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Tetragrammaton: Western Christians and the Hebrew Name of God

From the Beginnings to the Seventeenth Century

By

Robert J. Wilkinson



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Cover illustration: Heinrich Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (Hamburg, 1595).
The illustration here shows the inner circle of the “Cosmic Rose.”

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for Alasdair
“... the son restores
The father.”
Wallace Stevens, Recitation after Dinner



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Introduction

At the Bush

The primary text in the canonical Hebrew Scriptures for the revelation of the divine name is Exodus 3:14. In the narrative at the beginning of this chapter, Moses had come into the desert shepherding the flock of his father-in-law, Jethro of Midian, and arrived at the mountain of God (in Hebrew *'elohim*), Mount Horeb.¹ There the angel of Yhwh appeared to him in a flame of fire out of a bush, which was remarkably not consumed by the fire.² When Yhwh saw that Moses turned aside to look more closely, God called to him out of the bush.³ Moses was told to remove his shoes,⁴ as he stood on holy ground, and he heard God proclaim, "I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob."⁵ Moses hid his face, for he was afraid to look at God. Yhwh said he had heard the cry of his enslaved people and had come down to rescue them. Moses was to go to Pharaoh and bring his people out of captivity. Moses doubted that Pharaoh would listen to him, but God said

- 1 G. Fischer, *Yahwe Unser Gott. Sprach, Aufbau und Erzähltechnik in der Berufung Moses (Ex 3–4)* (Fribourg, 1989). George W. Savran, *Encountering the Divine: Theophany in Biblical Narrative* (London, 2005), discusses typical features of accounts of theophanies in the Hebrew Bible. Also, Françoise Mirguet, *La représentation du divin dans les récits du Pentateuque: Méditations syntaxiques et narratives* (Leiden, 2009). Also relevant is N. Habel, "The Form and Significance of the Call Narrative," *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 77 (1965), 297–329, describing six episodes as a *Gattungsstruktur* which may be applied with interest to the narrative of the Burning Bush, and Cecil P. Staton, *And Yahweh Appeared: A Study of the Motifs of Seeing God and God's Appearing in Old Testament Narrative* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Oxford, 1988). "The Mountain of God" does not appear in the Septuagint.
- 2 J.G. Janzen, "...And the Bush Was Not Consumed," *Encounter* 63.1/2 (2002), 119–128. Note that although the Septuagint at 3:2 has "an angel of the Lord," the Vulgate has the Lord himself: *Apparuitque ei Dominus in flamma*.
- 3 Here the Samaritan Pentateuch has *'elohim* (God) for *yhwh*, whereas the Septuagint has *kurios* (Lord) for *'elohim*. Thus, the Samaritan has *'elohim* twice and the Septuagint has *kurios* twice, both of which may be attempts at harmonization.
- 4 The Samaritan, Septuagint, Vulgate, and many Hebrew manuscripts have the singular "sandal."
- 5 The Samaritan and some Greek manuscripts have "your fathers," which is clearly an attempt at harmonization. None of these variants would lead one to question the priority of the Massoretic text here for establishing the Hebrew of, say, the 4th century B.C. W.R. Arnold, "The Divine Name in Exodus iii.14," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 24 (1905), 107–165 at pp. 110–118.

he would be with Moses and that when the people were liberated they would worship God on that very mountain. Moses then told God that his own people would ask the name of the God of their fathers. Yhwh proclaimed: "I shall be what I shall be":⁶ and he said, thus shall you say to the Israelites: 'Ehyeh (I shall

6 E. Schild, "On Exodus 3:14—'I am that I am,'" *Vetus Testamentum* 4 (1954), 296–302, argued that the syntax of the relative clause here was traditionally misunderstood and that the phrase should be rendered (rather as the Septuagint) "I am He who is." This view was suggested by J. Lindblom, "Noch einmal die Deutung des Jahwe-Namen in Ex 3.14," *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 3 (1964), 4–15. Such a view had earlier been suggested in the middle of the 19th century by Knobel and Ruess (So, R. de Vaux, "The Revelation of the Divine Name YHWH," in *Proclamation and Presence: Old Testament Essays in Honour of Gwynne Henton Davies*, eds. J.I. Durham and J.R. Porter (London, 1970), pp. 48–75.). B. Albrektson, "On the Syntax of 'hyh 'shr 'hyh in Exodus 3:14," in *Words and Meanings: Essays Presented to David Winton Thomas*, eds. P.R. Ackroyd and Barnabas Lindars (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 15–28, offers a decisive defence of the traditional *idem per idem* type of translation. (To explain the emergence of ontological interpretations, it is important to note from the beginning the distinction between the Hebrew meaning and the Greek sense.)

For the *idem per idem* idiom itself, see, conveniently, S.R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and Topography of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 185–186. Also, on the verb, G.S. Ogden, "Time, and the Verb *hyh* in O.T. Prose," *Vetus Testamentum* 21.4 (1971), 451–469—the Exodus formula is discussed on p. 313. Ogden discovers a use as a copula ("I shall be with you": Exod. 3:12), an existential use ("A great panic shall arise": Zech. 14:13), and a transitional or frequentative use (1 Kings 5:28 (LXX 14) *yihyu*, "they are accustomed to be"). R. Bartelmus, *HYH Bedeutung und Funktion eines hebräischen 'Allerweltswortes'* (St Ottilien, 1982), finds the verb has no significance and is just a *Funktionswort* serving only to introduce temporal qualification in what would otherwise normally be a nominal sentence. He translates Exodus 3:14 as "Ich werde sein wer immer ich sein werde." Y. Avishur, "'Ehyeh 'asher 'Ehyeh in Arabic, Syriac and Judeo-Arabic," *Leshonenu* 55.1–55.2 (1990), 13–16.

S.R. Driver also has a helpful note in defence of (the tense of) the translation "I will be" in his *The Book of Exodus: Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 40–41. He sees the tense not as indicating essence, but as the active manifestation of God's existence to his people. The tense of Exodus 3:12, "Certainly I will be with thee..." surely must provide a contextual prompt for the future tense. Moreover, Driver here follows traditional Jewish exegetes, as we shall see subsequently. Rashi (1040–1105 A.D.) similarly paraphrases "I will be with them in this affliction *what I will be* with them in the subjection of their future captivities," a translation which points rather to the revelation of God by his presence with his people in suffering, than it does to ontological questions. For a very similar interpretation, see H.H. Spoer, *The Origin and Interpretation of the Tetragrammaton* (Chicago, 1899), and more modern Jewish exegetes and those troubled by more modern ontological uncertainties mentioned below. Henry Ainsworth put it succinctly: "The Hebrew, *Ehjeah asher ehjeah*, properly signifieth, 'I will be that I will be,'" in *Annotations upon the Second Book of Moses, called Exodus* (1617; repr. London, 1639), p. 10. More recently L.M. Pákozdy, "I Shall Be That Which I Shall Be," *The Bible Translator* 7 (1956), 146–148. Also, W. Robertson Smith, "On the Name

be) has sent me to you.”⁷ Moses was further to add that Yhwh, God of their fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, had sent him to them: “this my name and my appellation unto all generations.”⁸

Subsequently, in Exodus 6:2, God spoke to Moses and declared: “I am Yhwh. I appeared to Abraham to Isaac and to Jacob by the name of El Shaddai, but by my name Yhwh was I not known to them.”

Both Jewish and Christian readers long pondered the complexities of these passages, though naturally with different concerns. Leaving aside the proclaimed divine name itself for a moment, we may ask who speaks in this narrative—God, Yhwh, or his angel—and why does the designation change so?⁹ There was no ready recourse to Pentateuchal source criticism¹⁰ and some of the theological

Jehovah (Jahve) and the Doctrine of Exodus III. 14,” *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* (1876), 153ff., at the close of which he connects the *’ehyeh* of Hosea 1:9 with this passage. His views were restated immediately thereafter by Eberhard Nestle, *Die israelitischen Eigennamen* (1876; repr. Standig, 1973), pp. 91ff., and Arnold, “The Divine Name,” pp. 125–127, who finally defends “I shall be whatever I choose” as the idiomatic sense. (While it is my usual practice to use “I shall” as the first person of the future tense of the verb “to be” in English, this is often not the practice of scholars I quote, nor is it that of the King James Bible. I shall therefore treat both “I shall” and “I will” as being simple future tenses and shall not seek to harmonize quotations.)

7 The 1985 *JPS Tanakh* does not translate these words from the Hebrew, and so the division of Exodus 3:14 is apparent: (3:14a) “And God said to Moses, ‘Ehyeh–Asher–Ehyeh’” (3:14b). He continued, “Thus shall you say to the Israelites, ‘Ehyeh sent me to you.’ A. Berlin and M. Zvi Brettler, eds., *The Jewish Study Bible, Featuring the Jewish Publication Society Tanakh Translation* (New York, 2004), p. 111.

8 This final word, *l’olam*, was frequently read by Jewish exegetes not as “forever,” but as “for concealment” to justify later reluctance to articulate the name.

9 In the following I shall generally refer to the God of the Hebrew Bible as Yhwh, which I shall not vocalize. I shall refer to the Hebrew word which is his name as *yhwh*. The few departures from this practice will not, I hope, cause confusion. Naturally, in quotations I follow the practice of the author. Other divine names I shall anglicize without transcriptional accuracy, merely to facilitate their recognition and to provide an English pronunciation. We shall very soon encounter the uncertainties concerning the pronunciation of *yhwh* and inhibitions against doing so. Initially, see A. Kuenen, “The Pronunciation of the Divine Name YHWH,” in idem, *National Religion and Universal Religion* (2005; originally 1923), pp. 308–311; G.J. Thierry, *The Pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton* (Leiden, 1948), pp. 30–42; B.D. Eerdmans, “La Pronunciation ‘Jahowe’ du Tétragramme,” in *Oudtestamentische Studiën Deel V*, ed. P.A.H. de Boer (Leiden, 1948), pp. 43–62, and B.D. Eerdmans, “The Name Jahu,” in *Oudtestamentische Studiën Deel V*, pp. 1–29.

10 Julian Morgenstein, “The Elohist Narrative in Exodus 3.1–0.15,” *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* 37.4 (1921), 242–262. For a summary of source-critical opinions for this part of Exodus, see B. Childs, *Exodus* (London, 1979), p. 51, and A.F. Campbell and

problems were obviously serious: one cannot look on God and live (Exod. 20:7)—so who does Moses *see* as well as hear?¹¹ The identity of the speaker will be of great concern to Christian readers taken with problems of Christology, but in considering these questions both Jewish and Christian readers will turn to the angel of Yhwh, who appears in Exodus 23:20–23. He was to lead the Israelites in their desert journeys to their final settlement, when the name of God would be considered resident in the temple. “My name is in him,” says verse 21, with enormous moment.¹² Here, similarly to Chapter 3, it is the angel who appears to act, as God himself speaks and refers to himself in the first person. Thus, in both of these passages there seems to be some ambiguity, or at least a lack of clear separation between the divine (name) and the angel. It may be—though it is perhaps not obvious—that this angel is identical to the

M.A. O'Brien, *Sources of the Pentateuch: Texts, Introductions, Annotations* (Minneapolis, 1993), pp. 260–263. These verses have been critical on account of their varied use of names for God in the formulation of the documentary hypothesis of Pentateuchal “pre-history.”

- 11 M.S. Smith, “‘Seeing God’ in the Psalms: The Background of the Beatific Vision in the Hebrew Bible,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 59 (1988), 171–183; A.T. Hanson, “The Treatment in the LXX of the Theme of Seeing God,” in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*, eds. G.J. Brooke and B. Lindars (Atlanta, 1992), pp. 537–568. A related theme is that of images in the cult of Yhwh, with debate stimulated by the discovery of graffiti of “Yhwh and his Ashera” at Kuntillet ‘Ajrud. Several scholars have allowed that there were images in the Yhwh cult in the Iron Age and under the Monarchy: M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, “*Jahwe und seine Aschera*.” *Anthropomorphes Kultbild in Mesopotamien, Ugarit und Israel. Das Biblische Bilderverbot* (Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur) 9 (Münster, 1992); B.B. Schmidt, “The Aniconic Tradition: On Reading Images and Viewing Texts,” in *The Triumph of Elohim: From Yahwisms to Judaisms*, ed. D.V. Edelman (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology) 13 (Kampen, 1995), pp. 75–105; H. Niehr, “Götterbilder und Bilderverbot,” in *Der eine Gott und die Götter: Polytheismus und Monotheismus im antiken Israel*, eds. M. Oeming and K. Schmid (Abhandlungen Zur Theologie Des Alten Und Neuen Testaments) 82 (Zürich, 2003), pp. 227–247. Others point to a lack of unequivocal evidence: N. Na’aman, “No Anthropomorphic Graven Images. Notes on the Assumed Anthropomorphic Cult Statues in the Temples of YHWH in the Pre-Exilic Period,” *Ugarit Forschungen* 31 (1999), 391–415. Mettinger considers the possibility of aniconic standing stones: T.N.D. Mettinger, *No Graven Image? Israelite Aniconism in its Ancient Near Eastern Context* (Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament) 42 (Stockholm, 1995). One may ask whether the provision of a name in some way compensates for the lack of a image. So, G. von Rad, *Theology of the Old Testament*, vol. 1 (Louisville, 2001), pp. 181–185. Hartmut Gese, “Der Name Gottes im A.T.,” in *Der Name Gottes*, ed. H. von Stietencrom, (Düsseldorf, 1975), pp. 75–89, p. 81, considers what is important is not the meaning of the name, but its function as a name.
- 12 J.I. Huffstuter, *He Who Dwelt in the Bush: A Biblical Theology of the Angel of the Lord* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Bob Jones University, 2007), pp. 62–214, on this angel in the Hebrew Bible.

“face” of Yhwh in Exodus 33:14, which might explain the mention of “the angel of his face” in Isaiah 63:9.

The Alexandrian philosopher Philo Judaeus described this angel, as we shall see, as “the first born Son.” For him, for the mysterious Magharians,¹³ and in Early Christology, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, Gnosticism, and, later, Jewish mysticism, this figure assumes a central importance.

Moshe Idel has developed a broad typology describing two complementary aspects of what he calls a “theophoric mediator figure,” who reveals God to mortals (and of whom this angel surely became an ancient ancestor)—one which stresses the external similarity between God and the mediator (*face, image, seal, luminosity, beauty, or son*), and the other a more essential interior community between God and the mediator (*breath, spirit, word, or name*). On the one hand, the mediator must represent divinity to humankind, and on the other, the mediator must also be a representative of both higher and lower realms.¹⁴ Such terms may be of use to us as we progressively encounter such figures in Judaism and Christianity and their links to this special angel of Yhwh in Exodus 23. Not that such speculation was at all times to everyone’s taste, though Idel has sought to suggest its abiding relevance in Judaism. The mediaeval Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides (*Guide* 1.64; 2.7; 2.34) attempted to mitigate the importance of both the angel and the divine name and interpreted the matter as the revelation whereby a prophet reveals the words he has received from above. It is, of course, Idel’s contention that Maimonides here seeks to obliterate features developed elsewhere.¹⁵

Earlier readers also noted the appearance of the same divine name, *yhwh*, just prior to this point in the narrative, in a covenantal or legislative context in the First Commandment, which is given to Moses in Exodus 20:2 when he meets God on Horeb, as anticipated in Exodus Chapter 3. The verse begins: “I am Yhwh your God who brought you up out of the land of Egypt and out of the house of slavery...”¹⁶ Verses 5 and 6 here go on to say something of the character of Yhwh, and verse 7 solemnly warns against inappropriate use of the name of God. Though what shall we understand by “to take in vain”?¹⁷

13 J.E. Fossum, “The Magharians: A Pre-Christian Jewish Sect and Its Significance for Gnosticism and Christianity,” *Henocho* 9 (1989), 303–343, where the relevant texts are translated.

14 M. Idel, *Ben: Sonship in Jewish Mysticism* (London, 2007), pp. 18–19.

15 Idel, *Ben*, p. 78.

16 A.A. Diesel, *Ich bin Yahwe* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 2006), for the use of the phrase in the Hebrew Bible.

17 Anthony Phillips, *Ancient Israel’s Criminal Law* (Oxford, 1970), p. 57, considers the Third Commandment to refer specifically to magic. Gese, “Der Name Gottes,” pp. 75–89, disagrees (p. 86).

Yhwh's character is also presented in similar terms when his name is declared before Moses, hidden away in the cleft of a rock, in Exodus 33:18–23. Verse 20, here, of course, reminds us that no one can see God and live.¹⁸

Then again, returning to the narrative of Chapter 3, we may ask: Is the proclaimed name of Yhwh a new one or not? Certainly it appears before this incident in the canonical Pentateuch, for the first time in Genesis 2:4. It appears also to be a component of Moses' own mother's Hebrew name, Jochebed (Exod. 6:20). One may ask: Where is the validation in a new name? Yet, where is the interest in an old one?¹⁹ The problem with the question, as Maimonides saw it, was that:

Either the Israelites knew the name, or they had never heard it. If the name was known to them, they would perceive in it no argument in favour of the mission of Moses, his knowledge and their knowledge of the Divine name being the same. If, on the other hand, they had never heard it mentioned, and if the knowledge of it was to prove the mission of Moses, what evidence would they have that this was really the name of God?

GUIDE 1.63

Maimonides solved this problem by interpreting the question of Exodus 3:13 as a request by Moses for proof of the existence of God, and interpreted Exodus 3:14 as a summary statement of this proof—a decidedly philosophical understanding. Martin Buber, as we shall see below, thought the question meant rather, “What finds expression in, or lies concealed behind, the name?” and developed an understanding that deliberately avoided classical ontology.²⁰

There is, it is claimed, a peculiarity of idiom in the question which Moses in Exodus 3:13 anticipates that his people will put to him: “What is his name?” Their question is a little odd in asking in Hebrew, “What (*mah*) is his name?” where the usual idiom would be, “Who (*mi*) is his name?” The point was observed first by Buber in his book on Moses but re-examined and popularized by J.A. Motyer.²¹ The distinction is suggested to mark a request to know the

18 Exodus 33:19 illustrates the same *idem per idem* formulation as found in the revelation of the name in Exodus 3.

19 S.D. Foutz, “Exodus 3.14 and the Divine Name Textual and Historical Considerations,” *Quodlibet Journal* 4.4 (2002), argues for the recovery of an older name.

20 One may also consider Leo Spitzer, “Soy quien Soy,” *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 1.2 (1947), 113–127.

21 Martin Buber, *Moses: The Revelation and the Covenant* (New York, 1958), p. 48; J.A. Motyer, *The Revelation of the Divine Name* (Leicester, 1959), pp. 12–13; M.H. Segal, *The Pentateuch:*

character of God rather than merely his name. Thus, the question *mah shemo?* does not mean, “By what name is God called?” because the answer to such a question would have been: “He is called by the name *yhwh*.” The actual answer to the question—“I shall be what I shall be” (v. 14)—does not therefore necessarily give the name of God. It gives the significance and the interpretation of the name. Thus, Motyer glosses Exodus 6:3 as “I showed myself to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the character expressed by *’el shaddai*, but not in the character expressed by my name *yhwh*.”²²

If we turn now to the form of the initial declaration “I shall be what I shall be” (*’ehyeh asher ’ehyeh*), it is essential to distinguish the Hebrew clearly from the subsequent translations in Christian Bibles. The Hebrew syntax, as we have already seen, does not admit of being translated as the Old Latin and Vulgate versions would have it:²³ *Ego sum qui sum* and *Qui est misit me ad vos*.²⁴ These versions arise solely from the Greek *ego eimi ho on* (I am the Existing One) in 3:14. The Greek unquestionably intends something similar to “I am he who is.” Perhaps that could have been less ambiguously put into Latin as *Ego sum is qui est*, but the intention of the Latin was clearly to render the Greek, and neither the Old Latin nor Jerome were seeking to innovate.²⁵ To translate the Latin as the empty copula “I am that I am” is quite outside the intent of the Latin, is impossible for the Greek, and only superficially returns the English to similarity with the Hebrew. Long ago, W.R. Arnold thought it “high time this expression disappeared from scientific usage.”²⁶ The Greek translation *ego eimi ho on* and its subsequent Latin descendants are enormously important for the

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- Its Composition and Its Authorship* (Jerusalem, 1967), p. 5. This is consistent with what is known of the semantic range of the word *shem* (name), according to F. Brown et al., eds., *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, printing of 1972), pp. 1027–1028.
- 22 We may note in passing another proposed idiom whereby the Tetragrammaton serves as a superlative: D.W. Winton Thomas, “A Consideration of Some Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew,” *Vetus Testamentum* 3 (1953), 209–224; idem, “Some Further Remarks on Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew,” *Vetus Testamentum* 17 (1968), 120–124; P.A.H. de Boer, “*yhwh* as an Epithet Expressing the Superlative,” *Vetus Testamentum* 24.2 (1974), 233–235. For the suggestion of a similar idiom in *Didache* XIV.1: N.L.A. Tidwell, “*kata kuriaken de kuriou* Revisited,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 53/2 (1999), 197–207.
- 23 For a review of Sabatier’s patristic evidence for the Old Latin, see Arnold, “The Divine Name,” pp. 118–120.
- 24 Albrektson, “Syntax of *’hyh ’asher ’hyh*,” pp. 15–28.
- 25 *Ego sum is qui est* is found in the Syro-Hexapla, the Scholion of Jacob of Edessa, and the Ethiopic; Arnold, “The Divine Name,” p. 120. See now Cornelis den Hertog, *The Other Face of God: ‘I am that I am’ Reconsidered* (Sheffield, 2012), p. 231, pp. 256–262, for Jerome and the text. Den Hertog discusses other daughter translations of the Septuagint also.
- 26 Arnold, “The Divine Name,” p. 120.

history of Western theology. Paul Ricoeur does not exaggerate when he calls this Greek version “an event in the history of thought.”²⁷ It constitutes a subtle blend of Hebrew and Greek material that creates a positive ontology but at the same time suppresses the name of God—and all under the mantle of being *to einai*.²⁸ It is as if God had said: It is my nature to be, not to be named.

