

THE DIVINE CHRIST

PAUL, THE LORD JESUS,
AND THE SCRIPTURES OF ISRAEL

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To Larry Hurtado,
friend & mentor

Contents

Abbreviations ix

Preface xiii

1. “Lord” and “LORD” in the Bible 1
2. *Kyrios*/Lord as a Christological Title 21
3. Jesus as *Kyrios* in Paul’s Letters 47
4. YHWH Texts with God as Referent 85
5. YHWH Texts with Christ as Referent 111
6. Pauline Exegesis and a High Christology 151

Conclusion 185

Selected Bibliography 189

Scripture and Ancient Writings Index 194

Author Index 201

Subject Index 203

Abbreviations

General and Bibliographic

AT	author's translation
BCE	before the Common Era
BIOSCS	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
CE	Common Era
chap(s).	chapter(s)
ESV	English Standard Version
frag.	fragment
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KJV	King James Version
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NETS	<i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i> . Edited by Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.
NIV	New International Version
NKJV	New King James Version
NLT	New Living Translation
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NT	New Testament
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>

OT	Old Testament
par(r).	parallel(s)
PG	Patrologia Graeca [= <i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus</i> . Series Graeca]. Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. 161 vols. Paris: Migne, 1857–86.
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated and edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–76.
Voice	The Voice Bible
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
Whiston	<i>The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged</i> . Translated by William Whiston. New updated ed. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1987.
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

Old Testament/Hebrew Bible

Gen.	Genesis	Neh.	Nehemiah
Exod.	Exodus	Esther	Esther
Lev.	Leviticus	Job	Job
Num.	Numbers	P(s).	Psalm(s)
Deut.	Deuteronomy	Prov.	Proverbs
Josh.	Joshua	Eccles.	Ecclesiastes
Judg.	Judges	Song	Song of Songs
Ruth	Ruth	Isa.	Isaiah
1 Sam./ 1 Kgdms.	1 Samuel/1 Kingdoms LXX	Jer.	Jeremiah
2 Sam./ 2 Kgdms.	2 Samuel/2 Kingdoms LXX	Lam.	Lamentations
1 Kings/ 3 Kgdms.	1 Kings/3 Kingdoms LXX	Ezek.	Ezekiel
2 Kings/ 4 Kgdms.	2 Kings/4 Kingdoms LXX	Dan.	Daniel
1 Chron.	1 Chronicles	Hosea	Hosea
2 Chron.	2 Chronicles	Joel	Joel
Ezra	Ezra	Amos	Amos
		Obad.	Obadiah
		Jon.	Jonah
		Mic.	Micah
		Nah.	Nahum

Hab.	Habakkuk	Zech.	Zechariah
Zeph.	Zephaniah	Mal.	Malachi
Hag.	Haggai		

New Testament

Matt.	Matthew	1 Tim.	1 Timothy
Mark	Mark	2 Tim.	2 Timothy
Luke	Luke	Titus	Titus
John	John	Philem.	Philemon
Acts	Acts	Heb.	Hebrews
Rom.	Romans	James	James
1 Cor.	1 Corinthians	1 Pet.	1 Peter
2 Cor.	2 Corinthians	2 Pet.	2 Peter
Gal.	Galatians	1 John	1 John
Eph.	Ephesians	2 John	2 John
Phil.	Philippians	3 John	3 John
Col.	Colossians	Jude	Jude
1 Thess.	1 Thessalonians	Rev.	Revelation
2 Thess.	2 Thessalonians		

Old Testament Apocrypha

2 Esd.	2 Esdras	Sir.	Sirach
4 Macc.	4 Maccabees	Wis.	Wisdom of Solomon

Rabbinic Sources

Avod. Zar.	Avodah Zarah	Meg.	Megillah
b.	Babylonian Talmud	Sanh.	Sanhedrin
Ber.	Berakhot	Sotah	Sotah
Hul.	Hullin	y.	Jerusalem Talmud
m.	Mishnah	Yoma	Yoma

Other Jewish and Christian Sources

Apoc. Ab.	Apocalypse of Abraham	Did.	Didache
2 Bar.	2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)	1 En.	1 Enoch
		Pss. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon

T. Ash.	Testament of Asher	T. Naph.	Testament of Naphtali
T. Jud.	Testament of Judah	T. Sim.	Testament of Simeon
T. Levi	Testament of Levi		

Josephus, Philo, and Classical Writers

<i>Ant.</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish Antiquities</i>
<i>Diatr.</i>	Epictetus, <i>Diatribai (Dissertationes)</i>
<i>Is. Os.</i>	Plutarch, <i>De Iside et Osiride</i>
<i>J.W.</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish War</i>
<i>Moses</i>	Philo, <i>On the Life of Moses</i>
<i>Pol.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Politica (Politics)</i>

Papyri and Inscriptions

BGU	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden.</i> 15 vols. Berlin, 1895–1983.
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.</i> Edited by August Boeckh. 4 vols. Berlin, 1828–77.
P.Fouad	<i>Les Papyrus Fouad I.</i> Edited by A. Bataille, O. Guéraud, P. Jouguet, N. Lewis, H. Marrou, J. Scherer, and W. G. Waddell. Cairo, 1939.
P.Giss.	<i>Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen.</i> Edited by O. Eger, E. Kornemann, and P. M. Meyer. Leipzig and Berlin, 1910–12.
P.Oxy.	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri.</i> Edited by B. P. Grenfell et al. 73 vols. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1898–2009.

Preface

In 2014 Professor Craig Evans, then Payzant Distinguished Professor of New Testament at Acadia Divinity College, invited me to give the Hayward Lectures at Acadia Divinity College in Wolfville, Nova Scotia. At the time I did not know it, but that lecture would be the fiftieth anniversary of a series that has showcased the insights of leading scholars from around the world in various fields. I was grateful and humbled to be invited. It was my first visit to the maritime region of Canada, and I greatly enjoyed the people, their hospitality, and the vistas.

In those lectures Dr. Evans asked me to revisit some of my earlier work in Pauline Christology and to respond to developments in the field over the last three decades. I was happy to do so, for after a long hiatus I was anxious to engage the conversation once again. For those who know the discipline, the last three decades have witnessed a vigorous debate between scholars offering appreciably different opinions on how the earliest followers of Jesus spoke of his significance and related to him. My Hayward Lectures that year sought to advance the conversation even further. I chose as my topic “Paul’s *Kyrios* Christology.” This book is an outgrowth of those lectures.

