:11. This verse would read quite differently, depending on whether the Tetragrammaton or *Kyrios* was used.

When we look at the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation's* Greek and English portion of this verse, we quickly understand the inherent conflict of this passage. The interlinear portion reads:

Interlinear Translation's use of *Kyrios*, we will simply report it as saying: "Jesus is identified with," or "Jesus himself is included with the subject as 'God . . . the Almighty.'"

¹⁹ In some cases, the category into which a verse should be placed may be uncertain. For that reason, it is best to use these numbers as approximations rather than as exact figures. The reader may wish to do his own count. See footnote 7 on page 50.

²⁰ See footnote 8 on page 50.

Ἄξιός εἰ, ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν,
 Worthy you are, the Lord and the God of us,
 λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν,
 to receive the glory and the honor and the power,
 ὅτι σὺ ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα, καὶ διὰ
 because you created the all (things) and through
 τὸ θέλημα σου ἦσαν καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν.
 the will of you they were and they were created.

The *New World Translation* quoted in the right hand margin renders the verse:

"You are worthy, Jehovah, even our God, to receive the glory and the honor and the power, because you created all things, and because of your will they existed and were created."

However, if we use the English word order of the *New World Translation*, the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* would have us read the verse:

"You are worthy, *Kyrios*, even our God, to receive the glory and the honor and the power, because you created all things, and because of your will they existed and were created."

The magnitude of this final quandary should be quite apparent. If the original writers used the Greek title *Kyrios* rather than the Tetragrammaton for such verses, then, under inspiration of God, *Kyrios* is vested with attributes which belong to Jehovah God himself.

Resolving the quandary

••151•• Each of the preceding five topics result from an expectation that the Tetragrammaton was used by the inspired Christian writers. In the absence of textual evidence that the Tetragrammaton was included in the original writings, we feel a tension. In some cases this tension results from the conflict generated by the presence of both *Kyrios* and the Tetragrammaton for the same passage when comparing the *New World Translation* and the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. In other instances, the tension results from the absence of the Tetragrammaton in passages where it is anticipated.

In both cases, the tendency is to resolve the Tetragrammaton or Lord quandary with a theological or logical explanation. Yet, neither of these responses are correct.

In reality, these five topics represent a solitary quandary which is resolved with a single solution. We must determine historically and textually the exact word used by the inspired Christian writers, whether it is the Tetragrammaton or *Kyrios*. Subsequently, our understanding of the subject of each verse, whether it is *Jehovah* or *Lord*, must be based on the inspired wording of Scripture itself. We cannot force the text to say what the apostolic authors did not write in order to protect our theological position.

Concluding the Tetragrammaton or Lord debate

This book asked the same question raised by the translators of the *New World Translation* when they began work in 1947: "Did the original inspired Christian writers use the Tetragrammaton in 237 instances while writing the Christian Greek Scriptures?"²¹

In order to answer that question, we avoided theological discussions or sectarian interpretations of Scripture. We turned to the only proper sources of information; the Greek Scripture manuscripts themselves.

We carefully studied the best and oldest Greek manuscripts available today. We evaluated the entire *Jehovah* footnote system in the Westcott and Hort Greek text. *In no case is there any indication in the earliest Greek manuscripts that the Tetragrammaton was ever used by the original Greek Scripture writers.*

We then evaluated numerous Hebrew version sources. Though we can easily find the Tetragrammaton used in these translations, we quickly realized that these translations were made from the very Greek text which has been demonstrated to contain *Kyrios* in 223 of the 237 *Jehovah*

²¹ This question was introduced in the *Overview* on page vi.

references. We also discovered that the probable Hebrew ••152•• Gospel of Matthew written by the Apostle himself contained a circumlocution for *The Name* rather than the Tetragrammaton.

Finally, we returned to questions related to Greek manuscripts and historical documents. We discovered that one portion of the Greek text of the Christian Scriptures is verifiable to within 25 years of its writing by the Apostle John. In many cases, the actual verses supposedly containing the Tetragrammaton can be verified as actually containing *Kyrios* to within little more than one hundred years of the original writing. We examined corroborative evidence and discovered that there was no mention of the Tetragrammaton in the Greek Scriptures by any early patristic. We also discovered that the time interval was too short to establish a heretical removal of the Tetragrammaton from the early Christian Scriptures, and that the ideological and geographical diversity would make such an effort impossible without leaving telltale traces.

After exhaustive study, we must conclude that there is not a single trace of evidence in the Greek manuscripts themselves, or in the voluminous writings of the early patristics, to indicate that the Tetragrammaton was ever used in the first century manuscripts of the Christian Greek Scriptures.

The Tetragrammaton was not used by the inspired Christian writers of the Christian Greek Scriptures. Not one Greek manuscript has ever been produced as evidence to indicate otherwise.

Today, with the additional new light of manuscript evidence which has become available since 1950,²² we must conclude that the Greek word *Kyrios* rather than the Tetragrammaton was used in each of the 223 *Kyrios*-based *Jehovah* references in the *New World Translation*. To rely on any other source to confirm the presence of the Tetragrammaton requires that we deny the authority and inspiration of the Greek text and seek another text to which we will ascribe higher authority.



CHAPTER SUMMARY. ••153•• The claim that the Tetragrammaton appears in the Christian Greek Scriptures in conjunction with the evidence that it does not, creates five distinct areas of uncertainty.

1. A conflict between the two Christian Greek Scriptures published by the Watch Tower Society creates a significant quandary. The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* uses the word *Kyrios* in the Greek text at 223 *Jehovah* references and translates the word as *Lord* in the interlinear English portion. On the other hand, the *New World Translation* inserts the divine name *Jehovah* in those same passages. Thus, there is a simultaneous endorsement of two contradictory assertions.
2. A second quandary is introduced because we now must determine which biblical text best represents the inspired revelation of God. If the presence of the Tetragrammaton is to be acknowledged in the *New World Translation*, we must then concede that Hebrew translations based on early Greek manuscripts carry greater authority than do these same Greek manuscripts themselves.
3. We encounter a third quandary in dealing with the subject of the improper use of *Jehovah's* name. The inspired Christian writers most certainly could not be guilty of blasphemy when they used *Kyrios* (Lord) rather than the Tetragrammaton when they were quoting certain Hebrew Scripture passages.
4. The context of numerous passages forces us to deal with a fourth quandary of *identification*. In certain instances, the inspired Christian writers used the title *Kyrios* (which identifies Jesus), in a context referring to "God...the Almighty."
5. Finally, we encounter a similar quandary wherein numerous Christian Greek Scripture references

²² Throughout this book we have given the benefit of the doubt to the New World Bible Translation Committee regarding the textual information available to it. As we have suggested, there is certainly new light today which allows us to re-examine the inspired Christian authors' use of the Tetragrammaton. In fairness, however, it must be pointed out that from the standpoint of textual information alone, there was no Greek manuscript evidence available when work was begun on the *New World Translation* in 1947, which suggested the propriety of introducing the Tetragrammaton into the Christian Greek Scriptures. The willingness of the translators to give greater authority to Hebrew versions than to the known Greek text of their day raises grave concerns regarding their translation process. Nonetheless, we have been gracious on this point because we understand the perspective of those who are ones of *Jehovah's* Witnesses.

give the subject *Kyrios* equality with Jehovah by attributing qualities to him which are reserved for God alone.

The only viable solution to these five quandaries is to determine historically and textually the exact word used by the inspired Christian writers in each of the 237 *Jehovah* references. In summary of our search of Greek manuscripts and surrounding historical data, we conclude that no evidence exists indicating that the Tetragrammaton was used by the inspired writers of the Greek Scriptures. To bring the Tetragrammaton into the Christian Scriptures requires that we deny the inspiration and authority of the Greek Scriptures themselves and seek a higher authority in Hebrew translations.

**A final summary and application concerning the evidence for the
Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures.**

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EPILOGUE

Chapter 12: *LORD, JEHOVAH, AND INSPIRATION*

The issue of ••157•• inspiration underlies all that has been said in this book. If we hold a high view of the inspiration of Scripture, we must require of our translators that they faithfully reproduce exactly that which Jehovah directed the inspired authors to write.

Inspiration and the translators' obligation

We would all agree that we desire the most accurate Scripture possible. Ideally, we would read the exact words written by the inspired authors. However, because we speak modern English rather than Biblical Hebrew or Greek, there are two steps which separate today's reader from the original writings.

The first step is the reconstruction of an accurate text. As we saw in Chapter 2, this is the work of the textual critic. These men and women¹ have carefully examined ancient manuscript evidence in order to reconstruct the text of both the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. The textual critics Wescott and Hort produced the Greek text which is used in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* of the Christian Scriptures.

The second step is the work of the translator. Today's English reader does not read the reconstructed copy of the Hebrew or Greek text. Rather, we must use an English translation of both texts.

Thus, the English reader seeking Jehovah's truths through the Bible may rightfully have two expectations. The first is that those working with the Hebrew or Greek text will produce a faithful reproduction of the writing of the original authors, and secondly, that the translators will produce a readable English translation which conveys the exact meaning of the original Hebrew or Greek text.

In no case can the reader allow either the ones working in the area of the original language text, or the translators themselves, to alter the text to suit a theological bias. To do so would be to allow the textual scholar or the translator to tamper with Jehovah's inspired writing.

An "Old Testament" application

In the first chapter we mentioned the problem of "Old Testament" translations which omit the name of God in favor of the capitalized word LORD. This is a serious omission and serves as a starting point for ••158•• our discussion.

In the case of the substitution of *LORD* for the divine name, the problem is not the fault of the textual critic. Almost all modern "Old Testament" translations today are based on Rudolph Kittel's *Biblica Hebraica*. The Hebrew Scripture portion of the *New World Translation* is based on this same text.² If the reader were to obtain a copy of the *Biblica Hebraica*, the divine name with vowel points as יהוה is readily apparent.³

So why has the divine name been eliminated in most English translations? The fault lies with the translation process. (In reality, it must be a shared fault between both the translator and the publisher.)

¹ Though much fewer in number, women have also been involved in the important work of textual criticism. The book *The Bible—God's Word or Man's?* identifies Kurt and Barbara Aland as scholars of the Greek text of the Bible (p. 59). Barbara Aland is recognized in her own right as an acclaimed textual critic.

² *New World Translation*, Reference Edition, 1984, p. 6.

³ It is a bit puzzling why F.W. Carr's antidotal book *Search for the Sacred Name* indicates great difficulty in locating Hebrew texts containing the divine name. The author owns a 1959 copy (which is a revision of the 1937 edition) of Kittel's *Biblica Hebraica*. The volume is readily available in most theological seminary libraries and book stores. The divine name is clearly reproduced throughout this text which is based on Codex Leningrad B 19^A, the same text Carr apparently traveled to Russia to examine.

The 1971 *New American Standard Bible* preface under the heading "The proper Name for God" says in part,

It is inconceivable to think of spiritual matters without a proper designation for the Supreme Deity. Thus the most common name for deity is God, a translation of the original Elohim...There is yet another name which is particularly assigned to God as His special or proper name, that is, the four letters YHWH...This name has not been pronounced by the Jews because of reverence for the great sacredness of the divine name. Therefore, it was consistently pronounced and translated LORD.

It is known that for many years YHWH has been transliterated as Yahweh...However, it is felt by many who are in touch with the laity of our churches that this name conveys no religious or spiritual overtones. It is strange, uncommon, and without sufficient religious and devotional background. No amount of scholarly debate can overcome this deficiency. Hence, it was decided to avoid the use of this name in the translation proper. (page ix)

The above statement is signed "Editorial Board."

To begin with, as every Witness knows, "God" is not God's name. His personal name is represented by the Tetragrammaton. The Tetragrammaton must then be pronounced in Hebrew or translated (or transliterated) into another language.

But it is not the issue of pronunciation which is most disturbing about the above statement.

••159•• Consider what the Editorial Board is really saying.

1. First, they acknowledge that their Hebrew language text (*Biblia Hebraica*) contains YHWH in its fully identifiable form יהוה. There is no suggestion that the divine name cannot be recognized.
2. They then identify the transliterated form *Yahweh* as one that has been known for many years.
3. But now they tell us that this name conveys no religious or spiritual overtones. They say it is strange, uncommon, and without sufficient religious and devotional background. (Would the divine name be "strange," "uncommon," or with "no religious or spiritual overtones" in a Kingdom Hall? Most certainly not!)

What is the real issue in this statement? It is the affront to the inspiration of Scripture which bothers us most.

The Editorial Board has fully acknowledged that under inspiration, the writers of the Hebrew Scriptures have written the Tetragrammaton. However, because the laity would not recognize God's personal name, the Editorial Board has assumed the authority to insert a substitute word. It cannot be argued that the word *LORD* is merely an alternate pronunciation of יהוה. It is a distinctly different word than that used by the inspired writers. The word *LORD* is deliberately used by the Editorial Board (or translators, as the case may be) to replace what Jehovah himself directed the Hebrew Scripture authors to write.

It makes little difference why this decision was made. Some may defend it with a historical rationalization claiming the precedent set by the *Septuagint*, the *King James Version*, or agreement among most modern Bible versions.

The sad truth may be that Scripture translation has been swayed by marketing considerations—if the customer wants *LORD* rather than *Yahweh*, their wish will be accommodated for the sake of Bible sales.⁴

The issue at stake is very simply stated, but it has important implications. *No translator (or Editorial Board) is free to change the wording of Scripture for any reason. No reason is acceptable whether it ••160•• is the most lofty of ideals to protect a theological position or simply the desire to*

⁴ See the comments in *The Divine Name Controversy* by Firpo Carr, p. 124, which ostensibly quotes an Executive Secretary for a well known translation committee as saying,

...Jehovah is a distinctive name for God and ideally we should have used it. But we put [2.5] million dollars into this translation and a sure way of throwing that down the drain is to translate, for example, Psalm 23 as, "Yahweh is my shepherd"...It is far better to get two million to read it...and to follow the King James, than to have two thousand buy it and have the correct translation of Yahweh...It was a hard decision, and many of our translators agree [that it should be the divine name].

increase Bible sales. The translator is obligated to convey the exact meaning of the original Scripture author's writing.

This does not mean that a translation cannot use modern language to communicate the sense of Scripture. It must also admit that the process of translation from one language to another will always have areas of uncertainty. But it does mean that the *sense* of the Hebrew or Greek text must be conveyed to the reader, and that the translator is never free to deliberately alter the meaning of the original text.

The practice of using *LORD* rather than the divine name in the "Old Testament" is a long-standing English Bible tradition. The tradition's longevity, however, does not justify its continued use. It is time for modern English translators (and editors) to confront this error and make the necessary correction.⁵ *It is an affront to the inspiration of Scripture to remove the divine name and replace it with LORD.*

The New World Bible Translation Committee has appropriately used the divine name in the Hebrew Scriptures. They are to be commended for that effort.⁶

The New World Translation and the Christian Scriptures

The above "Old Testament" example is easily understood. When a translator knows the wording of the Hebrew or Greek Bible text, he is not free to change the wording in his translation to accommodate any other purpose.

May we suggest that the same requirement applies to the Christian Greek Scriptures within the *New World Translation*?

Again, we must look first at the work of the textual critic. We have already closely examined the work of Westcott and Hort. Their Greek text is the basis of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. In no case does the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* Greek text use the Tetragrammaton. As we have repeatedly pointed out, the Greek word *Kyrios* is traced to reliable ancient Greek manuscripts in 223 of the 237 *Jehovah* references. (All but one of the remaining instances use *Theos*, but never the Tetragrammaton.) The change to *Jehovah* in the *New World Translation* Christian Greek Scriptures was made by the New ••161•• World Bible Translation Committee in contradiction to the evidence of the Greek text of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*.

It is particularly alarming to realize that this change was made on the basis of late Hebrew versions which contain the Tetragrammaton. By this choice of textual sources, *the translators show their higher regard for these relatively recent Hebrew translations than they do for the inspiration of the Christian Greek Scriptures themselves.*

We have already examined this change in other parts of the book. Nothing more needs to be said here.

Our concern in this chapter is to focus on the primary issue underlying this deliberate alteration from *Kyrios* to the Tetragrammaton. The primary issue is not that the Tetragrammaton in the *Septuagint* was changed during the second and third centuries C.E. The issue is not that the Apostles read the Tetragrammaton in their copies of the *Septuagint*. Nor is it an issue that Matthew wrote a Gospel account in Hebrew. The important issue is not how many Hebrew versions use the Tetragrammaton. Nor is the inspired writers' quotation of Hebrew Scripture verses which use the divine name even the primary issue. All of these things are true and verifiable.

The primary issue is the word which the Christian Greek Scripture authors actually wrote under inspiration of God. All translators must faithfully represent the exact words written by the inspired authors. If the Greek Scripture writers used the Tetragrammaton, then the divine name must be used in each of those instances. If the Greek Scripture writers used *Kyrios*, then the passage must be translated

⁵ It should interest the reader to know that there is an increasing use of the divine name within evangelical churches. On occasion, one hears the "Old Testament" read publicly with the name *Yahweh* rather than *LORD*.

⁶ Some readers who might not be Witnesses may question the appropriateness of *Jehovah* as against *Yahweh*. Simply remember that *Jehovah* is an English translation (conveying meaning) while *Yahweh* is an English transliteration (substituting English letters for Hebrew characters). Either is acceptable. We translate the name of Jesus rather than transliterate it as *Iesous* with no sense of impropriety.

Lord.⁷

Conjecture concerning what may have happened cannot be used to replace evidence from ancient Scripture documents themselves. The answer to the entire debate between *Jehovah* or *Lord* in the 237 Christian Scriptures passages of the *New World Translation* will be found solely in the most reliable Greek manuscripts.

As we have documented throughout this book, *no manuscript evidence of any kind indicates that the Tetragrammaton was used in the Christian Greek Scriptures.*

A surprising parallel

The reader—whether one of Jehovah's Witnesses or one with an Evangelical persuasion—would be surprised at the parallel between the "Old Testament" example in the first part of this chapter and the ••162•• introduction of the divine name into the Christian Scriptures of the *New World Translation*.

Firpo Carr gives the following information on page 17 in his book *The Divine Name Controversy*

In 1530 William Tyndale first restored the divine name to the English text of the Bible when he published the first five books of Moses. Though Jehovah's name is used a few times Tyndale wrote the following in a note to this edition:

"Jehovah is God's name...Moreover, as oft as thou seist LORD in great letters (except there be any error in printing) it is in Hebrew Jehovah."

Thus was the start of translators substituting "LORD" or "GOD" where the Tetragrammaton occurs in Hebrew. "Jehovah" was barely used.

Tyndale's translation greatly influenced subsequent English Bible editions, including the *King James Version* first published in 1611. The continued use of *LORD* in the "Old Testament" has since been defended, in part, on the presence of *Kyrios* in the *Septuagint*.

Notice the parallel between *removing* the divine name from the "Old Testament" and *adding* the divine name to the Christian Greek Scriptures of the *New World Translation*:

1. All Hebrew texts contain יהוה rather than *Adonai*⁸; all Greek Scripture texts contain Κύριος rather than יהוה.
2. The English Bible tradition substituted *LORD* for יהוה; the New World Bible Translation Committee substituted יהוה for Κύριος.
3. The English Bible tradition justified its substitution on a Greek version (the *Septuagint*); the New World Bible Translation Committee justified its substitution on multiple Hebrew versions.
4. The translators of the "Old Testament" gave the *Septuagint* Greek version (as well as English Bible tradition) greater weight than the inspired Hebrew text when substituting *LORD* for יהוה; the New World Bible Translation Committee gave Hebrew versions greater weight than the inspired Greek Scriptures when substituting יהוה for Κύριος.

The foundation of Bible translation is neither tradition nor conjecture

"Old Testament" translators have relied on tradition (and reader response) in taking on themselves the responsibility of removing the divine name from the Hebrew Scriptures. In consequence, they have allowed the casual reader unfamiliar with the meaning of the ••163•• capitalized *LORD* notation to mistakenly understand the Hebrew Scriptures as referring to *Jesus* rather than יהוה.

The New World Bible Translation Committee has opened the possibility of dangerous sectarian abuse by adding the divine name to the Christian Scriptures. By its own admission, no manuscripts exist today which use the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures. Yet, on the basis of pure

⁷ This is true even when the Hebrew Scriptures are clearly being quoted. The translator must reproduce for the English reader exactly that which the inspired author wrote. The work of the translator is not that of a commentator trying to explain the inspired writers' sources. If the inspired writer wrote *Kyrios* in reference to a Hebrew Scripture quotation using the divine name, the translator must render the English as *Lord*.