Let us return to the Hebrew text. There is perhaps some riddle here in the provision of a name which is both a name and not a name;²⁹ that is, the creation of the possibility of an identification, an appellation, and a relationship, but without the provision of a name which might become an object of idolatry. Perhaps this is even a tautological dismissal of inquisitiveness, or at least an assertion of divine independence, peerlessness, and unaccountability. Drawing attention to its form, some have considered it as paradoxically a revelation of the indefinable and unknowable. In this figure of speech, said the Old Testament scholar Walter Zimmerli, “resounds the sovereign freedom of Yahweh who, even at the moment he reveals himself in his name, refuses simply to put himself at the disposal of humanity to comprehend him.” We must also, he argues, take into account God’s prior refusal to impart his name to Jacob as he wrestled at Jabbok, “Why do you ask about my name?” (Gen. 32:29). It is as if God said: “You ask about my name. I simply am.”³⁰ One could add the later case of Manoah and his wife (Judg. 13:18), who are asked by the angel: “Why do you ask my name?” The question may thus be asked whether the name from the Bush is intended to be similarly evasive.³¹ Nonetheless, one cannot overlook that the

27 P. Ricoeur, “De l’interprétation à la traduction,” in A. LaCocque and P. Ricoeur, *Penser La Bible* (Paris, 1998), pp. 346–385 at p. 346.

28 P. Hadot, “Dieu comme acte d’être dans le Néoplatonisme. A propos des théories d’É. Gilson sur la métaphysique de l’Exode,” in *Dieu et l’Être: Exégèse d’Exode 3, 14 et de Coran 20, 11–24*, eds. P. Vignaux et al. (Paris, 1978), p. 57, on the interesting use of *to einai* in a commentary on the First Hypothesis of the “Parmenides,” possibly by Porphyry. The infinitive is used to mark existence beyond being.

29 See C.R. Gianotti, “The Meaning of the Divine Name,” in *Vital Old Testament Issues: Textual and Topical Questions*, ed. R.B. Zuck (Grand Rapids, 1996), pp. 28–38, for a discussion of various types of explanation of the divine name. A. Caquot, “Les énigmes d’un hémistiche biblique,” in Vignaux et al., eds., *Dieu et l’Être: Exégèse*, pp. 17–26, defends *hyh* as a possible copula. H. Cazelles, “Pour une Exégèse d’Exode 3.14b Texte et Contexte,” in Vignaux et al., eds., *Dieu et l’Être: Exégèse*, pp. 27–44, considers the verb has existential import and is not a copula. For him, God reveals his existence but hides his identity.

30 Walter Zimmerli, *Geschichte und Altes Testament Festschrift Albrecht Alt* (Leipzig, 1954), pp. 179–209; idem, *Old Testament Theology in Outline* (Atlanta, 1978), pp. 19–21; idem, *I Am Yahweh* (Atlanta, 1982), p. 5.

31 For God refusing to give his name or show Moses his face (Exod. 33:18–34:9), see A.-M. Dubarle, “La signification du nom Iahweh” *Revue des sciences philosophiques et*

very same verse (Exod. 3:14) does precisely reveal the name *yhwh!* Later in Exodus, the name and Yhwh's characteristics appear as we have seen in the legislative context of giving of the Law, and in the declaration of Yhwh's name to Moses in the cleft of the rock—both with evident substance and ethical content.³² Moreover, naming God is common in the Hebrew Bible. Jerome famously isolated ten Hebrew names for God in Hebrew Bible, as we shall see.

Ontology

Somewhat different, but very often linked with the paradox of a *Deus revelatus tamquam absconditus*, is the ontological interpretation of these Hebrew verses.³³ There seems to be little doubt that Exodus 3:14 seeks to explain the divine name (no matter what its real etymology) as being linked to the Hebrew *hyh* (or perhaps a rarer form, *hwh*), the verb “to be.”³⁴ In Hebrew, *’ehyeh* is a

théologiques 35 (1951), 3–21, and G. Lambert, “Que signifie le nom Iahweh,” *Nouvelle Revue théologique* 74 (1952), pp. 697–905. Against the similar claim of Eerdmans, “The Name Jahu,” pp. 1–29 at p. 12, that God was being intentionally evasive in answering Moses, cf. K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, 4 vols., vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1961), pp. 1368–1371. For a different appreciation of indefiniteness here, see Den Hertog, *The Other Face of God*. Both the relative participle (*’asher*) and the *idem per idem* construction are thought to denote an indefiniteness which serves to reorient Moses from his fixed conceptions of the God of the Fathers. He translates Exodus 3:14 as “I may be who I may be.” In this respect, compare R.J. Parnell, “I Would Be Who I Would Be: A Proposal for Reading Exodus 3.11–14,” *Bulletin of Biblical Research* 16.2 (2006), 351; M. Westphal, “The God Who Will Be,” *Faith and Philosophy* 20.3 (2003), 328–344.

32 Andrea Dalton Saner, *YHWH, the Trinity and the Literal Sense: A Theological Interpretation of Exodus 3.13–15* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Durham, 2013), p. 123ff, now offers an account of the canonical context of the revelation of the name. Graham I. Davies, “The Exegesis of the Divine Name in Exodus,” in *The God of Israel*, ed. R.P. Gordon (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 139–153.

33 This “paradox” needs to be distinguished from “the hiding of the face of God” in the Hebrew Bible: S.E. Balentine, *The Hidden Face of God* (Oxford, 1983).

34 C.H. Ratschow, *Werden und Wirken. Eine Untersuchung des Wortes hajah als Beitrag zur Wirklichkeitserfassung des alten Testaments* (BZAW) 70 (Berlin, 1941), p. 81, finds three meanings for the verb *hayah*: “to be,” “to become,” and “to effect.” Also on the verb *hayah*, Frank Polak, “Hebrew *hayah* Etymology, Bleaching and Discourse Structure,” in *Tradition and Innovation in Biblical Interpretation Studies Presented to Eep Talstra*, eds. W.Th. van Peursen and J.W. Dyk (Leiden, 2011), pp. 379–398. Slightly different is the formula “As Yhwh lives...”; J. Wozniak, “Bedeutung und Belege der Schwurformel *haj Jahwe*,” *Biblische Zeitschrift Paderborn* 28.2 (1984), 245–249.

first-person singular and *yhwh* looks like a third-person singular—though perhaps one would have expected a present tense (the usual unhappy English translation) to be marked by a perfect form rather than an imperfect form which seems never to be used in that way. It is also rather unusual for a name to be made up solely of a third-person finite verb, rather than containing a shortened form of a verb.³⁵ But perhaps the most obvious question is, What is the divine name here—*'ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh*, *'ehyeh*, or *yhwh*? *Yhwh* clearly, and the second, sole, *'ehyeh*, which functions in 14b as a proper name perhaps,³⁶ but what of the initial declaration?

Though *'ehyeh* and *yhwh* are brought together here at least by juxtaposition and assonance, if not by etymology, they do appear to derive from different roots:³⁷ *'ehyeh* from *hyah*, and *yhwh* from *hwh*. It is a common observation that *y* and *w* are often interchangeable, particularly in names, and that may be an adequate explanation here, but it does produce a slight, albeit not impossible, dissonance, if the link is pressed as strictly etymological.³⁸ One notices that the usual Hebrew Bible formulae for a *Volksetymologie* are missing.

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- 35 Semitic divine names often consist of augmented one-word nouns (e.g. *El*); genitive compounds (e.g. Marduk, *amar-utu-ak*, “son of Utu”); predicate compounds (e.g. *dagan-neri*, “Dagan is light”); nouns and pronouns (*yaum-an*, “An is mine”); and verbs plus nouns (e.g. *itur'-mer*, “Mer returns”). However, it has been claimed that there are no obvious parallels for a bare verbal form as a divine name. Mowinckel observed that “in the ancient Semitic nomenclature a name containing a verbal form, whether imperfect or perfect, would otherwise always be an abbreviated form of the name concerned; the full form contains also a subject of the verb”; S. Mowinckel, “The Name of the God of Moses,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 32 (1961), 121–133, at p. 128. H.B. Huffmon, “Yhwh and Mari,” in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W.F. Albright*, ed. H. Goedike (Baltimore, 1971), pp. 283–289, however, gives examples of isolated verbs used as names from Mari. Note also the two pre-Islamic names: *yagut*, “He aids,” and *ya'tiq*, “He protects.”
- 36 Judges 6:16 appears to be a quotation of Exodus 3:14. Perhaps it should be translated, “Ehyeh is with you.”
- 37 For biblical etymologies (which are often not): James Barr, “Etymology and the Old Testament,” *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 19 (1974), 1–28; A. Strus, *Nomen Omen* (Rome, 1978), pp. 82–89; H. Marks, “Biblical Naming and Poetic Etymology,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 114.1 (1995), 21–42. Th.C. Vriezen, “EHJE ASHER EHJE,” in *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet zum 80*, eds. W. Baumgarten and L. Rest (Tübingen, 1950), pp. 489–512, speaks of “paranomastische Relativesätze.” On the history of these, see the collection of essays in Den Hertog, *The Other Face of God*, pp. 81–82.
- 38 The root *hwy* occurs in Aramaic, Syriac, Nabataean, and Palmyrian, although not apparently in Phoenician, Ugaritic, or Amorite Akkadian. Ch. Virolleaud, “Les nouveaux textes mythologiques et liturgiques de Ras Shamra,” *Ugaritica* 5 (1968), 244–245, refers to a lexicographic text from Ugarit [RS 20.123. ii.28], which he says exhibits the root **hwy*, reading

Naming usually involves the verb *qr'* (call) and would run something like, "Therefore God was called Yhwh, for He said 'I am who I am.'" One perhaps ought to stress also that the divine name would be pronounced *yihyeh* if it were merely the third person of *'ehyeh* and meant "He will be."³⁹ There is, however, considerable evidence that the name has an initial *ya-* (if only from the shorter biblical form and biblical proper names) and it is this which creates the fundamental puzzle of the meaning of the name. It explains the otherwise rather desperate-looking attempts to account philologically for an initial *ya-*. The popular modern conjecture *yahweh* combines this initial *ya-* with the same verb ending as *'ehyeh* (*-eh*) to give some expected assonance to the juxtaposition of the two words in Exodus 3:14 and 3:15.⁴⁰ The precise nature of the relationship between *'ehyeh* and *yhwh* thus remains to challenge interpreters.⁴¹

the line in question *u-wu/a*. F. Cross and T.O. Lambdin, "A Ugaritic Abecedary and Origins of the Proto-Canaanite Alphabet," *Bulletin of the American Society for Oriental Research* 160 (1960), 21–26, consider that the spelling *u* represents *hu*, so that the more likely reading of the line would be *hu-wa*, "he."

There is some intriguing evidence for very late (2nd century A.D.) devotion to a deity *'hyw* in the name *'bd'hyw* found in the Nabatean inscriptions from around Sinai; see Mathias Delcor, "Des diverses Manières d'écrire le Tétragramme sacré dans les anciens Documents hébraïques," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 147.2 (1955), 162–163, and A. Vincent, *La Religion des Judéo-Araméens d'Éléphantine* (Paris, 1937), p. 32. It is naturally tempting to compare this name with the earlier *'ehyeh*.

- 39 However, Arnold, "The Divine Name," p. 164, conjectures a 4th-century B.C. pronunciation of *-ay* for the last syllable of *yihyeh* and considers that the preformative of the imperfect *qal* for all verbs was a short *a*/preserved in Tiberian rather than Babylonian vocalization, giving *'ahya* and *yahwa*. For his comment in this respect on bSanh. 101b "g" and Theodoret's "Aia," see pp. 152–155. In some texts of Aquila we shall examine later, the Tetragrammaton is neither transliterated nor replaced with *kurios*. It is written in paleo-Hebrew script, although apparently spelled *yhyh*—the archaic *yod* and *waw* not being distinguished by this scribe. F.C. Burkitt and C. Taylor, *Fragments of the Book of Kings According to the Translation of Aquila* (Cambridge, 1897); C. Taylor, *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests* (Cambridge, 1900), footnote on p. 15. Burkitt notes on p. 16 that this confusion between *yhwh* and *yhyh* is also found in Jacob of Edessa and in manuscripts witnessing to the Syro-Hexapla written both in Syriac script and in Greek. A similar (mis-)reading of *yhwh* as *yhyh* lies behind the LXX rendering of last words of Ezekiel (48:35), where *yhyh* was read instead of *yhwh* and translated "will be" (*estai*).
- 40 Brown et al., eds., *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, p. 218, remark that the *iabe* of Theodoret and Epiphanius, the components of proper names *-yhw* and *yeho-*, and the short form *yah* suggest the form *yahweh*.
- 41 A. Lods, *Israël* (London, 1932), p. 372, n. 2, thought that *yhwh* was original and then had been replaced by *'ehyeh* here to avoid pronunciation. Arnold, "The Divine Name," considered

It is nonetheless worth noting that Jerome and many others before the systematic study of Hebrew grammar treat these as two separate holy names.

These technicalities apart, we shall find “The One who is” to be a frequent way of understanding the divine name, and as we have seen, it is first instanced in the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew *ʾehyeh*, “I shall be,” in Exodus 3:14 as the Greek *ho ōn*, “the Existent One.”

To call God “the Existent One” was not necessarily thereafter considered to be incompatible with claims that this is not, in fact, a name. John Damascene (*On the Orthodox Faith* 1.12) considers that the Deity, being incomprehensible, is also assuredly nameless. Basil the Great (c. 330–379) considered that the names we apply to God reveal his energies (*energeiai*), which draw close to us but in no way draw us closer to his essence (*ousia*), which is inaccessible. Gregory Palamas (1296–1359) authoritatively reiterated that the divine essence is not communicable itself, but only through its energies. This contention will have a long history in Greek Orthodoxy and is defended today by, for example, Thomas Hoko: “God is said to be essentially beyond being, divinity, paternity, sonship, spirithood, goodness, wisdom, power and so on. But God is never said to be hypostatically beyond Father Son and Holy Spirit. For God is

that 3:14a is an interpolation based on 3:14b; that *ʾehyeh* in 3:14b represents an original *yhw*, but in this one place where a name is needed, *ʾadonay* could not be sensibly used. *ʾEhyeh* was used instead as a purely phonetic distortion of *yhw* and is not meaningful. D.J. McCarthy, “Exod. 3.14 History, Philology and Theology,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 40 (1978), 311–322, considered the first *ʾehyeh* in *ʾehyeh asher ʾehyeh* to replace *ani hu* to provide assonance with *yhw* in 3:15. B.B. Beitzel, “Exodus 3:14 and the Divine Name,” *Trinity Journal* n.s. 1 (1980), 5–20, considers that the claim that *yhw* and the verb *hayah* are related etymologically violates, with respect to the hollow verb, a Hebrew law of phonetics whereby the same phonetic rules govern CwC/CyC verbs in all persons. That is: one does not find a verb in this classification exhibiting a middle *waw* in the third person but a *yod* in the first person. Kautzsch declares late exceptions are due to Aramaic influence; Gesenius, *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar*, 2nd English ed., ed. E. Kautzsch (Oxford, 1976), p. 191, § 12m. More recently, C.H. Gordon, “He Is Who He Is,” in *Joshua Finkel Festschrift*, eds. S.B. Hoenig and L.D. Stitskin (New York, 1974), pp. 61–62, argued that *ʾehyeh asher ʾehyeh* can be understood as third person, claiming *yod* can interchange with *aleph* (e.g. Ps. 68:19, *ʾd* for *yd*). He then adduced a late Egyptian divine name, “the one who is who he is.” More evidence was proposed in C.D. Isbell, “Initial *aleph-yod* Interchange in Selected Biblical Passages,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 37.3 (1978), 227–236, citing more passages and also noting that *ʾhyh* appears for *yhw* in Aramaic incantation bowls. Less speculatively, Arthur Gibson, *Biblical Semantic Logic* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 151–164, on the relationship between *yhw* and *ʾehyeh*.

supraessential and even nonessential. But God is not suprahypostatic or non-hypostatic suprapersonal or nonpersonal.”⁴²

Pope Paul VI's *Credo of the People of God* states, in respect of orthodox Roman Catholic belief in God: “He is He who is, as He revealed to Moses; and He is love, as the Apostle John teaches us: so that these two names, being and love, express ineffably the same divine reality of Him.” Paul VI's identification of “being” as a divine name is a reference to the exegesis of Augustine, and through him to the translation of Exodus 3:14b in the Septuagint. Pope John Paul II comments on the words of his predecessor in his *Catechesis on the Creed*: “following the doctrinal and theological tradition of many centuries, he saw in it the revelation of God as ‘being’—subsisting being, which expresses in the language of the philosophy of being (the ontology and metaphysics used by St. Thomas Aquinas), the *essence* of God.” Roman Catholic orthodoxy thus retains the interpretation of the *’ehyeh* of 3:14b as connoting absolute and eternal being, and considers it a divine name.⁴³

Once God is “All Being” (as the Septuagint may suggest), he is both (simultaneously) ineffable (no-name) and all-embracing (every-name). For those who adopted the Septuagint translation, this ambiguity lay at the heart of questions about God's name. Yet God's existence as fundamental being is nonetheless asserted. Paul Ricoeur observed: “This translation opened up an affirmative notices of God's absolute being that could subsequently be transcribed into Neoplatonic and Augustinian ontology and then into Aristotelian and Thomistic metaphysics. In this way the theology of the name could pass over into an Onto-theology.”⁴⁴

Ontological speculation was naturally facilitated in the East by the Septuagint translation, which of course is canonical Scripture for the Greek Orthodox Church. But far earlier, in Philo Judaeus (20 B.C.–50 A.D.), we find ontological concerns linked with ineffability or necessary namelessness. Philo understands Exodus 3 thus: “Tell them that I am He Who Is, that they may learn the difference between what is and what is not and...*further that no name at all*

42 Thomas Hopko, “Apophatic Theology and the Naming of God in Orthodox Tradition,” in *Speaking the Christian God: The Holy Trinity and the Challenge of Feminism*, ed. A.F. Kimmel (Grand Rapids, 1992), p. 157.

43 For Paul VI, see J. Dupuis, ed., *Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church* (New York, 1996), p. 24. John Paul II, *A Catechesis on the Creed: God, Father and Creator* (Boston, 1996), p. 118. Also, L. Ott, “Catholic Doctrine of Ex 3.14 from Patristic Times to the Present,” in *Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma* (Rockford, 1974), pp. 25–27.

44 Paul Ricoeur, *Paul Ricoeur, Essays on Biblical Interpretation*, ed. L.S. Mudge (Philadelphia, 1980), p. 94.

can be properly be used of Me, to Whom alone all existence belongs" (*Vita Mos.* 1.75, my emphasis).⁴⁵ Philo, the most distinguished representative of Hellenized Judaism, here represents the philosophical notions of Middle Platonism. Plato (*Timaeus* 28b; *Cratylus* 400d; *Parmenides* 142a) had determined that Absolute Being has no proper name, for that would require something greater to give the name—a difficult requirement in the case of God. Philo observes later (2. 207), albeit less philosophically, that one does not call one's parents by their first names, and further discusses the divine reluctance to reveal a name.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Philo does use the masculine particle *ho ôn* to speak of the God of Israel, and not the neuter participle (*to on*) of Plato. The Christian Justin Martyr is also eloquent on the impossibility of naming God.⁴⁷

We shall shortly be discussing how the Tetragrammaton was represented in Greek biblical texts of the time of Philo. It is, I believe, difficult to believe that Philo was familiar with (or perhaps approved of) Greek biblical texts which generally used *iaô*, or a Hebrew Tetragrammaton. This would seem to clash with his assertion of the namelessness of God.

Yet the name of God (ineffable though it may be) as "the Existent One" has been an established *topos* which has grounded much of Western ontology throughout Late Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and beyond, as Ricoeur emphasizes. Reflecting upon this tradition after the rise of the considerable differences between classical philosophy and modern notions of ontology, Ricoeur elsewhere stresses the reasons for the longevity of the ontological interpretation.⁴⁸ For some fifteen centuries, from the Fathers to Leibnitz and Wolff, the God of Moses' religion and the Being of Greek philosophy met without confusion at the heart of the Christian faith. Rather than denounce this as an intolerable confusion or a scandalous perversion, we may ask why the view was so enduring. First, as we have said, God in Exodus 3:14 clearly designates himself as the Existing One in both Greek and Latin Christian Bibles. In neither version does Exodus 3:14 offer an explanation of the meaning of the Tetragrammaton, which simply does not appear there. In both, God—and this is a direct divine

45 Guy Stroumsa, "A Nameless God: Judaeo-Christian and Gnostic 'Theologies of the Name,'" in *The Image of the Judaeo-Christians in Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature*, eds. P.J. Tomson and D. Lambers-Petry (Tübingen, 2003), pp. 230–243, esp. pp. 231–234, remarks that for Philo the God of Israel was "almost nameless."

46 *De Mut. Nom.* 11–15. See also *De Somnis* 1.230; *De Gigant* 109; *Quod deterius* 160; and *Quis rerum divinarum* 170.

47 *Apol* I 10.1; I 61.11; I 63.1; II 12.4.