In *Paul and the Faithfulness of God*, N. T. Wright remarks that it has become “commonplace” for scholars to point out that Paul regularly refers to Jesus using scriptural quotations where the Greek

word *kyrios* stands for the tetragrammaton.¹ Exactly how and when this became commonplace he does not say. I think I can claim some of the credit (or blame) for these insights due to my first book, *Old Testament Yahweh Texts in Paul's Christology*.² In that book I lay out a case for Paul's use of what I call "Yahweh texts" and attempt to tease out the implications for some of his Christology. But, of course, there is nothing entirely new under the sun. In a graduate seminar on Paul, my doctoral advisor, Earle Ellis, pointed out this feature in Paul's Letters, namely, Paul's propensity to quote Yahweh texts and apply them to Jesus. This struck me at the time—and continues to strike me—as a remarkable exegetical move made by a self-consciously Jewish follower of Jesus. Given the kind of reverence accorded the divine name and given the apostle's high regard for Scripture, I was astonished so few scholars had taken the time to investigate the practice and consider its implications. Since then, a majority of scholars have paid more attention to Paul's christological exegesis, agreeing with my analysis in the main but disagreeing in some of the particulars. This book engages those essential questions and extends my initial proposals in light of recent efforts to come to grips with Paul's Christology.

A "YHWH text"—as I have come to use the term—refers to a quotation of or an allusion to an OT text that refers directly to the divine name. Since Paul writes to his churches in Greek, my focus has been on OT quotations and allusions containing the *kyrios* predicate in which *kyrios* "translates" or renders the divine name. As we will see, Paul quotes a number of these texts with God the Father in mind; but he also consciously quotes and alludes to scriptural texts referring to YHWH, the unspeakable name of God, and applies these to Jesus. The exact relationship of *kyrios* to the divine name is difficult to ascertain, because as we will see *kyrios* translates other Hebrew words referring to people in authority and to God. *Kyrios* does not seem to be as much a translation of the divine name as it is a pious substitute or replacement for it, written and publicly read out of respect for God's unique, covenant name.

1. N. T. Wright, *Paul and the Faithfulness of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 701.

2. David B. Capes, *Old Testament Yahweh Texts in Paul's Christology*, WUNT 2/47 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992).

In the current book I have chosen to use “YHWH text” rather than “Yahweh text”—my earlier spelling—for four reasons. First, YHWH has become a standard way of referencing the divine name in scholarly discourse. Second, the use of four block capitalized letters visually approximates the tetragrammaton (literally, “four letters”). Third, we cannot say for certain which “vowel” sounds would have been associated with the tetragrammaton, and therefore we cannot know how the faithful might have pronounced it (on the odd occasion when they did). Finally, I want to demonstrate clearly the respect I have for Jews and Christians who regard the divine name as sacred. The casual use of “Yahweh” for God’s name is rightly offensive to many believers. Out of respect for them, throughout the book I will use “YHWH text” instead of “Yahweh text.”

We will begin the investigation (chap. 1) by considering how English Bible versions have used the words “lord,” “Lord,” and “LORD” as translations of various Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew words. Clear patterns emerge, which will help us understand the breadth of semantic usage for the key terms. We will also investigate the state of biblical texts at the time of Paul, especially in regard to how the divine name may have been represented in them. In chapter 2 we will trace the rough edge of a debate that began a century ago regarding how early the *kyrios* title was applied to Jesus and what Christ followers meant when they used it.

In chapter 3 we will begin to press into the key questions: How and in which contexts did Paul refer to Jesus as *kyrios* (“Lord”)? Where did this language come from? What did he mean by it? We will see that the apostle does not randomly sprinkle christological titles around his letter. Each title came with a set of associations that Paul wished to take advantage of. This is true particularly of Paul’s christological use of *kyrios*. Yet on occasion the apostle also used *kyrios* in reference to God the Father, particularly in quotations of Scripture dealing with specific contexts. I will refer to these occurrences as “patrological” references. While “patrological” is not a new word,³ I will use it in a new way to parallel “christological.” So when Paul refers to God the Father as *kyrios*, these are patrological uses of the term. When he

3. The conventional use of “patrological” has to do with the church fathers.

refers to Jesus the Messiah as *kyrios*, these are christological uses. I hope this distinction will be useful. We will begin considering Paul's patrological uses of YHWH texts in chapter 4.

Chapter 5 is devoted to Paul's use of YHWH texts with Christ as referent. The only way to determine whether Paul is making a christological or patrological reference is through a close textual and contextual analysis. Scholars may debate whether this or that text should be read with Christ as referent; what they cannot do is ignore that Paul had a habit of referring YHWH texts to Jesus in quotations and allusions. This exegetical move is evidence of a remarkable development in Paul's Christology and should not be ignored.

Chapter 6 will explore some of the implications of Paul's *kyrios* Christology. Paul operates from what scholars have come to call a "high Christology," that is, a fully divine Christology that is consonant with other, later biblical writers, such as the author of the Gospel of John and Hebrews. That he is the earliest writing Christian theologian must be taken into account, as well as his habit of quoting from preformed traditions, hymns, and creeds. Paul does not impose a high Christology on his churches. Rather, he demonstrates it is the common currency of the Jesus movement, which began among Jewish monotheists living in Judah and Galilee. Finally, we consider how this came to be: What forces and factors from the life of Jesus and the early church contributed to such a remarkable assessment of Jesus's significance so soon after his execution on a Roman cross?

Let me express my appreciation to Dr. Craig Evans and the faculty and staff at Acadia Divinity College for the kind invitation to deliver the fiftieth annual Hayward Lectures. I'm sure I benefited more from the visit than they did. I'm grateful too that this book has been accepted in the series Acadia Studies in Bible and Theology at Baker Academic. This is an important series of monographs, and I am honored to be included. Bryan Dyer, acquisitions editor for Baker Academic, has been a thoughtful and attentive guide through this; yet he has given me the time I needed to develop the book.

Not long after I accepted the project, I changed institutions. After teaching in one place for twenty-five years, I moved across the city to become academic dean and professor of New Testament at Houston Graduate School of Theology. President James Furr and the staff at

HGST have provided me time and space in the weekly schedule to devote to this investigation. I am grateful for their encouragement and the generous accommodation. Finally, let me thank the founding members of the Early High Christology Club, those we see and those we don't: Larry Hurtado, Carey Newman, and Alan Segal. I was privileged to be present when the club was founded in 1995 and have watched over the years as more and more scholars have been added to the ranks. In scholarship, as well as in other enterprises, friendships shape our lives in profound ways. My longtime colleague, friend, and sparring partner, Larry Hurtado, has offered endless rounds of encouragement and counsel on this and many other projects. To him I am forever grateful.