⁸ As noted earlier, the Hebrew word *Adonai* appears in the Hebrew Scriptures and is appropriately translated by both the *New World Translation* and "Old Testament" Bibles as *Lord*. However, in this instance, we are talking about the almost 7,000 occurrences of יהוה in the Hebrew text.

conjecture, the Committee is willing to take on itself the responsibility of giving Hebrew versions a higher status of inspiration than the Greek text.

All Bible translations must be based solely on verifiable Hebrew and Greek texts. This is the only way to preserve the truths which Jehovah communicated through his inspired Scripture.

CHAPTER SUMMARY Any purposeful omission of a verifiable word in ancient Biblical manuscripts for a translation preference demeans inspiration. Any translator can objectively evaluate ancient manuscript evidence in order to determine the inspired writers' use of a given word. If the translator or editorial board then chooses to use another word with a different meaning in its place, they have shown their disregard for inspiration. It makes little difference whether the purpose is to promote personal interests or a theological bias, the result is still a corrupted Scripture text.

We evaluated two illustrations which have produced opposite—yet erroneous—results. In the first instance, most "Old Testament" translators have disregarded the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew Scripture text and have substituted the word *LORD* because it is purportedly more widely known. *The result is a Bible which removes the identity of God even though he was named by the inspired writers.*

The second illustration is found in the Christian Scriptures of the *New World Translation*. These translators used verifiable information regarding the *Septuagint* to justify selective substitution of the divine name for *Kyrios*. This was done in spite of the best Greek manuscript evidence verifying the use of *Kyristo* within 100 years of the original Christian Scripture writers. *The result is a Bible which adds the name of God where it was not used by the inspired writers.*

Chapter 13: BUT IF NOT HERESY, THEN WHAT?

In the previous ••164•• chapters, we asked—and answered—the important question, "Was the Tetragrammaton removed from the Christian Greek Scriptures during the third and fourth centuries?"

We have thoroughly documented the presence of *Kyrios* in the earliest Christian Greek Scripture manuscripts. There is no possibility that the Tetragrammaton was used by the inspired Christian writers and then removed at a later date.

There is no evidence from either the earliest Christian Scripture manuscripts or the writings of the patristics of a united heresy directed at inserting *Kyrios* into the Christian Scriptures. As we saw in Chapter 10, if the removal of the Tetragrammaton was a heretical effort encompassing three continents, we would most certainly know of the controversy from early writers. Instead, there is silence.

On the other hand, there is substantial evidence that the Tetragrammaton was used in copies of Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures for Jews. (This included the *Septuagint* as well as other translations by Aquila and Theodotion.) Furthermore, there is incontrovertible evidence that Christians intentionally changed יהוה to *Kyrios* in their copies.

Clearly יהוה was used in identifiable *Septuagint*¹ versions—yet the same citations appear as *Kyrios* in later Christian copies.

If this transformation from יהוה to *Kyrios* in Hebrew Scripture translations was not evidence of heresy, then what was it?

Are we credible?

Throughout this book we have made a distinction between the *Septuagint* and the Christian Scriptures. Nonetheless, the *Septuagint* was the *Bible* of the early Christian congregation and remained so even after it was supplemented by the writings of the inspired Christian authors. Even as the Christian Greek Scriptures were added, the *Septuagint* was repeatedly copied and circulated among the early congregations. It was the early Christian congregation—and not Judaism—which was responsible for the widespread propagation of the Hebrew Scriptures in the ancient Gentile world.

To many readers, it appears as though we are denying that the Tetragrammaton was changed to *Kyrios* in certain Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures when we discount this change in the Christian ••165•• Scriptures. Yet, there certainly was a change occurring between the second and third centuries C.E. in the number of *Septuagint* Scriptures using יהוה. (More correctly stated, the change we see today is in the number of copies containing יהוה which have *survived*. As we will see, there was a concerted effort by the Jews in the fourth century to destroy Hebrew Scriptures in Greek.)

Very simply, we will not be credible if we do not make a distinction between our conclusion that the Christian Greek Scriptures did *not* show evidence of change from the Tetragrammaton to *Kyrios*, and that the *Septuagint* and similar versions of the Hebrew Scriptures *did* show this same change.

The Jewish *Septuagint*

We have avoided an exhaustive study of the *Septuagint* and other Greek versions of the Hebrew Scriptures in this book. Consequently, we will merely affirm that the Tetragrammaton was often changed to the Greek word *Kyrios* in the early centuries of the Christian congregation.

This process is shown by comparing a standard reference encyclopedia with an entry from *Aid to Bible Understanding*. The illustration concerns Aquila's translation of the Hebrew Scriptures which

¹ In this chapter we will generally use the term *Septuagint* to represent all Greek versions of the Hebrew Scriptures including *Aquila* and *Theodotion*.

was completed in the early second century. The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia (Vol. 2, p. 120) says,

In 1897 for the first time a continuous portion of [Aquila's] translation came to light in a palimpsest of the Cairo Synagogue, showing the tetragrammaton written in Old Hebrew letters. The statement of Jerome that Aquila made two versions, "a second edition, which the Hebrews call 'the accurate one,'" seems to be correct.

Then, on page 886 of *Aid to Bible Understanding*, a clear illustration is given of the palaeo-Hebrew characters אָאָאָאָ (which appear twice in the passage) embedded in Aquila's Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. (The illustration, however, is typeset rather than photographically reproduced, and the Scripture passage is not identified.)

On the same page of *Aid to Bible Understanding*, the editors quote Dr. Kahle as saying,

We know that the Greek Bible text [the *Septuagint*] as far as it was written by Jews for Jews did not translate the Divine name by *ky'rios*, but the Tetragrammaton written with Hebrew or Greek letters was retained in such MSS [manuscripts]. It was the Christians who replaced the Tetragrammaton by *ky'rios*, when the divine name written in Hebrew letters was not understood any more. (*The Cairo Geniza*, pp. 222, 224.)

••166•• We will allow the above quoted material to replace an independent investigation. We can be certain, however, that the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew characters (as either יהוה or אָאָאָ) was regularly used in Jewish copies of Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures. This was particularly true as a result of the non-messianic Jewish response to the Christian's use of the *Septuagint*.

Consequently, it is apparent that a change took place in the early centuries of the Christian congregation. The translated Hebrew Scriptures were copied by Gentile Christians in ever greater numbers. Because they did not understand Hebrew and the written name of God, they translated² יהוה as Κύριος (*Kyrios*).

The Scriptures of the Greek-speaking Christian congregation

Between 41 and 98 C.E., 27 books were added to the Scriptures. By no means, however, does this imply that the first century congregations lacked sufficient Scriptures until this writing process was completed.

Jesus himself, from "Moses and all the Prophets...interpreted to [Cleopas and his traveling companion] things pertaining to himself in all the Scriptures." (Luke 24:27.)

On the festival day of Pentecost, Peter's talk was from Joel 2:28-32, Psalm 16:8-11, and 2 Samuel 7:12 with references to Psalms 89 and 132.

Throughout the book of Acts, Paul taught Jews and Gentiles alike from the Hebrew Scriptures. After Priscilla and Aquila "took [Apollos] into their company and expounded the way of God more correctly to him," Apollos "thoroughly proved the Jews to be wrong publicly, while he demonstrated by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ." (Acts 18:26, 28.)

Paul reminded Timothy to "continue in the things that you learned and were persuaded to believe...and that from infancy you have known the holy writings, which are able to make you wise for salvation through the faith in connection with Christ Jesus." Paul then asserted that "All Scripture is inspired of God and beneficial for teaching, for reproving, for setting things straight, for disciplining in righteousness, that the man of God may be fully competent, completely equipped for every good work." (2 Timothy 3:14-17.)

These are all references to the Hebrew Scriptures. The Christian congregation did not wait until Matthew, Mark, Luke, Paul, James, Peter, Jude, and finally, John, wrote before they possessed the Scriptures. They had the Scriptures at the very beginning of the Christian congregation.

••167•• While the Christian congregation remained in Jerusalem, the Scriptures were available in either the Hebrew language or the *Septuagint* translation. Certainly, many Jews who used the Greek *Septuagint* were familiar with the presence of the Tetragrammaton embedded in the Greek text as יהוה. However, after Stephen was stoned, "On that day great persecution arose against the

² We will clarify the ideas of *word-for-word translation* and *dynamic translation* later.

congregation that was in Jerusalem; all except the apostles were scattered throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria." (Acts 8:1.) Finally, in Acts 10, Jehovah used Peter to openly give the good news to Gentiles. "[Peter] said to them: "YOU well know how unlawful it is for a Jew to join himself to or approach a man of another race; and yet God has shown me I should call no man defiled or unclean. Hence I come, really without objection, when I was sent for." (Acts 10:28-29.)

As the Christian congregation spread to the pagan Gentile world, Christians carried the *Septuagint* with them. The Greek text was understandable to men and women in Antioch, Iconium, and all the cities Paul and Barnabas would subsequently visit after "Jehovah...laid commandment upon [them] in these words, 'I have appointed you as a light of nations, for you to be a salvation to the extremity of the earth.'" (Acts 13:47.) Undoubtedly, there were Gentiles who saw—and even understood—the divine name יהוה in the Greek text. In time, however, it was no longer Jews who were making contact with pagan Gentiles. Gentiles began the task of proclaiming the good news to their fellow countrymen. They were Gentiles who did not have a Jewish heritage and who did not understand the Hebrew characters יהוה.

On page 887, *Aid to Bible Understanding* gives us this account:

In a letter written at Rome, 384 C.E., Jerome relates that, when coming upon these Hebrew letters of the Tetragrammaton (יהוה) in copies of the *Septuagint*, "certain ignorant ones, because of the similarity of the characters...were accustomed to pronounce Pi Pi [mistaking them for the Greek characters ΠΙΠΙ]."

The form of the Jewish Scriptures

Aid to Bible Understanding and other Watch Tower Society reference books frequently quote the important book, *The Cairo Geniza*, by Paul I. Kahle. He has carefully studied the Hebrew Scripture texts in both Hebrew and Greek.

Origen's well-known *Hexapla*, in which he produced a six-column study of the *Septuagint*, contained a second column which was a transliteration of the Hebrew Scripture text written in Greek letters. On page 158 of his book, Kahle makes this observation,

There can hardly be any doubt that this work [of transliterating the Hebrew text into Greek letters] was done by Jews who from ••168•• childhood had read the Bible and knew it almost by heart. The Jews created this text for those of their fellow believers who could not read the non-vocalized Hebrew text.

Then, on page 162, Kahle makes this application,

For reading the Hebrew original the transcription in Greek letters would surely have suited all Christians and most Jews. This theory also gives a plausible reason for the existence of a Greek transcribed text; it allowed both Jews and Christians to read the lessons from the Old Testament in Hebrew during the service, and this explains why this transcribed text was composed so carefully and consistently....

This text, like all the others assembled in the *Hexapla*, was adopted by Origen from the Jews. A clear proof of this is to be found in the fact that in all the five columns preserved to us the divine name is regularly given as the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew square letters. (Emphasis added.)

One of the important Greek translations made for Jews during the second century was done by Theodotion. Again, on page 254, Kahle makes these comments,

One of the characteristics of Theodotion's text is the transliteration of Hebrew words in Greek letters.

...How can we expect that Theodotion, in the second Christian century, should have replaced good Greek translation by transliterated Hebrew words or that such newly-made transliterations should have been substituted for Greek words in some parts of the 'Septuagint'? Obviously the transliterated Hebrew words were used in translations made for Jews. Greek-speaking Jews were familiar with such Hebrew words even if they were not generally able to speak Hebrew....Theodotion made his revisions for Jewish circles. He did not replace transliterated Hebrew words by Greek translation for he had no cause to fear that the Jews would not understand them.

On the other hand, it is obvious that in Mss [manuscripts] of the Greek Bible written for the use of

Christians such transliterated Hebrew words had to be eliminated and replaced by Greek equivalents.

Clearly, Kahle is directing our attention to the importance of Greek translations made for Jews in the time period between the commencement of the *Septuagint* (circa 280 B.C.E.) through the second century C.E. Many Jews living outside of Palestine either did not know any Hebrew, or they recognized spoken Hebrew but could not read Hebrew characters.

Thus, any study of the *Septuagint* and other Greek translations of the time period, must consider their relationship to Jewish linguistic ••169•• and social culture. Many times, these translations were done by Jews for a Jewish audience. We would expect, therefore, to find the transcription of the divine name—as either יהוה, or even אֱלֹהֵינוּ—in these Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures made for Jews.

Again, Kahle says,

All Greek translations of the Bible made by Jews for Jews in pre-Christian times must have used, as the name of God, the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew characters and not κυριος, or abbreviations of it, such as we find in the Christian LXX [*Septuagint*] codices.³

Transliteration, translation, or duplication?

All Bible translators experience a quandary when dealing with the divine name. It was certainly an issue which early translators and editors of the *Septuagint* faced. How was the name to be conveyed to Jewish readers? How was the name to be conveyed to readers who did not understand Hebrew? Which was more important: form or meaning? This was also a quandary which the New World Bible Translation Committee faced when it began its work on the Hebrew Scriptures.

There are a number of options available to a translator when dealing with the divine name from the Hebrew text. (In the following illustrations, we will use only an English text. Obviously, the *Septuagint* translators encountered the same problems with their Greek text.) The simplest option is to merely *transcribe* the four Hebrew characters. That is, the translator would use the Hebrew characters rather than letters used in the target language.⁴ This choice would render verses such as Psalms 7:1, 3, 6, and 8 as follows:

○ יהוה my God, in you I have taken refuge.
 Save me from all those persecuting me and deliver me...
 ○ יהוה my God, if I have done this, If there exists any injustice in my hands...

Or, using the older Hebrew script style,

Do arise, ○ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, in your anger;
 Lift yourself up at the outbursts of fury of those showing hostility to me...

••170•• אֱלֹהֵינוּ himself will pass sentence on the peoples.
 Judge me, ○ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, according to my righteousness...

Needless to say, transcription is the most precise action the translator can take from the perspective of the original text. There is no possibility of error because the Hebrew word is transported intact into the new text. On the other hand, transcription is meaningless unless the reader also understands written Hebrew.⁵

A second option which is open to the translator is to *visually duplicate* יהוה by using letters familiar to the reader. This was done in certain Greek copies of the *Septuagint* with the letters Π (P)

³ P.E. Kahle, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, "The Greek Bible Manuscripts Used by Origen," Volume LXXIX, 1960.

⁴ The term *target language* identifies the language into which a text is translated. The term *parent language* identifies the language from which the text originates.

⁵ It could be argued that with proper instruction, the reader would learn the full meaning of the transcribed letters. That would be true only if the instruction were complete and conveyed the full meaning of the Hebrew language context. If such training were anything less than complete, then יהוה would merely become a symbol for a concept coming from the target language. In that case, the written word in the target language would become an equal—and more readily pronounceable—symbol.

and I (I). By duplicating these Greek letters, the reader saw ΠΙΠΙ (or πιπι in lower-case). English letters do not lend themselves well to this option, though something like nin' might be used. It is obvious, however, that such a symbol does nothing to preserve the divine name. Were this scheme attempted, God's name in English would simply become Nin, as it became Pipi in Greek. This would reduce Psalm 11:1 to an extremely unsatisfactory,

In nin' I have taken refuge.

The translator may choose to *transliterate* the characters יהוה into four letters in the target language. This was apparently not done in extant Greek manuscripts of the *Septuagint*, but it is occasionally done in English by using YHWH. Though this is an accurate representation of the four Hebrew characters, it lacks a reasonable guide to pronunciation because it contains no vowels. Further, it will be meaningless to a reader who does not know its function. Psalm 15:1 would become,

O YHWH, who will be a guest in your tent?

Another possibility is for the translator to *phonetically duplicate* the name in the target language. Some copies of the *Septuagint* used this approach with the Greek letter combination ΙΑΩ (IAO). (When written in lower-case Greek, a breathing mark is added to the *iota*. The word is written ἰαω, which gives the name two vowel sounds.) When read in Greek, this approximately duplicated the presumed ••171•• pronunciation of יהוה as *Yahó*.⁶ Phonetic duplication in English is achieved when the divine name is written as *Yahweh* (or, as we saw in Chapter 1, as *Yahvah*). With this phonetic duplication, Psalm 18:1-2 can be read,

I shall have affection for you, O Yahweh my strength.

Yahweh is my crag and my stronghold and the Provider of escape for me.

The translator may choose to *translate* the divine name. At this point, he will choose between a *word-for-word* translation or a *dynamic* translation. A *word-for-word* translation does not consider the sense of the parent language word combination in relationship to the target language, but simply renders each word according to a lexical (dictionary) definition. A word-for-word translation of יהוה into English is simply *He Is*. (If the translator wants to be interpretive⁷ in his translation, he may add English words which reflect the tense of the Hebrew verb. In this case, the translated name becomes *He Causes to Become*.) On the other hand, a *dynamic* translation will consider the *sense* of the word combination in the parent language and find words to express the same meaning in the target language. When the *Septuagint* was translated, the *sense* of יהוה in the Greek language was the word Κύριος (*Kyrios*) or *Lord* (with the sense of *Sovereign Master*). If the translator chose a word-for-word translation of Psalm 20:1, it would read,

May *He Is* answer you in the day of distress.

May the name of the God of Jacob protect you.

(There is another complication if the translator chooses *not* to do a word-for-word translation. The Israelite of Moses' day was not hearing a unique *name* when יהוה was spoken. If the derivation of the divine name is as described in the *New World Translation Reference Edition*, page 1561, which says,

••172•• "Jehovah" (Heb[brew] יהוה YHWH), God's personal name...is a verb, the causative form, the imperfect state, of the Hebrew verb הוה (*ha-wah'*, "to become"),

then the listener was merely hearing the third person, singular, masculine conjugation *he is*. It was only the *context* in which יהוה was used which defined it as the divine name rather than as a commonly used verb form.)

⁶ *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible*, Metzger, p. 35, footnote 66.

⁷ Many languages contain significantly more information in a verb tense than does English. However, an English example will illustrate what we mean by *interpretation*. If a group is asked, "Who is ready to do such-and such?" a respondent from within the group may answer, "I am." Yet, the meaning of the present tense in English is literally, "I presently am." This is understood by the English listener even when the word *presently* is not included. However, if this dialogue was translated into another language, the translator might need to insert the word *presently* in order to interpret the full meaning of the respondent to the foreign language reader. This would be particularly true if the respondent's answer was dependent on a time sequence in which the respondent would *not* be ready at a later time.

If the translator considered the tense of the verb⁸ and added some degree of interpretation, the word-for-word translation of Psalm 26:1 would be,

Judge me, O *He Causes to Become*, for I myself have walked in my own integrity,
And in *He Causes to Become* I have trusted, that I may not wobble.

If a dynamic translation were chosen, Psalm 21:1 would read,⁹

O LORD, in your strength the king rejoices;
and in your salvation how very joyful he wants to be!

Finally, the translator might choose a modified designation. As we saw in Chapter 1, the New World Bible Translation Committee chose to use a "well-known form" rather than one which was a strict phonetic duplication. They say in part in *Insight on the Scriptures*, Volume 2, page 6:

Hebrew Scholars generally favor "Yahweh" as the most likely pronunciation....Still, there is by no means unanimity among scholars on the subject, some favoring yet other pronunciations, such as "Yahuwa," "Yahuah," or "Yehuah."

Since certainty of pronunciation is not now attainable, there seems to be no reason for abandoning in English the well-known form "Jehovah" in favor of some other suggested pronunciation.

If the translators chose the "well-known form 'Jehovah,'"¹⁰ Psalm 27:1 would read,

Jehovah is my light and my salvation.

••173•• Needless to say, each of the above means of rendering the divine name in a translation has both merit and objection, with some being better choices than others.

In this chapter, we are considering the options available to the translators and editors¹¹ of the *Septuagint* and similar ancient Greek translations. Their choices were determined by the recipients of the translation. If the translation was for Jewish readership, then use of Hebrew characters would be completely understandable; they could embed יהוה in the Greek text. On the other hand, when the *Septuagint* was used in the Gentile world where little was known of the Jewish heritage and language, a Greek language form of the divine name was preferable. It was not a simple choice.

Nor was it a simple choice for the New World Bible Translation Committee. In the end, it chose not to transcribe, transliterate, or phonetically duplicate the Tetragrammaton. Rather, it made the choice on the basis of popular recognition.

Faced with a similar kind of decision, the editors (copyists) of the Christian *Septuagint* manuscripts made their choice on the basis of a *dynamic translation* when they used *Kyrios* for the divine name.

Are there manuscript examples?