48 Ricoeur, "De l'interprétation à la traduction," pp. 346–385 at p. 359. Ricoeur here replies to A. LaCocque "La Révélation des Révélation Exode 3.14," in LaCocque and Ricoeur, *Penser La Bible*, pp. 314–345.

revelation, not the result of theological speculation—declares his existence. Nor was there the necessary historical perspective to see the Latin versions as dependent upon the Greek Septuagint translation.

This understanding of the divine name chimed in well, as we have just seen, with Plato, was compatible with Aristotle, and was reinforced later by Moses Maimonides, the basis for much subsequent Christian comment on the divine name in this respect.⁴⁹ Maimonides was born in Cordoba in 1135 and later lived and died in Old Cairo. In 1190 he wrote his *Guide for the Perplexed*, which attempted to bring together Aristotle's thought and the Hebrew Bible's revelation of God. He tells us that there is no similarity in any way whatsoever between God and his creatures, for the difference between them is absolute. God has no positive attributes; only the negative attributes of God are his true attributes. By each negative attribute one advances towards knowledge of God, but when we say that that essence which we call God is a substance with many properties, we apply that name to an object that does not exist at all. Here we meet again "apophatic" theology (from the Greek word for "denial"), which seeks to approach the infinite by denying everything finite about it. Apophatic theology exercises some considerable restraint upon positive assertions about God in the West due to the considerable influence of pseudo-Dionysius, whom we shall meet repeatedly.

Maimonides continues in this context to discuss the Tetragrammaton:

It is well known that all the names of God occurring in Scripture are derived from his actions, except one, namely the Tetragrammaton, which consists of the letters *yod, he, vau, he* (i.e. *yhwhe*) This name is applied to God, and is on that account called the *Shem ha-meforash*, 'the *nomen proprium*'. It is the distinct and exclusive designation of the Divine Being; whilst His other names are common nouns, and are derived from actions... The derivation of the name, consisting of *yod, he, vau, he* is not positively known, the word having no additional signification. The sacred name which, as you know, was not pronounced except in the sanctuary by the appointed priests, when they gave the sacerdotal blessing, and by the High Priest on the Day of Atonement, undoubtedly denotes something which is peculiar to God, and is not found in any other being. It is possible that in the Hebrew language of which we now have but a slight knowledge, the Tetragrammaton in the way it was pronounced conveyed

49 J. Guttman, *Der Einfluss der maimonidischen Philosophie auf das christliche Abendland* (Leipzig, 1908); Görg K. Hasselhoff, *Dicit rabbi Moyses* (Würzburg, 2004), on the history of Christian use of Maimonides, pp. 163–187.

the meaning of absolute existence. In short, the majesty of the name and the great dread of uttering it are connected to the fact that it denotes God Himself, without including in its meaning any names of things created by him.⁵⁰

That “the words have no additional significance” was to become of the utmost importance for both Paul of Burgos and Martin Luther.

In spite of philosophical anxieties after Heidegger, theo-ontology is still a going concern today.⁵¹ However, perhaps it is worth stating the obvious: that although Yhwh in the Hebrew Scriptures is depicted in many respects as corresponding to common philosophical notions of God, there are times when he is not portrayed as simple, omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, and trans-temporal.⁵² The coexistence of these two types of description may suggest that fundamental ontology is not the only interest of the Hebrew Bible.

Finally, Paul Ricoeur draws attention to the rich polysemy of the verb “to be” in Greek, which stimulated the development not of one indisputable notion of being, but rather awareness of the equivocal nature of a notion of being. Aristotle himself (*Metaphysics* E2) had remarked that “Being, properly so called, is taken in many ways (*pollakhôs legetai*).” Could it not be, asks Ricoeur, that the author of the Hebrew Exodus 3:14 also sought to evoke the rich polysemy of the verb “to be” in the context of a theophany of the divine existence, efficacy, faithfulness, and historical presence, dissociated from magical utility? The Greek translation was extraordinarily pervasive and effected a confluence

50 M. Frielander’s translation of *Maimonides Guide for the Perplexed* (Dover, 1904; New York, 1956), pp. 89–90. It may be interesting to consider here Leonard Angel, “Reconstructing the Ineffable: The Grammatical Role of ‘God,’” *Religious Studies* 14.4 (1978), 485–495.

51 Stanley J. Grenz, *The Named God and the Question of Being: A Trinitarian Theo-Ontology* (Louisville, 2005), claims that the ontological category should be the guiding category by which God is understood. He describes the engagement between the Western philosophical tradition and Christianity, describing with admirable clearness first the Platonic concept of being and then interpretations of Exodus 3:14 in Scripture. He passes on finally to a dialogue between these and ontological philosophy by way of the divine name, examining the interplay between a God who is both named and triune—and being. For other theological work on the Tetragrammaton and the Trinity, see *Gott nennen: Der trinitarische Name Gottes in seinen Verhältnis zum Tetragram* (Evangelische Theologie) 5 (2004). The whole volume is given over to this topic. Also: R.K. Soulen, *The Divine Name(s) and the Holy Trinity*, vol. 1 (Louisville, 2011); and I.U. Dalferth et al., eds., *Der Name Gottes* (J. Mohr, Tübingen 2008). We now have Saner, *YHWH*, pp. 200–220.

52 J.W. Gericke, “YHWH and the God of Philosophical Theology,” *Verbum et Ecclesia* 26.3 (2005), 677–689.

between Philo, the Fathers, and the Neoplatonists. *But perhaps it also caught some part of the questions raised by the Hebrew text of Exodus 3:14.*

The Greek and Latin versions of Exodus 3:14 arose from the pen of the translator. Whether this was a highly motivated philosophical strategy or an *ad hoc* solution, there arises inevitably the more general question of translatability.⁵³ If we are using a name (perhaps a pure proper name for the incomprehensible Deity), how can we do so, and how shall we translate it? Even transcribed into another language *yhwh* gives a rather different feel from the original. George Steiner discusses the difficulties of translating even the (apparently) most simple of words.⁵⁴

Some proper names are pure and refer solely to one entity. But others are not so pure. *Babel*, the name of the city Babylon (in Hebrew), presumably substitutes for the Akkadian city name *bab-ilim*. The “transparent” sense of the Hebrew name (confusion) is exploited explicitly in narrative, although an Akkadian speaker presumably thought the “transparent” sense of the name was “gate—or perhaps, city quarter—of the gods.” The etymological content of transparent names is more difficult to render for those who do not hear it in their own language.

Aristotle’s pronouncement that there are no names by nature stands in the background to many subsequent discussions, even on those occasions when authors wish to disagree with him in the case of divine names.⁵⁵ We shall encounter some who by contrast consider names, particularly divine names, particularly powerful, whether by nature or specific divine contrivance. However, Christian Scripture embraces the Hebrew Bible, the Greek Old Testament, and the Greek New Testament, and, for post-Trentine Catholics, the Vulgate. The obvious observation is that these are in different languages and the name of God is treated differently. Moreover, the early Christians—and many since—have readily and enthusiastically accepted the translatability of their Scriptures (old and new) and habitually sought to spread the gospel in other tongues. We may ask how the name of God has been variously rendered in all of these different versions. The situation is generally unlike that in Islam, some types of Judaism, and some minority Christian groups, who use

53 D.S. Cunningham, “On Translating the Divine Name,” *Theological Studies* 56 (1995), 415–440. For advice on transliterating the name in many specified contexts, Nico Daams, “Translating YHWH,” *Journal of Translation* 1.1 (2005), 47–55.

54 Nicely illustrated in George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 303–304.

55 *On Interpretation* 2.16, a 28, in *The Categories On Interpretation and the Prior Analytics* (London, 1938), p. 116.

(or seek to use) just one untranslated name, and where we can speak more coherently of a single name. We shall encounter among Western Christians the ten Hebrew divine names that they learned from Jerome, including *ʿehyeh* and *yhwh* (or, more pointedly, *Yahweh* or *Jehovah*); we also shall see *kurios* or *Dominus*, *Qui est*, and the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost of the majority text of the baptismal formula in Matthew 28:19.

Such variety is not necessarily always and altogether liberating. Feminist theologians here raise the felicity of the gender of Father and Son, whereas traditionalists maintain these cannot be changed, or are perhaps the best that can be done. In my lifetime the name of the Holy Ghost (in English) has commonly changed to the Holy Spirit, presumably indicating that some change is possible. More relevant to our concerns is the apparent default substitution of “Lord” for *yhwh* in versions throughout all of our period.⁵⁶ This evidently not only carries a gender weighting, but also hints at social, economic, or political dominance, which *yhwh* does not. Throughout the book we shall examine the Christian use of various words for Lord to substitute for *yhwh*.

Other Suggested Etymologies from hyh or hwh

Other etymological explanations of *yhwh* seek to account for the Hebrew divine name somewhat differently, albeit still from the verb *hyh* or *hwh* understood as a verb “to be.” W. von Soden interpreted *yahwi* as “he is”—precisely as the absence of a name and as a claim to a universalist conception, but an

56 See Caroline V. Stickele, “The Lord Can No Longer Be Taken for Granted: The Rendering of JHWH in the New Dutch Bible Translations,” in *Femmes, La Liturgie et Le Rituel*, eds. S.K. Roll et al. (Louvain, 2001), pp. 179–188. This has prompted general support from Kristin de Troyer, who has a more technical view, in “The Names of God, Their Pronunciation and Their Translation: A Digital Tour of Some of the Main Witnesses,” *Lectio Difficilior* 2 (2005); idem, “The Choice is Yours! On Names of God,” in *Building Bridges in a Multifaceted Europe: Religion, Origins, Traditions, Contexts and Identities*, eds. S. Bieberstein et al. (Journal of the European Society of Women in Theological Research) (Louvain, 2007), pp. 53–67, who develops the argument by finding that *kurios* was not necessarily the original, and therefore authoritative, translation of *yhwh* in the early Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible. Also her “The Pronunciation of the Names of God,” in *Die Name Gottes*, eds. I.U. Dalferth et al. N. Mundhenk, “Jesus is Lord: The Tetragrammaton in Bible Translation,” *Bible Translator* 61.2 (2010), 55–63, concludes hesitantly that the KJV use of LORD in the Old Testament and Lord in the New is not easily improved upon. F.B. Denio, “The Use of the Word Jehovah in Translating the Old Testament,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 46 (1927), 146–149, preferred *Jehovah*.

avoidance of what he saw as an unlikely philosophy of causality. He sought support from Amorite names attested at Mari, like *yah-wi-ilum*.⁵⁷ De Moor suggested *yahwe-el*, meaning “May El be present,” like *yaqub-el*, “May El protect.” Composite names with *-el* are found, such as *rkb'l* (*rakib-el*), “Charioteer of El.”⁵⁸

Others explain the element *ya-* as an imperfect of the causative theme of *hwh* or *hyh*.⁵⁹ This theme, however, does not appear with *hayah* in biblical Hebrew, where the *pi'el* theme is used as a causative.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, translations such as “I cause to be what comes into existence” and “I am he that sustains” seek to understand the name in this fashion as in some way denoting the Creator.⁶¹ The American biblical scholar W.F. Albright suggested an original phrase: *el yahweh yisrael*, “El creates/gives life to Israel.” This type of understanding of the name as originally part of a cultic title of the Canaanite god El is also found in an interpretation of the name by F.M. Cross. (That Yhwh was once the same as El was proposed in the 19th century by Julius Wellhausen.) Cross holds that the name originated in a cultic title of El, *il du yahwi saba'oth*, “El who creates armies.”⁶² *yahwi* is taken here as a *hiphil* of the verb *hyh/hwh*,

57 Wolfram von Soden, “Jahwe Er ist, Er erweist sich,” in *Bibel und Alter Orient. Altorientischer Beiträge um Alten Testamentum von Wolfram von Soden*, ed. H.-P. Müller (Berlin, 1985), pp. 78–88.

58 Johannes C. de Moor, *The Rise of Yahwism: The Roots of Israelite Monotheism*, 2nd ed. (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium) 91 (Leuven, 1997), pp. 162–169, claimed to read *yw* “Ya(h)we” in Ugarit text KTU 1.1 IV 13–20, but the evidence is fragile.

59 The Septuagint, of course, evidently read the word as a *qal* and not as causative.

60 H. Bauer, “Die Gottheiten von Ras Schamra,” *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 51 (1933), 93, n. 7; M. Reisel, *The Mysterious Name of Y. H. W. H: The Tetragrammaton in Connection with the Names Ehyeh asher Ehyeh, Huha, and Shem Hammephorash* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica) 2 (Assen, 1957), p. 17; G. Quell, “The Old Testament Name for God,” in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 3 (Grand Rapids, 1965), p. 1068, n. 151; cf. Brown et al., eds., *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, pp. 224–228; L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden, 2002), 1229–1230. Paul de Lagarde, *Erklärung hebraischer wörter* (Göttingen, 1880), pp. 27–30, considered that it was the sacred character of the name that itself caused the postulated causative form to fall out of use and thereby explained its lack of attestation. This seems to be rather circular reasoning. Such a causative is not found in Semitic languages where *yhwh* was never sacred.

61 One might thus argue on this view that the name of the place called “Jehovah–shalom” in Judges 6:24a (AV) means “He creates peace.”

62 The theory has quite a long scholarly pre-history, taking several forms and embracing: Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, trans. J.S. Black and A. Menzies (Edinburgh, 1885), p. 433, n. 1 (the remark is not found in the original German edition); P. Haupt, “Der Name Jahwe,” *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 12 (1909), 211–214; W.F. Albright,

meaning “to cause to be” or “create.” The forms *yhw* and *’hyh* (clearly vocalized as a *qal*, the simple active theme, in the Massoretic text) are thus considered later developments.⁶³

Le Clerc in his 1696 *Commentary on Exodus 6:3* explained the meaning of the Tetragrammaton, which he pronounced as “Yahweh,” meaning “genesiourgon” or “one who brings to pass”—an early representative of the many scholars who have been inclined to understand a causative sense of *hyh/hwh*,⁶⁴ but taken here as designating not the Creator, but rather the “One who makes things happen.”⁶⁵

“Contributions to Biblical Archaeology and Philology, 2: The Name Yahweh,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 43 (1924), 370–378; W.F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Garden City, 1957), pp. 15–16, with other examples of hypocoristica pp. 260–261; J.P. Hyatt, “Yahweh as ‘the God of my Father,’” *Vetus Testamentum* 5 (1955), 130–136; R. Dussaud, “Yahwé, fils de El,” *Syria* 34.3–4 (1957), 232–242; F.M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Legend* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), pp. 60–75; David Noel Freedman, “The Name of the God of Moses,” in *Divine Commitment and Human Obligation*, vol. 1, ed. J.R. Huddlestun (Grand Rapids, 1997), pp. 82–87 (originally, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 79 (1960), 151–156); M. Dijkstra “Yahweh-El or El Yahweh?” in “Dort ziehen Schiffe dahin...”: *Collected Communications to the XIVth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Paris 1992*, eds. M. Augustin and K.-D. Schunck (Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums) 28 (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), pp. 43–52. It is possible, of course, to defend a *hiphil*, as did Haupt, without postulating the further refinement of a supposed liturgical name of El.

- 63 I am very reluctant to accept this account of the origin of *yhw* as part of the cultic name of “El who creates armies,” in spite of its popularity. The supposed formula is unattested and purely speculative—it also assumes groundlessly that Hebrew (like Aramaic and Syriac) had a *hiphil* of the verb *hyh/hwh*, meaning “to create” (Payne-Smith’s *Thesaurus* seems moreover to indicate that the *hiphil* in Syriac is both late and rare.). There is also no difficulty in *yhw* as a proper name appearing in a “construct” relationship, as in “Yhwh of hosts.” I should also wish to argue in this matter that Yhwh is a separate deity from El. See: John Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan* (London, 2000), pp. 13–17.
- 64 For the older moderns, see. S.R. Driver, “Recent Theories on the Origin and Nature of the Tetragrammaton,” in *Studia Biblica*, eds. S.R. Driver et al. (Oxford, 1875), pp. 1–20 at pp. 13–14; Anon., “Origin of Name Jehovah,” *Biblical Repository* 4.13–16 (1834), 97; F. Hitzing, *Ueber die Gottesnamen im alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1875).
- 65 “Uno verbo graece non ineleganter dixeris γενεσιουργόν existentiae effectorem, qua Clemens Alexandrinus aliique Patres usi sunt, ut significetur ὃς τὴν γένεσιν πάντων ἐργάζεται.” The Patriarchs had known God as *El Shaddai* but had not seen the fulfilment of his promises which “*iam yhw* [printed in Hebrew letters] *ut esset facturus erat. hinc Deus hic orationem orditur his verbis ’ny yhw* [Hebrew], *hoc est, is qui re praestiturus sum quod olim promisi.*” Driver (op. cit.), p. 13. One may note that this wider sense of “causes to happen” is defended in W.H. Brownlee, “The Ineffable Name of God,” *Bulletin of the American Oriental Society* 226 (1977), 39–46.

The common view is thus that *yhwh* is a trilateral verbal form from *hwh*. J. Obermann, however, argued that *yhwh* need not represent a finite verb, but is rather a causative participle.⁶⁶ As a finite verb, it would of necessity be in the third person, which would clash very oddly with the first-person pronoun in the common biblical formula *'ani yhwh*, "I am Yhwh."⁶⁷ On the analogy (in his understanding) of the usage of the Karatepe inscription, he submitted that *yhwh* was a causal participle formed with a *y-* rather than the expected *m-*. Obermann considered *yhwh* to mean "Sustainer" or "Maintainer."⁶⁸

Providence Rather than Ontology

Rather of a different kind are interpretations which eschew the ontological view for a more phenomenological perspective. Paying attention to the surrounding text and later scriptural usage, God is understood to be saying that he will reveal himself in history. Most particularly, this is seen in terms of the Covenant and God's redemption of his people. The divine name appears frequently in Covenant formulae, and God promises in the context of the immediate Exodus to be "with" his people.⁶⁹ Rashi, as we have seen, adopted a view rather like this, and it has been thought to illuminate the view of the Church taken in Matthew's Gospel.⁷⁰ This understanding is distinct from once popular modern contentions that Hebrew had a different notion of being, a theological

66 J. Obermann, "The Divine Name YHWH in the Light of Recent Discoveries," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 68 (1949), 301–323, esp. 303–309; idem, "Survival of an Old Canaanite Participle and Its Import on Biblical Exegesis," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 70 (1951), 199–209.

67 F. Andersen, *The Hebrew Verbless Clause in the Pentateuch* (Nashville, 1970), pp. 39–42.

68 G.R. Driver, "Reflections on Recent Articles," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 72 (1954), 125–131, rejects the Karatepe evidence, considering the forms in question to be infinitives followed by a personal pronoun. It is also not at all certain that causative participles with a prefixed *y-* exist in any Semitic language, whereas causative forms of *hwy* are known.

69 This is the view taken by Raymond Abba, "The Divine name YHWH," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 80 (1961), 325. "I shall be with you" occurs in the patriarchal narratives in Genesis 26:3, 24–28; 28:15; 31:3; 39:2, 3, 21, 31; and with David in 2 Samuel 7. J.-P. Sonnet, "Ehyeh asher Ehyeh (Exodus 3.14): God's 'Narrative Identity' among Suspense, Curiosity and Surprise," *Poetics Today* 31.2 (2010), 331–351, considers God's self-designation within the narrative context of Exodus.

70 H. Frankmölle, *Yahwe-Bund und Kirche Christi* (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen) 10 (Münster, 1974), pp. 79–83, interpreting Jesus' presence with the disciples in Matthew 28:16–20 partially in the light of Yhwh's promise to be with his people.

view that no longer enjoys linguistic support.⁷¹ It is not, however, unrelated in its contemporary articulations to 20th-century philosophical hesitations about the validity of classical metaphysics.

One might have thought such a view potentially attractive to Christian theologians seeking to ground, say, Isaiah's Servant songs within God's engagement with his people's history. We have seen, however, the extraordinary strength of the Septuagint translation, its authority as a divine self-pronouncement, and its happy congruence with Neoplatonism. Recall, too, that it is only in the Hebrew Bible, which soon slipped from the linguistic competence of almost all Western Christians, that there was any suggestion that Exodus 3:14 was about explaining the name of God (which did not appear in their Bibles anyway). Furthermore, one may conjecture that such a view, if articulated, say, from traditional rabbinic sources, may well have stimulated a fear of Sabellianism, the heresy of allowing that God may suffer. The static and absolute account of God's being we have just been considering allows no changes or emotional experience for God, who would thereby suffer some sort of lack. Though modern theologians have raised anew the question of God's suffering, for much of the earlier period the Talmudic teaching of God sharing in his people's suffering was thus excluded by the more ontological readings.⁷²

Modern Jewish scholars have been more sympathetic to such an approach.⁷³ Franz Rosenzweig, attempting to go beyond the Platonic, Aristotelian, and

71 James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Languages* (Oxford, 1961), was decisive here and a fundamental stimulus to more linguistically sophisticated accounts. Also Gibson, *Biblical Semantic Logic*. Idel, *Ben*, p. 104, offers an undifferentiated bibliography covering all positions. Naomi Janowitz, *The Poetics of Ascent* (New York, 1989), pp. 127–130. "O.T. Theologies of Language" offers sensible criticism of several previous works: Oskar Grether, *Name und Wort Gottes in Alten Testament* (Giessen, 1934); O. Procksch, "The Word of God in the Old Testament," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 4, ed. G. Kittel (Grand Rapids, 1967), pp. 91–100. See also A.C. Thiselton, "The Supposed Power of Words in the Biblical Writings," *Journal of Theological Studies* 25 (1974), 283–299.