David B. Capes
Houston
Lent 2017

1

“Lord” and “LORD” in the Bible

As we begin, it is appropriate to consider the ways in which various Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek words have been translated in the English Bible tradition. This is useful because most of us will continue to read the Bible primarily in translation. There is nothing wrong with that, of course, because we have many excellent translations. But it is helpful to understand what lies just beneath the surface of a translation in the original languages, especially when it comes to matters as significant as divine names and titles. But as with all things biblical, we ought not confine ourselves to part 2 of the Christian Scriptures—that is, the NT—because it is important to see these names, titles, and honorifics diachronically, that is, through time.

We consider first how the English word “lord” in its uncapitalized and capitalized forms appears in Christian Scriptures. Now by Christian Scriptures we mean both OT and NT; but it is particularly the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible or OT that seems to have been formative in the minds of early Christians. Scholars today make a compelling case that if we want to understand early Christians’ engagement with Scripture, we must get up close and personal with the Greek version. This does not mean, of course, that what we find in the Hebrew Bible is inconsequential; as we will show, the Hebrew text sets a trajectory of reverence for the divine name (YHWH) that

is unmistakable. Generation after generation of faithful Jews and Christians reflected this deep devotion in how they copied, read aloud, thought about, and related those texts to what they thought God was doing in their day. What we find, however, is that when referring to Scripture, early Christians quoted or alluded most often to the Greek version (often referred to as the Septuagint). So our inquiry here will focus not only on select Hebrew words but also on the Greek words used to translate them.

In the English Bible tradition the word “lord” is used in two main ways. First, “lord” is employed to designate a person having special dignity, authority, power, or influence. Second, its capitalized forms, “Lord” and “LORD,” are employed in reference to God, Jesus, and on occasion the Holy Spirit. It is not easy to determine how many times these words are used because translations vary. The Greek word *kyrios*, for example, can be translated “master” in one version or “lord” in another. Likewise in the NT “lord” can be used to translate words other than *kyrios*. For example, when blind Bartimaeus addresses Jesus as *Rabbouni* (Mark 10:51), the KJV renders it “Lord,” while other versions translate it “My teacher” (NRSV) or “Teacher” (Voice), or transliterate it “Rabboni” (NASB). Similarly, when Herod holds a great state dinner on his birthday, among his guests are the *megistasin* (Mark 6:21), which both the KJV and NASB translate “lords,” while other versions render it “courtiers” (NRSV) and “nobles” (ESV). The point is that translational differences make it difficult to be exact in these matters. Still, the patterns of usages we explore in this chapter are generally uniform.

Old Testament / Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint

In the OT several Hebrew words are translated into English as “lord” or “LORD.” When Isaac thinks the day of his death is approaching, he arranges to offer his fatherly blessing to his eldest son, Esau. Instead, Isaac is tricked, and he blesses his younger son, Jacob (Gen. 27:29):¹

1. Unless noted otherwise, all scriptural quotations are taken from the New Revised Standard Version.

Be lord [*gəbîr*] over your brothers
and may your mother’s sons bow down to you.

Later, after Esau and Isaac realize what has happened, the patriarch says to Esau, “I have already made him your lord [*gəbîr*], and I have given him all his brothers as servants, and with grain and wine I have sustained him. What then can I do for you, my son?” (Gen. 27:37). The Hebrew word *gəbîr*, translated “lord” in this context, refers to Jacob as head of a family. Isaac’s blessing grants his second born authority over his brothers, extended family, and, as the story plays out, surrounding peoples. Jacob’s brothers, including Esau, from now on are to relate to him as “servants.” English translations differ on this text; some refer to Jacob as “master” (NASB, NLT, Voice), but most versions render the Hebrew *gəbîr* “lord” (ESV, KJV, NKJV, NIV, NRSV). In the Greek version of the OT, the Greek word *kyrios* is used to translate each occurrence of *gəbîr* (“lord”) in this text. Significantly, the same Greek word is employed earlier in the blessing (27:27) referring to God and translating the divine name (YHWH). More about this later.

The Hebrew word *’ādôn* occurs more frequently with reference to persons in authority: (1) the patriarchs as heads of family (Gen. 23:6; 32:4 [32:5 MT]); (2) Joseph as vicegerent over Egypt (Gen. 42:10; 45:9); (3) Moses as head (“lord”) of the people (e.g., Num. 36:2); and (4) foreign kings and generals: e.g., Sisera (Judg. 4:18); Hanun, king of Ammon (2 Sam. 10:3); Ben-hadad, king of Aram (1 Kings 20:9). Frequently Israel’s kings are called *’ādôn* (“lord”): Saul (1 Sam. 26:15); David (1 Sam. 25:25; 29:10; 2 Chron. 2:14); Solomon (1 Kings 3:17; 2 Chron. 13:6). The term *’ādôn* is deemed appropriate for Israel’s rulers regardless of whether the tradition presents them positively or negatively (e.g., 1 Kings 18:11 [Ahab]). The phrase “my lord [*’ādôn*] the king” became commonplace in referring to the line of Davidic kings. Other notable leaders such as Ezra (Ezra 10:3) are addressed as *’ādôn* (“lord”) because they are considered religious authorities. Similarly, prophets and priests of Israel are called *’ādôn* (“lord”) since they speak and act on heaven’s behalf (1 Sam. 1:15 [Eli]; 1 Kings 18:7 [Elijah]; 2 Kings 4:16 [Elisha]). Almost exclusively those who rendered the Hebrew Bible into Greek preferred the word *kyrios* to translate *’ādôn* in reference to human rulers, leaders, or property owners.

It is important to note that modern translations often use words other than “lord” to refer to those in positions of power and influence. For example, they may translate *’ādôn/kyrios* as “master” in contexts dealing with slavery, and “owner” when dealing with property rights and responsibilities. Consider Exod. 21. After giving the Ten Commandments, God commands Moses to set before the Israelites another set of ordinances. The first of these instructions has to do with the treatment of slaves, likely because the Israelites have just been slaves in Egypt. By law Hebrew slaves are to be freed in the seventh year by their owners. If someone enters the master-slave relationship single, he is to be freed single; if someone enters into service married, he is to be freed along with his spouse. But another condition prevails when the master provides the slave with a wife: “If his master [*’ādôn/kyrios*] gives him a wife and she bears him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master’s [*’ādôn/kyrios*] and he shall go out alone” (Exod. 21:4). In this passage the Hebrew word *’ādôn* refers properly to the one who “owns” and has authority over his slaves (see also Exod. 21:5, 6, 8).