Is there any evidence that different forms of the divine name were used simultaneously? Can we point to any instance in which both יהוה and *Kyrios* are used in a single ancient *Septuagint* manuscript? If, in fact, the appearance of *Kyrios* in *Septuagint* manuscripts was the result of a heresy or schism in the early centuries, one would not expect to find competing forms of the divine name in a single manuscript.

⁸ The *New World Translation Reference Edition* (Appendix 1A, p. 1561) identifies this as the *causative form* and *imperfect state* of the Hebrew verb, translating it as *He Causes to Become*. The verb is identified in this appendix as *to become*, which is the future tense of the infinitive *to be*. *He Is* is the third person, singular form of the English verb infinitive *to be*.

⁹ Remember our comments in the last chapter, however, regarding the removal of God's name and its inappropriate replacement with *LORD* in English translations of the Hebrew Scriptures.

¹⁰ See the addendum at the end of Chapter 1 for W.F. Carr's comment that *Jehovah* is an English translation rather than a Hebrew approximation.

¹¹ Prior to the invention of the printing press, each copy of a manuscript could be edited. In the early centuries, of course, this frequently happened. In some cases, it was done carefully to correct previous errors. In the case at hand, we are looking at the single editorial process wherein either יהוה or Κύριος was copied with the intended reading audience in mind.

Throughout this book we have been concerned with manuscript material which has become available since the New World Bible Translation Committee completed its work on the Christian Scriptures in 1949. There is an interesting example in the area of our immediate concern of just this kind of manuscript being published.

In 1894, Giovanni Mercati was studying a 13th or 14th century C.E. service-book of the Greek Orthodox Church. The manuscript was a palimpsest, meaning that an older book had been erased, and a liturgical text had been written over the faint early manuscript. After carefully recovering the material which was first written on the ••174•• parchment, Mercati discovered an important example of Origen's *Hexapla* containing approximately 150 verses from the Psalms. His findings were eventually published in 1958. In this manuscript—known as the *Ambrosiana* O 39—we have conclusive evidence that Origen used יהוה extensively in the *Hexapla*. Interestingly, however, we also find that Origen used Κύριος, $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, $\overline{\tau\omega}$, and ΠΙΠΙ in the same text. In his other writings (such as his commentary on Psalm 2) we also find that Origen used Κύριος extensively in place of the divine name.

Origen, it seems, used either the Tetragrammaton or Κύριος (or one of its variant forms) within the text of the *Septuagint*. This would not have been possible if one form or the other was perceived as the result of heresy. Nor would it have been possible if the earlier Tetragrammaton had become unknown.

(Because of its importance to the subject of a presumed heresy in the third and fourth centuries, Origen's *Hexapla*, his commentary on Psalm 2, and Mercati's work are all evaluated in Appendix J.)

The greater issue

In this book we have continually emphasized that the *Septuagint* and the Christian Greek Scriptures are distinct writings. We must reiterate that emphasis regarding translation of the Tetragrammaton. Whether we are talking about the Greek *Septuagint*, or a modern English version of the Hebrew Scriptures, the translators must take special care in translating the Tetragrammaton. In the Christian Greek Scriptures, however, the translator does not have license to introduce the Tetragrammaton into the text if it was not placed there by the inspired Christian writers.

The translators of any Hebrew Scripture must determine the best way to communicate the meaning and/or pronunciation of יהוה to the target language reader. No single word, however, will adequately convey *both* meaning and pronunciation. Thus, every translator must make a choice regarding which of the two he wishes to emphasize.

The *Septuagint* was a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. Though the large majority of extant *Septuagint* manuscripts contain the Greek word Κύριος, a number of ancient manuscripts which use יהוה incontestably remain. (The Christian Greek Scriptures are an entirely different matter. There is no textual or historical data to suggest that the Tetragrammaton was ever used by the inspired Christian writers.)

We will not repeat the material from earlier chapters. Nonetheless, we must be aware that the issue with the Christian Scriptures is one of *inspiration*. Any discussion of translation must be limited to that which the inspired Christian authors actually wrote. ••175•• *We cannot bring the Tetragrammaton into the Christian Scriptures merely because it occupied such a prominent place in the Hebrew Scriptures.*

Heresy or translators' choice?

We must return to the central question of this chapter. How is the variation between יהוה and *Kyrios* in extant *Septuagint* manuscripts explained?

We can find no evidence that there was ever a heresy identified with the replacement of the Tetragrammaton with *Kyrios* in the first four centuries C.E. The writings of the patristics are entirely silent on the subject.

At the same time, we find ample evidence that there were at least seven different representations of the divine name used in extant *Septuagint* and Greek Hebrew Scripture manuscripts.

1. The dynamic translation of the Tetragrammaton as Κύριος (translated into English as *LORD*) is the most frequent representation of the divine name.
2. A variation of Κύριος is the surrogate (or abbreviation) of the divine name which was written as $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$.
3. Less frequently found—but of great significance—are those manuscripts which embed יהוה into the

Greek language text.

4. A variation of the divine name written with square Hebrew characters is found in manuscripts wherein the palaeo-Hebrew characters $\aleph \aleph \aleph$ are embedded into the Greek text.
5. A Greek visual duplicate form ΠΙΠΙ (PIPI) is found in some extant *Septuagint* manuscripts.
6. A Greek phonetic duplicate form ΙΑΩ (IAO) is occasionally encountered.
7. Finally, a surrogate form of ΙΑΩ (or ιαω in lower-case) is encountered which was written as $\overline{\iota\omega}$.

What is surprising, however, is that none of these forms are confined to a single era as though there was a development from one form to the other. Origen himself used five forms (יהוה, Κύριος, $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, $\overline{\iota\omega}$, and ΠΙΠΙ) in the *Hexapla*.¹² In stark contrast to debating the propriety of one over the other, Origen used each of the five in specific contexts. In his commentary on Psalm 2:2 he referred to a sixth form $\aleph \aleph \aleph$ saying,

••176•• "In the most accurate manuscripts, the name occurs in Hebrew characters—yet not in today's Hebrew [characters], but in the most ancient ones."¹³

If that were not enough, an Ezekiel scroll carrying ΙΑΩ (IAO) notations comes from the Dead Sea caves. (The scroll could have been written no later than 69 C.E. because they were buried prior to the Roman invasion beginning in 69 C.E.) The Qumran community was a strict group of Essenes which highly revered the divine name. (They most certainly were *not* Christian.) Yet, one of their scrolls carries two margin notes using a lower-case ιαω as a Greek phonetic duplicate of יהוה.¹⁴

We are left with a simple conclusion. There was no heresy which removed יהוה and replaced it with *Kyrios*. There was no ensuing controversy. Rather, *the intended audience of any particular copy of the Septuagint dictated the translated form of the divine name*. In the regions of Palestine, or when a *Septuagint* copy was intended for an expatriate Jewish community, יהוה (or even $\aleph \aleph \aleph$) could be used. When the *Septuagint* manuscript was deep in Gentile territory, Κύριος (or $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$) would be used. On some intermediate level, where Jewish influence was still exerted, the form ΠΙΠΙ (or even ΙΑΩ or $\overline{\iota\omega}$) could be found.

Then why does the frequency of third century and later *Septuagint* copies existing today which use יהוה decrease?¹⁵

Rome conquered Palestine with two campaigns. The siege was started in 69 C.E. by Vespasian and finished by his son Titus in 70 C.E. The Jews attempted one last revolt in 132 C.E. By 132 C.E., Rome was so incensed by Jewish insurgency that they obliterated almost every evidence of Jewish community life in Palestine. Temple worship was completely disbanded.

By 70 C.E.—and certainly after 132 C.E.—Jewish hostility toward Rome was also directed toward Jewish Christians. The link between synagogues and Jewish Christians was irrevocably broken.

The Jewish Christians were so hated that even their Hebrew Scriptures were scorned. The *Septuagint* was rejected by the Jewish community as being *Christian*, and exclusively became a Gentile book. (It was precisely for this reason that the two Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures were made by Aquila and Theodotion in the second ••177•• century.)¹⁶ It is for the very reason that the *Septuagint* became identified with the Christian congregation that Aquila's translation reintroduced the Tetragrammaton. It is not surprising, then, to find an extant copy of Aquila's translation with יהוה (and even the older form $\aleph \aleph \aleph$) embedded in the Greek text.

In *The Cairo Geniza*, Kahle gives a further insight into the reason so few extant copies of *Septuagint* or other Greek Hebrew Scripture versions are available which contain the Tetragrammaton. On page 246 he says,

¹² As shown in both *Origenis Hexaplorum*, edited by Fridericus Field (showing four forms), and Mercati's *Ambrosianae* O 39 showing all five.

¹³ "All Scripture Is Inspired of God and Beneficial," p. 310.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Metzger. The breathing mark was not used in the first century.

¹⁵ At this point we are specifically evaluating the *Septuagint*. Both Aquila's and Theodotion's translations were done in the second century C.E. to counteract the "Christianization" of the *Septuagint*.

¹⁶ Unless otherwise noted, the historical information in these paragraphs is taken from *New Testament History*, F.F. Bruce, pp. 368-392.

The proper examination of the actual conditions is made so difficult because one usually does not take into account that, after Christianity had become the religion of the State under Constantine, the Jews endeavored with success systematically to destroy all their literature in Greek, including the Greek texts of the Bible. Greek Bible texts written by Jews have only been preserved in so far as they were taken over and revised by Christians.

It is understandable why the *Septuagint* became an exclusively Christian text circulating in the Gentile congregations. A *Septuagint* intended only for Gentile readers would have little reason to transcribe a foreign Hebrew word into its text.

There is no indication that any patristics in the early congregations acknowledged the change from the Tetragrammaton to *Kyrios* as a heresy. No writer reports a controversy over this issue.¹⁷

At an earlier period, it seems to have been viewed as a translator's (or editor's) choice to use *Kyrios* or the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew Scriptures based solely on the intended readers' cultural heritage. Later, during the third and fourth centuries C.E. after Jewish copies containing יהוה were largely removed, the *Septuagint* containing only *Kyrios* continued to circulate among the Gentile congregations which had incorporated Jewish believers separated from their Jewish heritage.

It was no more an issue of heresy or conspiracy to replace יהוה from the Hebrew Scriptures (*Septuagint*) with a term familiar to Greek ••178•• readers in the third and fourth centuries C.E. than it was for the New World Bible Translation Committee to use a word familiar to English readers in place of the Hebrew characters יהוה.

An interesting perspective

Is a translator permitted to decide which form of God's name he will use in his translation? Our first response is to say, "No." But look at the options from which a translator *must* choose. He has no alternative but to decide how to best communicate God's name to his reading audience.

We often assume that first century Gentile readers understood יהוה when it was embedded in their Greek language Scriptures. Consider, however, how uncomfortable a householder would be reading the Hebrew Scriptures if the *New World Translation* presented Psalm 113:1-2 as follows:

Praise יהוה, YOU people!
Offer praise, O YOU servant of יהוה,
Praise the name of יהוה.
May יהוה's name become blessed
from now on and to time indefinite.

The New World Bible Translation Committee could have made another choice. Say it wanted to preserve the characters from earlier Hebrew manuscripts. Psalm 113:3-5 would continue as,

From the rising of the sun until its setting
יהוה's name is to be praised.
יהוה has become high above all the nations;
His glory is above the heavens.
Who is like יהוה our God,
Him who is making his dwelling on high?

We agree that it would be difficult to show interested individuals the God of the Hebrew Scriptures if his name could not be read in the reader's language.

But now that the translator has chosen not to merely *transcribe* the divine name, he faces additional complex choices. If the Greek translator had *transliterated* the divine name, he could have used ΙΑΩ; the English translator could have used YHWH. But neither could be correctly pronounced. So the Greek translator could have added a breathing mark in lower-case letters (ιωω); the English

¹⁷ This was not equally true in the Jewish community, though the debate was not directed toward the Tetragrammaton *per se*. In the time period from the translation of the *Septuagint* circa 280 B.C.E. until well beyond the second century C.E., there was considerable debate regarding language among Jewish scholars. The permissibility of translating the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek—as well as the use of other languages (as against Hebrew) in various portions of the synagogue service—was carefully scrutinized. See J.A. Emerton, *The Journal of Theological Studies*, "A Further Consideration of the Purpose of the Second Column of the Hexapla," Vol. 22, 1971.

translator could add vowels to make the name Yahweh.

Or the Greek translator could have chosen a known Greek word which expressed the same *meaning* as יהוה and would have *translated* ••179•• the divine name as Κύριος (*Kyrios*). The English translator could use *Master* or *Lord*. The English translator could also use capital letters to show that it was a translation of יהוה. He would then write the name as MASTER or LORD.

On the other hand, some alternate choice could be made. The Greek translators at times used ΠΙΠΙ. The New World Bible Translation Committee chose "the well-known form" *Jehovah* which is neither a transliteration nor a translation.

In each case, the translator made a choice, though not all are equally satisfactory.

But what if?

What if the inspired Christian writers *had* used the Tetragrammaton? In many cases, their accounts were written to Gentiles. (Luke and Acts were written to Theophilus. Most of Paul's epistles were written to congregations deep in Gentile territory. Revelation was written to seven Gentile congregations.) If יהוה was used in these Greek texts to Gentiles, then it could be forcefully argued that God intended to communicate his name in this singular, Hebrew form.

If that precedent had been established by the inspired Christian writers when writing to Gentiles who did not understand Hebrew—and who could certainly not read the written characters—then there would be no allowance today within an English translation of the Christian Scriptures to use any word with English letters. Only יהוה would be acceptable.

CHAPTER SUMMARY. After having established that the best manuscript evidence from the first centuries of the Christian congregation shows no heresy involving a removal of the Tetragrammaton from the Christian Greek Scriptures, we are forced to explain the change during the same period of time in the *Septuagint*.

Seven means of representing the divine name in the *Septuagint* (and similar Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures) were used in the early Christian era. These included *translation* of יהוה into the Greek word Κύριος (*Kyrios*); *surrogates* such as $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ or $\overline{\omega}$; *embedment* of יהוה (or an older form $\aleph\aleph\aleph$) into the Greek language text; insertion of the *visual duplicate* form ΠΙΠΙ, or insertion of the *phonetic duplicate* form ΙΑΩ, into the text.

Inclusion of these various forms were not specific to a period of time, and may even have been represented in a single manuscript. In general, ••180•• one was not used to the exclusion of another as a sole means of representing the divine name in a Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Inasmuch as there is no indication that this open—and sometimes interchangeable—use of Greek words elicited any objection, we conclude that the early Christian congregation accepted this variation of forms as being an acceptable translation (and editorial) expression of the Hebrew Scriptures. Thus, we see no indication of a heresy in the shift from יהוה to Κύριος, but rather, an understanding that *Kyrios* represented a proper translation for non-Hebrew speaking Gentiles.

Our conclusion is further reinforced by evidence from two early sources. First is an extant copy of Aquila's translation which contains the palaeo-Hebrew characters $\aleph\aleph\aleph$ in a Greek text. Aquila's translation was done for the express purpose of producing a Greek translation for Jews to replace the *Septuagint*. Copies of this version are now known which contain $\aleph\aleph\aleph$, יהוה, and $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$. Secondly, in the late third century Origen clearly used five forms (יהוה, Κύριος, $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, $\overline{\omega}$, and ΠΙΠΙ) within his *Hexapla*, and refers to a sixth ($\aleph\aleph\aleph$) in other writings.

The first centuries of the Christian congregations had Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures which were intended for distinctly different audiences. Hebrew Scriptures which were intended for Greek speaking Jews who understood their Jewish heritage could freely use either יהוה or $\aleph\aleph\aleph$.¹⁸ Greek translations of Hebrew Scriptures intended for a Gentile audience used *Kyrios*.

¹⁸ We are glossing over the animosity of the Jewish community after Christians began using the *Septuagint*. As we noted earlier, it was precisely because the Christians were using the *Septuagint* that non-messianic Jews produced translations of their Hebrew Scriptures during the second and third centuries C.E. which contained the Tetragrammaton embedded in the Greek language text.

Chapter 14: THE INDISTINCT MEANING OF *KYRIOS*

We have completed ••181•• an extensive study asking whether the original Greek Scripture writers used the Tetragrammaton (יהוה) or the word *Kyrios* (Κύριος) in 237 specific instances within the Christian Greek Scriptures. This search was primarily confined to textual and historical data. Particular emphasis was drawn to the new light available today which was unavailable to the translators of the *New World Translation* in the late 1940's.

From the accumulative textual and historical evidences reported in the previous chapters, we conclude that the Tetragrammaton was never used in the Greek text by the inspired Christian writers.

Since the Tetragrammaton was *not* used, we are forced to recognize that the word *Kyrios* carries indistinct meaning by design. In this chapter, we will examine the Greek Scripture writers' apparent use of *Kyrios* to refer to *both* Jehovah and the Lord Jesus.

Defining indistinct meaning

We must explain why we are using the words *indistinct meaning* to describe the use of *Kyrios* in many Greek Scripture passages. Webster's *Collegiate Dictionary* defines *indistinct* in part as "Not sharply outlined or separable: Uncertain."

Because God's Word is inspired, it always contains the exact meaning which Jehovah intended. Generally, precise wording is readily apparent when the text is being read. However, there are exceptions. (We will consider an exception regarding the word *witness* in a moment.) Yet, we are all familiar with details in prophesy which were shrouded in "uncertainty" until their fulfillment. For example, many of the events regarding Jesus' death and subsequent incidents in the life of the early Christian congregation are now recognized to have been prophetic statements from the Hebrew Scriptures. Yet, in spite of the clarity of their meaning today, the meaning of these same verses was less certain to a devout Jew living prior to Jesus' birth. Compare the prophesy of Zechariah [see *NWT Reference Edition* footnote regarding Jeremiah] concerning the 30 pieces of silver and the price of the potter's field at Zechariah 11:13 with its fulfillment at Matthew 27:9-10. Or the statement of Jesus saying, "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" at Matthew 27:46 and Mark 15:34 with the quotation source at Psalm 22:1. Of particular interest is Peter's declaration at Acts 1:20-21 that Psalm 69:25 and Psalm 109:8 were fulfilled in Judas when Peter said, "'Let his lodging place become desolate...' and 'His office of oversight let someone else take.'" Yet, before Peter explained their ••182•• fulfillment, the fuller meaning of these passages was certainly *indistinct* to the Jews of Christ's day. No Jews living prior to Jesus' death applied these verses to this reprobate disciple.

Jesus himself stated that his illustrations allowed some *to see* and others *not to see*.

The disciples...said to him: "Why is it you speak to them by the use of illustrations?" In reply he said "To YOU it is granted to understand the sacred secrets of the kingdom of the heavens, but to those people it is not granted...This is why I speak to them by the use of illustrations, because looking, they look in vain, and hearing, they hear in vain, neither do they get the sense of it." (Matthew 13:10-11, 13.)

All languages—including *Koine* Greek—use indistinct meanings to *broaden* the sense of certain words.¹ There is an interesting illustration of an indistinct word used in the Christian Greek Scriptures

¹We are somewhat arbitrarily making a distinction between words which are *indistinct* and words which have *multiple meanings*. The description of *Kyrios* under the heading **The meaning of *Kyrios* during apostolic times** on the following pages describes multiple meanings. The distinction we are attributing to *Kyrios* as *indistinct* may merely be one of degree in which this latter usage has a specialized meaning. If the reader prefers, our category of *indistinct* may be regarded as the extreme within a single category *multiple meanings*. Nonetheless,

which gives added meaning because of its "uncertain...indistinctness."² We have purposely chosen this illustration because it is outside our present discussion of *Kyrios*.

The single Greek word *martyreo* (μαρτυρέω) is assigned two quite different English meanings. Its primary meaning was always "[To] bear witness, or [to] be a witness." But it had a second meaning, and was used accordingly in the Greek Scriptures. It also meant, "[To] testify, [to] be a witness (unto death), [to] be martyred."³

This word was used in its noun form at Acts 22:20. Most English Bibles translate the passage with the same English sense as found in the *New World Translation*:

••183•• And when the blood of Stephen your witness (*martyros* [μάρτυρός]) was being spilled, I myself was also standing by and approving and guarding the outer garments of those doing away with him.

A few versions translate the word as *martyr*. The King James version says,

And when the blood of thy martyr (*martyros* [μάρτυρός]) Stephen was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting unto his death, and kept the raiment of them that slew him.

Finally, the *Amplified Bible*, which gives shades of meaning when a Greek word includes a broader sense than can be conveyed by a single English word, translates the verse,

And when the blood of Your (martyr) witness Stephen was shed, I also was personally standing by and consenting *and* approving, and guarding the garments of those who slew him.