72 Most famously, perhaps, Jurgen Moltmann, *The Crucified God* (London, 2001). Terence Fretheim, *The Suffering of God* (Overtures to Biblical Theology) (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 99–100, notes biblical concern about the name of God with a commandment to protect the name of God (Exod. 20:7 cf. Lev. 29:12). He considers the giving of a name to open the way to a certain intimacy of relationship. Naming suggests disponibility, historicity, and vulnerability. Abuse of the name creates the possibility of pain.

73 B.E. Galli, "Rosenzweig and the Name for God," *Modern Judaism* 14.1 (1994), 63–86; F. Albertini, "EHYEH ASHER EHYEH: Ex 3.14 According to the Interpretations of Moses Mendelsohn, Franz Rosenzweig and Martin Buber," in *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2, eds. Judit Taragona Borrás and Angel Sáenz-Badillos (Leiden, 1999), pp. 19–26. It is interesting to note that the *Traduction oecuménique de la Bible* (1988;

Alexandrian glosses—and the Vulgate—to a meaning which connects the name to the moment of its revelation, translated Exodus 3:14 as *Ich werde dasein als der Ich dasein werde* and *Ich bin da schickt mich zu euch...*,” and privileged providence over necessary existence in his interpretation. Enslaved Israel heard reassurance and liberation rather than an *ex cathedra* lecture on God’s necessary existence. God was not the Essential Being (*Der Seiende*) but the Existent Being (*Der Daseiende*), existing not only for Himself but “for you.” On the Exodus text, Rosenzweig spoke of the desperately unhappy who, like their leader, needed the consolation of the *Bei-ihren-Sein*.⁷⁴ Such formulations, skillfully achieved in German but not so easy to translate, do not, one notes, entirely remove the verb “to be” from the verse. In fact, it would surely be very difficult to translate this verse without some recourse to use of the verb. One may ask whether ontology is necessarily to be entirely removed here.

Moses Mendelssohn considered the verb “an archaic contracted form” of the verb “to be” which he held embraced simultaneously past, present, and future. One may hesitate about the philology here, but he rendered the Exodus text: *Gott sprach zu Mosche: ‘Ich bin das Wesen weches ewig ist’. Er sprach nämlich: ‘So sollst du zu den Kindern Jisraels sprechen: Das ewige wesen welches sich nennt: Ich bin ewig, hat mich zu euch gesendet’*. Thereafter, the translation *Der Ewige* (*The Eternal*) rather imposed itself upon German Judaism. The *’ehyeh* of 3:14b appears to be the name by which God is known to Himself, as Mendelssohn translates it as “I am eternal.” He understood the name to mean that God was ever present and with his people in their sufferings—an ever-present Providence would be with them every time they came crying to the Lord. So, yes, “Eternal”—but with the meaning of that name found in history.⁷⁵ Mendelssohn further interprets the tripartite name (*’ehyeh-’ehyeh-’ehyeh*) as somehow indicating both “the necessity of existence” and “the continuous and abiding character of providence,” the former in relation to the existence of God and the latter relating to His actions.

Martin Buber’s version was consonant with that of Franz Rosenzweig: *Gott aber sprach zu Mosche, Ich werde da sein, als der ich dasein werde. Und sprach: So sollst du zu den Söhnen Jisraels sprechen: ‘Ich bin da’ schickt mich zu euch.*

new edition 1995) has JE SUIS QUI JE SERAI, and the Dutch ecumenical translation of 2004 has *Ik ben der er zijn zal*.

74 Franz Rosenzweig, “The Eternal,” in Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig, *Scripture and Translation*, trans. L. Rosenwald and Everett Fox (Bloomington, 1929). A convenient introduction to Rosenzweig is still Nahum Glatzer, *Franz Rosenzweig: His Life and Thought* (New York, 1961).

75 M. Mendelssohn, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 9/1 (Berlin), pp. 133–134.

Buber found in the repeated *’ehyeh* a double promise and the sign of his famous dialogic relationship, insisting that the Eternal “You” cannot become an “It” at all, nor any part of our “It world” language, else we simply are not discussing God at all.⁷⁶

Buber considered the usual interpretation of *’ehyeh asher ’ehyeh*, in which God describes himself as “the Existing One” or “the Everlasting One Eternally Persisting in Being,” as an unlikely abstraction and not the sense of the biblical Hebrew verb “to be.” This he described as “not abstract but denoting happening, coming into being, being present, being thus and thus.”⁷⁷ He saw the abstract “I am who I am” as only an avoidance of the question and quite inappropriate in the narrative context where God is about to liberate his people and promises to be with them and to remain with them.

The two-fold *’ehyeh* emphasized for Buber the unconditionality of the promise.⁷⁸ Such an abiding presence he saw as a rebuke to the techniques of Egyptian magic encouraging the evocation of the deity: Yhwh is not merely present in some place or at some time (as evoked), but always so.⁷⁹ God’s name expresses his character and assures the faithful of the richly protective presence of the Lord.⁸⁰ God is thus not a *deus absconditus* but a *deus adventurus*. This future potentiality of God is perhaps rather like Whitehead’s process theology, with God’s “consequent nature” a reservoir of potentialities to be creatively realized as the world.⁸¹

76 On Buber’s translation ER IST DA for the Tetragrammaton, see: S. Kepnes, “Introductory Comments to Buber’s New German Translation of the Scriptures,” in *The Return to Scripture in Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Postcritical Scriptural Interpretation*, ed. P. Ochs (Mahwah, 1993), pp. 327–332. Buber’s own “Towards a New German Translation of the Scriptures” appears on pp. 334–357.

77 Buber, *Moses*, p. 49.

78 For Motyer the repetition of *’ehyeh* was of no significance, as it was dropped in Exodus 3:14b; Motyer, *The Revelation of the Divine Name*.

79 For texts that may illustrate this, see “The God and His Unknown Name of Power” in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J.B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1969), p. 12ff. G. von Rad, *Moses* (London, 1960), p. 20, considers that Moses poses his request for God’s name in such a way that he wants God to work for him—in fact, that he is intent on magic.

80 Buber, *Moses*, pp. 51–53.

81 A.N. Whitehead, *Process and Reality* (London, 1929). A corrected edition is D. Griffin and D. Sherburne, eds., *A. N. Whitehead, Process and Reality* (New York, 1978). Among modern Jewish translators, Nahum Sarna, *Exodus: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (New York, 1991), p. 17, n. 13, discusses possible translations of Exodus 3:14 in his commentary in the JPS Torah—“I am that I am,” “I am who I am,” and “I will be what I will be.” He thinks the phrase clearly evokes the divine name and represents the earliest

Buber says “*’ehyeh ’asher ’ehyeh* reveals in the first person what the name (YHWH) conceals in the third.”⁸² Further, “the direct word *’ehyeh* explains the indirect name (YHWH).”⁸³ However, he was obviously very reluctant to recognize *’ehyeh* as a divine name, because he pointedly states, “...that *’Ehyeh* is not a name; God can never be named so. Only on this one occasion, in the sole moment of transmitting his work, is Moses allowed to take God’s self-comprehension in his mouth as a name.”⁸⁴

This final point is similar to an interpretation of Exodus 3:14 by Menahem Recanati, the 14th-century Kabbalist and Halakhic authority. Like Ibn Ezra and Rashbam before him, Recanati identified *’ehyeh* as the first-person form of the third-person name *yhwh*. However, he went one very important step further by explicitly identifying *’ehyeh* as the holiest of God’s names, this on account of it being the name that God gives to himself and with which he designates himself in the first person. Recanati understood this name to denote pure existence—which is identical to the divine essence—and to contain within it the mystery of existence. He considered the name *yhwh* to be less holy and to also denote pure existence, but to do so in the third person, because it is God’s creations who address this name to their Creator.

We have been at pains thus far to stress the difference between the Hebrew text, which in some way appears to explain the Tetragrammaton, and the Greek Septuagint text, with its assertion of God as “the existent one.” Our review of modern Jewish scholars’ work has emphasized what we may call “providential”

understanding of it. He considers *hayah* to express either “the quality of absolute being, the eternal unchanging dynamic presence,” or to mean “causing to be.” In his *Exploring Exodus: The Origins of Biblical Israel* (New York, 1996), p. 52, however, he seems to favour “Being in the sense of the reality of God’s active, dynamic presence,” and not “Being as opposed to non-being, not being as an abstract, philosophical notion.” This would appear to be affirming the interpretation of Rosenzweig and Buber, but seems rather at odds with the previous “quality of absolute being.” Jeffrey Tigay, in the *Jewish Study Bible, Exodus*, in Berlin and Brettler, eds., *The Jewish Study Bible*, p. 111, offers “I will be what I will be” for the translation of *’ehyeh ’asher ’ehyeh*, and interprets its meaning to be: “My nature will become evident from My actions.” He proposes *’ehyeh ’asher ’ehyeh* as the explanation of the meaning of the name *yhwh*, and the *’ehyeh* of 3:14b as a shortened form of *’ehyeh ’asher ’ehyeh* and as the first-person singular imperfect form of the verb root *hayah*, and to mean “I will be.” He understands *yhwh* to be the corresponding third-person form of *hayah*, “He will be” and the whole phrase as an *idem per idem* semantic device showing God as “simply being cagey.” Finally, he concludes that the *’ehyeh* of 3:14b is “nonsense” and that Yhwh is here displaying “anthropopathic petulance.”

82 Buber and Rosenzweig, *Scripture and Translation*, p. 193.

83 Buber, *Moses*, p. 53.

84 It is just possible that Hosea 1:8 has *’ehyeh* as (a play on?) a divine name.

interpretations of the Tetragrammaton but has not entirely, it is important to note, removed ontological implications. The trend of late 19th-century and 20th-century scholarship, however, has been sharply to oppose the meaning of the Hebrew text with the later Christian interpretations based upon Greek and Latin Bibles. A succinct and representative position was taken by Gerhard von Rad:

nothing is further from what is envisaged in this etymology of the name of Jahwe, than a definition of his nature in the sense of a philosophical statement about his being—(LXX *ego eimi ho ôn*)—a suggestion, for example of his absoluteness, aseity etc. Such a thing would be altogether out of keeping with the Old Testament. The whole narrative context leads right away to the expectation that Jahwe intends to impart something—but this is not what he is, but what he will show himself to be to Israel.⁸⁵

We shall, by contrast, on occasion draw attention to “providential” aspects of the interpretations of those using Christian Bibles, as well as Jewish interpretations which evoke God’s existence, such as those we have just mentioned.

Acknowledging both ontological and providential perspectives, Paul Ricoeur insists that the ontological predication of God be framed in both a narrative and a prescriptive context—as is made quite clear in Exodus 20:1: “It is I Yhwh, your God, who brought you out...: you shall have no other God”—which brings together the revelation of the name, the history of the Exodus, and the First Commandment.⁸⁶ Thus the *Shema*⁶ proclaims the unity of God and does not allow itself to be decomposed into two statements: that God is and that he is alone. Rather, the historical and ethical efficacy of the name makes any supposedly distinct claim of existence superfluous. Ricoeur sees in the very moment when God says “*ehyeh asher ehyeh*” and Moses says “Here am I” the ethico-narrative character of the revelation of God, related intrinsically

85 Gerhard von Rad, *Old Testament Theology: The Theology of Israel's Historical Traditions*, vol. 1 (London, 1966), p. 180. Similarly, T.B. Dozeman, *Commentary on Exodus* (Grand Rapids, 2009), p. 135, “the verbal character of the name *yhwh* places the focus of God’s name on actions for the Israelites and not on God’s independent being or essence”; G. Larsson, *Bound for Freedom: The Book of Exodus in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (Peabody, 1999), p. 33, “God is what God does.”

86 Paul Ricoeur, “D’un Testament à l’Autre: Essai d’Herméneutique biblique,” in *La Mémoire et le Temps: Mélanges offerts à Pierre Bonnard*, eds. D. Marguerat and J. Zumstein (Geneva, 1991), pp. 299–309. Also: Paul Ricoeur and André LaCocque, “The Revelation of Revelation,” in André LaCocque and Paul Ricoeur, *Thinking Biblically: Exegetical and Hermeneutic Studies* (Chicago, 1998), pp. 307–330.

to past and future, to memory and promise, to ancestry and to eschatology. He feels the Gilsonian metaphysics of Exodus (which stresses St Thomas Aquinas's ontology) needs to be checked by the narrative character of the call and the repetitive—excessive—character of Yhwh's triple use of *'ehyeh*, which he notes both Rosenzweig and Buber translate in terms of becoming. The narrative framework itself prevents one from overvaluing and hypostasizing the triple *'ehyeh*, which culminates in the Name *yhwh*.⁸⁷ This triplication rather engenders a surplus of meaning, opening up a history of multiple interpretations and renewed fidelity to action (*wirken*). This excess generates a hermeneutic situation of a unique type, whereby the signification cannot be separated from its effects—its *Wirkungsgeschichte*. Attempts at reconciling these two perspectives continue.⁸⁸

Thus, Michael Allen has sought to retrieve the value of the Christian biblical texts, and in a recent doctorate A.D. Saner has emphasized similarly that the received notions of a sharp divide between the Hebrew text and Christian readings should be rejected.⁸⁹ In this respect it is interesting to notice that Cornelis den Hertog has sought to show that Philo's conclusions on the nature of God do not follow necessarily from a strict reading of Exodus 3 in the Septuagint.⁹⁰ We shall meet several exegetes who manage to combine both ontology and providence. It is not difficult to notice that there is here among Christians a struggle over the relative canonical authority of Hebrew and Greek Bibles.

87 Ibid., p. 302.

88 The challenge of talking of “God after the God of Metaphysics” is taken up by Richard Kearney, *The God Who May Be: A Hermeneutics of Religion* (Bloomington, 2001). He offers a hermeneutic retrieval of Scriptural texts in the light of modern continental philosophers' accounts of the religious. *'Ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh* is interpreted in chapter two to guard against conflating Yhwh with the Supreme Being of philosophy, which leads to “onto-theology.” Kearney reads “I will be who I will be”—for God is not being or non-being but a self-generating event. God is what he will be when he becomes his kingdom and his kingdom comes on earth. “I am who I may be” is a performative rather than constative expression involving mutual answerability and co-creation. Kearney attempts to prevent God's transcendence from becoming too transcendent, but on the other hand, he does not wish to reduce God to human hermeneutics. Kearney defends his onto-eschatological reading as indicating that God puts Being into question, just as Being gives flesh to God. Richard Kearney is co-editor with J. O'Leary of *Heidegger et la Question de Dieu* (Paris, 1981).

89 R. Michael Allen, “Exodus 3. After the Hellenistic Thesis,” *Journal of Theological Interpretation* 3.2 (2009), 179–196; idem, “Exodus 3,” in *Theological Commentaries: Evangelical Perspectives*, ed. R. Michael Allen (London, 2011); Saner, *YHWH*.

90 Den Hertog, *The Other Face of God*.

Other Forms of the Name

Before considering explanations of *yhw* which do not involve recourse to the verb “to be,” we should note a relevant complication. The name *yhw* appears in two forms in the Hebrew Bible. A shorter form, *yh* (Yah), occurs in poetry and once in prose (Exod. 17:16).⁹¹ The form *yh yhw* also appears.⁹² But there is a third form attested elsewhere—*yhw* or *yahu*.⁹³

Elephantine

The Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, a Jewish military settlement from the late 7th century B.C. onwards located at the first cataract of the Nile, give evidence of how the name of God was pronounced there.⁹⁴ This is of interest because their pronunciation seems to anticipate that of early Septuagint transcriptions of the name—if we are to accept that they originally wrote *iaô*. At Elephantine they wrote, apparently indifferently, *yhh* (often on ostraca) or *yhw*—Yaho or Yahu.⁹⁵

91 Exodus 15:2; Isaiah 12:2 and 26:4; and some 42 times in the Psalms.

92 F. Gardiner, “On the Duplication of the Tetragrammaton in Isaiah 12.2 and 26.4,” *The Old and New Testament Student* 9.4 (1889), 219–223 (where Isaiah 12:2 is seen as dependent on Exodus 15:2 and 26:4, and thought to mark eternity, supported by Psalms 135:13 and 102:12; Lamentations 5:19; Psalm 9:8 (7); etc.). Note that *yh yhw* is found in a First Temple burial cave at Khirbet Beit Lei, where the text may be *nqh yh yhw*; J. Naveh, “Old Hebrew Inscriptions in a Burial Cave,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 13 (1963), 74–92; J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syriac Semitic Inscriptions*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1973), pp. 57–58.

93 L. Delekat, “Yaho-Yahweh und die alttestamentlicher Gottesnamenkorrektur,” in *Tradition und Glaube Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt*, eds. G. Jeremias et al. (Göttingen, 1971), pp. 23–75. F.C. Burkitt, “The Name Yahweh,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 44.3/4 (1925), considered *yhw* as a Mosaic adjustment to *yahu*. Earlier, J.H. Levy, “The Tetra(?) grammaton,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 15.1 (1902), 97–99, found *yah* the primitive name and *u* a nominative ending, to which the Massoretic text added *-ah*. As *yahu* + *ram* became *y^hhoram*, so the divine name became *y^hhowah*.

94 Bezalel Porten, *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change* (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui. Studies in Near Eastern Archaeology and Civilisation) 22 (Leiden, 1996). I have made use of the full presentation of evidence in Vincent, *La Religion des Judéo-Araméens*, pp. 25–60.

95 Contrary to the suggestion of A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century* (Oxford, 1923), p. 40, who feared the one occurrence of this spelling was a mere *lapsus clami*, theophoric names and further discoveries showed that this was not the case: André Dupont-Sommer, “Yaho et Yahu-seba’ot sur des ostraca araméens inédits d’Éléphantine,” *Comptes rendus des Séances de l’Année...Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 91.1 (1947), 175–191.

They apparently did not use *yhw*. The Hebrew Bible's *yhw* *sb'oth* (Yhwh of armies) appears as *yhh sb'oth*. *yh* is found at the beginning and end of proper names.⁹⁶ It is not claimed that this is necessarily the earliest form of the name—the Moabite Stone (mid-9th century B.C.), for example, has *yhw*,⁹⁷ and the Tetragrammaton thereafter appears in epigraphic evidence from the 9th century onwards.⁹⁸ Nor can syncretistic features of Yahu at Elephantine be denied.⁹⁹ But at least there is a general plausibility generated by this material for the proposed original usage of *iaô* in the Septuagint as a transcription of the

yhh may well be the more ancient form and yet also pronounced “Yaho.” While found in theophoric names, *yahu-* (*yhw*) does not, as we have seen, appear as an independent word in the Massoretic Bible, where other than *yhw*, one finds only rarely *yh* with a *mappiq*.

- 96 C.F. Nims and R.C. Steiner, “A Paganised Version of Psalm 20.2–6 from the Aramaic Text in Demotic,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103.1 (1983), 261–274, find *yh* mixed with references to Horus in this extraordinary text, thought possibly to be Ptolemaic and from Edfu.
- 97 Gibson, *A Textbook*, vol. 1, pp. 71–82. Earlier, see G.R. Driver, “The Original Form of the Name ‘Yahweh’: Evidence and Conclusions,” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 5 (1928), 7ff. C. Burnley, *The Book of Judges* (Edinburgh, 1918), pp. 243–253, considered both *yhw* and *yh* as originally Amorite deities. Eerdmans, “The Name Jahu,” pp. 1–29, argues for *Yahu* as the original form with some unconvincing arguments from onomatopoeia. Thierry, *The Pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton*, pp. 30–42, argues for an original *Yahweh* and distinguishes between the God of the Hebrew Bible (who is never called *yhw*) and the god at Elephantine, who is never called *yhw* and who apparently had a wife. Martin Noth considered the longer form original; Martin Rose, the shorter. Martin Rose, *Yahwe: zum Streit um den alttestamentlichen Gottesnamen* (Zürich, 1978); idem, “Jahwe,” *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 16 (1987), 438–441; K.G. Kuhn, “*yw*, *yhw*, *yhw* Über die Entstehung des Namens Jahwe,” in *Orientalische Studien (FS. E. Littmann)*, eds. R. Paret et al. (Leiden, 1935), pp. 25–42. Also, K. van der Toorn, “Yahweh,” in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2nd ed., eds. K. van der Toorn et al. (Leiden, 1999), pp. 910–919.
- 98 At Kirbet el-Qom in the 9th century, in the letters from Arad and Lachish, on the Ketef Hinnom silver amulets, on the grave inscription at Kirbet Beit Lei, and in a 4th-century B.C. Idumaeen inscription: A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles Inscriptions araméennes d’Idumée au musée d’Israël* (Suppléments à Transeuphratène) 3 (Paris, 1996), pp. 149–156, plate XLVIII. The Tetragrammaton also appeared on inscriptions from the collection of Scheich Mousaïeff, which the Israel Antiquities Authority has subsequently deemed fake: P. Bordreuil et al., “Deux Ostraca Paleo-Hebrew de la Collection Sh. Moussaïeff,” *Semitica* 46 (1997), 49–76, and plates 7 and 8.
- 99 Evidently the Lord had not only acquired a wife, but also appears to have been associated with the Egyptian creator Chum. B. Becking, “Die Gottheiten der Juden in Elephantine,” in *Der eine Gott und die Götter: Polytheismus und Monotheismus im antiken Israel*, eds. M. Oeming and K. Schmid (ATHANT) 82 (Zürich, 2003), pp. 203–226.

name *yhw*, a use we shall consider shortly. Similarly, one might consider the Wadi Daliyeh Papyri, official documents from the 4th century B.C. that were taken into the caves along the river by a group of Samaritans who were trying to escape the revenge of Alexander the Great. Most of these documents are legal papers.¹⁰⁰ Wadi Daliyeh Samaria Papyri (WDSF) 8, p. 88, line 7, has “to Mikayahu...,” the last part of the person’s name being clearly the name of God “Yahu” (*yhw*). (The Wadi Daliyeh Papyri also offer evidence for a two-letter form of the Name of God. See, for instance, WDSF 15, p. 104, line 2: “Deliyah,” the last part of which is the two-letter name of God, written *yh*.)