Later in the same chapter, the law addresses another kind of situation, this time involving livestock: “When an ox gores a man or a woman to death, the ox shall be stoned, and its flesh shall not be eaten; but the owner [*ba’al/kyrios*] of the ox shall not be liable” (Exod. 21:28). In the Hebrew text the word *ba’al* designates the owner of the ox. This is reflected in most modern translations. However, in early English translations such as the Wycliffe Bible, the English word “lord” is used to refer to the ox’s owner: “If an ox smiteth with his horn either man, or woman, and they be dead, the ox shall be thrown down with stones, and his flesh shall not be eaten, and the lord of the ox shall be guiltless” (Exod. 21:28 Wycliffe Bible). Historians agree that Wycliffe’s work (ca. 1382) greatly influenced what later became the KJV (1611).

The Hebrew word *’ādôn* is employed even more frequently to refer to God (e.g., Gen. 18:27; Exod. 4:10; Deut. 9:26) and heavenly messengers. When used in reference to God, *’ādôn* is translated with an initial capital: “Lord.” Though rare in the Pentateuch, the title became more common in literature associated with the Second Temple period. It may be used by itself or in combination with other

phrases and titles (see below). Angels, because they are messengers of God, carry heavenly authority and so may properly be addressed as *ʿādōn* (“lord”; lowercase in English translation). When the prophet Zechariah, for example, is directed through a series of visions, he addresses his angelic guide as “my lord” (Zech. 1:9; 4:4).

Perhaps the most significant use of “Lord” in the OT is in its representation of the divine name (Heb. YHWH). While there are many titles given to the one God of Israel in the Hebrew Bible, there is only one name by which God is to be known: the name revealed to Moses in the wilderness (Exod. 3:13–15; 6:2–3; 20:2). The name (referred to as the tetragrammaton, “four letters”) occurs about 6,800 times in the OT (e.g., Gen. 2:4; Exod. 17:15; Judg. 6:22; 1 Sam. 25:26; Pss. 8:1; 23:1; Isa. 40:3). Its sacredness is reflected in the prohibition of its use in any empty or idle way (Exod. 20:7). The Shema (Deut. 6:4) emphasizes the oneness of YHWH, Israel’s God, as well as the unique covenantal relationship he has with his people (see also Isa. 45:5, 6, 11).

The majority of modern English translations render the tetragrammaton “LORD.” The use of small capitals distinguishes this use from “Lord”—a word used to translate other Hebrew words for God or persons in authority—and signals to the reader that God’s unique covenant name underlies the translation. Exactly how early the practice begins is hard to say. The *Oxford English Dictionary* reports the use of “LORD” for the divine name as early as the eleventh century CE.

The most influential English translation (KJV, 1611/1769) renders the majority of occurrences of the divine name as LORD. Nevertheless, in seven places it represents the name “JEHOVAH,” a combination of the consonants of YHWH (Latinized to JHVH) with the vowels of *ʿadōnāy* (Exod. 6:3; Ps. 83:18; Isa. 12:2; 26:4). The first and perhaps most instructive use of “JEHOVAH” for the divine name appears in a crucial passage, when God promises Moses he will deliver his people (Exod. 6:3 KJV): “And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by *the name of God Almighty*, but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them.”

It is important to note that the name JEHOVAH is set in all capitals in the King James Version. This passage relates the initial meeting of Moses and YHWH at the burning bush, when God commissions

Moses and reveals to the prophet his covenant name (Exod. 3:13–15). Three of these usages refer to place names important in the story (e.g., Jehovah-jireh; Gen. 22:14 KJV): “And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh: as it is said to this day, In the mount of the LORD it shall be seen.”

Most modern translations render the final Hebrew verb *yr’h* “it will/shall be provided” (e.g., NRSV, ESV, NLT). No doubt this translation results from God providing a ram after the near sacrifice of Isaac. But the Hebrew comes from a root that means “to see” (*r’h*), and the Septuagint rendering appears to reflect that: “And Abram called the name of that place ‘The-Lord-saw’ [*kyrios eiden*] so that even today people say ‘on the mountain the Lord appeared [*kyrios ophthē*].”² If the Greek translation of the Hebrew reflects the original meaning, then the focus of the passage is not God’s provision atop the mountain but a theophany of God near the summit. Regardless of how this is rendered, it is the case that for centuries Jehovah became effectively “God’s name” in English.

Recent translations have expanded the ways in which the divine name is rendered. The Jerusalem Bible (1966), for example, transliterates the tetragrammaton as “Yahweh.” Other translations employ “Yahweh” in select places (e.g., Exod. 6:3) but generally render the divine name “LORD” (NLT 1996/2004; Holman Christian Standard Bible 1999/2002). A few translations represent the divine name “Jehovah” throughout (Young’s Literal Translation, 1898; American Standard Bible, 1901; New World Translation, 1961). The Complete Jewish Bible (1998) substitutes “Adonai” (Heb. “Lord”) for the tetragrammaton. James Moffatt’s translation (1935) and The Voice Bible (2012) translate the meaning behind the divine name as “the Eternal.” Still, the majority of modern translations continue the practice of rendering the divine name “LORD” (ESV 2011; NRSV 1989; NASB 1995).

While most occurrences of the divine name are translated “LORD,” the name is translated “GOD” when used in combination with *’adōnāy* (“GOD” is in small capitals). So the Hebrew address *’adōnāy yhw’h* is generally rendered “Lord GOD” (e.g., Deut. 9:26; 1 Kings 2:26; Ps. 69:6; Isa. 61:1). Although the expression occurs throughout the OT,

2. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations of the Septuagint are my own.

it is most frequent in various prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Amos.

There are a number of phrases utilizing the word “LORD” in the Hebrew Bible. “The angel of the LORD,” for example, refers to an angel in whom the name of God dwells (Exod. 23:20–21). In some cases, it is difficult to distinguish between the angel of the LORD and the LORD himself (Gen. 16:7–14; 22:11–18). “The day of the LORD” is a common reference to a coming day of judgment (first mentioned in Amos 5:18–20). Israel’s preexilic prophets regard it as a day to be feared because God’s people are not likely to escape heaven’s wrath (Isa. 2:12–22; Ezek. 7:7–12). After the exile, however, the poets and sages of Israel associate “the day” with a promise of covenant blessing and security while threatening judgment against her enemies (Zech. 12–14; Joel 3; Mal. 3:2). The title “LORD of hosts” occurs about 240 times in the Hebrew Scriptures to underscore God’s sovereignty over celestial or angelic powers (e.g., 1 Sam. 1:3; Ps. 24:10; most frequently in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi). In the Psalter the community of the faithful is commanded to “Praise the LORD” (e.g., Pss. 111:1; 147:1; 150:6). This directive is so common and distinctive that the Hebrew expression *halalû yâ*, “praise Yah” (a shortened form of YHWH), became typical in liturgical usage and continues in use today in Christian circles.