By using this broader word *martyreo* (μαρτυρέω), the inspired Greek Scriptures convey something deeper than merely the English word *witness*. In the same chapter, Ananias says to Saul who is fasting and praying,

...'The God of our forefathers has chosen you to come to know his will and to see the righteous One and to hear the voice of his mouth, because you are to be a witness (*martyrs* [μάρτυς]) for him to all men of things you have seen and heard.' (Acts 20:14-15.)

An understanding of the meaning of *martyreo* gives added insight into the message conveyed to Saul by Ananias at Acts 9:15-16.

But the Lord said to [Ananias] "Be on your way, because this man [Saul] is a chosen vessel to me to bear my name to the nations as well as to kings and the sons of Israel. For I shall show him plainly *how many things he must suffer* for my name." (Italics added.)

Paul understood the cost of his apostleship. He understood from the very beginning that he was not merely to *tell* others of Jesus the Messiah, but that his testimony could cost him his life. When Paul later described his ministry to the Ephesians (Acts 20:17-24), or when he stated his willingness to die in Jerusalem (Acts 21:10-13), or expressed his desire to know and suffer for Christ (Philippians 3:10), we realize that he fully understood the meaning of the Greek word *martyreo* (μαρτυρέω) at the time Ananias first prayed for restoration of his sight.

Through this same indistinct meaning in the word *witness-martyr*, we also gain an insight into Jesus' words at Acts 1:8 when he said,

••184•• "But YOU will receive power when the holy spirit arrives upon YOU, and YOU will be witnesses (*martyres* [μάρτυρες]) of me both in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the most distant part of the earth."

Thus, by example, we can see that an indistinct word may be used to give language a broader meaning. At the same time, greater breadth may also obscure precise meaning. This characteristic of all languages wherein indistinct meaning gives *greater breadth with obscured precision* is equally true

we will retain the definition as *indistinct* because of the specialized sense in which *Kyrios* is identified with the divine name.

² The reader will realize that this was clearer to the Greek reader of the day than it is to an English reader in translation. The Greek reader understood the breadth of meaning and allowed the context to define the appropriate sense. In translation, the English reader must be pointed in the direction of understanding the word as either *witness* or *martyr*.

³ *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, Arndt and Gingrich, pp. 492-493.

within the inspired Scriptures. This was Paul's experience with the word *martyreo* (μαρτυρέω). He was not told specifically that he would be a *witness* or a *martyr*. With less precision, he was told that he might be *one, or the other, or both*.

We must add, however, that all languages have a means of restoring precision lost in indistinct meaning. Generally speaking, the context of the word—or in some cases, grammatical structure—can be used to reinstate precision. The reader will realize that this option of either restoring or withholding precision is a useful tool in communication. At times, a speaker or writer may wish to convey a precise meaning with a word which is inherently indistinct. In this case, he may qualify it with the context or grammatical function so that the word will be understood with a single meaning. On the other hand, *there are times when a dual meaning serves a useful function because the broader sense is exactly that which is intended. The meaning becomes all-inclusive.*

It is precisely this intentional all-inclusive meaning of the word *Kyrios* which catches our attention in the Christian Greek Scriptures.

The meaning of *Kyrios* during apostolic times

The word *Kyrios* was a common secular word in the *Koine* Greek language of the day. It is translated as *Sir* [Mark 7:28], *owner* [Matthew 21:40], *master* [Matthew 25:26], a protocol form of address for an emperor [Acts 25:26], and *slave master* [Ephesians 6:5]. Jesus also used the word when he was directly quoting the Hebrew Scriptures [Luke 4:8 and 12]. *Kyrios* is used 714 times from Matthew to Revelation. The *New World Translation* uses it 406 times of Jesus.⁴ Disallowing, as we now must, the presumed presence of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures, *Kyrios* is translated as *Lord* with the ••185•• function of a proper noun 651 times⁵ within the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*.

The title *Kyrios* is also (though infrequently) used of the Father. Jesus prayed in Luke 10:21 saying:

I publicly praise you, Father, Lord (*Kyrios* [κύριε]) of heaven and earth, because you have carefully hidden these things from wise and intellectual ones...

As a designated title, however, *Kyrios* (Lord) is customarily used for Jesus in the Christian Greek Scriptures. Just as Jehovah called himself by name in the Hebrew Scriptures, so he gave Jesus two titles in the Christian Greek Scriptures.

Therefore let all the house of Israel know for a certainty that God made him both Lord (*Kyrios*) and Christ, this Jesus whom YOU impaled. (Acts 2:36)

1 Corinthians 8:6 says that in the same way there is only one God, there is one *Kyrios* (Lord).

There is actually to us one God the Father...and there is one Lord (*Kyrios*), Jesus Christ...

Also consider two other passages, both of which refer to Jesus as being "our only...Lord (*Kyrios*)" (Jude 4) or, just as there is but "one Lord (*Kyrios*)," there is but "one God"⁶ (Ephesians 4:5).

The importance of the discovery that the Tetragrammaton was not used by the apostolic authors should be clear. In many passages, the presence of *Kyrios* (when the context is referring to Jesus) identifies Jesus with Jehovah as we have already seen at Revelation 1:8.

⁴ This total includes all occurrences of *Lord* spelled with an upper case "L," indicating its use as a proper noun. *Lord* may be capitalized at the beginning of a quotation in the Greek text, and, in rare instances, may not identify Jesus. We did not verify each reference as directly identifying Jesus. See the summary at the end of Appendix C.

⁵ This total comes from the *Lord* entries in Appendix C which used an upper-case "L." (See the qualification in the footnote above.)

⁶ 1 Corinthians 8:6 and Jude 4 have been used purposefully because they include the phrase "one God." In spite of the fact that Watch Tower publications make the biblical teaching of *one God* and *Jesus' full identification with God* seem to be far-fetched, the opposite is actually the case. (See, for example, the publication *Should You Believe in the Trinity?* Though in some cases there are knowledgeable quotations from outside sources, the reader frequently encounters attempts by the Watch Tower writers to reduce the subject to ludicrous and confusing proportions.) However, because this book is focusing on the Tetragrammaton, we have avoided numerous areas where a study of the person of God could appropriately be included. Nonetheless, for a complete understanding of the Scriptures, this truth must be resolved. We would encourage the reader to personally study this important subject using only the Scriptures.

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

Instances which refer to Jehovah

••186•• Under this subheading, we are looking for citations in the Christian Scriptures which refer exclusively to Jehovah. This is best done by finding examples of verses where *Kyrios* is clearly used by a Scripture writer in reference to a divine being other than Jesus. Our first example comes from Luke 5:17. (In the following illustrations, we will insert the critical phrase from the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*, including both the Greek and English wording. The *New World Translation* entry is placed in brackets.) Luke 5:17 says:

In the course of one of the days [Jesus] was teaching, and Pharisees and teachers of the law who had come out of every village of Galilee and Judea and Jerusalem were sitting there; [and Jehovah's power—*NWT*]

καὶ δύναμις Κυρίου
and the power of Lord [*KIT*]

was there for him to do healing.

Clearly, this verse is not saying that *Jesus' own power was there in order that he could heal*. That would be an unlikely statement inasmuch as Jesus' power (whatever its extent in his human existence) was *always* present with him.⁷ Luke is drawing our attention to the presence of Jehovah's power. Luke intended to convey exactly the meaning of the *New World Translation* which says, "...and Jehovah's power was there for him [Jesus] to do healing."

There are *many* references throughout the Christian Greek Scriptures which fall into this category in which Jehovah is the intended subject.⁸ We will quote just two additional verses in which this is the case. Matthew 1:22-23a (with an identifiable quotation from Isaiah 7:14 attributable to Jehovah) says:

All this actually came about for that to be fulfilled which was [spoken by Jehovah—*NWT*]

ῥηθῆν ὑπὸ Κυρίου
spoken by Lord [*KIT*]

through his prophet, saying: "Look! The virgin will become pregnant and will give birth to a son..."

Again, the sense of the *New World Translation* which says, "which was spoken by Jehovah..." was certainly Matthew's intent.

••187•• The third illustration of a *Kyrios* reference clearly referring to Jehovah also comes from Luke. When the angel Gabriel was sent to Mary with the announcement of the birth of Jesus, she responded affirmatively according to Luke 1:38:

Then Mary said; "Look! [Jehovah's slave girl—*NWT*]!

ἡ δούλη Κυρίου
The slave girl of Lord [*KIT*]

May it take place with me according to your declaration."

There is every reason to believe that Luke was reporting Mary as addressing Jehovah with her statement of servitude as his obedient child. It would be most unusual to explain this passage by saying that Mary was addressing her yet unborn son.

These verses show us that in certain instances, Christian Greek Scripture writers used *Kyrios* to refer to Jehovah. That is, *since there is no historical or biblical record that they used the Tetragrammaton in the inspired writings, we know that they used the Greek word Κύριος rather than the Hebrew word יהוה⁹ when referring to Jehovah.*

⁷ We need to leave this as a simple statement of logic. We are not discussing Jesus' attributes.

⁸ The reader understands that we are not excluding the person of Jesus from this statement. As will be shown, the dual meaning of *Kyrios* identifies Jesus with Jehovah.

⁹ Again, at this point we must make a strong statement affirming the inspiration of Scripture. As we have seen, there is no evidence that the original manuscripts contained the Tetragrammaton. Therefore, unless we deny the

Instances which contextually equate Jesus with deity

We are now confronted with the full import of the original Greek Scripture writers' indistinct meaning for the word *Kyrios*. Frequently within the Greek Scriptures, there are instances in which the writer was referring to Jesus as Lord, but was ascribing to him attributes or actions reserved for deity.

The few examples we have used from the book of Revelation are by no means the only examples found in the Christian Greek Scriptures. We will give only two additional illustrations at this point. The reader should be aware, however, that many more could be cited. At Romans 14:3-9, Paul was teaching regarding the Roman believers' error in judging each other for what they were eating. Paul said:

Let the one eating not look down on the one not eating, and let the one not eating not judge the one eating, for God has welcomed that one. Who are you to judge the house servant of ••188•• another? To his own master (κυρίῳ) he stands or falls. Indeed, he will be made to stand, for [Jehovah can make him stand—*NWT*].

δυνατεῖ γὰρ ὁ κύριος στήσαι αὐτόν.
is powerful for the **Lord** to make stand him [*KIT*].

... He who observes the day [observes it to Jehovah—*NWT*].

κυρίῳ φρονεῖ.
to **Lord** he is minding [*KIT*].

Also, he who eats, [eats to Jehovah—*NWT*],

κυρίῳ ἐσθίει,
to **Lord** he is eating, [*KIT*]

for he gives thanks to God; and he who does not eat [does not eat to Jehovah—*NWT*],

κυρίῳ οὐκ ἐσθίει
to **Lord** not he is eating [*KIT*]

and yet gives thanks to God. None of us, in fact, lives with regard to himself only, and no one dies with regard to himself only; for both if we live, [we live to Jehovah—*NWT*],

τῷ κυρίῳ ζῶμεν,
to the **Lord** we are living, [*KIT*]

and if we die, [we die to Jehovah—*NWT*].

τῷ κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκομεν.
to the **Lord** we are dying [*KIT*].

Therefore both if we live and if we die, [we belong to Jehovah—*NWT*].

τοῦ κυρίου ἐσμέν.
of the **Lord** we are [*KIT*].

For to this end Christ died and came to life again, that [he might be **Lord**—*NWT*]

κυριεύσει.
he might be **lord** [*KIT*].

over both the dead and the living.

This lengthy passage illustrates several important issues we must confront. First, as we readily observe, the context alternates between *Kyrios* and God as being synonymous.¹⁰ The context is not alternating between יהוה and God. Look at the following alternating phrases:

••189•• for God has welcomed that one.

... for *Kyrios* (κύριος) can make him stand.

innerrancy and inspiration of the Greek Scriptures, we are left only with the alternative that God directed the apostolic writers to use the Greek word Κύριος rather than the Hebrew word יהוה. If—in our desire to protect a theological position—we still must insist that the Tetragrammaton from Hebrew versions will have precedence, then we must be willing to dismiss our claim that the Scriptures we have today are "inspired of God."

¹⁰The translators of the *New World Translation* would not disagree that this passage is alternating between synonyms for God. Their agreement is evident in its present reading as *Jehovah*.

He who observes the day observes it to *Kyrios* (κυρίῳ).
 he who eats, eats to *Kyrios* (κυρίῳ),
 ... for he give thanks to God;
 and he who does not eat does not eat to *Kyrios* (κυρίῳ),
 ... yet gives thanks to God.
 if we live, we live to *Kyrios* (κυρίῳ),
 if we die, we die to *Kyrios* (κυρίῳ).
 Therefore both if we live and if we die, we belong to *Kyrios* (κυρίου).

Then the verses summarize the purpose as being in Christ himself:

For to this end Christ died and came to life again, that [he might be Lord—*NWT*] *Kyriuse* (κυριεύσῃ) over both the dead and the living.

Whomever Paul was acknowledging, the subject¹¹ of this passage was most certainly identified as possessing the attributes of God. Yet the subject is *Kyrios* and not יהוה.¹² No translator is justified in altering the inspired wording of the text in order to preserve a doctrinal viewpoint. In this passage, Paul clearly wrote *Kyrios* in its various cognate forms.

When we consider the broader context starting with the statement that we are to "put on the Lord (κύριον) Jesus Christ, and do not be planning ahead for the desires of the flesh" (13:14), and finishing with the summary that "Christ died and rose that he might be Lord *Kyriuse* (κυριεύσῃ) over both the dead and the living" (14:9), we understand that Paul was dealing with Christ in this passage. At the very least, Paul failed to make a precise distinction between *Kyrios* and God.¹³

••190•• We can now look at a second illustration which contextually equates Jesus with deity. At Romans 11:34-35, Paul quoted Isaiah 40:13, saying:

Or, "Who has come to [know Jehovah's mind—*NWT*],

ἔγνων	νοῦν	Κυρίου
knew	mind	of Lord [K/T]

or who has become his counselor?" Or, "Who has first given to him, so that it must be repaid to him?"

In the passage above, Paul was quoting a Hebrew Scripture verse, and yet he was using *Kyrios*. Clearly Isaiah 40:13 used the divine name in the Hebrew Scriptures. Yet, as Paul quoted the passage at Romans 11, he used the word *Kyrios*, which he most frequently used to refer to *Lord*. Again we encounter a difficulty with this passage in that Paul did not give us a clear indication of whether he was referring to *Lord* or *Jehovah*. This ambiguity indicates to us that the Apostle Paul did not make a distinction of eternal standing between them. Rather, he indicated by the lack of precision that what was true of Jehovah in Isaiah was true of Jesus in the Christian Greek Scriptures.

A significant number of the 237 *Jehovah* passages found in the *New World Translation* fall directly into this last category wherein Jesus was contextually equated with deity. That is, the writer (or speaker) often introduces an indistinct meaning by failing to establish a clear demarcation between the *Lord* (in reference to Jesus) and *Jehovah*. This becomes a fact of great significance when the word *Kyrios* is studied in the Christian Greek Scriptures. God does not make a precise distinction between Jesus and

¹¹ Grammatically, *Kyrios* can be either a subject or an object. In this passage: 1. *Kyrios* (κυρίῳ) is an indirect object; 2. *Kyrios* (κύριος) is a subject; 3. *Kyriou* (κυρίου) is possessive; and 4. *Kyriuse* (κυριεύσῃ) is a subjunctive verb.

¹² The reader should study the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* footnotes for these verses. He would be surprised at the limited number of Hebrew translations found to support *Jehovah*. Verse 4 cites only one footnote reference (J¹⁸). Verse 6 cites four for the first occurrence (J^{7,8,13,18}) and three for the second occurrence (J^{7,8,13}). Both instances in verse 8 cite the same six (J^{7,8,13-15,18}). In review, the reader should also evaluate the contrasting dates of the earliest Greek manuscripts and those of the later Hebrew versions.

¹³ We are referring to an indistinct meaning within the Greek text which uses *Kyrios*. Obviously, when the word *Jehovah* is inserted into the passage, the distinction is well defined, though it is imposed on the text from the outside.

Jehovah in terms of their eternal status.

This indistinct meaning has an important practical application for Bible translation. Inasmuch as the Tetragrammaton is *not* used in the Greek Scriptures, all passages which were translated as *Jehovah* in the *New World Translation* must rightfully now be translated as *Lord* where *Kyrios* is found in the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation*. (We must reiterate our earlier statement. No translator is free to change the wording of inspired Scripture simply because it does not fit a preconceived theological notion. If certain verses were written as *Kyrios* (Κύριος), then a translator must render that as *Lord* and not *Jehovah*. From the textual information available today, we know the inspired writers *intended* to say Κύριος; they did *not* intend to say יהוה!)¹⁴

An inescapable conclusion

••191•• In our discussion of the word choice given to the original writers of the Greek Scriptures in Chapter 11, we listed three options they could have exercised. In that chapter, we suggested that only two valid options were available to them. They either used quotations from the Hebrew Scriptures and copied the Tetragrammaton, or else they used *Kyrios* in place of the divine name. Because the focus of this book has been the use of the Tetragrammaton, to this point we have basically let the explanation stand which says that the original writers used *Kyrios* in place of the divine name.

By this point in the book, we understand that the Tetragrammaton was *not* used by the original writers. (We understand, however, that not all will accept the textual and historical information given in this book as correct.) Therefore, we must consider purposeful *indistinct meaning* as the writing method used by the apostolic writers in these instances.

We now need to reach a final conclusion regarding the actions of the inspired Christian Scripture writers, not only when they were quoting Hebrew Scripture, but in their general use of the term *Kyrios* and their intended meaning.

We are faced with the inescapable conclusion that the Greek Scripture writers, under inspiration, purposely allowed Kyrios to have a broader meaning. In certain places, they used *Kyrios* to refer to Jehovah. In other instances, they used the same word to refer to a title of Jesus. Sometimes the context makes its intended meaning clear. Many times it could include either. Most often the title was applied specifically to Jesus.

No inspired Christian Scripture writer ever explained this indistinct meaning within the Scriptures. We do not have a chapter-and-verse reference saying that this is what they did. We simply have a Greek manuscript (which we believe to be inerrant and inspired) which uses the word *Kyrios* to refer to both Jehovah and Jesus. Only if that indistinct meaning was acceptable to the divine author could it be allowed to exist. As we now know, God did not have the original writers insert the Tetragrammaton in order to distinguish between the persons of Jesus and the Father.

Every indication is that the Christian Greek Scripture writers saw no conflict in using Kyrios to represent both the divine name and to ••192•• identify Jesus. We are left with the conclusion that they did so because they understood Jesus himself to share Jehovah's eternal attributes.

This does *not* mean that the inspired Christian writers understood Jehovah and Jesus to be a single entity.¹⁵ It means that the inspired Christian writers could say of Jesus regarding his eternal characteristics that which they also understood to be true of Jehovah.

CHAPTER SUMMARY. The findings of previous chapters established that the Christian Greek Scripture writers did not use the Tetragrammaton (יהוה) in their Greek writings. That finding leaves us

¹⁴ It is important that we not be misunderstood. The Tetragrammaton is incontestably verifiable in the Hebrew Scriptures. The author holds in high regard those translators who have made the effort to use a proper translation of יהוה rather than *LORD*. However, inasmuch as the Tetragrammaton is *not* found in any existing manuscripts of the Greek Scriptures, it is a violation of inspiration to insert the name where there is no evidence that the original writers used it.

¹⁵ There was a heresy called *Modalism* from the third century which made exactly this assertion claiming that the Father, Jesus, and the Spirit were merely separate modes of manifestations representing a single being.

with the reality that the word *Kyrios* was used by the Greek Scripture writers to refer to both Jesus and Jehovah.

1. In some instances, the word *Kyrios* was clearly used in reference to Jehovah. Passages such as Luke 5:17 set Jesus apart from *Kyrios*.
2. In other cases, Jesus was contextually equated with Jehovah. In Romans 14:3-9, the early and late context talks about Christ. However, in the main body of the verses, within the context of teaching about Christ, Paul used *Kyrios* and *God* as functional synonyms. In these passages, *Kyrios* was often given attributes belonging only to God.
3. In the absence of a distinctive contrast between *Kyrios* and the Tetragrammaton (יהוה), we are left with the inescapable conclusion that the inspired Christian Scripture writers, under inspiration of God, used the word *Kyrios* with a dual meaning. They allowed the word to represent either the person of *Kyrios* (Jesus) or the one identified as יהוה (God). They did not differentiate between the attributes or prerogatives of one or the other in such indistinct cases.