Evidence of shorter forms of the divine name is provided by theophoric names in the Hebrew Bible and epigraphy. Hebrew personal names containing the divine name are made up of an initial *yhw*- or *yw*-, or end with *-yhw*, *-yh*, or *-yw*. Standard onomastic studies propose a relative chronology of such names: at the end of a name, *-yh* (found in Chronicles, the post-exilic books, and exclusively in the Isaiah A Scroll at Qumran) is taken to indicate a more recent date and *-yhw* an older name from the 8th to the 5th centuries B.C., with *-yw* falling between the two.¹⁰¹ Later, in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., *yhw*-, *yw*-, and *y*- are

100 Douglas M. Gropp, *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert) 28 (Oxford, 2001).

101 G. Buchanan Grey, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* (London, 1948); Martin Noth, *Die israelitischen Personenamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Leipzig, 1928); W.F. Albright, “Further Observations on the Name Yahweh and Its Modifications in Proper Names,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 44 (1925), 158–162; Driver, “Original Form,” pp. 19–22; Vincent, *La Religion des Judéo-Araméens*, pp. 25–60, p. 38 (the table here is taken from Driver, op. cit., p. 19). These studies pre-date knowledge of the Lachish letters found in 1935 and 1938. Lachish was destroyed in 586 B.C. and the ostraca belong to its final period. The ostraca write *yhw* in full; names ending in *-yhw* are common, but names beginning with *yhw*- and *yw*- do not occur, which is compatible with the schema proposed above. A final *-yw* is found in six names among the Samaria Ostraca (first quarter of the 8th century B.C.), which does not fit quite so comfortably. For these ostraca, see: Gibson, *A Textbook*, vol. 1, pp. 5–17 and 32–48. The inscription from Tel Dan (c. 800 B.C.) gives Jehoahaz (A11, B8) and Jehoash/Joash (A11, B8). See: George Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation* (London, 2003), p. 254. A recent defence of the chronological usefulness of such onomastic evidence, including the Tel Dan Inscription, is Francis I. Andersen and Richard S. Hess, *Names in the Study of Biblical History: David, YHWH Names and the Role of Personal Names* (Melbourne, 2007). B.A. Mastin, “The Theophoric Elements *yw*, *yhw* in Proper Names in Eighth-Century Hebrew Inscriptions and the Proper Names of Kuntillet ‘Ajrud,” *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 17–21 (2001–2007), 109–135, finds that 8th-century inscriptions, with the exception of one from Tell Qasile, have *yhw* in Judah and *yh* in the north, as well as a little bit in Judah. *Yh* appears in the 7th and 8th centuries in Kuntillet ‘Ajrud, perhaps due to men from the north. Also, S.I.L. Norin, “Jô-Namen und Jehô-Namen,” *Vetus Testamentum* 29 (1979), 87–97.

found at the beginning of a personal name.¹⁰² These last three are the names, then, whose orthography is represented in the Greek of the Septuagint in personal names beginning with *iô*.¹⁰³

Other Etymologies

But what if *yhw* is not a part of the verb *hyh/hwh* (to be)?¹⁰⁴ First, perhaps, we may return to the possibility—mentioned above in respect of interpretations of *yhw* as part of the verb “to be”—of considering that the association is not one of etymology (perhaps rather a modern discipline). This would permit an understanding of the name not as an etymology, but rather as some form of paranomasia or wordplay.¹⁰⁵ The association of the name with the verb “to be” might then remain at the level of the canonical text, with the origins of the name open for speculation. And such speculations are legion, given the number of languages which may be imagined as possibly original for the name: Sumerian,¹⁰⁶ Akkadian,¹⁰⁷

102 J. Renz, *Die althebräischen Inschriften: Teil 1 Text und Kommentar* (HAE) 2/1 (Darmstadt, 1995), observes that the longer form is better attested outside the Hebrew Bible before the exile, and the shorter thereafter.

103 D.C. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897), pp. 369–375, considered the various forms to have arisen under the Massoretes to prevent the appearance of articulating the Divine Name at the beginning of these words.

104 The Köhler-Baumgarten *Hebrew Lexicon* (English edition 2001) calls the etymology controversial. M. Weippert summarizes philological data and speculation: s.v. “*Jahwe*,” in *Realexicon für Assyriologie*, vol. 5 (Berlin, 1980) pp. 246–253. J. Kinyongo, *Origen et Signification du Nom divin Yahwe* (Bonn, 1970).

105 Beitzel, “Exodus 3:14 and the Divine Name,” pp. 5–20, for precision on this term and some of the following bibliography.

106 A Sumerian etymology—*ia-u5*, “seed of life”—was proposed by J.M. Allegro, *The Sacred Mushroom and the Cross* (London, 1970) pp. 20, 130, 215, n. 1, though nothing in this ridiculous book need be taken seriously.

107 *yhw* appears as a theophoric element at the beginning and end of Israelite and Judaeon names mentioned in neo-Assyrian inscriptions. R. Zadok, *Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponomy and Prosopography* (OLA) 28 (Leuven, 1988); Weippert, “*Jahwe*,” pp. 246–253; Weippert, *Jahwe und die anderen Götter* (FAT) 18 (Tübingen, 1997), pp. 35–44. Neo-Babylonian inscriptions have names with the theophoric element at beginning and end but spelled with a /*m*/, which conceals a /*w*/. So, J. Tropper, “Der Gottesname **Yahwa*,” *Vetus Testamentum* 51 (2001), 81–106 (with bibliography). There is also onomastic evidence for the /*h*/ of *yhw*: F. Joannès and A. Lemaire, “Trois tablettes cunéiformes à onomastique ouest-sémitique,” *Transeuphratène* 17 (1999), 16–33; L. Pearce, “New Evidence

Eblaite,¹⁰⁸ Egyptian¹⁰⁹ (the most minimalist historians of Israel have found reliable data here¹¹⁰), Phoenician,¹¹¹ Midianite,¹¹² Amorite,¹¹³ Edomite,¹¹⁴ North Arabian,¹¹⁵ and Indo-European languages.¹¹⁶

for Judaeans in Babylonia,” in *Judah and the Judaeans in the Persian Period*, eds. O. Lipschits and M. Oeming (Winona Lake, 2006), pp. 399–411. Earlier, an Akkadian etymology (*ia-u*, “noble one”) for *yhwh* was suggested by F. Delitzsch (a notorious advocate of Assyriological origins), *Babel and Bibel* (Leipzig, 1921), pp. 79–80. One might also consider Theodor Fritsch’s unambiguously titled *Der falsche Gott Beweismaterial gegen Jahwe* (Leipzig, 1910), which is at least anti-Semitic if not almost Marcionite. Cazelles, “Pour une Exégèse,” pp. 11–24, suggested on the basis of the Akkadian *yau* a meaning for the Tetragrammaton as “the one who is mine.” Previously, in idem, “Mari et l’Ancien Testament” in *XVe Rencontre assyriologique internationale*, ed. J.R. Kupper (Liege, 1966), pp. 73–90, 82–86. The suggestion was previously made by Bauer, Landsberger, and Dhorme. Stephanie Dalley, “Yahweh in Hamath in the 8th Century B.C.: Cuneiform Material and Historical Deduction,” *Vetus Testamentum* 61 (1990), 21–32, offers a clear explanation for non-specialists of the problems of recognizing *yhwh* in cuneiform material. Positively, she argues against the assumption that every bearer of a proper name compounded from *yhwh* was a either a Judaeans or Israelite, as she considers Yhwh may have been worshipped in several Syrian cities. See also, A. Murtonen, *The Appearance of the Name Yhwh Outside Israel* (Helsinki, 1951).

- 108 H.-P. Müller, “Gab es in Ebla einen Gottesnamen Ja?” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 70 (1980), 7–92; G. Pettinato, “Ebla and the Bible,” *Biblical Archaeology* 43 (1980), 203–216, thought that a supposed theophoric element ^(d)*jà* in the Ebla texts was a short form of the Tetragrammaton. But the sign NI = *jà* is in fact to be read as an abbreviation for NI-NI = *i-lí*. So *Mi-ka-a-NI* is not to be read as *Mi-ka-a-jà*, but as *Mi-ka-a-i-lí*.
- 109 An Egyptian etymology (*Y-h-we3*, “Moon One”) was proposed by N. Walker, “Yahwism and the Divine Name ‘Yhwh,’” *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 70 (1958), 262–265. The earliest evidence for the Tetragrammaton is often considered to be an inscription of Amenophis III (14th century B.C.) repeated in a list from the time of Rameses II. (J. Leclant, “Le ‘Tetragramme’ à l’époque de Aménophis III,” in *Near Eastern Studies* (Wiesbaden, 1991), pp. 215–219.) The name appears as: *t3 š3sw jhw3* “the land of the Shashu Bedouin of Jahu,” where *jhw3* is a toponym for an area, probably southern Transjordan. Divine names can arise from toponyms, and at times in the Hebrew Bible Yhwh is said to come from Edom (Ps. 68:8; Deut. 33:2; Judg. 5:4). In the list of Rameses II from Medinet Habu (XXVII 115), the name *yahu* is in immediate proximity to the name *r’w’r* (written in Egyptian as *r’w’l*), “Rehuel,” perhaps reminiscent of Moses’ father-in-law, Ruel, in Exodus 2:18. However, it is not certain that *yahu* is a divine name in this text. Also Caquot, “Les énigmes,” p. 24, n. 23.
- 110 So, William G. Dever, *Who Were the Early Israelites and Where Did They Come From?* (Grand Rapids, 2003), pp. 237–247. Gary A. Rendsburg, “Israel without the Bible,” in *The Hebrew Bible: New Insights and Scholarship*, ed. F.E. Greenspahn (New York, 2008), Chapter 1, offers a sober assessment of the minimalist agenda. The complexity of the issues arising in the early study of Israelite religion(s) generally relevant here to considerations of the

- early history of *yhwh* precludes any summary. Ziony Zevit, *The Religions of Ancient Israel: A Synthesis of Parallactic Approaches* (London, 2001), is essential and fundamental for epigraphic study: see pp. 350–438. He deals thoroughly with the material from Kuntillet 'Ajrud (9th–8th century B.C.; the site is about 50 kilometres from Kadesh Barnea), where *yhwh* and *ʾdny* are found. Arthur Gibson, *Text and Tablet* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 173–213, has helpful linguistic and philosophical observations (presumably also of some theological significance) on assuming the identity of the God of the Hebrew Bible with other gods elsewhere called *yhwh*. For an early summary of notions (including those of Delitzsch), now mainly of historical interest, see: Driver, "Recent Theories," pp. 1–20, and, later, O. Eissfeldt, "Neue Zeugnisse für die Aussprache der Tetragrammas als Jahwe," *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1935), 59–76; G.H. Parke-Taylor, *Yahweh: The Divine Name in the Bible* (Waterloo, Ontario, 1975) is a serviceable general introduction. Also, the entry in G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, vol. 5 (Grand Rapids, 1986), p. 500ff. See Van der Toorn et al., eds., *Dictionary of Deities*, pp. 914–924, for a clear summary of issues relating to Yhwh by T.N.D. Mettinger. Also: A. Lemaire, "Le Nom du Dieu d'Israël," *Mo Bi* 110 (1998), 10–11; W. Vischer, "Yahwo plutôt que Yahwé," *Ephemerides theologicae louvanienses* 50 (1975), 195–202; Weippert, "Jahwe," in *Jahwe und die anderen Götter*, pp. 35–44.
- 111 For a Phoenician context, T. Tyler, "The Origin of the Tetragrammaton," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 13.4 (1907), 581–594.
- 112 Day, *Yahweh and the Gods*, pp. 15–17. J. Blenkinsopp, "The Midian-Kenite Connection Revisited and the Origins of Judah," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 30.2 (2008), 131–153.
- 113 M.P. Streck, "Der Gottesname Jahwe und das amurritische Onomastika," *Die Welt des Orients* 30 (1999), 35–46, examined the Amorite names *ia-ah-wi* and *ia-wi* as possibly derived from the verb "to be" but found them to be of no help in analysing the biblical name. Generally, J.-M. Durand, "La religion amorrite en Syrie à l'époque des Archives de Mari," in *Mythologie et Religion des Sémites occidentaux*, vol. 1, ed. G. Del Olmo Lete (Leuven, 2008), pp. 163–716.
- 114 So G. Ahlstrom, *Who Were the Israelites?* (Winona Lake, 1986).
- 115 A.E. Knauf, "Yahweh," *Vetus Testamentum* 34 (1984), 467–472 at p. 469 remarked that he found it odd to explain the name of an Edomite or North Arabian God by reference to a West Semitic verb. Better surely to look for an Arabic etymology. In Arabic he found the root *hwy* to mean to be passionate, to fall, or to harm, and from a combination of the three he considered Yhwh as a storm god like Ba'al or Hadad. (cf. A.R.W. Green, *The Storm God in the Ancient Near East* (Biblical and Judaic Studies) 8 (Winona Lake, 2003).) Knauf considers that if Yhwh is a God of the south, then parallels might be sought among pre-Islamic divinities. Yağūt (He helps) and Ya'ūq (He aids) are found in the Quran, and Sura 71 (Noah) has "Their leaders cry to them: Do not abandon your gods, do not abandon Wedd and Sowa' nor Yaghouth nor Yaouq, nor Nesr." For the broader context of Knauf's work, A.E. Knauf, *Midian. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordanabiens am Ende des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1988). Also for Midian: Blenkinsopp, "The Midian-Kenite Connection," pp. 131–153; Saner, *YHWH*, pp. 56–72, for Kenites.
- 116 E. Littmann, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 11 (1936), p. 162, has an Indo-European etymology (*Dyau-s, which became *Zeus* in Greek, *Jupiter* in Latin, and *Yah* in Hebrew). A Hurrian

Other meanings of *hwy* are indeed imaginable, but there is little in common between the following suggestions other than that they spring from that root. S.D. Goitein argues that the root signifies “the Passionate One.”¹¹⁷ Schorr and Bowman consider the root to be cognate to the Akkadian *awatu* (to speak) and *yhw/h* to mean ‘the speaker’.¹¹⁸ Looking for a substantive rather than a verbal form, Josef Tropper sought something apposite among substantives with a root *yhw/y* or *whw/y*, without much success.¹¹⁹ Manfred Görg suggested *hwh* (to fall)¹²⁰ and came up with an eagle which falls on its prey (cf. Exod. 19:4). Klostermann recognized the same root, declaring that Yahweh means “the Faller,” but with a more negative connotation.¹²¹

Others also find meanings for a verb *hwy* but in a causal theme, although they again differ over the meaning of the verb: Smith proposed that the word derives from an Arabic cognate meaning “to blow,” claiming that Yhwh was originally a storm god. So does Wellhausen: *er fährt durch die Lüfte, er weht*. So also do Duhm, Eisler, Ward, Oesterly and Robinson, and Meek (some of whom linked Yhwh with the ancient southern sanctuaries of the Kenites and/or those of the Midianites¹²²). Citing an Arabic root, Barton viewed the name as

etymology (*ya*, “god”—plus a pronominal suffix) has been offered by J. Lewy, “Influences hurrites sur Israël,” *Revue des Etudes Semitiques* (1938), 55–61. Finally, B. Hrozný, “Inschriften und Kultur der Proto-Indier von Mohenjo-Daro und Harappa,” *Archiv Orientalni* 13 (1942), 52–53, suggests that *yhw/h* is to be related etymologically to a god *Yaue*, apparently mentioned in an as yet unpublished 3rd millennium inscription found in the Indus Valley.

- 117 S.D. Goitein, “YHWH the Passionate: The Monotheistic Meaning and Origin of the Name YHWH,” *Vetus Testamentum* 6 (1956), 1–9.
- 118 R.A. Bowman, “Yahweh the Speaker,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 3 (1944), 1–8. M. Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts* (Leipzig, 1913; repr. Hildesheim, 1971), XXXII–XXXIV. Similarly, Murtonen seeing the name as a *nomen agentis* with a *y-* prefix and meaning “commander”: A. Murtonen, *A Philological and Literary Treatise on the Old Testament Divine Names El, Eloah, Elohim and Yhwh* (Studia Semitica) (Helsinki, 1952), p. 90.
- 119 Tropper, “Der Gottesname Yahwa,” pp. 86–106.
- 120 Manfred Görg, “YHWH – ein Toponym Weitere Perspektiven,” *Biblische Notizen* 101 (2000), 10–14. Köhler drew attention to the many meanings that could be derived from Semitic root *hwh*: “The Falling One” (of a holy meteorite); “The Felling One” (by lightning; therefore, a storm god); “The Blowing One” (a weather god). L. Köhler, *Old Testament Theology* (Philadelphia, 1957), pp. 42–43.
- 121 A. Klostermann, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Munich, 1896), p. 70.
- 122 W.R. Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (New York, 1881), p. 423; Julius Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1897), p. 25; B. Duhm, *Israels Propheten* (Tübingen, 1916), p. 34; R. Eisler, “Orientalische Studien,” *Mitteilungen*

meaning “He Who causes to love passionately.”¹²³ On the other hand, Holzinger and Gressmann took the root to mean “to destroy,” and the God of Israel was seen to be “One Who brings about destruction” (cf. Exod. 12).¹²⁴

The very nature of the name is also open to speculation. S.R. Driver suggested, with mention of some Greek analogies, that the name arose first as an ejaculatory cultic shout of emotional rather than semantic significance.¹²⁵ The antique form of the name of the deity worshipped by some pre-Mosaic Hebrew ancestors was the digrammaton *ya*, a form whose origin was thus a kind of ecstatic exclamation. I am not aware of the names of any other Semitic deities being generated in this way, but he considered it significant that Hebrew compound proper names were never formed with *yhw*, although many were formed with *ya*. Now, over a period of time, such primitive ecstatic ejaculations, he maintained, tend to become prolonged. Thus, given Driver’s belief that the genius of the Exodus event lay in the creation of a new national Hebrew deity, he was easily able to imagine the evolution whereby this new form of *yhw*, from *ya*, easily came about. This new form was recognized quickly on the basis of popular etymology as closely resembling the verb *hayah*, and was adopted by the Mosaic community and subsequently into canonical Scripture.¹²⁶ On the analogy of Tunisian cultic shouts, W.A.L. Elmslie

der Vorder-asiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft 22 (1917), 36; W.H. Ward, “The Origin of the Worship of Yahwe,” *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 25 (1925), 175–187; W.O.E. Oesterly and T.H. Robinson, *Hebrew Religion: Its Origin and Development*, 2nd ed. (London, 1937), p. 153; T.J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1950), pp. 99–102.

123 D. Barthé and G.A. Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins, Social and Religious* (Philadelphia, 1934), p. 338.

124 H. Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 204.

125 Driver, “Original Form,” pp. 7–25, esp. pp. 23–25. Mentioned by H. Tur-Sinai, *Die Bundeslade und die Anfänge der Religion Israel*, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1930), p. 75; Kuhn, “Über die Entstehung,” pp. 25–42; Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig, *Die Schrift und ihre Verdeutschung* (Berlin, 1936); A. Schleiff, “Der Gottesname Jahwe,” *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 90 (1936), 679–702; Eerdman, “The Name Jahu,” pp. 1–29, p. 16; R. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1950, 1973), pp. 190–191; E. Auerbach, *Moses* (Amsterdam, 1953), pp. 44–47.

126 For arguments that Semitic names tend to shorten or disintegrate from long, transparent forms or appellations, D.D. Luckenbill, “The Pronunciation of the Name of the God of Israel,” *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 40 (1924), 277; Albright, “The Name Yahweh,” pp. 370–378; L. Waterman, “Method in the Study of the Tetragrammaton,” *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 43 (1926), 1–7; Noth, *Die israelitischen*, pp. 143–144; Murtonen, *A Philological and Literary Treatise*, pp. 58–61; F.M. Cross, “Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs,” *Harvard Theological Review* 55 (1962), 252–255; de Vaux, “The Revelation of the Divine Name,” pp. 50–51; *Enc. Jud.* 7.

considered that the ejaculation *ya* was originally associated with the cult of the moon god Sin, whom the Hebrews' ancestors evidently adored and from one of whose great centres the patriarch Abram emigrated.¹²⁷

In 1961 Mowinckel sought to further advance this hypothesis by citing Norwegian analogies and asserting that **ya huwa* (composed of the Arabic interjection and the third-person independent pronoun, and translated "Oh He!") was the origin of the name. This cry of invocation developed a symbolic value as a symbolic designation of the ungraspable deity before finally being understood as a proper name.¹²⁸

Perhaps most desperate of all are the appeals to onomatopoeia: E.C.B. MacLaurin took exception to H. Tur-Sinai's (Torczyner's) suggestion that the sound of the name *yhwh* was the sound of thunder (the "roar of the host of Yhwh," on the basis of Jer. 25:30–33)—*wah-wah-wah*. Surely, he countered, thunder sounds more like *rumph-rumph-rumph*.¹²⁹

Finally, as the reader admires the patience and persistence of scholarly speculation, we may consider the suggestion of B.B. Beitzel that we may have to do with a properly quadriliteral divine name to which the initial *yod* is intrinsic.¹³⁰ He cites second-millennium data, with some of which we are now familiar, in which he generously includes *yw* as a divine name at Ugarit;¹³¹ as an Egyptian toponym;¹³² as the Byblian name

§ 680. Conversely, J.A. Emerton, "Tetragrammaton," in *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, eds. B.M. Metzger and M.D. Coogan (Oxford, 1993), p. 738, considers that an earlier *yahu* might be expanded to *yahweh*, but to relate the two terms the other way around, with *yahu* as an abbreviation, is more difficult. Thus, one might explain the ending of *yahweh* as a secondary adjustment generated to produce assonance with end of *'ehyeh*. For expansion rather than contraction of the name, see R. Dussaud, "Yahwé," *Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions 84e année* 5 (1940), 364–370.