A good example of the range of meanings for the word “lord” and “LORD” in English translations is exhibited in Hannah’s story. Hannah is the barren wife of Elkanah, a man from the hill country of Ephraim. Annually the family travels to the shrine in Shiloh to worship the LORD. On one occasion Hannah presents herself to God and pleads to God to give her a male child. Eli, seated near the entrance of the shrine, observes her unusual manner of praying and accuses her of drunkenness. But Hannah replies: “No, my lord [*’ādôn/kyrios*], I am a woman deeply troubled; I have drunk neither wine nor strong drink, but I have been pouring out my soul before the LORD [*YHWH/kyrios*]” (1 Sam. 1:15). In the English translation Hannah addresses Eli as “my lord” (*’ādôn/kyrios*) presumably because he is head of the shrine at Shiloh (or perhaps because he is the head of his clan). She tells him she has been pouring out her broken heart before the LORD (*YHWH/kyrios*). Eli feels badly for her and offers her his

blessing. It is not insignificant that both Hebrew words—*’ādôn* and YHWH—are rendered in Greek by the word *kyrios*.

After her child is born and weaned, Hannah returns to Shiloh to show Eli her son, Samuel, the fruit of his blessing (1 Sam. 1:26–28). She says: “Oh, my lord [*’ādôn/kyrios*]! As you live, my lord [*’ādôn/kyrios*], I am the woman who was standing here in your presence, praying to the LORD [*YHWH/kyrios*]. For this child I prayed; and the LORD [*YHWH/kyrios*] has granted me the petition that I made to him. Therefore I have lent him to the LORD [*YHWH/kyrios*]; as long as he lives, he is given to the LORD [*YHWH/kyrios*].”

In the Greek version the story quite naturally swings back and forth from the use of *kyrios* (*’ādôn*) to refer to Eli as a human authority to the use of *kyrios* (YHWH) to refer to the one God of Israel. This semantic swing appears to have created no difficulties translating the sacred text, because as we will see, *kyrios* is capable of referring to both human and divine authorities.

The very same dynamic is in play in what many consider a messianic context. Psalm 110 (Ps. 109 LXX) demonstrates this dramatically and just happens to be the OT text most quoted or alluded to by various NT writers (e.g., Matt. 22:44; Mark 12:36; Luke 20:42; Acts 2:34; Rom. 8:34; 1 Cor. 15:25; Heb. 1:3):

The LORD [*YHWH/kyrios*] says to my lord [*’ādôn/kyrios*],
 “Sit at my right hand
 until I make your enemies your footstool.”

The psalm speaks of the enthronement of the Messiah to the right hand of the LORD God. God promises to establish his rule over friend and foe alike. In the text the first *kyrios* translates the divine name; the second translates *’ādôn* and refers properly to the Messiah-King. Since *kyrios* translates both words in such close proximity, it is obvious the *kyrios* title had a semantic field broad enough to include both persons in authority and the name of the one God of Israel. As we will show, this becomes constitutive of how NT writers such as Paul appropriate various biblical texts to signal the significance of Jesus.

Before we leave the OT we need to consider briefly those portions written not in Hebrew but in Aramaic. For example, in Dan. 2:47 (see

also 5:23) the English word “Lord” is used to translate the Aramaic *mārē*: “The king said to Daniel, ‘Truly, your God is God of gods and Lord [*mārē*’/*kyrios*] of kings and a revealer of mysteries, for you have been able to reveal this mystery!” The same Aramaic word is also employed to refer to King Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 4:19, 24 [4:16, 21 MT]). Like *’ādôn*, *mārē*’ is used for both human and divine referents. The only appearance of the Aramaic word *mārē*’ (“lord” or “Lord”) in the NT occurs transliterated in 1 Cor. 16:22: “Let anyone be accursed who has no love for the Lord. Our Lord, come [*Marana tha*]!” We will have more to say regarding this expression later.

New Testament

In the NT, the situation is a bit more straightforward because we are dealing with only one language, Greek. The English word “lord” or “Lord” translates primarily two Greek words. The Greek word *despotēs* is rendered in some versions “lord”—in others, “master”—when referring to slave owners (e.g., 1 Tim. 6:1–2; 1 Pet. 2:18). It is also used in prayerful address to God (e.g., Luke 2:29; Acts 4:24) and to Jesus as Sovereign (Jude 4).

The most significant Greek word translated “lord” or “Lord” in the NT is *kyrios*. Like the Hebrew word *’ādôn*, the Greek word *kyrios* is employed with regard to divine and human referents. In Greco-Roman antiquity the word was used in various ways: (1) in the vocative form as polite address (Epictetus, *Diatr.* 4.1.57; P.Giss. 61.17; 85.16); (2) in regard to masters or owners of property including slaves, houses, businesses, or land (Aristotle, *Pol.* 2.9; Epictetus, *Diatr.* 4.1.59, 116, 145); (3) in expressing the divinity of rulers (P.Oxy. 1.37.5; 2.246.30, 33, 36); (4) in reference to the gods and goddesses of various religions (e.g., P.Oxy. 1.110 [Sarapis]; CIG 5070 [Hermes]; Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 40 [Isis]). The same patterns of usage are reflected in the NT (e.g., Matt. 27:63; Mark 12:9; Gal. 4:1; 1 Pet. 3:6; 1 Cor. 8:6–8; Eph. 4:6) with one exception: pious Jews and Christians apparently refuse to call the emperor *kyrios*.

Josephus reports that this is because of the word’s close association with the name of God (*J.W.* 7.10.1 §§418–19). After Masada fell,

the Romans thought they had vanquished the Jews. Yet disturbances continued in places as far away as Egypt because the faithful continued “to look upon God as their only Lord and Master” (*J.W.* 7.10.1 §410; Whiston, 770). When they were captured, the rebels endured torture and could not be coerced into confessing that Caesar was lord (*kyrios*). Indeed, they seemed insensitive to pain. What amazed those who watched all of this unfold, however, was the courage of the children. For, Josephus reports, not a single child was so overcome by the torments that he/she named Caesar as lord.

As we have seen above, in Greek versions such as the LXX, *kyrios* designates people who possessed authority: heads of families, husbands of wives, owners of livestock, masters of slaves, and kings (e.g., Gen. 27:29, 37; Exod. 21:4, 28; 1 Sam. 1:15; 2 Sam. 16:4; Isa. 1:3). *Kyrios* also translates several Hebrew words for God, including *ʿadōnāy* (e.g., Josh. 3:11; Ps. 97:5 [96:5 LXX]; Mic. 4:13; Zech. 4:14) and *ʿelōhīm* (e.g., Gen. 21:2; Exod. 3:4; Judg. 6:20; Isa. 61:10; Dan. 1:2, 9).