Chapter 15: WHAT *KYRIOS* MEANS TO ME

In the Overview, the ••193•• reader was told that this book began as a personal study. Explaining more now will help you understand why this book was written and the effect of the study on my life.

God sent two Witnesses

In 1983, two Witnesses came to our home. They were gracious and articulate gentlemen, well-informed and knowledgeable concerning their beliefs. They favorably represented the Watch Tower Society, and expressed a willingness to maintain contact through study.

At the time, I had been active in Christian churches for many years. However, I knew little of the Jehovah's Witnesses' doctrine. At first, I was primarily interested in learning about Witnesses. (Of course, as any Witness who has spent time in field service understands, I also wanted to defend my "evangelical Protestant" point of view.)

In our early discussions, we went through a familiar process of exchanging theological opinions, each of us attempting to persuade the other with our favorite verses. The conversations were enjoyable, but neither they, nor I, were convincing the other.

Two personal decisions

At this point, I made two decisions which completely altered the way I responded to these two Witnesses as well as the subject itself.

1. First, *I decided that I would learn from Witnesses themselves.* That meant that I would study from the *New World Translation*, I would read other Watch Tower publications, I would occasionally attend Kingdom Hall meetings, and, above all, I would not find my answers in books written to criticize the teachings of the Watch Tower Society.
2. Secondly, and most importantly, *I decided that I would be open to God and allow him to direct me into truth.* That was a frightening—yet liberating—decision. I decided that if, after my study, I discovered that Jesus was who the Watch Tower Organization claimed him to be, then I would acknowledge him as such.¹

The Tetragrammaton study begins

••194•• Through reading the Watch Tower literature given to me, I realized that the Society's teaching concerning the Tetragrammaton was of paramount importance. I obtained a copy of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* and began an exhaustive study of each occurrence of the word *Kyrios* (Κύριος) in the entire Christian Greek Scriptures. The initial study took almost two years. Much additional study on Tetragrammaton-related material was done after that.

The initial study from the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* was guided by its footnote references which are shown in Appendix A. I then located all the *Kyrios* (Κύριος) verses with the help of J²⁰.

¹ Simply stated, I believed with less certainty then—as I believe now with great assurance after my study of the biblical information associated with the Greek word *Kyrios*—that Scripture fully identifies Jesus with Jehovah God himself. Witnesses merely believe that Jesus is God's first and highest creation. The contrast is immense when one considers that, in salvation, we have God's righteousness *through Jesus*. (See Romans 4:24-5:2 and 2 Corinthians 5:20b-21.) The difference is whether, because of Christ's death and resurrection, the one who believes receives merely the righteousness of the highest of God's created beings, or infinitely greater, the full righteousness of Jehovah God himself. In the first instance, that righteousness would cover only the sin of Adam, because Jesus' righteousness would be the righteousness of one who was also created. In the latter, the gift of Jesus' righteousness is the righteousness of "the Lord God Almighty," which assures a secure eternity with him requiring no additional saving work on the believer's part.

My personal realization

The pattern was clear. The Hebrew Scripture writers spoke of Jehovah. Yet, when quoting the same passages, the Christian Greek Scripture writers used the Greek word Lord (Κύριος). Ultimately, this left me with only one of two possible options.

The first option would be to recognize that the Greek text of the *Kingdom Interlinear Translation* was faulty, but that it could be explained by the removal of the Tetragrammaton in the second or third centuries. Though the thought of a faulty Scripture text was troubling, it was a question which could be answered through a careful search for evidence of the Tetragrammaton in the original Greek documents.

The second option was that, under inspiration of God, *the Kyrios (Lord) of the Greek Scriptures was identified with Jehovah of the Hebrew Scriptures by the original Greek Scripture writers themselves.*

I looked at every possibility which would show me that these verses used the Tetragrammaton, but there was none. However, if these verses did *not* use the Tetragrammaton, then I was left with only one conclusion. The Jesus of the Christian Greek Scriptures is none other than the One identified with יהוה (Jehovah) in human form. *Without any fear of blaspheming the name of Jehovah, the writers of the Christian Greek Scriptures could say of Jesus as Lord exactly what the Hebrew Scripture writers said of Jehovah.* The Apostle John could include Jesus as "God, the Almighty" (Revelation 1:8, 4:11, and others).

The Lord's Evening Meal

I attended a Memorial service during the time I was completing this book. The Elder giving the talk emphasized the symbolism in the bread and the wine. As I saw the emblems passed, however, I could not help but see another symbolism poignantly displayed.

It was as if each publisher received the bread or wine, then reviewed his life before passing the emblem to the person next to him. Although he knew the answer in advance, it was as if he asked himself the following question in that brief interval:

I have averaged ten hours a month in field service for many years of my life. I faithfully attend five meetings each week. I have given time for temporary pioneering. I have sacrificed many things to be one of Jehovah's Witnesses; it has cost me much in my education and employment, it has taken much of my life's energy and free time. It has even separated me from dear family members.

••197•• Now, having done all of that, as I look at this bread and wine, has Jehovah God established a covenant relationship with me so that I can joyfully partake of it? Do I know that I am "in union with Christ Jesus hav[ing] no condemnation?" (Romans 8:1)

No. I cannot say that of myself. I have been left out. I must pass this bread and wine to the person next to me and let him decide if *he* has a covenant relationship with God.

What a graphic display of defeat!³

Yet, at Romans 8:2, 10-11, and 14-17, God's Word says,

For the law of that spirit which gives life in union with Christ Jesus has set you free from the law of sin and of death...But if Christ is in union with YOU, the body indeed is dead on account of sin, but the spirit is life on account of righteousness. If, now, the spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwells in YOU, he that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead will also make YOUR mortal bodies

³ Interestingly, the Watch Tower Society even publishes the *extent* of this defeat in its *Yearbook*. Each year, the "Worldwide Memorial Attendance" is reported in conjunction with the "Memorial Partakers Worldwide." However, because of the large number of visitors to the Memorial service, a more accurate comparison must be made by using the number of "Peak of Publishers in Kingdom Service" with those partaking. If we choose any year as an example (1997 was used for this illustration), and reduce these two numbers to a percentage figure, we find that for this year's memorial service, 99.84 percent of the publishers were defeated followers of Jehovah in spite of their 1,179,735,841 hours spent in field service. (8,795 Memorial Partakers divided by 5,599,931 Peak of Publishers equals 0.16 percent who claim a covenant relationship with God. 100 percent minus 0.16 percent equals 99.84 percent of Witnesses worldwide who have been excluded from this covenant relationship.) (*1998 Yearbook of Jehovah's Witnesses*, p. 31.) Similar figures are published each year. The Lord's evening meal was given to believers to *eat* and to *drink* (not merely to *observe* and to *pass*) in celebration of their participation in Christ's victory on their behalf as "Heirs indeed of God, but joint heirs with Christ" (Romans 8:17; see also 1 Corinthians 11:23-26).

alive through his spirit that resides in YOU...

For all who are led by God's spirit, these are God's sons. For YOU did not receive a spirit of slavery causing fear again, but YOU received a spirit of adoption as sons, by which spirit we cry out: "Abba, Father!" **The spirit itself bears witness with our spirit that we are God's children. If, then, we are children, we are also heirs: heirs indeed of God, but joint heirs with Christ,** provided we suffer together that we may also be glorified together.

Nothing Paul wrote in the book of Romans leads us to believe that these wonderful truths apply only to a special class of Christians.⁴ ••198•• Rather, these truths are a reality for *all* who place their faith in Christ Jesus. (Carefully read the entire book of Romans. Pay particular attention to chapters 3 through 8.)

The power of salvation is in the person of the Savior himself. If Jesus is fully identified with Jehovah God in all his attributes and power, then the salvation he offers gives to us the righteousness of Almighty God himself.

The one who did not know sin he made to be sin for us, that we might become God's righteousness by means of him. (2 Corinthians 5:21)

Wonderful changes in my life

In the years following the completion of my *Kyrios* study, two marvelous changes began to take place in my life from this Scriptural understanding of Jesus. First, I began to experience a life in which the power of Jesus in me was, in reality, the power of Jehovah God himself. It is the One who is fully identified with Jehovah God, and who lived in human form who says to me, "I am with you all the days until the conclusion of the system of things" (Matthew 28:20).

A second change began, and continues to grow with new delights each day of my life. Jesus gave me a great love for himself. I love him deeply. It has been the most moving experience of my life. I spend much time with him because I love him. I trust him implicitly because ••199•• I love him. I can love and trust him because I know who he truly is.⁵ *What a joy it is to know him and to serve him because I love him.* I am not compelled to serve him merely to secure a future reward.

As I write the paragraph above, I want you to know that I have no sense that this great love for Jesus is anything which I deserve or have earned. Nor is it anything which I am capable of producing by my own effort. It is a love which *he has given to me by his undeserved kindness.* I do not deserve it, yet he has given it to me as a free gift.⁶

O the depth of God's riches and wisdom and knowledge! How unsearchable his judgments [are] and past tracing out his ways [are]! (Romans 11:33)

Has your faith as a Witness led you into a deep love for Jesus? Do others in your Kingdom Hall

⁴ Romans 9:1-33 is certainly addressing Jehovah's right to determine whom He will choose. But notice that the choice is between those who will receive his ultimate blessing and those who will be rejected by him. The first 16 verses contain Paul's lament for Israel's refusal to acknowledge Messiah. Thus, "not all who [spring] from Israel are really 'Israel.'" (vs 6) resulting in "the children in the flesh [who] are not really the children of God." (vs 8) In verse 17 Paul uses Pharaoh as an example of one Jehovah has chosen to demonstrate his power, "For this very cause I [Jehovah] have let your remain, that in connection with you I may show my power, and that my name may be declared in all the earth." (vs 17) From these two examples, Paul establishes two categories; those to whom mercy is shown and those who remain obstinate. "So, then, upon whom he wishes he has mercy, but whom he wishes he lets become obstinate." (vs 18) Paul then elaborates the theme showing that Jehovah may choose like a potter between "vessels of wrath made fit for destruction" and "vessels of mercy, which he prepared beforehand for glory, namely us." (vss 22-23) Verses 24-29 again apply Jehovah's choice to Israel in contrast to Sodom and Gomorrah. The chapter concludes by applying Jehovah's choice to the "people of the nations, although not pursuing righteousness, caught up with righteousness, the righteousness that results from faith." (vs 30)

This entire passage is dealing with Jehovah's choice between those who will be either rejected or those who will receive righteousness through faith. There is no suggestion of any kind from this passage that Jehovah is choosing between two classes of Christians.

⁵ Of course, I will never know everything about Jesus. I am simply attempting to communicate that, until I understood his identity with Jehovah, I could not fully appropriate his greatness and blessing in my life.

⁶ You also need to understand that this love for Jesus in no way replaces my love for the Father. In fact, as Jesus has given me a love for himself, he has also given me a deeper love for the Father. Notice what John 14:21 really says: the Father loves me *precisely because* I love Jesus.

serve him because they truly love him?

Do you long to have a relationship with Jehovah based on a deep mutual love; an unshakable assurance of his compassionate love for you, and a daily joy in your love for him?

May I suggest, that you simply ask him for that which he truly wants you to have?

"Jesus, show me who you really are. I don't deserve it, but I want you to give me a deep love for yourself. I want to enjoy loving you."

Ask him daily for his gift. He wants to give this great love for himself to you. In fact, he wants this for you so much that he died and came back to life so that you might have it.⁷

"In turn he that loves me will be loved by
my Father, and I will love him and
will plainly show myself to him."

.....John 14:21

⁷ Do you realize that when Jesus was asked to state the greatest commandment in the law he did not tell the Pharisee asking the question that the greatest commandment involved doing Kingdom ministry? Instead, Jesus said, "You must love Jehovah your God with your whole heart and with your whole soul and with your whole mind" (Matthew 22:34-40). Is a deep love for Jehovah your *greatest* area of service?

Epilogue

••200•• There are numerous questions which remain unanswered because they are outside the historical and textual evidence we used for our study of the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek Scriptures. Yet one question must be considered, if only briefly.

If the Tetragrammaton is not in the Christian Greek Scriptures, has God's name been forgotten?

God's name is not esoteric

God's name is not obscure in its meaning, nor limited to a select few. When God gave his name to Moses in Exodus 3:14-15, we read:

At this God said to Moses: "I SHALL PROVE TO BE WHAT I SHALL PROVE TO BE (אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה)." And he added: "This is what you are to say to the sons of Israel, 'I SHALL PROVE TO BE (אֶהְיֶה) has sent me to YOU.'" Then God said once more to Moses: "This is what you are to say to the sons of Israel, 'Jehovah (יְהוָה) the God of YOUR forefathers... has sent me to YOU...'"

In all probability, God used a common verb for his name.¹ The word אֶהְיֶה is the first person singular form of the verb *to be*. God used the verb in the imperfect tense, implying that the action of the verb is continuous; I AM [BEING], or I SHALL PROVE TO BE.

A striking omission

Why did God choose to convey his name through a language without vowel markings? The absence of vowel identification in written Hebrew almost certainly assured that the pronunciation (though not the accuracy of the written information) would be lost. God could have provided a written language vehicle in order to preserve pronunciation had it been his purpose!

Does God's choice of a (presumably) common verb for his name, and his choice of a language vehicle with no written vowel markings tell us something? Is it possible that, to God himself, the importance of his ••201•• name is not to be found in its exact spelling or pronunciation, but in the meaning and reverence which it commands?

God's name in the Christian Greek Scriptures

After a careful evaluation of the best manuscript evidence, we must now conclude that, in fact, God did *not* introduce יהוה into the Christian Greek Scriptures. Rather, just as he had done in Moses' day, he again used a common word to convey his name and his identity. He chose the everyday Greek word *Kyrios*. For the Greek speakers of the day, this word could be used to describe a despised slave master. It could also serve as a polite form of address. To the devout Jews who knew the *Septuagint*, it was used to identify Jehovah himself!

Is God's personal name found in the Christian Greek Scriptures? It most certainly is! The Messianic (Christian) Jews of the first century understood *Kyrios* in the early pages of the Gospel of Matthew and Luke to be referring to Jehovah God. These same Jews read Romans, Hebrews, or the other epistles wherein the writer quoted Hebrew Scriptures and also understood *Kyrios* to be a reference to Jehovah. But by God's own design, these Jews who acknowledged Jesus to be the promised Messiah, also understood the complete identification of Jesus in the word *Kyrios*. God's name in the Christian Greek Scriptures was no longer restricted to its previous form.

¹ Not all scholars agree. The *Theological Word Book of the Old Testament*, (p. 210) says, "Therefore we may well hold that YHWH does not come from the verb *hawa* [הָוָה] which is cited in the first person '*ehyeh* "I will be," but is an old word of unknown origin which sounded something like what the verb *hawa* sounded in Moses' day. In this case we do not know what the pronunciation was; we can only speculate." However, our example is in agreement with the *New World Translation Reference Edition* (1984, p. 1561) which states, "The divine name is a verb, the causative form, the imperfect state, of the Hebrew verb הָוָה (*ha-wah*, "to become")."

Readers and hearers of the original inspired Christian writings understood the word *Kyrios* to be an ordinary term used in everyday language. It was a common form of address—and sometimes, of derision. As they heard the word read in the Greek Scriptures, they allowed the context to define its meaning.

From their early familiarity with the *Septuagint*, Gentile and Messianic Jews alike understood that *Kyrios* could also identify Jehovah God. Thus, with the full reverence due their Sovereign God, Messianic Jews could understand *Kyrios* to mean יהוה of their Hebrew Scriptures. At the same time, the Gentile believers could understand *Kyrios* to be *Theos* (θεός), the Almighty God of the *Septuagint*.

The early Christian Jews and Gentiles alike, however, understood that *Kyrios* was also a title of Jesus who was unmistakably identified with יהוה, the God of heaven.

The Apostle Paul—the most prominent Messianic Jew in all of history—could identify both Jesus and יהוה with the inclusive title *Kyrios* when he wrote to the Hebrew Christians. Quoting Psalm 118:6, which used the divine name (יהוה), he said,

So that we may be of good courage and say: *Kyrios* (Κύριος) [Jehovah—*NWT*] is my helper; I will not be afraid. What can man do to me?" (Hebrews 13:6).

••202•• Yet, in the same chapter, Paul said of Jesus at Hebrews 13:20:

Now may the God of peace, who brought up from the dead the great shepherd of the sheep with the blood of an everlasting covenant, our *Kyrios* (κύριον) [Lord—*NWT*] Jesus, equip YOU with every good thing to do his will.

The Gospel writer Luke used the same word to identify both Jesus as *Lord* and the God of the *Septuagint*. Addressing the Gentile official Theophilus, he wrote at Luke 1:76-77 while quoting the *Septuagint* form of Malachi 3:1:

But as for you, young child, you will be called a prophet of the Most High, for you will go in advance before *Kyrios* (κύριον) [Jehovah—*NWT*] to make his ways ready, to give knowledge of salvation to his people by forgiveness of their sins.

Yet, throughout his Gospel, Luke used the same Greek word to identify Jesus as *Lord* to this Greek-speaking nobleman. Immediately following the verses quoted from Malachi, Luke wrote at Luke 2:10-11:

But the angel said to them: "Have no fear, for, look! I am declaring to YOU good news of a great joy that all the people will have, because there was born to YOU today a Savior, who is Christ the *Kyrios* (κύριος) [Lord—*NWT*] in David's city.

So, also, each of the Christian Greek Scripture writers used *Kyrios* most frequently as a title for Jesus. Yet, they also identified Jesus with God the Almighty by using the same word.

Does God have a name in the Christian Scriptures?

The purpose of this brief epilogue is to suggest a tentative answer to the necessary question, "Does God have a name in the Christian Greek Scriptures if יהוה was not used in the original Greek manuscripts?"

How *did* the early Gentile Christians address the Sovereign God? If the Tetragrammaton was not used by the inspired Christian writers—as we have seen that it surely was not—how was God known?

The earliest Greek manuscripts indicate to us that the original writers, under inspiration, identified him as *Kyrios* to the Gentile world!²

² This in no way mitigates against use of the divine name. It does, however, recognize the difference between the Hebrew language Tetragrammaton (יהוה) and a different Greek word used in the Christian Scriptures (*Kyrios*). Both God's personal name from the Hebrew Scriptures, and the Title *Lord* from the Christian Greek Scriptures should be freely used today.

APPENDICES

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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 Ⲱ, 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.

Ⲱ (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. Scrpts.

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 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.