127 W.A.L. Elmslie, *How Came Our Faith* (Cambridge, 1948, 1958), pp. 119–121, 214.

128 Mowinckel, "The Name of the God of Moses," pp. 121–133, esp. pp. 131–133; Vincent, *La Religion des Judeo-Arameens*, p. 46. More recently, Reisel, *The Mysterious Name of Y.H.W.H.*, p. 48. A. López Pego, "Sobre el origen de los teónimos Yah y Yahwe," *Estudios Biblicos* 56.1 (1998), 5–39, also considers *yah* a cultic exclamation. See also with respect to Mowinckel, H. Kosmala, "The Name of God (Yhwh and Hu)," in idem, *Studies, Essays and Reviews*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1978), pp. 103–106.

129 E.C.B. MacLaurin, "The Origin of the Tetragrammaton" *Vetus Testamentum* 12.4 (1962), 439–463, at p. 441. Otherwise he considered the Tetragrammaton to be made up of *yah* and the pronoun *hu'*, and thus really to mean "I am (*yh*) what I am (*hu'*)."

130 Beitzel, "Exodus 3:14 and the Divine Name," pp. 5–20.

131 UT 410 (#1084); J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der Ugaritischen Sprache* (Berlin, 1963), p. 126 (#1151).

132 *ya-h-wa/yi-ha*; B. Grdseloff, "Edôm, d'après les sources égyptiennes," *Revue de l'Histoire juive d'Égypte* 1 (1947), 69–99; R. Giveon, "Toponymes ouest-asiatiques a Soleb," *Vetus*

Ieuw,¹³³ as a possible element in Babylonian Cassite proper names,¹³⁴ and (perhaps! he thinks) attested at Ebla. We need not evaluate all these cases. Beitzel concludes that the Tetragrammaton is a quadratical divine name of unknown lexicographic and ethnic origin, and that its relationship with *hayah* in Exodus 3:14 is one of paronomasia, not etymology. A fair statement of ignorance.

Such exhausting etymologies are of limited usefulness in understanding either the canonical text itself or its reception. In the first place, the conjectural etymologies and the supposed “histories of religion” they exemplify drive a wedge between the etymology and the worshippers of the god in question. Whatever their disposition towards their deity, etymology probably did not play a large part in it. The vast majority (but not quite all) of those we shall meet in this book took the divine name to be explicitly and obviously connected with the verb “to be.” This need not be reduced to a sharp preference for ontology over providence, nor the preference for an abstract, transcendent God. Exodus 3:14 read in the Greek and Latin Bibles in the received form of Exodus and the Pentateuch suggests that Moses’ question does address more than just factual information; indeed, it gives access to both the nature and the character of God. Moreover, for the majority of the Fathers the ontological aspects of the name of God will not be considered outside God’s relationship with the world, and generally will be addressed in the context of the Trinity and the Incarnation. It is in this context that they address the problems raised by the text. The disciplines of etymology and the history of religions seek to answer questions the texts simply do not pose: had the Fathers been able to imagine these disciplines, they would probably not have thought them relevant.

The Scope of the Present Work

The following chapters are an attempt to chart Western Christian knowledge of and reaction to the Hebrew divine name *yhwh* from the beginnings to

Testamentum 14 (1964), 239–255; most recently, M.C. Astour, “Yahweh in Egyptian Topographic Lists,” *Elmar Edel Festschrift*, ed. M. Görg (Barberg, 1979), pp. 17–34.

133 Murtonen, *A Philological and Literary Treatise*, p. 53; J. Gray, “The God YW in the Religion of Canaan,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 12 (1953), 283.

134 e.g. Ya-u-ha-zi. So, Driver, “Original Form,” p. 7; J.J. Stamm, *Die Akkadische Namengebung* (Leipzig, 1939), p. 113; A. Murtonen, *The Appearance of the Name Yhwh outside Israel*, (*Studia Orientalia*) 16 (Helsinki, 1951), pp. 3–11; A. Murtonen, *A Philological and Literary Treatise*, pp. 51–54; Reisel, *The Mysterious Name of Y.H.W.H.*, pp. 42–47.

around the middle of the 17th century. Those limits may be readily justified by the fact that the book is already long enough, but they arise rather from my own limitations. My knowledge about Eastern Christianity is insufficient to attempt such an account for those churches. Similarly, I do not feel sufficiently informed on several crucial areas to essay an account venturing much beyond 1700. There are also positive reasons to stop where I do. The scholars and readers I consider generally shared a positive view of the integrity and inspiration of Scripture. They lived before the Enlightenment, at a time when the presuppositions of the biblical narratives were not debated and when the developing critical disciplines were innocent of sharp dissent from the realistic naivety of earlier exposition.¹³⁵ Philosophically, they generally held to some form of modified Platonism, considering the timeless and the changeless to be more significant than the shadowy realities of our temporal world. But from the 17th century and coinciding with the rise of the natural sciences, change was seen as a condition of creative action, the temporal as the real, and history as the locus of values. Philosophers from Hegel onwards rejected the classical vision, and we shall not follow them on that journey. Our authors also shared a common cultural and literary heritage. This means that the same authorities, evidence, and citations reappear *ad nauseam*, but this does make it easier to detect innovation. The later story would be much more complicated.

The book is intended as a work of history, and I have thus eschewed any theological comment as inappropriate. I am unaware of any previous work with the scope of this book, unless it be found among those who wish to promote (or prohibit) a devotional or liturgical use of the Tetragrammaton or hold strong views about its pronunciation and meaning.¹³⁶ I have no interest or investment in these matters, and the reader of this introductory chapter on ignorance and conjecture will, I hope, already have a grasp of the considerable

135 Hans W. Frei, *The Eclipse of Biblical Narrative: A Study in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Hermeneutics* (New Haven, 1974).

136 G. Gertoux, *Un Historique du Nom Divin YHWH: Un Nom Encens* (Paris, 1999), offers a brief chronological account from Eve (confidently dated to 4000 B.C.) to 1900 A.D., but is primarily interested in supporting his assertion that the Tetragrammaton has always been read “according to its letters,” i.e. *yhw̄h* treated as *matres lectionis* and vocalized “Jehovah.” He regards the eclipse of the name as part of a Satanic strategy and believes the Tetragrammaton appeared in early New Testament texts. Our accounts have little in common, but he is followed closely by Didier Fontaine, *Le nom divin dans le Nouveau Testament* (Paris, 2007). There is now a brief overview in Pavlos D. Vasileiadis, “The Pronunciation of the Sacred Tetragrammaton: An Overview of a Nomen Revelatus that became a Nomen Absconditus,” *Judaica Ukrainica* 2 (2013), 5–20.

philological difficulties in this area which preclude any confident taking up of positions.

My interest lies rather in the Western Christian reception of the Tetragrammaton. This book is divided into three roughly chronological sections: “The Eclipse of the Name,” “Times of Ignorance,” and “The Rediscovery of the Name.” In the first section I examine the use of the Tetragrammaton in the Scriptures and Worship of such pre-Christian Jewish groups we know about in this respect. We shall consider what the first Christians may have read in Scripture, but also observe that there is simply no indication that they wrote the Tetragrammaton regularly in the books they produced or used it in worship. There is clear evidence that Gnostic groups did use it—Gnostic Christian groups, one may argue. Nevertheless, I shall maintain that the New Testament shows intense interest in the Hebrew name of God, in spite of its apparent silence. I shall hope to contextualize that interest in the light of both Jewish and Gnostic texts. This period, I shall argue, was one when the Tetragrammaton was “good to think with” and a stimulus to creative theology. We shall pursue the lively debates around these issues into the Patristic period.

At the end of the first section, a summary chapter on the Tetragrammaton in late Antique and early mediaeval Judaism and on the Massoretic conventions of writing the Tetragrammaton is provided to indicate the pertinent material with which Western Christians progressively became acquainted.

The second section, “Times of Ignorance,” deals with the Middle Ages. Ignorance was relative and not total. The Tetragrammaton facilitated the reflection of some interesting and influential thinkers. We shall be mindful of drawing too sharp a distinction between the God of the Hebrew Bible and the God of the Latin tradition (though they are different in so many ways). The Latin tradition’s concern with the Trinity, the Incarnation, and, finally, simply worship prevented God from becoming too abstract or removed, which is the usual charge. (The God of the Hebrew Bible, of course, does not appear as either triune or incarnate, and so in these respects is very different.) The Tetragrammaton also had a sustained use in magic, which is considered in the first section and continues to be relevant throughout the book. Simple distinctions between religion and magic, we shall find, are unlikely to do justice to the various uses to which the Tetragrammaton was put. The Middle Ages also allows us to develop one of the book’s main themes—that of the relationships between Jews and Christians—which is inevitably central. We are, after all, considering the Christian reception of the Hebrew name of God.

Our story covers three major appropriations of Judaism by Christians. In the New Testament we find Christians (possibly all of whom are Jews) appropriating the Hebrew Bible—and the name of God—in the service of the Gospel

and in their developing understanding of the risen Christ. This, I believe and shall argue, was a period of intense and creative theological reflection upon the name of God. In the 12th and 13th centuries—apparently due, we must say, to the number of learned Jewish converts to Christianity—the Talmud was exploited to demonstrate that Christ was the Messiah and to offer proofs of the Trinity. In the 15th and 16th centuries we find some significant Christian engagement with Kabbalah in the interests of Christology. In some cases, a mixture of Kabbalah and Hermeticism provided imaginative space in which, again, theological innovation, not always to the taste of the orthodox, might develop. Consideration of the name of God was central in this characteristically Renaissance synthesis. We shall see how these major movements of appropriation condition Christian notions of the Tetragrammaton or are stimulated by reflection upon the holy name.

When it comes to real Jews—somewhat different from the Old Testament characters of Christian narration (and of course this difference is critical)—I have tried to place Christian discussion in the context of community relationships which were, let us admit, sometimes not at all happy. Christian notions of the Hebrew name of God often depended (as we have seen) upon Jewish converts. One may be excused for thinking that the first requirement of a good convert was to be able to count up to three and thereby demonstrate in any given context hidden knowledge of the Trinity, such is the triviality of much of this material. But we may concede also, upon further investigation, that some converted Jewish Kabbalists were working within the terms of their own discipline to significant levels of profundity.

The Christian discovery of the Hebrew personal name of God in the early modern period took place at a time of great social and religious change during the Reformation. The growth of printing and reading in the vernacular as well as Latin facilitated this change, as did the increasing competence of Christian Hebraists. I have told the story of these changes in some detail so that the increased visibility of the Tetragrammaton may be intelligible. I must ask the indulgence of experts in tolerating here some account of already familiar knowledge. Without such contextualization, the growing familiarity of the name will not be intelligible to non-specialist readers. In the case of a book with a subject spanning two millennia, most readers—and, more particularly, the author—may expect to find themselves frequently in the category of non-specialists. My own indebtedness to many specialist scholars will be continuously apparent from the notes. These are full but are not exhaustive, which would be impossible: they aim to provide justification, documentation, and context. Experts may not need them, but I hope many readers will find them of interest and an aid to navigation in areas perhaps unfamiliar. I have sought,

however, to make the main text clear without the notes, and some readers may prefer to ignore them.

In discussion of the scholars of the Reformation I have tried to exemplify the work of Catholics, Lutherans, and the Reformed Churches. With perhaps the exception of Servetus, it would be difficult to claim a determining role for the Tetragrammaton in the development of the theology and Christology of the major Reformers. Nevertheless, it remained an important consideration, and their attitudes to it illustrate important aspects of their thought. Specifically, we find it instrumental in their articulation of their distinct doctrines.

The book ends with the philological discussions of the 17th century and the demystification of language and writing, which became more widespread. There was major debate about the authenticity and value of the vowel points in the Massoretic Hebrew Bible, which had obvious and direct relevance to the Tetragrammaton. But although differing positions were taken, the debate progressively becomes more and more repetitious, and there is little innovation. The changed assumptions in the philosophy of language, and improved comparative and historical skills offered less scope for the great syntheses of the later Christian Kabbalists. I offer the number and sameness of university dissertations on the topic as evidence that our story at this point had become something of an academic commonplace: another reason why this seems a good place to stop.

I am indebted to my former teacher and doctoral supervisor, Dr Sebastian P. Brock (Oxford), for reading and commenting upon the early chapters of this book. Similarly, my good friend Mr. Andrew J. Walker, Director of Finance and Administration for the House of Commons—a Classicist and an Orientalist—responded to an early draft and provoked considerable rewriting. Mrs Judith Weiss (Bar-Ilan) kindly provided me with material on Postel's use of the Tetragrammaton. My wife has helped me with the illustrations. I am also indebted to the anonymous readers of Brill and to its able editors.

PART 1

The Eclipse of the Name



The Tetragrammaton in Jewish Pre-Christian Biblical Texts in Greek and Hebrew

A striking feature of the translations of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek which began to appear in the 2nd century B.C.—at least the form in which they have been transmitted to us by Christian scribes and as Christian Scriptures—is the general replacement of the *nomen proprium* of God, the Hebrew word *yhwh* (known from its four letters as the Tetragrammaton) by the Greek word for “Lord,” *kurios*, or “the Lord,” *ho kurios*. Sometimes the Greek word for “god/God,” *theos*, is used, and at other times, *kurios ho theos* (Lord God). Such a practice, we now know, was far from universal during earlier, pre-Christian stages of the Greek biblical textual tradition, but it appears thoroughly characteristic of the latter Christian copies.¹ Thus the great Greek Christian biblical codices of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.—Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Vaticanus²—have no trace of the Hebrew personal name of God, *yhwh*.

An immediate and relevant consequence of this is that whereas in the Hebrew Bible Exodus 3:14 appears to be some sort of explanation of the Tetragrammaton, the corresponding section in the Greek Scriptures is not at all concerned with explaining the Tetragrammaton. This remains the case even when *iaô* or the Tetragrammaton appear in Greek biblical texts. The Greek of Exodus 3:14 offers no explanation of these exotic forms, nor would any Greek reader find such a connection. However the divine name was represented in Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible, Exodus 3:14 always remained—having

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- 1 Technically there is far more to be said here. W.W. Grafen Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte*, ed. O. Eissfeldt (Giessen, 1929), devotes volume 1 to considering how the Septuagint renders *yhwh* and other divine names. He devotes pp. 50–108 to the Greek Pentateuch. Earlier: K. Huber, *Untersuchungen über den Sprachcharakter des griechischen Leviticus* (Giessen, 1916), p. 40 ff; A. Debrunner, “Zur Übersetzungstechnik der Septuaginta,” in *Vom Alten Testament: Festschrift Karl Marti* (Beihefte zur ZAW) 41 (Giessen, 1925), pp. 69–78. Also, A. Lukyn Williams, “The Tetragrammaton—Jahweh, Name or Surrogate?” *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 54 (1936), 262–269.
 - 2 For a brief introduction to these codices: T.S. Pattie, “The Creation of the Great Codices,” in *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition*, eds. John L. Sharpe III and Kimberley van Kampen (London, 1998), pp. 61–72.

no obvious reference to the Tetragrammaton or *iaô*—an independent statement of God as “the Existent One.”

In this section, through an examination of the relevant biblical textual evidence, we consider the physical eclipse of the Tetragrammaton in both Jewish and Christian usage. We shall chart its use in pre-Christian biblical texts in both Greek and Hebrew and consider the inhibitions which developed concerning its use and articulation. We shall also consider the origins of the use of *kurios* within the Greek biblical text. We shall then discuss the absence of the Tetragrammaton both in the New Testament (Chapter 2) and generally in the subsequent early Christian writings (Chapter 3). By way of contrast we shall describe its appearance in some Gnostic texts and its extensive use in Late Antique magic texts (Chapter 4). The comparative silence of the New Testament, I shall argue, is not a symptom of disinterest. Rather, the Tetragrammaton was central in the developing Christologies of the early Christians. A final chapter in this section (Chapter 5) discusses Rabbinic texts, perhaps from the late 1st or early 2nd century A.D. but gathered from the 3rd century A.D., which forbid pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton. These are texts with which learned Christians became progressively familiar, and so they will become increasingly important in the remarks about the Tetragrammaton. In Chapter 5 we shall also address the conventions of writing and reading the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew Massoretic manuscripts of the early Middle Ages, which display evident continuities with the earlier pre-Christian practice. It was reading the name of God in these manuscripts, and more commonly in the subsequent printed Massoretic text, which facilitated the appearance of the distinctly Christian “Jehovah.”

The Septuagint

Although the initial translations of the Hebrew Scriptures were naturally the work of Jews, it was their translations into Greek (together with other works, some with no Hebrew original at all) which Christians subsequently adopted as their Old Testament and which have been transmitted to us thereafter by Christian copyists.³ This version—often called the *Septuagint* (or *LXX*), from

3 Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture* (London, 2002), pp. 105–127, helpfully distinguishes the Christian Septuagint from its Jewish predecessor. Robert Hanhart’s introduction (pp. 1–17) engages with the status of the Greek text in relation to the Hebrew in a canonical context. Since 1986, Éditions du Cerf has produced authoritative annotated translations of *LXX* books as *Le Bible de l’Alexandrie*. Their more briefly annotated Pentateuch is

the legend of its origin as the work of seventy scribes in Alexandria whom Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.) tasked with translating the Torah—was in turn the basis for the subsequent Latin versions of the Old Testament: the *Vetus Latina* and the *Vulgate*.⁴ The Latin Vulgate became the Bible of the medieval West and, like its Greek ancestor, used words for “Lord” and “God” (*dominus* and *deus*) instead of any form of transliteration of the Tetragrammaton. Thus the personal name of God effectively disappeared from Christian Bibles. The eclipse of God’s proper name in the Greek Scriptures will necessarily occupy us in this chapter.

It will help us appreciate some significant forces at play here if we consider the Aristeas Story, not in terms of its historicity, but rather those of its production. It is clearly designed to authenticate the Septuagint as Scripture by recounting the miraculous concord of the seventy scholars who worked on the Torah translation: they, too, were inspired. A plausible scenario for the production of the legend, suggested by Dr Brock, is that there was an influx of

available in C. Dogniez and M. Harl, eds., *Le Pentateuque. La Bible de l’Alexandrie* (Paris, 2001), with useful introductory notes on pp. 556–693. Also: M. Müller, *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint* (Sheffield, 1996) and T.M. Law, *When God Spoke Greek: The Septuagint and the Making of the Christian Bible* (Oxford, 2013). M. Müller is answered in E.L. Gallagher, *Hebrew Scripture in Patristic Biblical Theory: Canon, Language, Text* (Leiden, 2012) and idem, “The Septuagint’s Fidelity to Its *Vorlage* in Greek Patristic Thought,” in *XIVth Congress of IOSCS Helsinki 2010*, ed. M.K.H. Peters (Atlanta, 2013), pp. 663–676.

- 4 An accessible account of the Letter of Aristeas, the primary source for the legend, is to be found in Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London, 2004), pp. 28–33. The Greek text may conveniently be found in an appendix by H. St J. Thackeray to H.B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge, 1902) pp. 500–574. Also, G. Zuntz, “Zum Aristeas-Text,” *Philologus* 102 (1958), 240–246; idem, “Aristeas Studies I: the ‘Seven Banquets,’” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 4 (1959), 21–36, and “Aristeas Studies II: Aristeas on the Translation of Torah,” *Journal of Semitic Studies* 4 (1959), 109–126. B.G. Wright III, “Transcribing, Translating and Interpreting in the Letter of Aristeas,” is found in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on the Septuagint, Hebrew Bibles and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*, eds. A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta (Leiden, 2008), pp. 147–162. In the same volume are: J. Joosten, “The Promulgation of the Pentateuch in Greek According to the Letter of Aristeas,” pp. 179–192, and L. Greenspoon, “Reclaiming the Septuagint for Jews and Judaism,” pp. 661–670. Philo and Josephus—as opposed to, strikingly, the Prologue of Ben Sira’s grandson—give rich evidence of the prestige of the Greek version and a positive reception of the material in the Letter of Aristeas. Inevitably, the subsequent use of the version by Christians created hesitancy among Jews. The Aristeas legend received a generally favourable hearing from Christians; Dines, *The Septuagint*, pp. 75–78. For its subsequent reception, see Abraham Wasserstein and David Wasserstein, *The Legend of the Septuagint from Classical Antiquity to Today* (Cambridge, 2005).

Palestinian Jews into Egypt in the 2nd century B.C. It seems probable that their criticisms of LXX and a simultaneous desire to make it conform more closely to the Hebrew—instanced by the Hebraizing tendencies and the use of the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton we shall shortly encounter—gave rise to a spirited defence of the translation aimed specifically against the Palestinian opponents.⁵ These proposals provide an initial context for the archaizing that was developing in conformity with the Hebrew text (with *Aristeas* a voice raised in opposition to the *Hebraica Veritas*) that we shall shortly encounter.

A somewhat similar phenomenon of replacement is to be found in the later Hebrew Massoretic manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible, which date from the 7th to the 11th centuries A.D.—that is, many centuries after the translations of the Hebrew Bible into Greek—and are the earliest witnesses to that process which we possess. The Massoretic manuscripts preserve the four Hebrew consonantal letters, *yhw*, of the Tetragrammaton, but this word was not pronounced. A substitute was read instead. This was often a form of the Hebrew word for “Lord” (*’adonai*) or the Hebrew word for “god(s)/God” (*’elohim*). Naturally, the question of the relation between these similar practices arises. In answering that question we are helped by the discovery of early copies of both Greek and Hebrew Scriptures in the Judaeen desert and of the Greek Scriptures among the papyri of Egypt. We shall turn now to examine this evidence.