For our purposes here, however, we want to consider the overwhelming number of times *kyrios* is used to translate the tetragrammaton (more than six thousand times). Exactly how early this translational practice emerged is difficult to say because the manuscript tradition is not uniform. Still, there are good reasons to conclude that Greek-speaking Jews vocalized *kyrios* instead of the divine name when reading Scripture in synagogue services during the late Second Temple period. This liturgical practice is reflected in the manuscript tradition.

With the language of the LXX resonating in their minds, NT writers employ *kyrios* to refer to God in various contexts. The Synoptic Gospels and Acts frequently refer to God as *kyrios* (e.g., Mark 5:19; 13:20; Matt. 11:25; Acts 17:24). Likewise, the apostle Paul employs the title *kyrios* for God the Father, particularly in several quotations from the OT containing the divine name (e.g., Rom. 4:7–8; 9:27–29; 1 Cor. 3:20; 2 Cor. 6:18). We will consider these in detail later.

The NT’s use of *kyrios* in reference to Jesus requires further explanation. It is not uncommon for Jesus to be addressed in the Gospels as *kyrie* in polite address (e.g., Mark 11:3; 14:14; John 6:68; 13:13–16). Such usage requires no thought of his divinity, only respect for him as a rabbi or teacher. Interestingly, Jesus’s opponents never call him *kyrie*, “Lord,” only “Teacher” or “Rabbi.” Perhaps this is because in

the Gospels the word appears already to be taking on transcendent significance (e.g., Mark 1:2; Matt. 12:8; John 20:18; 20:28; 21:7). In particular, Jesus’s quotation of Ps. 110:1 proves instructive (Mark 12:35–37 and par.): “The Lord said to my Lord, ‘Sit at my right hand, until I put your enemies under your feet.’” The question posed and explanation offered by Jesus imply an indirect messianic claim. The frequent christological use of Ps. 110 by NT writers demonstrates they interpret this psalm as describing something of Jesus’s messianic and transcendent significance (e.g., Acts 2:34; 1 Cor. 15:25; Heb. 1:3).

Within Paul’s Letters—the earliest NT documents—the apostle employs *kyrios* most frequently as an honorific for Jesus. The confession “Jesus Christ is Lord” and belief in the resurrection stand at the center of his gospel (Rom. 10:9–13). For Paul the church consists of those who call on the name of the Lord, by whom he means the risen Jesus (e.g., 1 Cor. 1:2). In fact, the apostle deems the *kyrios* title an appropriate honorific for Christ precisely because of the resurrection (Rom. 1:3–4). Remarkably, Paul expresses this conviction by associating Jesus with the divine name in OT quotations. For example, in contrast to the many gods and lords worshiped by pagans, Paul reworks the central creed of Israel (Deut. 6:4–6) to include “One God, the Father” and “One Lord, Jesus Christ” (1 Cor. 8:6). Though distinct and ultimately subordinate to the Father, this revised Shema links Christ with God’s oneness and his name (“Lord”/*kyrios*/YHWH), and credits Jesus as an agent of creation and redemption. In this compact and concentrated form we see a key feature of what made Christianity distinctive in the ancient world.

While scholars debate its significance, the majority considers the Philippian hymn (Phil. 2:6–11) an extraordinary example of the apostle’s Christology. In the hymn’s second half, God exalts and bestows on the humbled, crucified Jesus the name above all names (likely “Lord”/*kyrios*/YHWH). Universal acclamation of Jesus is expressed in language taken directly from Isa. 45—the most stridently monotheistic passage in the Hebrew Scriptures. The acclamation “Jesus Christ is Lord” associates Jesus directly with the divine name (*kyrios*/YHWH). Notably, when heavenly, earthly, and under-earthly creatures bow the knee and confess “Jesus Christ is Lord,” the will of God has been accomplished (Phil. 2:9–11).

The connection between “Lord” and Spirit is less pronounced in the NT than its patrological³ and christological associations. Still, Paul brings the Spirit into close association with “Lord”: “Now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom” (2 Cor. 3:17). The context of this passage (3:16–4:6) involves the spiritual transformation that takes place when people behold “the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ” (4:6). Given Paul’s use of the term “Lord” elsewhere, it is likely to have some christological import here as well. The link between “Spirit,” “Christ,” “glory,” and “Lord” in this passage suggests that the apostle sees Christ and the Spirit as sharing in the same divine identity.

Summary

So far we have surveyed the use of “lord,” “Lord,” and “LORD” in English translations of the Christian Scriptures. Lowercase forms of the word are used to refer to humans in authority, while capitalized forms refer to God, Jesus, and possibly the Holy Spirit. The small capitals “LORD” constitutes a special case, because it is used in most modern English translations to represent the divine name. Beneath these English forms, however, lay several Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek words. In particular, certain words such as *’ādôn* (Hebrew), *mārē* (Aramaic), and *kyrios* (Greek) had a breadth of semantic usage, allowing them to be used for both humans in authority and the one God of Israel. These references occur near one another, often only a few words apart. As far as we can tell, the mixture of divine and human references in a single passage caused no confusion to hearers and readers of the text.

The State of the Text at the Time of Paul

Now that we have considered the state of the biblical texts and translations in our day regarding the term “Lord,” let us turn our attention

3. Throughout the book I use the word “patrological” not as a reference to the church fathers—its customary usage—but in relation to associations and references to God the Father. In other words, I use it in parallel to “christological.”

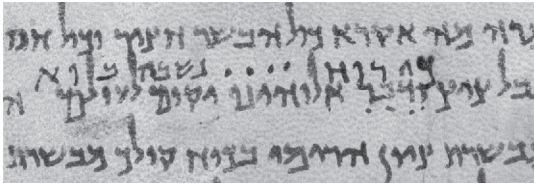
to the state of the biblical texts in Paul’s day. In particular, how would the divine name appear in the texts Paul encountered? Would there have been opportunity for Paul to confuse the name of Israel’s God, or its surrogate, with a title for a man in authority? No less significant is a subsidiary question. What customs and practices were common in quoting Scripture, alluding to it, and commenting on it? Since Paul is not a scribe whose task is to faithfully reproduce an original document, how does his custom of quoting Scripture compare with his contemporaries? Given Paul’s own statement that he is a “Hebrew born of Hebrews” (Phil. 3:5), and given that Paul writes his letters in Greek, the focus here will be on the state of Greek and Hebrew texts of the OT. It is likely Paul was competent in at least three languages: Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic.⁴

Earlier work on Paul explored whether Paul’s OT citations were closer to the Hebrew Masoretic text or the Septuagint. The assumption at the time was that there was a fixed Hebrew and Greek text tradition from which Paul drew. Any variations in the quotations were understood as Paul’s own interpretative comments or possibly memory lapses—assuming he quoted from memory. Recent assessments challenge these assumptions and show that the Hebrew and Greek biblical texts were not as fixed at this period as previously thought. In particular, the biblical manuscripts found among the Dead Sea Scrolls demonstrate the fluidity of the textual tradition within a single community’s library. It is reasonable to assume that a similar fluidity exists among other Hebrew and Greek Bible texts in the period. When one considers the available manuscripts, that seems to be the case.