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*

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, Sy^P] 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

1:20	Κύριος	J3,4,7-14,16-18,22-24
1:22	Κύριος	J1-4,7-14,16-18,22-24,26
1:24	Κύριος	J1-4,7-14,16-18,22-24
2:13	Κύριος	J1-4,6-14,16-18,22-24
2:15	Κύριος	J1,3,4,6-14,16-18,22-24
2:19	Κύριος	J1-4,6-14,16-18,22-24
3:3	Κύριος	J1-4,7-14,16-18,20,22-24,26
4:4	θεός	J1-14,17,18,20,22,23
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 Κύριος J5-18,22-24
 1:68 Κύριος J5-18,22-24
 1:76 Κύριος J5-18,22-24
 2:9 Κύριος J5,7-13,16,17,22-24
 2:9 Κύριος J5,7,8,10-18,22-24
 2:15 Κύριος J5,7,8,10-18,22,23
 2:22 Κύριος J5-18,22,23
 2:23 Κύριος J5-18,22-24
 2:23 Κύριος J5-18,22,23
 2:24 Κύριος J5-18,22-24
 2:26 Κύριος J5-18,22-24
 2:39 Κύριος J5-18,22-24
 3:4 Κύριος J7-15,17,18,22-24
 4:8 Κύριος J7-18,22-24
 4:12 Κύριος J7-18,22-24
 4:18 Κύριος J7-15,20,23,24
 4:19 Κύριος J7-18,20,22-24
 5:17 Κύριος J7-18,22-24
 10:27 Κύριος J5-18,21-24
 13:35 Κύριος J7-18,21-24
 19:38 Κύριος J7-18,21-24
 20:37 Κύριος J9,11-18,21-24,27
 20:42 Κύριος J7-18,21-24

John

1:23 Κύριος J5-14,16-19,22-24
 6:45 θεός J7,8,10,14,17,19,20,22,23
 12:13 Κύριος J7-14,16-19,21-24
 12:38 Κύριος J12-14,16-18,22,23
 12:38 Κύριος J7-14,16-20,22-24

Acts

1:24 Κύριος J7,8,10,22,23
 2:20 Κύριος J7,8,10-18,20,22-24
 2:21 Κύριος J7,8,10-18,20,22-24
 2:25 Κύριος J7,8,10-18,20,22,23
 2:34 Κύριος J7,8,10-18,21-24
 2:39 Κύριος J7,8,10,17,18,22-24
 2:47 Κύριος J7,8,10
 3:19 Κύριος J13-18,22,23
 3:22 Κύριος J7,8,10-18,20,22-24
 4:26 Κύριος J7,8,10-18,20,22,23
 4:29 Κύριος J7,8,10
 5:9 Κύριος J7,8,10,13,15-18,22-24
 5:19 Κύριος J7,8,10,13,15-18,22-24
 7:31 Κύριος J11-18,22-24
 7:33 Κύριος J11-18,22,23
 7:49 Κύριος J11-18,20,22-24
 7:60 Κύριος J17,18,22,23
 8:22 Κύριος J18,22,23
 8:24 Κύριος J7,8,10,13,15-18,22,23

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

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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 J7,8,10,13-18,23
 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
 14:8 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
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
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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

Colossians

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
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	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,13,14,16,18
11:17	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,13,14,16-18,22,23
15:3	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,13,14,16-18,22,23
15:4	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,13,14,16-18,22,23
16:7	<i>Κύριος</i>	J13,14,16-18,22,23
18:8	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,13,14,16-18,22-24
19:6	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,13,14,16-18,22-24
21:22	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,13,14,16-18,22,23
22:5	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,11-14,16-18,22-24
22:6	<i>Κύριος</i>	J7,8,13,14,16-18,22,24

Appendix B: Comparison of 237 "Jehovah" References

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Information from <i>Kingdom Interlinear</i> Watch Tower Bible and Tract						Hebrew Scripture			
Greek Scripture reference	Greek word used in <i>K/J/T</i>	English translation in <i>K/J/T</i>	Earliest manuscript date supporting "Lord" (or "God")	Earliest version date supporting "Jehovah"	Name used in the <i>Septuagint Translation</i>	Hebrew Scripture quotation using the divine name Bold font indicates <i>J⁸⁰</i> citation	Hebrew Scripture quotation referring to the divine name	Cross reference citation only	No quotation or reference to the Hebrew Scriptures

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		Ho 11:1		
2:19	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah				X
3:3	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1385	Jehovah	Is 40:3³			
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	Zc 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	

Note 1: All footnotes appear at the end of this entry (pp. 222-224).

Note 2: Refer to pages 32-35 for an explanation of column headings.

Luke

1:6	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Le 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		MI 4:6		
1:17	Κυρίω	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Is 40:3			
1:25	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Gn 30:23	
1:28	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Jr 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	MI 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	Jo 3:4			
2:21	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Jo 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	Jo 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	

Acts

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	κυρίω	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	κυρίω	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X
14:23	κυρίω	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	Gn 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	Jo 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			Jr 35:19	
14:6	κυρίω	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah				X

Romans

14:6	κυρίῳ	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		Nm 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	Κυρίῳ	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Jr 9:24			
10:18	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Pr 29:26	

Galatians

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

2:21	κυρίῳ	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Zc 6:12	
5:17	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1661	Jehovah				X
5:19	κυρίῳ	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ps 33:2	
6:4	Κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Dt 6:7	
6:7	κυρίῳ	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			Mc 4:5	
3:13	κύριος	Lord	c. 200	1975	Jehovah			Jr 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	Zp 1:14			

2 Thessalonians

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

2 Timothy

1:18	κυρίου	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Zp 2:3	
2:19	Κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Nm 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				
1:12	ἐπηγγε- ίλατο ¹²	he	301-400	1599	Jehovah				
2:23	θεῶ	God	301-400	1846	Jehovah	Gn 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				
5:15	κύριος	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Ho 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	Κυρίῳ ¹³	Lord	301-400	1838	Jehovah			Zc 3:2	
3:8	Κυρίῳ 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			Jo 2:3	

2 Peter

3:12	θεοῦ ¹³	God	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Jo 2:3	
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Jude

5	Κύριος ¹³	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah			Ex 12:41	
9	Κύριος ¹³	Lord	301-400	1599	Jehovah	Zc 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 Θ=13	Ld=223 Gd=13	200 to 400 C.E.	1385 to 1979	Jehovah =237	J ²⁰ = 42 ³ Othr = 50	2 0 ¹⁵	5 8 ¹⁶ 6 4 ¹⁸	61 ¹⁷
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Summary

	NWT	Heb. Scrip. quote	None
	237	112 ¹⁵	125 ¹⁷

¹ Early 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.

² In 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 the appendix.

³ Bold 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.)

⁴ Refer to footnote 2 for an explanation of capitalization of Greek words. The Greek word θεου¹ (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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⁵ The 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 is 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 Theos (θεός [God]). (See Appendix C for an identification of the function of each of these Greek word forms.)

⁶ Refer to footnote number 2 regarding upper- and lower-case first letters.

⁷ The "X" indication in this column denotes that the Hebrew verse cited does not support or offer any parallel thought to the *Jehovah* wording. No cross reference is indicated for Greek Scripture citations.

⁸ This 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.

⁹ Possessive 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."

¹⁰ This passage is shown in both the Bodmer 14 and 15 (P⁷⁵) manuscripts (see footnote 8 above) and the 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.

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

¹² The 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 as "Jehovah." Thus, ἐπηγγείλατο is translated in verse 12 as "Jehovah promised."

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*.

¹⁴ This 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*.

¹⁵ The 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*. Thus, 112 is the correct total for this category.

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

¹⁷ The *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.

¹⁸ The 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 summary totals expressed in footnotes 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 to determine the appropriateness of the assignment of each of the 237 references to any one of the various tabulated columns.

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Note 2: The value of the number 20 in footnote 13 is as 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 of times a Hebrew Scripture verse containing the divine name is quoted by a Greek Scripture writer is 112. 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

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 κυρίω), 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, κυρίω, κυρίους, κύριον, κυρίου, and κυρίων). (Take note in the table below that two 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.

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)

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-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.

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)

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κύριοις	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)

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* (kuvrio") 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

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	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
				7:21	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
				7:21	κύριε	Lord	Lord
				7:22	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
				7:22	κύριε	Lord	Lord
Matthew				8:2	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
1:20	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	8:6	Κύριε	Lord	Sir
1:22	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	8:8	Κύριε	Lord	Sir
1:24	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	8:21	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
2:13	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	8:25	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
2:15	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	9:28	κύριε	Lord	Lord
2:19	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	9:38	κυρίου	Lord	Master
3:3	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	10:24	κυρίου	<i>lord</i>	<i>lord</i>
4:7	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	10:25	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	<i>lord</i>
4:10	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	11:25	κύριε	Lord	Lord
5:33	Κυρίῳ	Lord	Jehovah	12:8	κύριος	Lord	Lord
6:24	κύριοις	<i>lords</i>	masters				

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.

	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
13:27	Κύριε	Lord	Master	12:29	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
14:28	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	12:30	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
14:30	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	12:36	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
15:22	κύριε	Lord	Lord	12:36	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
15:25	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	12:37	κύριον	Lord	Lord
15:27	κύριε	Lord	Lord	13:20	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
16:22	κύριε	Lord	Lord	13:35	κύριος	lord	master
17:4	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	16:19	κύριος	Lord	Lord
17:15	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	16:20	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
18:21	Κύριε	Lord	Lord				
18:25	κύριος	lord	master	Luke			
18:27	κύριος	lord	master	1:6	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
18:31	κυρίω	lord	master	1:9	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
18:32	κύριος	lord	master	1:11	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
18:34	κύριος	lord	master	1:15	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
20:8	κύριος	lord	master	1:16	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
20:30	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	1:17	Κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
20:31	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	1:25	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
20:33	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	1:28	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
21:3	κύριος	Lord	Lord	1:32	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
21:9	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	1:38	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
21:29	κύριε	lord	sir	1:43	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
21:40	κύριος	lord	owner	1:45	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
21:42	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	1:46	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
22:37	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	1:58	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
22:43	κύριον	Lord	Lord	1:66	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
22:44	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	1:68	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
22:44	κυρίω	lord	Lord	1:76	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
22:45	κύριον	Lord	Lord	2:9	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
23:39	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	2:9	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
24:42	κύριος	Lord	Lord	2:11	κύριος	Lord	Lord
24:45	κύριος	lord	master	2:15	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
25:46	κύριος	lord	master	2:22	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
24:48	κύριος	lord	master	2:23	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
24:50	κύριος	lord	master	2:23	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
25:11	Κύριε	Lord	Sir	2:24	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
25:11	κύριε	lord	sir	2:26	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
25:18	κυρίου	lord	master	2:39	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
25:19	κύριος	lord	master	3:4	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
25:20	Κύριε	Lord	Master	4:8	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
25:21	κύριος	lord	master	4:12	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
25:21	κυρίου	lord	master	4:18	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
25:22	Κύριε	Lord	Master	4:19	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
25:23	κύριος	lord	master	5:8	κύριε	Lord	Lord
25:23	κυρίου	lord	master	5:12	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
25:24	Κύριε	Lord	Master	5:17	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
25:26	κύριος	lord	master	6:5	Κύριος	Lord	Lord
25:37	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	6:46	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
25:44	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	6:46	κύριε	Lord	Lord
26:22	κύριε	Lord	Lord	7:6	Κύριε	Lord	Sir
27:10	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	7:13	κύριος	Lord	Lord
28:2	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	7:19	κύριον	Lord	Lord
				9:54	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
Mark				9:61	κύριε	Lord	Lord
1:3	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	10:1	κύριος	Lord	Lord
2:28	κύριος	Lord	Lord	10:2	κυρίου	Lord	Master
5:19	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	10:17	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
7:28	κύριε	lord	sir	10:21	κύριε	Lord	Lord
11:3	κύριος	Lord	Lord	10:27	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
11:9	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	10:39	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
12:9	κύριος	lord	owner	10:40	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
12:11	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	10:41	κύριος	Lord	Lord
12:29	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	11:1	Κύριε	Lord	Lord

	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
11:39	κύριος	Lord	Lord	8:11	κύριε	lord	sir
12:36	κύριον	lord	master	9:36	κύριε	lord	sir
12:37	κύριος	lord	master	9:38	κύριε	Lord	Lord
12:41	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	11:2	κύριον	Lord	Lord
12:42	κύριος	Lord	Lord	11:3	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
12:42	κύριος	lord	master	11:12	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
12:43	κύριος	lord	master	11:21	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
12:45	κύριος	lord	master	11:27	κύριε	Lord	Lord
12:46	κύριος	lord	master	11:32	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
12:47	κυρίου	lord	master	11:34	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
13:8	Κύριε	Lord	Master	11:39	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
13:15	κύριος	Lord	Lord	12:13	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
13:23	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	12:21	Κύριε	Lord	Sir
13:25	Κύριε	Lord	Sir	12:38	Κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
13:35	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	12:38	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
14:21	κυρίῳ	lord	master	13:6	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
14:22	Κύριε	Lord	Master	13:9	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
14:23	κύριος	lord	master	13:13	κύριος	Lord	Lord
16:3	κύριος	lord	master	13:14	κύριος	Lord	Lord
16:5	κυρίου	lord	master	13:16	κυρίου	lord	master
16:5	κυρίῳ	lord	master	13:25	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
16:8	κύριος	lord	master	13:36	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
16:13	κυρίοις	lords	masters	13:37	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
17:5	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	14:5	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
17:6	κύριος	Lord	Lord	14:8	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
17:37	κύριε	Lord	Lord	14:22	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
18:6	κύριος	Lord	Lord	15:15	κύριος	lord	master
18:41	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	15:20	κυρίου	lord	master
19:8	κύριον	Lord	Lord	20:2	κύριον	Lord	Lord
19:8	κύριε	Lord	Lord	20:13	κύριον	Lord	Lord
19:16	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	20:15	Κύριε	Lord	Sir
19:18	κύριε	Lord	Lord	20:18	κύριον	Lord	Lord
19:20	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	20:20	κύριον	Lord	Lord
19:25	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	20:25	κύριον	Lord	Lord
19:31	κύριος	Lord	Lord	20:28	κύριος	Lord	Lord
19:33	κύριοι	lords	owners	21:7	κύριος	Lord	Lord
19:34	κύριος	Lord	Lord	21:7	κύριος	Lord	Lord
19:38	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	21:12	κύριος	Lord	Lord
20:13	κύριος	lord	owner	21:15	κύριε	Lord	Lord
20:15	κύριος	lord	owner	21:16	κύριε	Lord	Lord
20:37	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	21:17	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
20:42	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	21:20	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
20:42	κυρίῳ	lord	Lord	21:21	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
20:44	κύριον	Lord	Lord				
22:33	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	Acts			
22:38	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	1:6	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
22:49	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	1:21	κύριος	Lord	Lord
22:61	κύριος	Lord	Lord	1:24	κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
22:61	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	2:20	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
24:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	2:21	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
24:34	κύριος	Lord	Lord	2:25	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
				2:34	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
John				2:34	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
1:23	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	2:36	κύριον	Lord	Lord
4:1	κύριος	Lord	Lord	2:39	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
4:11	Κύριε	Lord	Sir	2:47	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
4:15	Κύριε	Lord	Sir	3:19	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
4:19	Κύριε	Lord	Sir	3:22	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
4:49	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	4:26	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
5:7	Κύριε	Lord	Sir	4:29	κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
6:23	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	4:33	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
6:34	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	5:9	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
6:68	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	5:14	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord

	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
5:19	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	17:24	κύριος	Lord	Lord
7:31	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	18:8	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
7:33	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	18:9	κύριος	Lord	Lord
7:49	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	18:25	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
7:59	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	19:5	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
7:60	Κύριε	Lord	Jehovah	19:10	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
8:16	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	19:13	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
8:22	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	19:17	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
8:24	κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	19:20	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
8:25	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	20:19	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
8:26	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	20:21	κύριον	Lord	Lord
8:39	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	20:24	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
9:1	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	20:32	κυρίω	Lord	God
9:5	κύριε	Lord	Lord	20:35	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
9:10	κύριος	Lord	Lord	21:13	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
9:10	κύριε	Lord	Lord	21:14	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
9:11	κύριος	Lord	Lord	22:8	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
9:13	Κύριε	Lord	Lord	22:10	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
9:15	κύριος	Lord	Lord	22:10	κύριος	Lord	Lord
9:17	κύριος	Lord	Lord	22:19	Κύριε	Lord	Lord
9:27	κύριον	Lord	Lord	23:11	κύριος	Lord	Lord
9:28	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	25:26	κυρίω	<i>lord</i>	Lord
9:31	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	26:15	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
9:35	κύριον	Lord	Lord	26:15	κύριος	Lord	Lord
9:42	κύριον	Lord	Lord	28:31	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
10:4	κύριε	Lord	Lord				
10:14	κύριε	Lord	Lord				
10:33	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	Romans			
10:36	κύριος	Lord	Lord	1:4	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
11:8	κύριε	Lord	Lord	1:7	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
11:16	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	4:8	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
11:17	κύριον	Lord	Lord	4:24	κύριον	Lord	Lord
11:20	κύριον	Lord	Lord	5:1	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
11:21	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	5:11	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
11:21	κύριον	Lord	Lord	5:21	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
11:23	κυρίω	Lord	Lord	6:23	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
11:24	κύριε	Lord	Lord	7:25	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
12:7	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	8:39	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
12:11	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	9:28	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
12:17	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	9:29	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
12:23	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	10:9	Κύριος	Lord	Lord
12:24	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	10:12	κύριος	Lord	Lord
13:2	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah	10:13	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
13:10	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	10:16	Κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
13:11	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	11:3	Κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
13:12	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	11:34	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
13:47	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	12:11	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
13:49	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	12:19	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
14:3	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah	13:14	κύριον	Lord	Lord
14:23	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah	14:4	κυρίω	<i>lord</i>	master
15:11	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	14:4	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
15:17	κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	14:6	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
15:17	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	14:6	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
15:26	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	14:6	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
15:35	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	14:8	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
15:36	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	14:8	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
15:40	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	14:8	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah
16:14	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	14:11	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
16:15	κυρίω	Lord	Jehovah	14:14	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
16:16	κύριος	<i>lords</i>	masters	15:6	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
16:19	κύριοι	<i>lords</i>	masters	15:11	κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
16:30	Κύριοι	Lords	Sirs	15:30	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
16:31	κύριον	Lord	Lord	16:2	κυρίω	Lord	Lord
				16:8	κυρίω	Lord	Lord

	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
16:11	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	12:3	Κύριος	Lord	Lord
16:12	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	12:5	κύριος	Lord	Lord
16:12	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	14:21	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
16:13	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	14:37	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
16:18	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	15:31	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
16:20	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	15:57	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
16:22	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	15:58	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
				16:7	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
1 Corinthians				16:10	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	16:19	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
1:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	16:22	κύριον	Lord	Lord
1:7	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	16:23	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
1:8	κυρίου	Lord	Lord				
1:9	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	2 Corinthians			
1:10	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
1:31	Κυρίῳ	Lord	Jehovah	1:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
2:8	κύριον	Lord	Lord	1:14	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
2:16	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	2:12	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
3:5	κύριος	Lord	Lord	3:16	Κύριον	Lord	Jehovah
3:20	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	3:17	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
4:4	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	3:17	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
4:5	κύριος	Lord	Lord	3:18	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
4:17	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	3:18	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
4:19	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	4:5	κύριον	Lord	Lord
5:4	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	4:14	κύριον	Lord	Ø
5:4	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	5:6	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
5:5	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	5:8	κύριον	Lord	Lord
6:11	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	5:11	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
6:13	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	6:17	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
6:13	κύριος	Lord	Lord	6:18	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
6:14	κύριον	Lord	Lord	8:5	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
6:17	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	8:9	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
7:10	κύριος	Lord	Lord	8:19	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
7:12	κύριος	Lord	Lord	8:21	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
7:17	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	10:8	κύριος	Lord	Lord
7:22	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	10:17	Κυρίῳ	Lord	Jehovah
7:22	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	10:18	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
7:25	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	11:17	κύριον	Lord	Lord
7:25	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	11:31	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
7:32	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	12:1	Κυρίου	Lord	Lord
7:32	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	12:8	κύριον	Lord	Lord
7:34	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	13:10	κύριος	Lord	Lord
7:35	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	13:14	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
7:39	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord				
8:5	κύριοι	Lord	lords	Galatians			
8:6	κύριος	Lord	Lord	1:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
9:1	κύριον	Lord	Lord	1:19	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
9:1	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	4:1	κύριος	<i>lord</i>	<i>lord</i>
9:2	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	5:10	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
9:5	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	6:14	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
9:14	κύριος	Lord	Lord	6:18	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
10:9	κύριον	Lord	Jehovah				
10:21	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	Ephesians			
10:21	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
10:22	κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	1:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
10:26	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	1:15	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
11:11	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	1:17	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
11:23	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	2:21	κυρίῳ	Lord	Jehovah
11:23	κύριος	Lord	Lord	3:11	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
11:26	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	4:1	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
11:27	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	4:5	κύριος	Lord	Lord
11:27	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	4:17	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
11:32	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	5:8	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord

	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
5:10	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	4:1	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
5:17	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	4:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
5:19	κυρίῳ	Lord	Jehovah	4:6	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
5:20	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	4:15	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
5:22	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	4:15	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
6:1	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	4:16	κύριος	Lord	Lord
6:4	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	4:17	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
6:5	κυρίους	lords	masters	4:17	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
6:7	κυρίῳ	Lord	Jehovah	5:2	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
6:8	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	5:9	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
6:9	κυρίου	lords	masters	5:12	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
6:9	κύριος	Lord	Master	5:23	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
6:10	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	5:27	κύριον	Lord	Lord
6:21	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	5:28	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
6:23	κυρίου	Lord	Lord				
6:24	κύριον	Lord	Lord				
Philippians				2 Thessalonians			
1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	1:1	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
1:14	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
2:11	Κύριος	Lord	Lord	1:7	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
2:19	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	1:8	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
2:24	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	1:9	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
2:29	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	1:12	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
2:30	Κυρίου	Lord	Lord	1:12	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
3:1	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	2:1	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
3:8	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	2:2	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
3:20	κύριον	Lord	Lord	2:8	κύριος	Lord	Lord
4:1	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	2:13	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
4:2	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	2:14	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
4:4	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	2:16	κύριος	Lord	Lord
4:5	κύριος	Lord	Lord	3:1	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
4:10	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	3:3	κύριος	Lord	Lord
4:23	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	3:4	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
				3:5	κύριος	Lord	Lord
				3:6	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
				3:12	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
				3:16	κύριος	Lord	Lord
				3:16	κύριος	Lord	Lord
				3:18	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
				1 Timothy			
				1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
				1:12	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
				1:14	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
				6:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
				6:14	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
				6:15	κύριος	Lord	Lord
				2 Timothy			
				1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
				1:8	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
				1:16	κύριος	Lord	Lord
				1:18	κύριος	Lord	Lord
				1:18	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
				2:7	κύριος	Lord	Lord
				2:19	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
				2:19	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
				2:22	κύριον	Lord	Lord
				2:24	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
				3:11	κύριος	Lord	Lord
				4:8	κύριος	Lord	Lord
				4:14	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
				4:17	κύριος	Lord	Lord
				4:18	κύριος	Lord	Lord
1 Thessalonians							
1:1	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord				
1:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord				
1:6	κυρίου	Lord	Lord				
1:8	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah				
2:15	κύριον	Lord	Lord				
2:19	κυρίου	Lord	Lord				
3:8	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord				
3:11	κύριος	Lord	Lord				
3:12	κύριος	Lord	Lord				
3:13	κυρίου	Lord	Lord				