Jewish Biblical Manuscripts in Greek

The earliest Jewish Greek biblical manuscripts translated from Hebrew that we have were found in part among the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁶ From the 2nd century B.C. we have fragments of scrolls of Exodus (7Q1), Leviticus (4Q119 Rahlfs 801),⁷

5 On this: Sebastian P. Brock, “The Phenomenon of the Septuagint,” *Oudtestamentliche Studien* 17 (1972), 11–36.

6 Emanuel Tov, “The Greek Biblical Texts from the Judaeen Desert,” in *The Bible as Book The Transmission of the Greek Text*, eds. Scott McKendrick and Orlaith A. O’Sullivan (London, 2003) pp. 97–122, provides a fuller list with description and bibliography.

7 Witnesses up to 1914 are listed in Alfred Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des A.Ts* (Göttingen, 1914). His list is extended for papyri known up to 1976 by J. O’Callaghan “Lista de los Papyros de los LXX,” *Biblica* 56 (1975), 74–93, and Kurt Aland, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri, I.* (Patristische Texte und Studien) 18 (Berlin, 1976). P.-M. Bogaert brings the list up to 1993 in “Septante et versions grecques” in *Dictionnaire de la Bible Supplément XII* (Paris, 1993). A short comparison of the editions of A. Rahlfs and that of J.W. Wevers is found in Dogniez and Harl, eds., *Le Pentateuque*, pp. 604–609. Now we have D. Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments I.i.* (Göttingen, 2004).

and Deuteronomy (4Q122 Rahlfs 819), and the Letter of Jeremiah (7Q2 Rahlfs 804). From a century or two later come more Pentateuchal fragments from Leviticus (4Q120 Rahlfs 802) and Numbers (4Q121 Rahlfs 803), and a Scroll of the Minor Prophets (8HvXIIgr).

It appears that some of these early Greek texts have undergone revision to bring them into greater conformity with the emerging Hebrew text of the time. The text of Jeremiah (7Q2) has merely undergone improvement of its Greek style, but the biblical text of 4Q121 containing verses from Numbers and also the Scroll of the Minor Prophets (8HvXIIgr) have to some extent been adjusted towards the Hebrew. In this respect they may perhaps be considered part of the *kaige* recension of the Greek Scriptures, to which we shall shortly return. We shall see below that Jewish users of the Greek translations repeatedly attempted by such revision to bring them closer to the Hebrew, and it is important to notice these Hebraizing tendencies here in the early evidence.

The Scroll of the Minor Prophets we have just mentioned was found in Nahal Hever, along with other material associated with the later nationalist revolt against the Romans under Simon bar Kokhba in 132–135 A.D. This may indicate some persisting interest among Jews in the Greek versions, which by this time had been taken up by Christians and were subsequently to be more or less abandoned by the Jews in the West for this very reason.⁸

8 In the early 14th century the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra appears to indicate a limited acceptance of the Septuagint among some Jewish scholars: "Similarly the Septuagint translation is received by them—at least by some scholars." Nicholas of Lyra, *Utrum ex sacris scripturis receptis a Iudeis possit efficaciter probari Salvatorem nostrum fuisse Deum et hominem*; manuscript Paris Bibl. nat., 3644. But by and large, the version was not used by mediaeval Jews in the West. Gilbert Dahan, *La Polémique chrétienne contre Le Judaïsme* (Paris, 1991), pp. 113–115. Azariah de' Rossi is an interesting case from the 16th century A.D. of later Jewish familiarity with the Greek Scriptures. See: Joanna Weinberg, "Azariah de' Rossi and Septuagint Traditions," *Italia* 5.1-2 (1985), 7–35, and idem, *Azariah de' Rossi, The Light of the Eyes* (New Haven, 2001), Ch. 45, pp. 571–585. A chapter is also devoted to Renaissance views of the Septuagint in Wasserstein and Wasserstein, *Legend of the Septuagint*. For the Byzantine Empire, by contrast, there are traces of Aquila on a masonry block from a synagogue in Nicaea (Alison Salvesen, "Psalm 135 (136).25 in a Jewish Greek Inscription from Nicaea," in *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorf*, ed. G.A. Khan (Leiden, 2005) pp. 212–221). See also the account of Greek glosses in Hebrew letters from the Cairo Genizah by N.R.M. de Lange, "Some New Fragments of Aquila on Malachi and Job," *Vetus Testamentum* 30 (1980), 291–294. Also, his *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (Tübingen, 1996); idem, "The Greek Bible Translations of the Byzantine Jews," in *The Old Testament in Byzantium: Dumbarton Oaks Seminar December 2006*, eds. P. Magdalino and R. Nelson (Dumbarton Oaks, 2010), pp. 39–54; idem, "Non Placet Septuaginta: Revisions and New Greek Versions of the Bible in Byzantium," in *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions: Studies in Their Use in Late*

Other pre-Christian Greek biblical manuscript fragments come, predictably, from Egypt. There are fragments of Genesis (Rahlfs 942), Deuteronomy (Rahlfs 963, 957, 847, and 848), and Job (P. Oxy. 3522). These come largely from the same period as the fragments from the Dead Sea Scrolls and exhibit similar Hebraizing adjustments. Later fragments of Genesis (Rahlfs 905 and 907) and Psalms (Rahlfs 2110) may be of Jewish or Christian provenance, but, although one cannot be quite certain when and to what extent some Jews ceased to use the Greek version, subsequent fragments are perhaps more likely to be Christian.⁹

Kurios in Jewish Biblical Manuscripts in Greek

Before the discovery of these early manuscripts, it had been a common opinion that the substitution of the Greek *kurios* (Lord) for the Hebrew Tetragrammaton had been characteristic of the very earliest Jewish Septuagint translations. The great Christian codices—Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and Vaticanus—which were used initially to establish the Old Greek text, all have *kurios*. This view drew strength from the extensive four-volume work of Wolf Wilhelm Graf Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname in Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte* (1929).¹⁰ However, even before Baudissin, this substitution was considered by scholars—Adolf Deissmann, for one—to be important

Antiquity and the Middle Ages, eds. N. de Lange et al. (Frankfurt, 2009), pp. 39–44. For Justinian's Novella 146 forbidding the use of the Septuagint and Aquila (which may thereby suggest they had some popularity): A.M. Rabello, *Giustiniano, Ebrei e Samaritani alla luce delle fonti storico-letterarie ecclesistiche e giuridiche*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1987–1988), pp. 814–828; G. Veltri, "Die Novelle 146 *Peri Ebraiôn*: Das Verbot des Targumsvortrag in Justinians Politik," in *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum*, eds. M. Hengel and A.M. Schwemer (Tübingen, 1994), pp. 116–130; E. Klingenberg, "Justinians Novellas zur Judengesetzgebung," *Aschenas* 8 (1998), 7–27; L.V. Rutgers, "Justinian's Novella 146 between Jews and Christians," in *Jewish Culture and Society under the Christian Roman Empire*, eds. R. Kalmin and S. Schwartz (Leuven, 2003), pp. 385–407.

9 There is room for uncertainty here: the codex format and *nomina sacra* are often taken as indicative of Christian provenance, and scrolls thought likely to be Jewish, but this is not absolutely certain. See the views of Robert Kraft in the remarks below on *nomina sacra*. Uncertainty over the provenance of some manuscripts prevents confident conclusions.

10 Edited by Otto Eissfeldt (Geissen, 1929). The first volume deals with all the occurrences of *kurios* in the Septuagint to establish that *kurios* is generally used there without the article as a proper name to substitute for the Tetragrammaton of the Hebrew text. Eleanor Dickey, "Kurie, Despota, Domine: Greek Politeness in the Roman Empire," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 121 (2001), 1–11, offers an account of the usage of *kurios* in Greek. The use of *kurios* for God in the LXX is very significant and it is only there where it is used to

in facilitating the Hellenizing of Jewish monotheism by suppressing the peculiar *nomen proprium* and replacing it with a word, *kurios*, more suggestive of universality and better suited to rival in the current idiom the claims of emperors and the gods of the Graeco-Roman world.¹¹ The Cambridge New Testament scholar C.H. Dodd put it succinctly: “By merely eliminating the name of God, the Septuagint contributed to the definition of monotheism.”¹²

address God that the vocative *kurie* becomes common (previously it occurs only once in Pindar). The New Testament inherits the sacred use of the Septuagint. In profane contexts, however, *kurios* is not common, but it becomes more so during the course of the 1st century A.D., as well as in the later parts of the New Testament. Eventually it became the common way to address everyone, and as such translated *domine*. Philo addresses the Emperor Gaius as *kurie Gaie* around 40A.D., and Epictetus (c.50–120A.D.) uses it a lot. *Despota*, however, Dickey considers to be originally more deferential but subsequently considerably weakened. It is interesting to note that the Septuagint avoids *despotes* (only Gen. 15:2 and 15:8 rendering *ʿadonay*). Josephus, however, conversely avoids *kurios* and uses *theos* (God), but sometimes uses *despotes* and *despota* in direct speech addressed to God. It is suggested that he avoided *kurios* because he knew it to be used to mark the Tetragrammaton; J.B. Fischer, “The Term *despotes* in Josephus,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 49.2 (1958), 132–138. Ralph Marcus, “Divine Names and Attributes in Hellenistic Literature,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 2 (1931–1932), 45–120, adds little to Baudissin with respect to *kurios*.

- 11 Adolf Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (London, 1910), pp. 354, 363, 366ff., and 396. In support of this cause Deissmann wrote *Der Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus* (1903; Piscataway, 2010). His work has now received deserved attention in Albrecht Gerber, *Deissmann the Philologist* (Berlin, 2010). Baudissin was also concerned with demonstrating that *kurios* was a divine name, not just a substitute. Also: Lucien Cerfaux, “Le Nom divin Kurios dans la Bible greque,” *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* (1931), 417–452. For a modern defence of the universality of *kurios*, Paul Ellingworth, “The Lord, the Final Judge of Functional Equivalence,” *The Bible Translator* 41.3 (1990), 345–350, p. 347.
- 12 C.H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London, 1934), p. 4. In a chapter on the names of God in the Septuagint, Dodd here observed that the God of the Jews was known to be nameless by the outside world, and he believed that this chimed in with certain speculative tendencies in Hellenistic thought. See Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (Philadelphia, 1974), p. 263, for the “nameless God.” Sean M. McDonough, *yhwh at Patmos* (Tübingen, 1999), pp. 11–40, conveniently summarizes relevant Greek philosophical thought on “Being.” He is inclined to see evidence of “deep engagement with Greek thought” (p. 233) in the translation of Exodus 3:14. Today, however, there is more reluctance in some quarters to see any theological motivation behind the use of *kurios*, so, Emanuel Tov, “Theologically Motivated Exegesis Embedded in the Septuagint,” in *Translation of Scripture: Proceedings of a Conference of the Annenberg Research Institute May 15–16 1989* (Philadelphia, 1990), pp. 215–234, where such motivation is found only in the rendering of *yhwh sbʿth* (Lord of Hosts) as *kurios pantokratôr*.

Such Hellenizing was considered by Dodd to be shown by the Septuagint translation of Exodus 3:14 taken as designating God (*kurios* here) philosophically as *ho ôn*, that is, “The One Who Is.”¹³ This, however, is possibly unjustified: the Hebrew *’ehyeh ’asher ’ehyeh* (I shall be what/who I shall be) presents the translator with a tautology dangerously close to appearing meaningless if rendered literally into Greek. Furthermore, Moses is subsequently told to tell the Israelites that *’ehyeh* (I shall be) has sent him. A first-person verb is not easy in Greek here either, though we shall see that this did not subsequently deter the Hebraizing Aquila, at least in the case of *’ehyeh ’asher ’ehyeh*. We do not know what he put for the third *’ehyeh*. The Septuagint rendering may plausibly be considered a product of idiomatic felicity—or even meaningful translation—rather than high philosophy.¹⁴ But, again this is not entirely certain. Be that as it may, it is not to say that the translation was not amenable to philosophical interpretation. Indeed, it was commonly—almost universally—taken precisely in this way, as we shall see.¹⁵

It should be made clear at this point (let us reiterate) that although the Hebrew text of Exodus 3:14 would appear (after some fashion) to offer an explanation of the Tetragrammaton, the Septuagint text does not do this (for there is no Tetragrammaton to explain). Rather, God makes a statement about his existence. This remains the case for Exodus 3:14, even if one considers an original Septuagint to have substituted *iaô* for the Hebrew Tetragrammaton, because the Tetragrammaton does not occur in this verse, nor is there anything in the Greek text to link the statement of God’s existence to *iaô*. The same situation applies with respect to the Old Latin and Vulgate translations, which were made from the Greek: they do not offer explanations of the name of God, but rather assert his existence.

Accounts of early Christianity cast in this Hellenizing light and characteristic of what has become known as the “history of religions school” varied in the importance they attributed to the Hellenistic “mystery religions”—and the

13 Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, p. 4. Dodd, of course, recognized the obvious etymological stimulus that *’ehyeh* (I shall be) contributes to this translation. Pagan Greek etymological reflection upon divine names is discussed in McDonough, *yhwh at Patmos*, pp. 7–10.

14 John W. Wevers, *LXX Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (Atlanta, 1990), p. 33.

15 E. Gilson, *The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy* (London, 1936), p. 51, writes: “Exodus lays down the principle from which henceforth the whole of Christian philosophy will be suspended. From this moment it is understood once and for all that the proper name of God is being and that...this name denotes His very essence” (cited by Childs, op. cit.). C.D. de Vogel, “Ego sum qui sum et sa signification pour une philosophie chrétienne,” *Revue des Sciences religieuses* (1961), 337ff., E. Zum Brunn, “La ‘Philosophie chrétienne’ et l’exgèse d’Exode 3.14,” *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 19 (1969), 94–105.

supposed importance therein of the term *kurios*—for the development of early Christianity. Some scholars saw little influence, but others made the mystery cults formative of the doctrines and rites of the churches, and consequently of the Christian understanding of what it was to be (*a*) *kurios*.¹⁶ Such an explanation inevitably maximized discontinuity between Judaism and Christianity. The 1913 work of Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, was of this latter type and enjoyed enormous popularity. The work of the school is no longer popular, having fallen victim to fairly decisive historical criticism.¹⁷ It was, however, in this context that earlier 20th-century studies of *kurios* in the Greek Scriptures were written. Current debate, however, is more accepting of continuities between the different expressions of Jewish faith at the turn of the era and emergent forms of Christianity.¹⁸

There remains, nonetheless, an arguable case for asserting that the use of *kurios* in the Septuagint in place of the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew text is a Jewish usage, and perhaps even the original translation. Such an argument, however, will have to account for the absence of the word from undoubted Jewish manuscripts of the period and the occurrence of other ways of treating the Tetragrammaton, which we shall shortly examine.

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- 16 Bruce M. Metzger, "Methodology in the Study of the Mystery Religions and Early Christianity," in idem, *Historical and Literary Studies Pagan, Jewish and Christian* (Leiden, 1968), pp. 1–24, illustrates this distinction helpfully. The over-determinist and causal role given by some scholars to these cults in the history of Christianity should not detract from an appreciation of the enormous amount of relevant contextual material usefully, if not always critically, gathered by others. For a sober, factual account of this aspect of Christian theology in the context of the Graeco-Roman world, Robert Grant, *Gods and the One God* (London, 1986). Also, G. Kittel, ed., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, 1965), s.v. *kurios*.
- 17 Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos Geschichte des Christus Glaubens von Anfängen des Christentums bis Irenaus* (Göttingen, 1913). For a short but devastating historical appraisal of Bousset: Martin Hengel, *The Son of God* (London, 1976), pp. 77–79, and idem, *Between Jesus and Paul* (London, 1983), p. 71. Also L.W. Hurtado, "New Testament Christology; A Critique of Bousset's Influence," *Theological Studies* 40 (1979), 306–317. Bousset also sought to minimize the significance of the use of the Aramaic term for Lord, *mareh*, as it appears in the New Testament phrase addressed to Christ: *Maranatha*. As we shall see below, the word now appears as a divine title in Qumran Aramaic. Interestingly, A.D. Nock, "Early Gentile Christianity and Its Hellenistic Background," in *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation*, ed. A.E.J. Rawlinson (London, 1933), pp. 51–156, had already insisted upon the significance of this Aramaic evidence, pp. 85–87.
- 18 For caution in the use of the term "Judaism" at this period, see: Steve Mason, "Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History," in idem, *Josephus, Judea and Christian Origins: Methods and Categories* (Peabody, 2009), pp. 141–184.

But Baudissin had a further contention. He argued that the later Massoretic reluctance to articulate the divine name (often by substituting *'adonay*) *actually arose from* the Hellenizing practice of the Septuagint in using *kyrios* for the Hebrew Tetragrammaton.¹⁹ He held this primarily because he did not consider *kyrios* to be merely a pious way of avoiding articulation of the Tetragrammaton, but as a distinct Semitic divine name (*'adon*) used instead.²⁰ The reality, however, may well have been quite the opposite: it appears that the origins of the Massoretic practice may be identified early on (among the Hebrew biblical texts from Dead Sea Scrolls) and may indeed have, in part, motivated the use of *kyrios* in the Septuagint.

We shall subsequently consider the absence of the Tetragrammaton from the Christian New Testament. But now we shall first examine the evidence of the early Jewish Greek witnesses with respect to their treatment of the divine name, and then go on to consider the early Hebrew manuscript evidence.

The Use of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton in Jewish Biblical Greek Manuscripts

The discovery of the early Greek biblical manuscripts described above forcefully challenged the view of the original presence of *kyrios* for the Tetragrammaton in the Septuagint: they unequivocally contained the Tetragrammaton *in Hebrew*.²¹ In 1944, even before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, W.G. Waddell had drawn attention to P. Fouad 266 (Rahlfs 848) (Illustration 1): in a beautiful scroll containing the second half of Deuteronomy and dated to the middle of the 1st century B.C., there is no incidence of *kyrios* at all.²² The scribe

19 For a summary of this argument, see Robert Hanhart's introduction to Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture*, pp. 7–8. This is essentially the argument of the second volume of Baudissin's *Kyrios als Gottesname in Judentum*.

20 Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname*, concluded that "the ancient LXX read *kyrios* as a surrogate for *Yhwh*, and not a form of the Hebrew Tetragram" (as summarized by A. Pietersma in "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*, eds. Albert Pietersma and Claude Cox (Mississauga, 1984), p. 85).

21 I disregard mention of P. Ryl Gk 458, which does not have the Tetragrammaton, though one has been restored there, almost certainly in error; Pietersma, "Kyrios or Tetragram," p. 92.

22 The scroll is otherwise important for showing that Deuteronomy was divided into three rolls of 10.5m or two of 16m. This seems to indicate that the Torah may have necessitated ten rolls of 16m. If the Torah was contained on five rolls, these would be of a remarkable, but not impossible, 30m! See Dogniez and Harl, eds., *Le Pentateuque*, pp. 573–574.

left large spaces marked with a dot on either side of the gap. The Tetragrammaton in Hebrew and written in “Aramaic” characters²³ was then added between the dots.²⁴ In the course of copying, one space was left blank. These gaps left in the papyrus to be filled in later may indicate that the first Greek scribe himself did not, or could not, write the Hebrew Tetragrammaton.²⁵ Perhaps one may speculate that the insertion of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton was a separate operation requiring greater sanctity. The text is that of the Septuagint but with some Hebraizing.

The Naḥal Ḥever Scroll of the Minor Prophets (8Ḥev XII gr) (Illustration 2), dated to much the same time or a little later (sometime between 50 B.C. and 50 A.D.), is not strictly a LXX text (we have described it above as a *kaige* text, a designation to which we shall return), but it has the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew script. There are twenty-eight examples.²⁶ This archaizing script is found to be used entirely for some twelve Hebrew manuscripts from the Dead Sea.²⁷ We shall

23 That is, in the normal Hebrew script of the time, sometimes called “square” script. For this archaizing practice, see R. Hanhardt, review of F. Dunand, “Papyrus grec biblique (P.F. inv. 266),” in *OLZ* 73 (1978), cols. 39–45, especially 42.

24 W.G. Waddell, “The Tetragrammaton in the LXX,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 45 (1944), 158–161. Waddell on p. 158 draws attention to evidence published even earlier in P. Oxy vii 1007, a fragment of Genesis from a parchment codex dated to the 3rd century A.D., where the Tetragrammaton is abbreviated to a doubled letter *yod*—ZZ—apparently the initial letter of *yhwh* written in the shape of a Z (zeta) with a horizontal line drawn through both letters. This is followed by a contracted *theos*. (In later rabbinic tradition God was also known as “*yod yod*”). See A.S. Hunt, ed., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VII (London, 1910). We return to this manuscript below. Hunt compared P. Oxy iv 656—another Genesis fragment from a papyrus codex dated to the early 3rd century A.D. with “a decided tendency to omit the word *kurios*.” *Kurie* was added by a second hand in three cases, but another blank space sufficient for four letters was left by the original scribe. On this latter, see: E. Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr): Discoveries in the Judaean Desert VIII* (Oxford, 1990), p. 12. The *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* are all available online at <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy>.