With regard to the divine name, the Dead Sea Scrolls offer an interesting picture.⁵ Among the Hebrew manuscripts the tetragrammaton (YHWH) is present in a number of biblical and nonbiblical manuscripts. Most copies of Isaiah from Cave 4 have the divine name

4. Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Paul’s Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 148, concludes that Paul is trilingual, competent in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek.

5. For other representations of the divine name in the scrolls, see Donald W. Parry, “4QSam^a and the Tetragrammaton,” in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 106–25.



Isaiah 40:7 in the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a, col. 33, line 7) from Qumran showing the tetragrammaton represented by four dots.

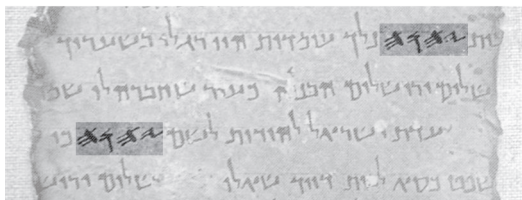
written in Aramaic script—יהוה. One copy of it, however, contains the divine name and various forms of *'elōhīm* (“God”) written in Paleo-Hebrew (4QIsa^c). In English, it would be as if one were to switch from Times New Roman to a Gothic font when writing the divine name. In addition, some prepositions before the divine name and prefixed conjunctions are also written in the archaic style. What does this say regarding how the name of Israel’s God was regarded by copyists, readers, and hearers?

The famous Isaiah scroll from Cave 1 has the divine name written in Aramaic script; however, in some places it also has four dots written in a row near the middle of the line (e.g., Isa. 40:7; 42:6). In some places the Hebrew *'adōnāy* (“Lord”) is written above the Aramaic script of YHWH (Isa. 28:16; 30:15; 65:13) as a gloss. Why these variations are present in writing the divine name in this manuscript is unclear; however, it does suggest that the name is to be treated with respect by copyists and readers alike.

11QPs^a has the Paleo-Hebrew tetragrammaton (143×). Shemaryahu Talmon makes the observation that it is the case that the Paleo-Hebrew text is written only “after the completion of the text in square letters, and not during the actual course of writing.”⁶ No other divine name or title is given this treatment or accorded this reverence.

Even the nonbiblical manuscripts demonstrate a similar kind of caution with presenting the divine name. The Habakkuk Peshet, for example, renders YHWH in Paleo-Hebrew script (1QpHab 6.14). The sectarian document known as the Community Rule represents the divine name as a series of four dots in its quotation of Isa. 40:3 in a practice similar to the Cave 1 Isaiah scroll (1QS 8.14).

6. Quoted in Jonathan P. Siegel, “The Employment of Paleo-Hebrew Characters for the Divine Names at Qumran in the Light of Tannaitic Sources,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 42 (1971): 159–72.



A fragment with portions of Pss. 121–23 from a Qumran Psalm scroll (11QPs^a, col. 3) showing the tetragrammaton in Paleo-Hebrew.

Greek manuscripts from the period reveal a similar fluidity when dealing with the divine name. A Greek version of Leviticus from Cave 4 writes the divine name as $\text{IA}\Omega$ with a space before and after the name; otherwise the manuscript is *scriptio continua*. In a Greek Minor Prophets scroll from Naḥal Ḥever, dated to the late first century BCE, the divine name is written in Paleo-Hebrew twenty-eight times. In P.Fouad 266 the original scribe appears to have left large spaces for the divine name, framed by a dot on either side of the spaces. Then YHWH in Aramaic script is inserted in the spaces indicated by the dots, apparently by a second hand. Interestingly, in the course of copying, one space is left blank. A similar procedure appears to have been followed in P.Oxy. 4.656, but in this case *kyrios* is added by a second hand. There are also Greek manuscripts in which the divine name is represented by $\Pi \mid \Pi \mid$, presumably because of its similar appearance to the tetragrammaton in Aramaic script.

To sum up the manuscript evidence, we have the following representations of the divine name:

Hebrew Texts

1. YHWH written in Aramaic script (4QIsa^{a-f}, 4Q158, 4Q162, 4Q163)
2. YHWH written in Paleo-Hebrew (4QIsa^c, 1QpHab, 11QPs^a)
3. YHWH represented by four dots (1QIsa^a, 1QS, 4Q175, 4Q176)
4. YHWH in Aramaic script glossed by *'adōnāy* (1QIsa^a)

Greek Texts

1. YHWH written in Aramaic script (P.Fouad 266)
2. YHWH written in Paleo-Hebrew (8ḤevXIIgr, P.Oxy. 50.3522)
3. YHWH transliterated as $\text{IA}\Omega$ (4QLXXLev^b)

4. YHWH represented as $\Pi \mid \Pi \mid$
5. YHWH translated or written as *kyrios* (P.Oxy. 4.656)

Now exactly how many of these variations Paul may have encountered when reading or referring to biblical or extrabiblical texts is impossible to know. It is likely that he had significant exposure to them as a hearer and not just as a reader in the synagogue. Jonathan Siegel makes the case that the special treatment in writing the tetragrammaton originated “in an actual circumvention in pronunciation.”⁷ This is likely true. Consider 4Q134, a biblical paraphrase (see also 4Q158). In this document “YHWH” is written in square characters but always preceded by two thick dots written as a semicolon. John Strugnell explains this as a warning to the reader not to pronounce the name as written but to use a substitute word.⁸ Siegel elaborates: “A distinction in writing has its basis in a distinction in pronunciation. . . . What was too sacred to be pronounced was also too sacred to be written normally.”⁹

Manuscript erasures offer some evidence as well. In 11QPs^a the scribe or second hand apparently did not hesitate to erase mistakes (28×) except when it came to the divine name. In two cases the tetragrammaton is written superfluously in Paleo-Hebrew. These were not erased. Instead, each Paleo-Hebrew name has dots written above and below to cancel the word from reading but not from existence. Centuries later the Jerusalem Talmud takes up the problem: What to do if a scribe makes a mistake when writing the divine name? Rabbin debated whether the name, its attached suffixes, and pronouns could be erased (y. Meg. 1.9 [71d]). The debate suggests that there was no agreement among the sages on how these instances should be handled. The Qumran scrolls reflect the lack of certainty scribes had about the matter. Obviously, once a divine name had been written, it stood written and should not be blotted out.