	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>		<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>NWT</i>
4:22	κύριος	Lord	Lord	3:15	κύριον	Lord	Lord
Philemon				2 Peter			
3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	1:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
5	κύριον	Lord	Lord	1:8	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
16	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	1:11	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
20	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord	1:14	κύριος	Lord	Lord
25	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	1:16	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
Hebrews				2:9	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
1:10	κύριε	Lord	Lord	2:11	Κυρίῳ	Lord	Jehovah
2:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	2:20	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
7:14	κύριος	Lord	Lord	3:2	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
7:21	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	3:8	Κυρίῳ	Lord	Jehovah
8:2	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	3:9	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
8:8	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	3:10	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah
8:9	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	3:15	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
8:10	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	3:18	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
8:11	κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	Jude			
10:16	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	4	κύριον	Lord	Lord
10:30	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	5	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
12:5	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	9	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
12:6	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	14	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
12:14	κύριον	Lord	Lord	17	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
13:6	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	21	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
13:20	κύριον	Lord	Lord	25	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
James				Revelation			
1:1	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	1:8	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
1:7	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	4:8	Κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
2:1	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	4:11	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
3:9	κύριον	Lord	Jehovah	7:14	Κυριέ	Lord	lord
4:10	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	11:4	κυρίου	<i>lord</i>	Lord
4:15	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	11:8	κύριος	Lord	Lord
5:4	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	11:15	κυρίου	Lord	Lord
5:7	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	11:17	κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
5:8	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	14:13	κυρίῳ	Lord	Lord
5:10	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	15:3	κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
5:11	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	15:4	κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
5:11	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	16:7	κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
5:14	κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	17:14	κύριος	Lord	Lord
5:15	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah	17:14	κυρίων	<i>lords</i>	lords
1 Peter				18:8	Κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
1:3	κυρίου	Lord	Lord	19:6	Κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
1:25	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	19:16	Κύριος	Lord	Lord
2:3	κύριος	Lord	Lord	19:16	κυρίων	<i>lords</i>	lords
2:13	κύριον	Lord	Lord	21:22	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
3:6	κύριον	<i>lord</i>	lord	22:5	Κύριε	Lord	Jehovah
3:12	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	22:6	κύριος	Lord	Jehovah
3:12	Κυρίου	Lord	Jehovah	22:20	κύριε	Lord	Lord
				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
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*.

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).

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 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 ΚΣ [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.

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

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 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 k— for kuvrio" (Lord), and q— for qeo" (God).

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

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 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 לַא [God] (or מַלְאִי [God]). In the Qumran commentaries the Tetragram regularly appears in the *lemma*-quotations from Scripture; in the following commentary on the text the word לַא [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 יְיָא [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 הָא [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 congregations 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 κ̅ς and θ̅ς.

In all probability the Tetragram in the Christian LXX began to be

surrogated with the contracted words $\kappa\varsigma$ and $\theta\varsigma$ 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 $\kappa\varsigma$ and $\theta\varsigma$ 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) $\kappa\varsigma$ and $\theta\varsigma$ 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•• 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.)

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.

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 יהוה [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 אהיה [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.)

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:

J ²²	Christian Greek Scriptures in Hebrew by the United Bible Societies	1979
J ²³	Christian Greek Scriptures in Hebrew by J. Bauchet	1975

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.

J ²⁴	<i>A Literal Translation of the New Testament...From the Text of the Vatican Manuscript</i>	1863
J ²⁵	<i>St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans</i>	1900
J ²⁶	<i>Psalms and Matthew</i>	1533
J ²⁷	<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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PREFACE

and the two last editions of Stephens, were the chief sources used for the English Authorised Version of 1611.

The Elzevir brothers, Henaventure and Abraham, published editions of the Greek text at Leyden in 1624, 1633 and 1641, following Beza's 1565 edition, with a few changes from his later revisions. The preface to the 1633 Elzevir edition gave a name to this form of the text, which underlies the English Authorised Version, the Dutch Statenvertaling of 1637, and all of the Protestant versions of the period of the Reformation—"Textum ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum . . ." The Elzevir text became known throughout Europe as the *Textus Receptus* or *Received Text*, and in course of time these titles came to be associated in England with the Stephens text of 1550.

The editions of Stephens, Beza and the Elzevirs all present substantially the same text, and the variations are not of great significance and rarely affect the sense. The present edition of the *Textus Receptus* underlying the English Authorised Version of 1611 follows the text of Beza's 1598 edition as the primary authority, and corresponds with "The New Testament in the Original Greek according to the text followed in the Authorised Version," edited by E. H. A. Scrivener, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., and published by Cambridge University Press in 1894 and 1902.

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

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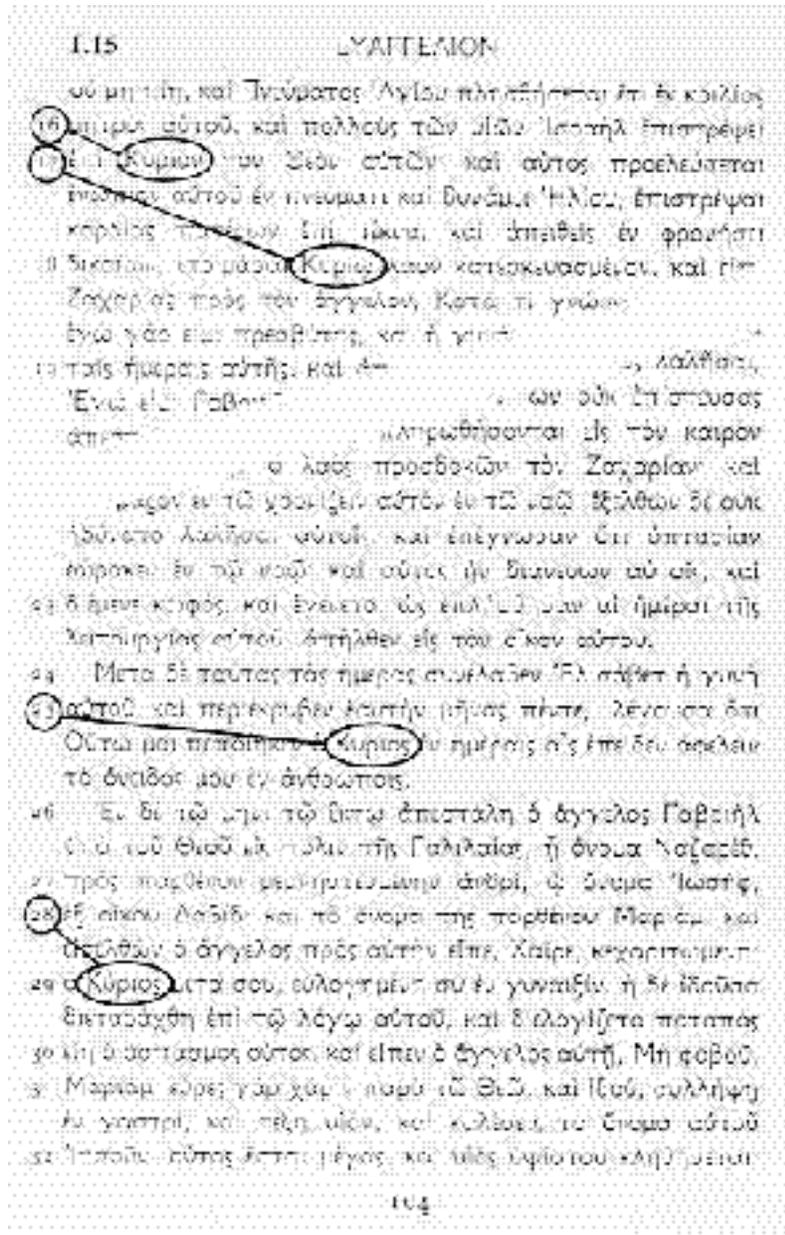


Figure 10. Two pages of text from of this same Greek edition used for the translation of the 1611 King James version. The Tetragrammaton was not used in the Greek text.

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 יהוה) 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	ΚΩ	κυρίω
f.19.v.	Rom 15:11-19	Rom 15:11	ΚΠ	κύριον
f.23.v.	Heb 2:2-3:3	Heb 2:13	ϞΣ ²	θεός
f.28.r.	Heb 7:28-8:8	Heb 8:2	ΚΣ	κύριος
f.31.r.	Heb 10:8-20	Heb 10:16	ΚΣ	Κύριος
f.37.v.	Heb 13:3-11	Heb 13:6	ΚΣ	Κύριος
f.40.r.	1 Cor 2:11-3:5	1 Cor 2:16	ΚΥ	Κυρίου
f.41.r.	1 Cor 3:16-4:3	1 Cor 3:20	ΚΣ	Κύριος
f.42.v.	1 Cor 4:4-10	1 Cor 4:4	ΚΣ	κύριος
f.45.r.	I Cor 7:12-19	1 Cor 7:17	ΚΣ	κύριος
f.50.r.	I Cor 10:21-30	1 Cor 10:21	ΚΥ	Κυρίου

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

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

Same citation as above		1 Cor 10:21	κγ	Κυρίου
		1 Cor 10:22	κη	κύριον
f.56.r.	I Cor 14:16-23	I Cor 14:21	κς	Κύριος
Plate No.	Plate Contents	Verse Cited	Entry	<i>KIT</i>
f.60.r.	I Cor 16:2-12	I Cor 16:7	κς	κύριος
Same citation as above		I Cor 16:10	κγ	Κυρίου
f.64.r.	2 Cor 3:14-4:3	I Cor 3:16	κη	Κύριον
Same citation as above		I Cor 3:17	?	κύριος
		I Cor 3:17	κγ	Κυρίου
		I Cor 3:18	κγ	Κυρίου
		I Cor 3:18	κγ	κυρίου
f.67.r.	2 Cor 6:14-7:4	2 Cor 6:17	κς	Κύριος
Same citation as above		2 Cor 6:18	κς	Κύριος
f.71.r.	2 Cor 10:11-11:2	2 Cor 10:17	κω	Κυρίω
Same citation as above		2 Cor 10:18	κς	κύριος
f.77.r.	Eph 2:21-3:10	Eph 2:21	κω	κυρίω
f.80.v.	Eph 6:8-18	Eph 6:8	κγ	κυρίου
f.83.r.	Gal 3:2-15	Gal 3:6	θω	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 $\overline{\text{ΚΥ}}$ and Χριστοῦ is abbreviated $\overline{\text{ΧΡΥ}}$.

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, ὃς 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 $\overline{\text{ΚΥ}}$

(Lord) and $\overline{\text{ΧΡΥ}}$ (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 $\overline{\text{ΚΥ}}$ and $\overline{\text{ΧΡΥ}}$ are circled.

...ΤΙΣΓΑΡΕΓΝΩΝΟΥΝ $\overline{\text{ΚΥ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΟΥ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΟΥ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΗ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΒΑ}}$
 ΣΕΙΔΥΤΟΝΗΜΕΙΣΔΕΝΟΥΝ $\overline{\text{ΧΡΥ}}$ 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 Θεῶ 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 Θεῶ, 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 Θ̄ω̄, 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 Θ̄ω̄ is circled.

...ΚΑΘΩΣΑΒΡΑΑΜΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΕΝΤΩ Θ̄ω̄ ΚΑΙ
ΕΛΟΓΙΣΘΗΑΥΤΩΕΙΣΔΙΚΑΙΟCΥΝΗΝ...

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* 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.

Matthew	KIT	KIT	J ²⁰ Documentation	NWT	
			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	אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה	Jehovah
4:10	Κύριον	Lord	Dt 6:13	אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה	Jehovah
5:33	Κυρίῳ	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

Mark

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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Mark

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
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

¹Note 1: Other Hebrew entry; this entry does not include יהוה.

	<i>KIT</i>	<i>KIT</i>	<i>J²⁰ Documentation</i>	<i>NWT</i>	
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	יְהוָה	Jehovah

Romans

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

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Romans

11:3	Κύριε	Lord	1 Ki 19:10	Note 1	Jehovah
11:34	Κυρίου	Lord	Is 40:13	יְהוָה	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	אֱהִי־יְהוָה	Jehovah

1 Corinthians

1:31	Κυρίω	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	Κυρίω	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	אֱהִי־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

1 Peter

1:25	Κυρίου	Lord	Is 40:5	יְהוָה	Jehovah
2:3	Κύριος	Lord	Ps 34:8	יְהוָה	Lord
3:12	Κυρίου	Lord	Ps 34:16	יְהוָה	Jehovah
3:12	Κυρίου	Lord	Ps 34:17	יְהוָה	Jehovah
3:15	Κυρίου	Lord	Is 8:13	אֱהִי־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 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 UBS "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

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.

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, ⲚAVgSy^h," thus citing ten Hebrew translations supporting *Jehovah* followed by two Greek manuscripts and two versions supporting *Lord*.

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} Ⲛ Ⲛ^a A C P 046 94 1006 1611 1859 2020 2042 2053 2138 it^h syr^{ph,h} arm eth Ambrose Diadochus Primasius Arethas // Ⲛ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος (see 21.6) Ⲛ*.^b 1 1828 1854 2065 2073 2081* (2344 τὸ τέλος) 2432 it^{ar,c,dem,div,gig,haf,t,z} vg Origen^{lat} Andrew^{bav,c} // Ⲛ ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος (see 21.6) 2081^c Andrew^a cop^{bo}

CC8 c none, c minor: Bov BF² RV ASV RSV NEB Zür Luth Jer Seg // c minor, c none: RV^{m9} // c minor, c minor: WH // different text: TR AV

8 Εγώ . . . Ⲛ 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 εἰμι τὸ	Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ	ὦν	λέγει	Κύριος,
I am	the Alpha and the	Omega,	is saying	Lord,
	ὁ	θεός,		
	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	<i>Aleph</i> , an important 4th cent. manuscript cited frequently by <i>KIT</i>
••266••	
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.

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

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.
it ^h	A 5th cent. Old Latin version.
syr ^{ph,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.
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:

Ἔγώ εἰμι τὸ	Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ	Ὠ	ἀρχὴ καὶ
I am	the Alpha and the	Omega,	beginning and
τέλος	λέγει	Κύριος,	ὁ θεός,
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:

Ⲛ ^b	<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.
1854	An 11th cent. Greek manuscript.
••267••	
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.
it ^{ar,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 <i>Latin Vulgate</i> cited by <i>KIT</i> .
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 \aleph . (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* :

Ἐγὼ εἶμι τὸ Ἄλφα καὶ τὸ Ὠ ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ
I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and
τὸ τέλος λέγει Κύριος, ὁ θεός,
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 Ὡ {B}

After Ὡ the Textus Receptus [the Greek text from which the King James Version was translated], following κ* 1 (2344) it^{919.61} 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 Ὡ.

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 "A" (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 Ὡ 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*, *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.

<i>Papyri</i>			••270••	<i>Papyri</i>		
No.	Content	Date	No.	Content	Date	
p ¹	e	3rd	p ²¹	e	4th/5th	
p ²	e	6th	p ²²	e	3rd	
p ³	e	6th/7th	p ²³	c	E 3rd	
p ⁴	e	3rd	p ²⁴	r	4th	
p ⁵	e	3rd	p ²⁵	e	L 4th	
p ⁶	e	4th	p ²⁶	p	c. 600	
p ⁸	a	4th	p ²⁷	p	3rd	
p ¹⁰	p	4th	p ³⁰	p	3rd	
p ¹¹	p	7th	p ³³	a	6th	
p ¹³	p	3rd/4th	p ³⁶	e	6th	
p ¹⁵	p	3rd	p ³⁷	e	3rd/4th	
p ¹⁶	p	3rd/4th	p ³⁸	a	c. 300	
p ¹⁸	r	3rd/4th	p ³⁹	e	3rd	
p ¹⁹	e	4th/5th				

<i>Papyri</i>			<i>Uncials</i>		
No.	Content	Date	No.	Content	Date
p ⁴⁰	p	3rd	Y 034	e	9th
p ⁴¹	a	8th	Z 035	e	6th
p ⁴⁵	ea	3rd	Γ 036	e	10th
p ⁴⁶	p	c. 200	Δ 037	e	9th
p ⁴⁷	r	L 3rd	θ 038	e	9th
p ⁴⁸	a	L 3rd	Λ 039	e	9th
p ⁴⁹	p	L 3rd	Ξ 040	e	8th
p ⁵⁰	a	4th/5th	Π 041	e	9th
p ⁵¹	p	c. 400	Σ 042	e	6th
p ⁵⁸	a	6th	Φ 043	e	6th
p ⁵⁹	e	7th	Ψ 044	eap	8th/9th
p ⁶⁰	e	7th	Ω 045	e	9th
p ⁶¹	p	c. 700	046	r	10th
p ⁶³	e	c. 500	047	e	8th
p ⁶⁴	e	c. 200	048	apc	5th
p ⁶⁵	p	3rd	049	apc	9th
p ⁶⁶	e	c. 200	050	e	9th
p ⁶⁷	e	c. 200	051	r	10th
p ⁶⁴	p	7th?	052	r	10th
p ⁷⁰	e	3rd	053	e	9th
p ⁷¹	e	4th	054	e	8th
p ⁷²	c	3rd/4th	056	apc	10th
p ⁷⁴	ac	7th	058	e	4th
p ⁷⁵	e	E 3rd	059	e	4th/5th
p ⁷⁶	e	6th	060	e	6th
			061	p	5th
			062	p	5th
			063	e	9th
			064	e	6th
			065	e	6th
			••271••		
			066	a	6th
			067	e	6th
			068	e	5th
			070	e	6th
			071	e	5th/6th
			073	e	6th
			074	e	6th
			076	a	5th/6th
			078	e	6th
			079	e	6th
			081	p	6th
			082	p	6th
			083	e	6th/7th
			084	e	6th
			085	e	6th
			086	e	6th
			087	e	6th
			088	p	5th/6th
			090	e	6th
			091	e	6th
			092b	e	6th
			093	ac	6th
			095	a	8th
			096	a	7th
			097	a	7th
			099	e	7th
			0100	e	7th
			0102	e	7th
			0105	e	10th
			0106	e	7th
			0107	e	7th
			0108	e	7th
			0109	e	7th
			0110	e	6th
			0111	p	7th
			0112	e	6th/7th
			0113	e	5th
No.	<i>Uncials</i>		No.	Content	Date
Ⲙ 01	eapcr	4th			
A 02	eapcr	5th			
B 03	eapc	4th			
C 04	eapcr	5th			
D 05	eac	5th/6th			
D 06	p	6th			
D ^{abs}	p	9th			
E 07	ac	6th			
E 08	a	6th			
F 09	e	9th			
F 010	p	9th			
G 011	e	9th			
G 012	p	9th			
H 013	e	9th			
H 014	a	9th			
H 015	p	6th			
I 016	p	5th			
K 017	e	9th			
K 018	ap	9th			
L 019	e	8th			
L 020	ap	9th			
M 021	e	9th			
N 022	e	6th			
O 023	e	6th			
P 024	e	6th			
P 025	apr	9th			
Q 026	e	5th			
R 027	e	6th			
S 028	e	949			
T 029	e	5th			
U 030	e	9th			
V 031	e	9th			
W 032	e	5th			
X 033	e	10th			