Philo of Alexandria may also provide evidence for the state of the biblical text around the first century. Generally, in his biblical quotations and in his commentaries the divine name is rendered *kyrios*. From this

7. Ibid., 171.

8. Quoted in *ibid.*, 172.

9. Ibid.

some have concluded that the biblical manuscripts Philo encountered contained *kyrios* for the divine name. The problem, of course, is that we do not have Philo’s autographs; we have copies of them, thanks to Christian scholars who thought it wise to preserve and transmit his words to later generations. Given the Christian predilection to relate *kyrios* to the divine name, the extant copies may represent Christian scribal sensibilities and not Philo’s own practice. So we cannot say for certain how the divine name appeared in the biblical manuscripts Philo used.

Still, it is important to distinguish the state of the biblical texts from the custom of quoting Scripture. It may very well be that Philo, the exegete, knew and read biblical manuscripts in which the tetragrammaton was written in Paleo-Hebrew or Aramaic script, not *kyrios*. But he is not a copyist; he is an exegete, a philosopher, a commentator on Scripture. So he probably quoted Scripture the same way he would have pronounced it, by translating the divine name *kyrios*. Although Philo is earlier than Origen, the church father mentions a practice current in his day: when a reader comes across the tetragrammaton in a text, he vocalizes *kyrios* (Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos* 2.2 [PG 12.1104B4–9]). We should also take note of the more ambiguous statement in the Mishnah Sotah: when reciting the priestly blessing (Num. 6:24–26) in the temple, readers pronounce the name as written, but in the Diaspora they substitute a word (m. Sotah 7.6). The practice of substituting a word for the name in the synagogues is well attested. In the final analysis, the Greek biblical manuscripts known to Philo may have contained the tetragrammaton or some form of transliteration for it; nevertheless, the Alexandrian quotes Scripture in his writings the way it was usually pronounced, *kyrios*. It may well be that Philo, not Christian scribes, is the one responsible for the presence of *kyrios* for the divine name in his biblical quotations and expositions.

A number of scholars have taken note of the variety of ways the tetragrammaton is written in Greek manuscripts and offer some analysis for the extant manuscript evidence. In particular, P. W. Skehan reconstructs four stages of development.

1. In the oldest Greek manuscripts YHWH is represented by IAΩ (4QLXXLev^b). This may have been read “Yaho” (= יהו) and is attested as early as the fifth century BCE.

2. The name is written in Aramaic script (P.Fouad 266).
3. The name is written in Paleo-Hebrew.
4. *Kyrios* translates YHWH in the final stage of development.¹⁰

Martin Hengel offers a similar scheme for the use of *kyrios* for the divine name in the LXX tradition.¹¹

Albert Pietersma, however, challenges these reconstructions and describes what he calls an “archaizing process” in the writing of the divine name that took place at Qumran. This may well have coincided with conservative reactions against the encroachment of Hellenistic ways. Indeed, he notes: “The paleohebrew tetragram in Greek witnesses is not the oldest but apparently the youngest. Both in the Hebrew MSS from Qumran and in our earliest Greek MSS there is clear evidence that the divine name was the object of revisionary activity.”¹² Pietersma’s own work focuses on the manuscripts of the Pentateuch among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Yet, he thinks there are good reasons to conclude that early on translators rendered the name as *kyrios*, and later revisionary activities replaced it with the translations of Greek, Aramaic, and Paleo-Hebrew renderings of the divine name in Greek manuscripts.

The examples we cite—and there are others—indicate that there was no one way the divine name was written in Greek or Hebrew biblical texts around the time of Paul. This includes entire scrolls held in synagogue collections or excerpts used for polemical, liturgical, or devotional purposes.¹³ What is evident, however, is that the divine

10. P. W. Skehan, “The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll, and in the Septuagint,” *BIOSCS* 13 (1980): 238–44.

11. Martin Hengel, “The Interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism in the Pre-Maccabean Period,” in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 2, *The Hellenistic Age*, ed. W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 197–98.

12. Albert Pietersma, “KYRIOS or Tetragram: A Renewed Quest for the Original LXX,” in *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. A. Pietersma and Claude Cox (Mississauga, ON: Benben, 1984), 85–101 (quote on 99).

13. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries*, 156, analyzes excerpts from the Dead Sea Scrolls and Paul’s Letters, concluding that there likely existed “a number of biblical anthologies which circulated in Jewish and Christian circles” at the time. These excerpts would have contained important and frequently needed biblical themes.

name and in some cases the spaces and letters around the divine name were treated differently, with great reverence. The tendency to write the name in Paleo-Hebrew or to represent it with four dots and the reluctance to erase the name provide early material evidence for the reverence accorded the divine name. Other evidence for this reverence is provided by the following:

1. The kneeling and bowing of priests and people when the high priest speaks the divine name on the Day of Atonement in the recitation of Lev. 16:30 (m. Yoma 6.2); see too the *proskynesis* of the faithful when Simon ben Onias utters the divine name of the priestly blessing from Num. 6:24–26 (Sir. 50:20–21; m. Sotah 7.6).
2. The custom of vocalizing the divine name in temple ceremonies but using a substitute word in the Diaspora (m. Sotah 7.6).
3. The cautions expressed regarding speaking the divine name (Josephus, *Ant.* 2.12.4 §§275–76; Philo, *Moses* 2.114).¹⁴
4. The threat of capital punishment against those who pronounce the name (m. Sanh. 7.5).¹⁵

Paul encountered this textual diversity and reverence accorded the divine name in the synagogues he attended both before and after the Christophany. In other words, the apostle was likely aware that *kyrios* was the accepted vocalization and/or translation of YHWH in Greek-speaking contexts. So when Paul quotes a text containing the divine name from the LXX, he knows he is making reference to the unique, covenant name of Israel’s God. Furthermore, on those occasions when he applies these *kyrios* texts to Jesus, he cannot be ignorant of the theological implications of applying the name to the Messiah.

14. Philo (*Moses* 2.114) speaks of the name of four letters that only those with purified ears can hear and purified tongues can speak, and only in the holy place.

15. Darrell L. Bock, *Blasphemy and Exaltation in Judaism and the Final Examination of Jesus*, WUNT 2/106 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 111, writes: “The official rabbinic position is that the use of the divine Name constitutes the only clear case of capital blasphemy (m *Sanh* 7.5).” Though the Mishnah was not codified until around 200 CE, this rule of blasphemy may have extended back into the first century CE as well. Even if capital blasphemy would not have been charged, we can still understand that the faithful would have exercised care in their use of the name.