<i>Miniscules</i>			<i>Lectionaries</i>		
No.	Content	Date	No.	Content	Date
2344	apcr	11th	1 ¹⁶⁶³	e	14th
2412	apc	12th	1 ¹⁷⁶¹	e	15th
2432	r	14th			
2492	eapc	13th			
2495	eapcr	14th/15th			
<i>Lectionaries</i>			<i>Versions Old Latin</i>		
No.	Content	Date	Abb.	Content	Date
1 ¹⁰	e	13th	it ^a	e	4th
1 ¹²	e	13th	it ^{a2}	e	5th
1 ³²	e	11th	it ^{ar}	eaper	9th
1 ⁵⁹	apc	12th	it ^{aur}	e	7th
1 ⁶⁰	eapc	11th	it ^b	c	5th
1 ⁶⁹	e	12th	it ^β	c	7th
1 ⁷⁰	e	12th	it ^c	eapcr	12th/13th
1 ⁸⁰	e	12th	it ^d	eac	5th
1 ¹⁴⁷	apc	12th	it ^d	p	5th/6th
1 ¹⁵⁰	e	10th	it ^{dem}	apcr	13th
1 ¹⁸⁴	e	14th	it ^{div}	pcr	13th
1 ²¹¹	e	12th	it ^e	e	5th
1 ²⁹²	e	9th	it ^e	p	9th
1 ²⁹⁹	e	13th	it ^f	c	6th
1 ³⁰³	e	12th	it ^f	p	9th
1 ³⁰⁹	e	10th	it ^{ff}	c	10th/11th
1 ³¹³	e	14th	it ^{ff1}	eac	10th
1 ³³³	e	13th	it ^{ff2}	e	5th
1 ³⁷⁴	e	11th	it ^g	p	9th
1 ³⁸¹	e	11th	it ^{g1}	eapcr	9th
1 ⁴⁹⁰	e	9th	it ^{gig}	eapcr	13th
1 ⁵⁴⁷	e	8th	it ^{gue}	p	6th
1 ⁵⁹⁷	apc	10th	it ^h	e	5th
1 ⁵⁹⁸	apc	11th	it ^h	acr	5th
1 ⁵⁹⁹	apc	11th	it ^{haf}	r	10th
1 ⁶⁰³	apc	11th	it ⁱ	e	5th
1 ⁶⁸⁰	eapc	13th	it ^j	e	6th
1 ⁸⁰⁹	apc	12th	it ^k	e	4th/5th
1 ⁸⁴⁷	e	10th	it ^l	e	7th/8th
1 ⁹⁵⁰	e	13th	it ^l	eapcr	7th
1 ¹⁰²¹	eapc	12th	it ^m	eapcr	4th-9th
1 ¹¹²⁷	e	12th	it ^{mon}	p	10th
1 ^{1153a}	apc	14th	it ⁿ	e	5th
			it ^o	e	7th
••273••			it ^p	e	8th
1 ¹²³¹	e	10th	it ^p	eapcr	13th
1 ¹²⁹⁸	apc	11th	it ^{ph}	a	12th
1 ¹³⁵⁶	apc	10th	it	e	7th
1 ¹³⁶⁴	apc	12th	it ^q	e	7th
1 ¹³⁶⁵	apc	12th	it ^q	c	7th
1 ¹⁴³⁹	apc	12th	it ^r	a	7th/8th
1 ¹⁴⁴¹	apc	13th	it ^{r1}	e	7th
1 ¹⁴⁴³	apc	11th	it ^{r2}	e	8th/9th
1 ¹⁵⁷⁹	e	14th	it ^{r3}	p	7th
1 ¹⁵⁹⁰	apc	13th	it ^o	e	7th/8th
1 ¹⁵⁹⁹	c	9th	it ^s	e	5th
1 ¹⁶¹⁰	e	15th	it ^s	ac	6th
1 ¹⁶²⁷	e	11th	it ^t	eapcr	11th
1 ¹⁶³⁴	e	12th	it ^t	e	6th
1 ¹⁶⁴²	e	13th	it ^v	p	8th/9th
			it ^w	p	11th

Versions Old Latin			Gothic		
Abb.	Content	Date	Abb.	Content	Date
it ^x	pd	9th	goth	eap	4th
it ^z	pcr	8th			
Vulgate			Armenian		
Abb.	Content	Date	Abb.	Content	Date
vg	eapcr	4th/5th	arm	eapcr	5th
vg ^d	eapcr	16th			
vg ^{ww}	eapcr	19th-20th	Ethiopic		
Syriac			Abb.	Content	Date
Abb.	Content	Date	eth	eapcr	6th
syr ^s	e	4th	eth ^{ro}	eapcr	16th
syr ^c	e	4th	eth ^{pp}	eapcr	19th
syr ^p	eapc ^{Pt}	5th	eth ^{ms}	e	13th
syr ^{pal}	eapc	5th	Versions Georgian		
syr ^{ph}	c ^{Pt} _r	6th	Abb.	Content	Date
syr ^h	eapcr	7th	geo	ea	5th
			geo ¹	e	9th
			geo ²	e	10th
			geo ^A	e	10th
			geo ^B	e	10th
Coptic			Nubian		
Abb.	Content	Date	Abb.	Content	Date
cop ^{sa}	eapcr	3rd	Nub	ep	8th?
cop ^{bo}	eapcr	4th			
cop ^{fay}	eapcr	4th			
cop ^{ach}	e	4th			
••274••					
cop ^{ach2}	e	4th			

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 available ³
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
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

Table 10. Manuscript evidence supporting the UBS Greek text.

••275•• One may correctly draw the conclusion that Table 10 documents the supporting evidence for

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

⁴ From UBS sources.

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 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*.

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

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 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.

(••278••)

ebrew language text—Column 1	ransliteration Column 2	quila Column 3	Symmachus Column 4	eptuagint Column 5	heodotion Column 6
יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$	יהוה
כי	χι	ὅτι	ο	ὅτι	ὅτι
שמע	σμας	ἠκουσε	ἑπακούσας	είσήκουσε	είσήκουσε
קול	κωλ	φωνῆς	τῆς φωνῆς	τῆς φωνῆς	τῆς φωνῆς
תְּהַבִּינִי:	θανουναϊ	δεήσεώς μου.	τῆς ἰκεσίας μου.	τῆς δεήσεώς μου.	τῆς δεήσεώς μου.
יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$	יהוה
עזי	ὄζει	καπάτος μου	ἰσχύς μου	βοηθός μου	βοηθός μου
וקמי	οὐμαγεννη	(καὶ) θυρεός μου·	καὶ ὑπερασπιστής μου·	καὶ <ὕ>περασπιστής μου·	(καὶ) ὑπερασπιστής μου·
בו	βω·	ἐν αὐτῶι	αὐτῶι	ἐν αὐτῶι	ἐν αὐτῶι
בטת	βατε	ἐπεποιθήσεν	ἐπεποιθήσεν	ἤλπισεν	ἤλπισεν

Figure 11. The column arrangement of Origen's *Hexapla* from Psalm 25:6 and 7.

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

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.

of the early patristics. Fortunately, a copy of the corrected *Septuagint* column which was made by Eusebius and Pamphilus has survived.³

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*.

(••280••)

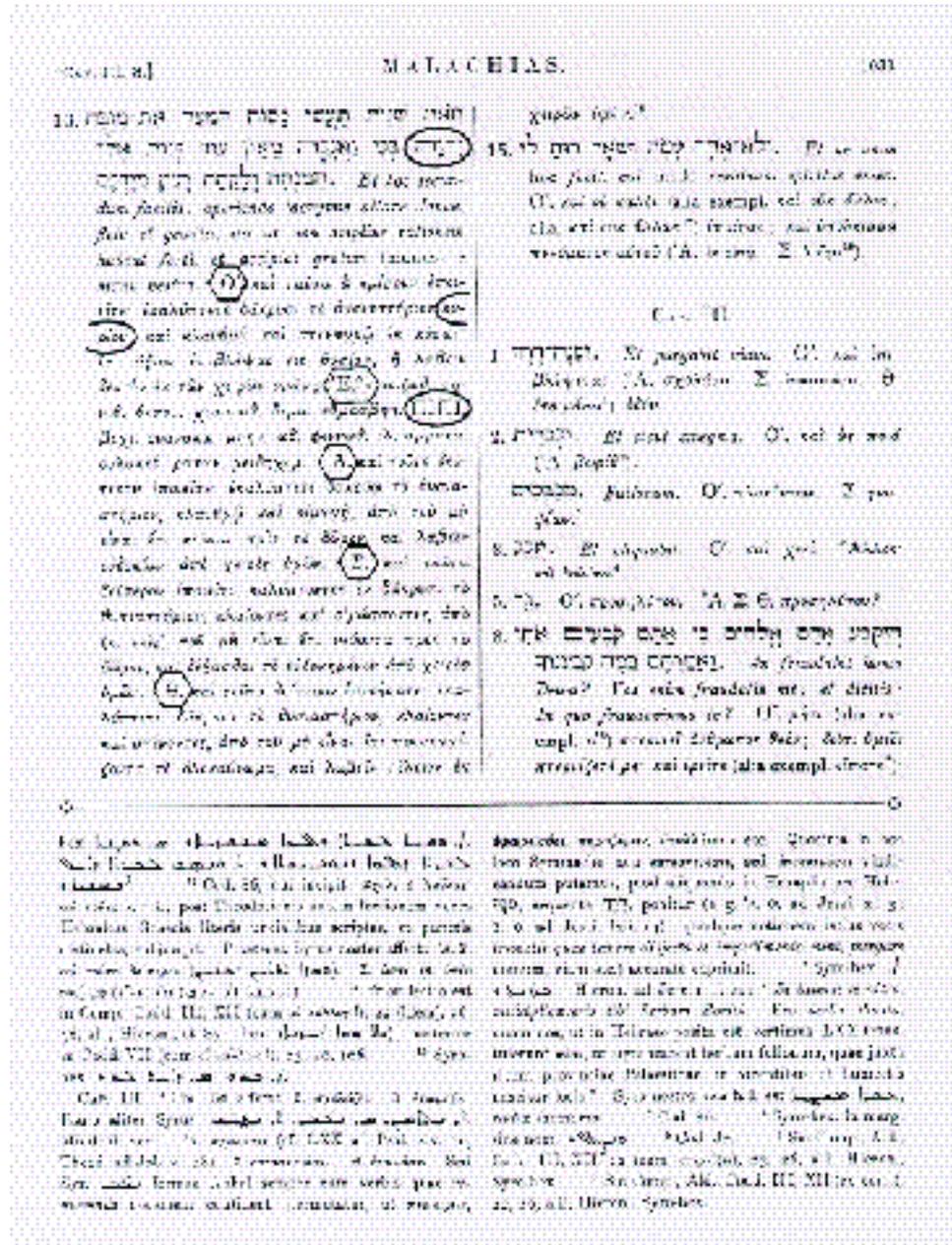


Figure 12. The complete entry for Malachi 2:13 reproduced from a reconstruction of Origen's *Hexapla*. Origen's entries יהוה, κύριος, and ΠΙΠΙ are circled. His headings are octagonally boxed.

The most complete reconstruction of the *Hexapla* available today is contained in a volume entitled

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*.

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 8½ 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 in Origen's original word-for-word arrangement, and, most notably, it used the Tetragrammaton in all six columns. (See

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 Geneva*, 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.

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 יָהוָה. 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 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 κύριος (in ver. 8 on the next page κ̅ς̅ is followed by π̅π̅...).

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

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*.

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.

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 other-wise Greek language text.*

Reference	Hebrew language text—Column 1	Transliteration Column 2	Aquila Column 3	Symmachus Column 4	Septuagint Column 5	Theodotion Column 6
Psalm 17						
6	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה KS	יהוה
7a	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה KS	יהוה
7b	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה KS	יהוה
8	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה KS πικτι	יהוה
29	יהוה	∅	∅	∅	∅	∅
31	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	∅
32	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה טוּ	יהוה טוּ	יהוה טוּ	∅
42	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה <ה> KV	יהוה KV
47	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה
Psalm 28						
1	ליהוה	יהוה	יהוה τω	יהוה τω	יהוה τω υἱοῦ θυ ἐνεγάτε τω KV	יהוה τω
1	ליהוה	יהוה	יהוה τω	יהוה τω KV	יהוה τω	יהוה τω
2	ליהוה	יהוה	יהוה τω	יהוה τω	יהוה τω < >	יהוה τω
2	ליהוה	יהוה	יהוה τω	יהוה τω	יהוה τω	יהוה τω
3	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה KV	יהוה
3	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה KS	יהוה
••285••						
Psalm 29						
2	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה
3	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה KE	יהוה
5	ליהוה	יהוה λ	יהוה τω	יהוה τω	יהוה τω KV	יהוה τω
8	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה KE	יהוה
9	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה
11	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה KS	יהוה
11	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה
13	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה KE	יהוה	יהוה KE	יהוה
Psalm 30						
2	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה KE	יהוה
6	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה **	יהוה KE
7	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה
10	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה KE	יהוה
22	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה KS	יהוה

24	אֱת־יְהוָה	εθ יהוה	τὸν יהוה	τὸν יהוה	τὸν יהוה **	τὸν יהוה
24	יְהוָה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$	יְהוָה
25	לְיְהוָה	יהוה	τὸν יהוה.	ἐπὶ יהוה.	ἐπὶ יהוה.	ἐπὶ יהוה.
Psalm 31						
11	בְיְהוָה	יהוה	ἐν יהוה	ἐν יהוה	ἐπὶ יהוה	ἐπὶ יהוה
Psalm 34						
1	יְהוָה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יְהוָה $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$	יְהוָה
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
Psalm 45						
8	צְבָאוֹת	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה τ(ὠν)	יהוה τ(ὠν)	יְהוָה τ(ὠν)
	יְהוָה	σαβαωθ	στρατιῶν	δυνάμει(ων)	δυνάμει(ων)	δυνάμει(ων)
12	צְבָאוֹת	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה τ(ὠν)	יהוה τ(ὠν)	יְהוָה τ(ὠν)
	יְהוָה	σαβαῶθ	στρατειῶν	δυνάμει(ων)	δυνάμει(ων)	δυνάμει(ων)
Psalm 88						
50	אֲדֹנָי	ἀρισωνιμ.	οἱ πρῶτοι	τὰ πρῶτα	τα ἀρχ<αῖα> ∅	
	הַרְאֲשִׁימִים	יהוה	יהוה	δέσποτα	ה<ו>ה<י>	
••286••						
52	יְהוָה	οἱβαχ.	οἱ ἐχθροί	οἱ ἐχθροί	οἱ ἐχθροί	οἱ ἐχθροί[S]
	אֲזִיבִידָךְ	יהוה	σου יהוה	σου יהוה	σου יהוה	σου יהוה
53	יְהוָה	βαρουχ	εὐλογητός	εὐλογητός	εὐλογητός	εὐλογητός
	בְּרוּךְ	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה

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.
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),

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.

- 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 τῶ], and τὸν), prepositions (ἐπι 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 $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$. 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 the *Septuagint* as using either יהוה or one of the Greek forms $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ or $\overline{\pi\tau\pi\iota}$.
 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 υἱοὶ θεῦ ἐνέγκατε which uses the surrogate θεῦ (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/ $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ / $\overline{\pi\tau\pi\iota}$ at Psalm 17:8, or τῶν יהוה/υἱοὶ θεῦ 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 $\overline{\pi\tau\pi\iota}$. Though less frequently, we encounter the same pattern for *Aquila's* translation at Psalm 29:13 or *Theodotion's* translation at Psalms 17:42 and 30:6.

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 $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ / $\overline{\iota\omega}$ 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 Church Fathers), 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

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.

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

¹⁵Διὸ λέγεται ταῦτα αὐτοὺς πεποικέναι «κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.» Οὐκ ἀγνοητέον δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἐκφωνουμένου παρὰ μὲν Ἑλληνιστῶν «Κύριος» προσηγορία, παρὰ δὲ Ἑβραίοις τῆ «Ἄδωναί.» Δέκα γὰρ ὀνόμασι παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὀνομάζεται ὁ Θεὸς, ὧν ἕστιν ἓν τὸ «Ἄδωναί,» καὶ ἐρμηνεύεται «Κύριος.»

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' Ἑλληνιστῶν «Κύριος,» τῆς λέξεως τῆς γεγραμμένης ἐν τῇ Γραφῇ ••290•• τοῦτο ἀπαγγελλούσης. Ἔστι δὲ ὅτε τὸ Ἰαὴ κείται, ἐκφωνεῖται δὲ τῆ «Κύριος» προσηγορία παρ' Ἑλληνιστῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ παρ' Ἑβραίοις, ὡς ἐν τῷ «Ἄινεῖτε τὸν Κύριον, ὅτι ἀγαθὸς ψαλμὸς.» Κύριον γὰρ ἐνθάδε ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰαὴ εἶρηκεν. Καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ παρ' Ἑβραίοις «Ἄλληλούϊα.»

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.

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

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; Γραφῆ = [Hebrew] Scripture(s); Ἄινεῖτε = praise; ψαλμὸς (ψαλμοῦ) = psalm; Ἄλληλούϊα = hallelujah.

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 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 «Ἄδωνάϊ» προσηγορία, οὐχὶ τούτου γεγραμμένου ἐν τῷ τετραγραμμάτῳ· παρὰ δὲ Ἑλλήσι τῇ «Κύριος» ἐκφωνεῖται. •• Καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀκριβεστέροις δὲ τῶν ἀντιγράφων Ἑβραίοις χαρακτηῖσσι κείται τὸ ὄνομα, Ἑβραίοις 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*—Κυρίου] knows the way of the righteous..."²¹ and in the present text: "Against the Lord [*Kyrios*—Κυρίου] and against his Anointed²² [Christ]..."²³

••291•• ²⁴Φασὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἔσδραν ἐν τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ ἐτέρους αὐτοῖς χαρακτηῖρας 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 παρατηρήτέον, ὅτι οἱ μὲν Ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὁ 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

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; χαρακτηῖσσι (χαρακτηῖρας) = characters; τὸ ὄνομα = the name (ἰηϞ); νῦν = present [in time]; ἀρχαιοτάτοις = ancient.

²⁰ Psalm 1:2

²¹ Psalm 1:6

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

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*."

••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 אֱלֹהִים rather than יהוה. (This is corroborated by seven Hebrew Scripture scrolls and two apocryphal scrolls from the Dead Sea which used אֱלֹהִים rather than יהוה.²⁷)

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

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

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 אֱלֹהִים embedded in Aquila's Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures.

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 ΚΣ 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 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 *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 church grew, *Septuagint* copies which contained the Tetragrammaton became less available. In successive generations, the Gentile Christian church 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?

²⁹ Chapter 13 fully develops this possibility.

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.

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	$\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$	$\overline{\kappa\nu}$
Jesus	Ἰησοῦς	$\overline{\iota\varsigma}$	$\overline{\iota\upsilon}$
Christ	χριστός	$\overline{\chi\varsigma}$	$\overline{\chi\upsilon}$
Son ³	υἱός	$\overline{\upsilon\varsigma}$	$\overline{\upsilon\upsilon}$
Spirit	πνεῦμα	$\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$	$\overline{\pi\nu\varsigma}$
David	Δαυίδ	$\overline{\delta\alpha\delta}$	

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.

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 $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$, $\overline{\kappa\omega}$, $\overline{\kappa\nu}$, or $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ in ancient Greek manuscripts.

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*.

English meaning	Greek word	Nominative (subject)	Genitive (possessive)
cross	σταυρός	<u>στς</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 *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 כס 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 כס 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

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.

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 ($\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$, $\overline{\kappa\nu}$, $\overline{\kappa\omega}$, $\overline{\kappa\nu}$, 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.

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):

...in [this manuscript] (±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.

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 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 $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\varsigma}$ (for $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$) is a derivative of יהוה, then it could be forcefully argued—with a large number of examples of $\bar{\kappa}\bar{\varsigma}$ 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.

Because these manuscripts were small (the largest is only $1 \frac{5}{8} \times 1 \frac{1}{2}$ 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*

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

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 interested reader would find *Eyewitness to Jesus* worthwhile reading. (See the Bibliography for complete information.)

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 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>ew 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
I Cor. 10:26	Jehovah	Jehovah	*Lord
Hebrews 1:10	Jehovah Ô	Lord ⁴	Lord
Jude (1):9	Jehovah	Jehovah	*Lord
Jude (1):14	Jehovah	Jehovah	*Lord

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

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.

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 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 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]



••308••

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.

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. [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 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 *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 Christian congregation—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

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

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.

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 *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 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.

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

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 Κύριος 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 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 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. Laird 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 $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ [Lord]) were not mere scribal short-hand 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*.

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.

Lectionary: 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 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 *scriptoriums*, 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 ΚΣ (from κύριος for *Lord*) and ΘΣ 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 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*.)

Variation: 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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