25 Pietersma, “Kyrios or Tetragram,” p. 90. A Hebrew Tetragrammaton is naturally written in the opposite direction of a text in Greek. For similar practices of transliterating divine names in other contexts, Nicholas de Lange, *Origen and the Jews* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 59, considers the practice of writing the name of Christ in Greek in the Latin Middle Ages. He also mentions on p. 181 (after M. Beit-Arie and G.J. Ormann in *Kiryat Sefer* 43 (1967–1968), 41ff. and 583ff.) the use in some Hebrew circles of a letter *tau* retained for the name of God, when its meaning was no longer understood.

26 At Habakkuk 2.20 the Greek article *ho* precedes the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton, possibly suggesting that it (the Tetragrammaton) was secondary.

27 These are texts of Leviticus and Job. For a brief but comprehensive summary, see: Emanuel Tov, “The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible*

	Col. ii
	ΠΡΟΨΕΧΕ ΟΥΡΑ[ΝΕ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΛΗΣΩ] ΚΑΙ ΑΚΟΥΕΤΩ Η [ΓΗ ΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΕΚ ΣΤΟΜΑΤΟΣ ΜΟΥ] ΠΡΟΣΔΟΚΕΙΣΘΩ [ΩΣ ΥΕΤΟΣ ΤΟ ΑΠΟΦΘΕΓΜΑ ΜΟΥ] ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΒΗΤΩ [ΩΣ ΔΡΟΣΟΣ ΤΑ ΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΜΟΥ]
	5 ΩΣ ΕΙ ΟΜΒΡΟΣ Ε[ΠΙ ΑΓΡΩΣΤΙΝ] Κ]ΑΙ ΩΣΕΙ ΝΙΦΞ[ΤΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΧΟΡΤΩΝ] Ο]ΤΙ ΟΝΟΜΑ * ΠΙΠΙ [ΕΚΑΛΕΣΑ] Δ]ΟΤΕ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΟΣ[ΥΝΗΝ ΤΩΙ ΘΕ]Ω[Ι ΗΜΩΝ] ΘΕ[ΟΣ ΑΛΗΘΙΝΑ Τ]Α ΕΡΓΑ ΑΥ]ΤΟΥ
Col. i	10 ΚΑ]Ι ΠΑΣΑΙ ΑΙ ΟΔΟΙ [ΑΥΤΟΥ Κ]ΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΕ]ΟΣ ΠΙΣΤΟΣ ΚΑ]Ι ΟΥΚ ΕΣΤΙ]Ν ΑΔΙΚΙΑ ΔΙ]ΚΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΣΙ[ΟΣ ΠΙΠΙ Η[Μ]ΑΡΤΟΣΑΝ Ο[ΥΚ ΑΥΤΩΙ ΤΕΚΝΑ ΜΩΜΗΤΑ] Γ[ΕΝ]ΕΑ ΣΚΟΛΙΑ Κ]ΑΙ ΔΙΕΣΤΡΑΜΜΕΝΗ]
ΔΙΑ]ΜΑΡΤΥΡ[ΟΜΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΗ]Ν ΤΕΛ]ΕΥΤΗΣ ΜΟΥ Κ]ΑΙ ΕΚΚΛΙΝΕΤΕ ΕΝΤΕΛΛ[ΟΜ]ΑΙ ΥΜΙΝ ΚΑΙ Κ]ΑΚΑ ΕΣΧΑΤΟΝ ΠΟΙΗΣ[ΕΤ]Ε ΤΟ ΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ Α]ΥΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΛ]ΛΗΣΕΝ	15 Τ[ΑΥ]ΤΑ * ΠΙΠΙ ΑΠ[ΟΔΙΔΟΤΕ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΛΑΟΣ ΜΩΡ[ΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΧΙ ΣΟΦΟΣ] ΟΥΚ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΟΥΤΟ[Σ ΟΥ ΠΑΤΗΡ] ΕΚΤΗΣΑΤΟ [ΣΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ ΣΕ] ΜΗ[ΗΣΘΗΤΕ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΑΙΩΝΟΣ] 20 ΣΥ]ΝΕΤΕ ΕΤΗ ΓΕΝΕΩΝ ΓΕΝΕΑΙΣ

ILLUSTRATION 1 *Transcription of P Fouad 266 showing text from Chapters 21 and 22 of Deuteronomy, with Hebrew Tetragrammata marked ΠΙΠΙ*

consider below its use for divine names in Hebrew biblical texts from Qumran that were otherwise written in normal Hebrew script. It was also used on coins of the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–135 A.D.), so it was not necessarily totally unreadable.²⁸ This distinctive script and the retention of the original language do, however, mark off the Tetragrammaton as being of a special sanctity—it may also be a warning to the reader not to attempt to read (i.e. say aloud) the word, but this cannot be said for certain.

and the Judaean Desert Discoveries, eds. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov (London, 2002), p. 151. The script is that used before the Exile. Possibly these texts arose in Sadducean circles: Tov, p. 164, lists the later rabbinic evidence suggesting that this script was forbidden by the Pharisees. P. Oxy 3522, from a papyrus scroll, was published by Peter Parsons, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. L. From the 1st century A.D. and judged “probably Jewish,” it contains the LXX text of Job 42:11–12 with a Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew script: “The scribe of 3522 wrote the Hebrew continuously and fluently...but apparently without understanding.” (Illustration 4)

28 R.S. Hanson, “Paleo-Hebrew Script in the Hasmonean Age,” *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 175 (1964), 26–42. Not all scribes were necessarily comfortable with the script as the Habakkuk Commentary from Qumran may indicate. There is also a difference between the reading and writing of a single graph known to substitute for the divine name and dealing with a whole scroll in paleo-Hebrew. If these texts really did emerge from a Sadducean milieu, it would presumably be scribes who were accustomed to copying their texts and at ease with the script.

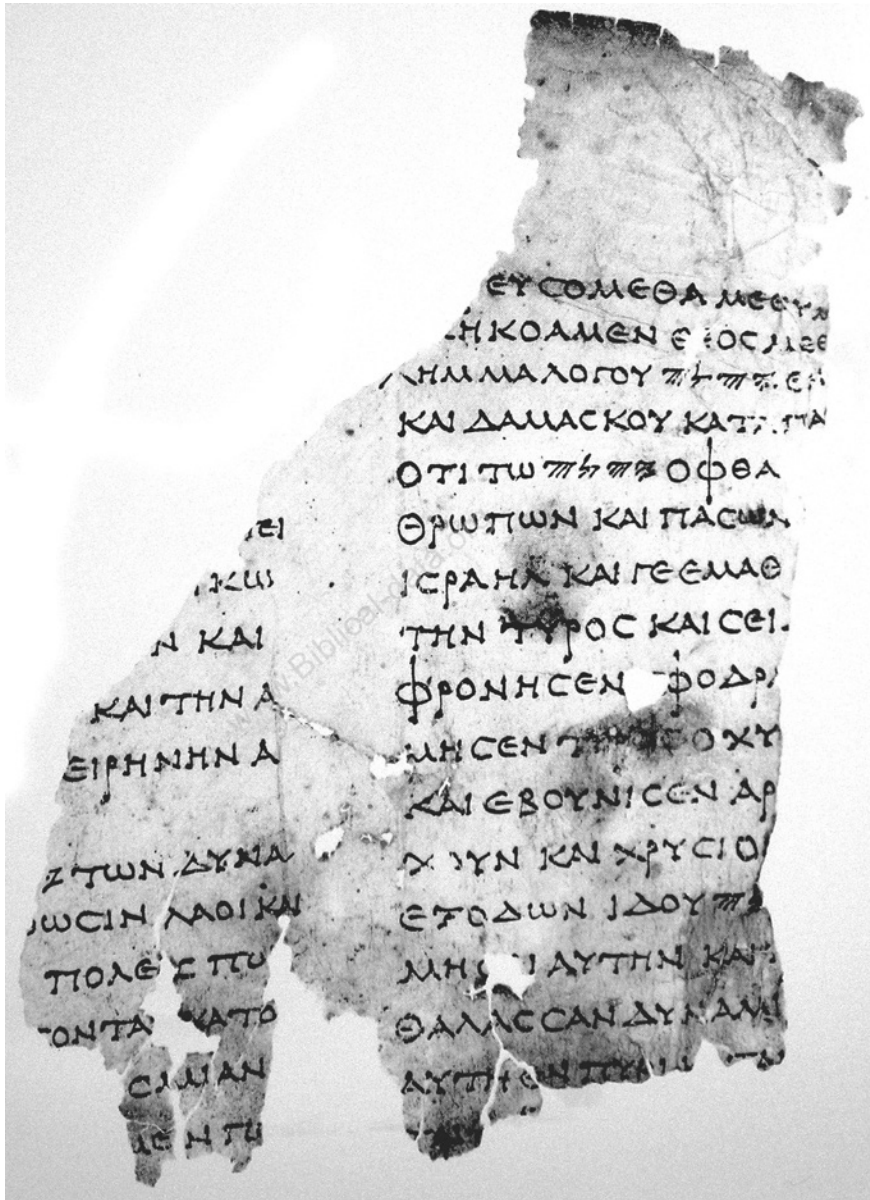


ILLUSTRATION 2 *The Tetragrammaton in archaic Hebrew script in the Greek Nahal Hever Scroll of the Minor Prophets (8HvXIIgr). The Tetragrammaton is found in the third and fifth lines of the right-hand column*

4QLXX Num (4Q121 Rahlfs 803) has no divine name among the extant fragments, but space would have allowed *kurios* or the Hebrew Tetragrammaton to be written.²⁹

4QpapLXXLevb (4Q120 Rahlfs 802) (Illustration 3) from Qumran, however, is an undeniably Septuagint text without any trace of subsequent conformity to the Hebrew. Most significantly, it does not have a Hebrew Tetragrammaton, but rather *iaô*, evidently a transcription of *yhwh* into Greek, and not *kurios*. *iaô* is written with a space immediately before and after the name.³⁰ The rest of the manuscript is in *scriptio continua*. Thus, this manuscript assumes some very considerable importance, as it is clear evidence of *iaô* in an early undoubtedly Septuagint text.³¹ It has not been subjected to an archaizing influence. We must now consider the significance of this more fully.³²

In an important article in 1984, Albert Pietersma made clear the archaizing and Hebraizing nature of all these Greek manuscripts which have the Hebrew Tetragrammaton, correctly disqualifying them as evidence of the original Septuagint.³³ The particular attention paid to the divine name is thus secondary, and presumably indicative of some dissatisfaction with previous representations of the name in Greek biblical manuscripts. This may plausibly be considered part of a broader suspicion of the Greek translations which the Aristeas legend was intended to counter.

The exception is 4QpapLXXLevb, which, we have just seen, is an irreproachably Septuagint text from the 1st century B.C. which bears no trace of having

29 Patrick W. Skehan et al., *Qumran Cave 4. IV: Paleo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert) 9 (Oxford, 1992), pp. 168 and 188.

30 *iaô* had previously been known in the manuscript tradition only from the margin of Codex Marchalianus (Q), written no later than the 6th century A.D. in Egypt and containing the Prophets. The manuscript's margins are rich in Hexaplaric material, for which, see below.

31 Frank Shaw, *The Earliest Non-Mystical Jewish Use of Iao* (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 2002), cites early Christian onomastica from Jewish originals, pagan sources, Jewish testimony, and ecclesiastical sources. He stresses the diverse nature of ancient Judaism and considers that use of the Tetragrammaton did not die out as early as has been thought. Rather, he sees 4Q120 as evidence of contention over the use or non-use of the Tetragrammaton. Not all, he concludes, were eager to discontinue the use of the divine name.

32 This importance was noted long ago by Patrick W. Skehan, "The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism," *Vetus Testamentum* suppl. 4 (1957), 148–160, p. 157.

33 We shall discuss below Origen's statement that the "most accurate" manuscripts had the Tetragrammaton in ancient Hebrew letters. It is not incompatible with the archaizing nature of these manuscripts and their treatment of the Tetragrammaton. Not least because he may be referring to the text of Aquila.

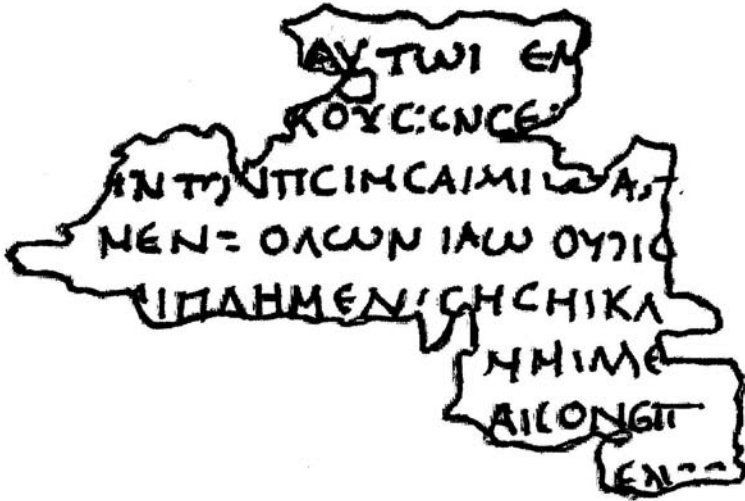


ILLUSTRATION 3 4Q120 frag.20. The divine name is written in Greek as $\text{IA}\Omega$ in the middle of the Greek fragment

been subsequently conformed to the Hebrew text and which has $\text{ia}\acute{\omega}$ in Greek for the Hebrew Tetragrammaton.³⁴ This therefore constitutes potential evidence for the earliest practice of the Septuagint. Furthermore, this papyrus allows for a pronounceable transliteration of the divine name in the same script as employed for the rest of the text (albeit enjoying individual spacing), and in that respect apparently shows fewer inhibitions in reading or writing the name than many other manuscripts we shall encounter.

34 Pietersma, "Kyrios or Tetragram," pp. 85–101. At Leviticus 4:27 the reading is clearly *en entolón iaō*. The final *omega* and part of the preceding *alpha* also make it certain in Leviticus 3:12. J.W. Wevers returned the compliment with "The Rendering of the Tetragram in the Psalter and the Pentateuch: A Comparative Study," in *The Old Greek Psalter Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, eds. R.J.V. Hiebert et al. (Sheffield, 2001), pp. 21–35. Discussion there prompted James Smith, "The Meaning and Function of *Allelouia* in the Old Greek Psalter," in *XII Congress of the International Organisation for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, ed. M.K.H. Peters (Leiden, 2004), pp. 141–150, to conclude that *Allelouia*, which occurs first in the Greek Psalter and is used there as a superscription, was a fossilized form of a Hebrew expression before its appearance in the Greek translation. Pietersma is developed with detail in M. Rösch, "Die Übersetzung der Gottesnamen in der Genesis-Septuaginta," in *Ernten was man sät Festschrift Klaus Koch*, eds. D.R. Daniels et al. (Neukirchen, 1991), pp. 357–377. An important article by Martin Rösel is "Die Übersetzbarkeit des Gottesname Die Septuaginta und ihre Theologie," in *Gott Heisst Nicht Nur Vater Zur Rede über Gott in die Übersetzungen der Bibel in gerechter Sprache*, eds. C. Gerber et al. (Göttingen, 2008), pp. 87–103.

It may be relevant to observe at this point that manuscripts do seem to be consistent within themselves in representing the divine name (a single manuscript does not mix *kurios*, *iaô*, or a Hebrew Tetragrammaton together). Obviously, however, it would appear that different groups of scribes treated the Tetragrammaton in different ways. What is somewhat inconsistent is the unexplained variation in the use of the article before *kurios* in such later manuscripts as use the term, and the considerable variation between the manuscripts themselves in these cases, caused no doubt by later scribes conforming to the usage of their own times.³⁵

It may also be pertinent to remark that we do not know how the Hebrew Tetragrammata in Greek biblical texts were pronounced (as *kurios*, or perhaps *iaô*?). We may ask when the practice of reading *ʾadonai* in the Hebrew text became common—whether it occurred in public reading in the 3rd century B.C. in Alexandria or in Palestine, and whether or not the Old Greek practice (if such it was) of using *kurios* for God gave an impetus to this practice (as, we have seen, Baudissin held).

That this papyrus, 4QpapLXXLevb, apparently represents an early version of the Greek Scriptures is indicated by some unusual readings as well as the transliteration of the Tetragrammaton as *iaô* rather than the use of the substitute *kurios*. Pietersma nonetheless argued that the original translators wrote *kurios* without the article, considering it as a proper name and “a written surrogate for the Tetragram.”³⁶ Emanuel Tov, on the other hand, holds that all

35 L. Perkins, “Kurios—Proper Name or Title in Greek Exodus,” *Bulletin of the International Society of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 41 (2008), 17–33, discusses all the uses of *kurios* in the book. His view is that the (arthrous) occurrences of *kurios* with the article rather than the usual (anarthrous) lack of the article derive from inner Greek considerations, though he admits these are not always obvious. He finds such variation even harder to explain if the translator himself inserted *iaô* or a Hebrew Tetragrammaton. Baudissin, *Kyrios als Gottesname*, p. 24, suggests that the presence of the article may imply an “appellative Färbung,” reflecting a sense of “Herr.” But in saying this he wants to be careful to emphasize that this is a nuance and the sense of *kurios* as the proper name for Yahweh is never overshadowed. Later, Baudissin (p. 72) suggests that simple genitive *kuriou* “ist also eine Art genitivus subjectivus” notion, in the sense of something established “by the Lord.”

36 op. cit., p. 98. Pietersma took as his point of departure late manuscripts of the Septuagint with *kurios* and pointed out that hundreds of times in the Hebrew text we find *lyhw* (the preposition *l* (= *tôî*) + Tetragrammaton). In the late LXX manuscripts we find *kuriôi* (dative) in these instances. If *kurios* was a later substitution within the Greek text, how would those writing it know when the Hebrew text had *l*, to the effect that it should be written in the dative case? However, in 4QLXXLevb we find *iaô* with the dative article *tôî* preceding at Leviticus 3:11, 14; 4:3; and in 8HevXIIgr we find the dative article *tôî* before the

the irregularities Pietersma observes with respect to the anarthrous use of *kurios* may be explained by the mechanical replacement of *iaô* by *kurios* by Christian scribes. He concludes that *iaô* “represents the earliest attested stage in the history of the LXX translation, when the name of God was represented by its transliteration, just like any other personal name in the LXX.”³⁷

Tov’s argument is not without force. One might reasonably expect the name of God to be transcribed like any other name unless there was good reason to the contrary. The use of *kurios*, usually without the article, may possibly represent a later stage in the development of the translation. Quite when and by whom *kurios* was substituted for the Tetragrammaton (written, it is supposed, as *iaô*) is not easy to determine. Tov suggested this was perhaps the work of

Tetragrammaton in Zechariah 9:1. The usage of these manuscripts has weakened Pietersma’s argument because *kuriôî* (dative) could be a substitution for either *iaô* or the Tetragrammaton with the dative article *tôî*. The article in Zechariah 9:1 of the Scroll of the Minor Prophets was perhaps inserted, as otherwise there would be no indication of case of the Tetragrammaton, and it might also be representing *l*. The nominative article in Habakkuk 2.20 does not resolve any ambiguity and does not represent anything in the Hebrew. Perkins, “Kurios,” accepts Pietersma’s argument that since the translator uses the genitive article and sometimes the dative article to represent *yhwh*, a “*kurios* surrogator” would be more likely to be consistent in his rendering rather than choosing now one, now the other. M. Rösel also defends an original *kurios*, noting that although *yhwh* is usually translated by *kurios* and *’elohim* by *theos*, there are several places in the Greek Exodus where *kurios* renders *’elohim* and 41 cases where *theos* does so for *yhwh*. The majority of these cases seem textually quite firm. Given that there is no evidence that the translators’ *Vorlage* was different from our Massoretic text, if the original translator wrote *iaô* or a Hebrew Tetragrammaton, then we must suppose an improbable variation from a reviser choosing between *kurios* or *theos*. More probably, the original translator used the word he thought fit at the time. Rösel also considers that the Greek translation of Leviticus 24:16 ordaining death for one who “names the name of the Lord” argues for the use of *kurios* there, because a translator using *iaô* or a Hebrew Tetragrammaton would violate the command (assuming naming also means writing). Martin Rösel, “The Reading and Translation of the Divine Name in the Masoretic Tradition and the Greek Pentateuch,” *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 31 (2001), 411–428. But this eventuality arises elsewhere, as we shall see.

37 Tov, “Greek Biblical Texts,” pp. 112–113. Tov further consolidates his argument (in loc. P. 121) with reference to the work of both Stegemann and Skehan, and the specifically textual features of the papyrus. K. de Troyer, “On the Name of God in the Old Greek Schoyen Leviticus Papyrus,” in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on the Septuagint, Hebrew Bibles and the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Rajja Sollamo*, eds. A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta (Leiden, 2008), pp. 329–338, discusses Rahlfs 830, an early Leviticus papyrus from the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. She finds that confusion in the use of the article before *kurios* indicates that there was not yet a consistent rule for rendering *yhwh* into the dative in Greek.

mechanical replacement by later Christian scribes. The possibility remains, however, that *kurios* was found in pre-Christian Jewish Greek biblical texts. There is also further evidence we shall encounter for the pre-Christian substitution of *kurios* for *yhwh*. Nevertheless, we should note clearly that *kurios* remains unattested in Greek biblical manuscripts of this early period, apart from 4QLXX Numbers (see above), where neither *kurios* nor Tetragrammaton occurs but where the space would take either, and in the Deuteronomy published by C.H. Roberts in 1936, where at one point Roberts conjectures that *kurios* was written in full (rather than as an abbreviation *ks*), or the line would be too short.³⁸ One does not have to be a historical positivist to see that this is not strong evidence and is insufficient to properly establish the case.

Although Patrick Skehan proposed to set these different ways of handling the Tetragrammaton into chronological order (*iaô*, Hebrew square script, paleo-Hebrew script, *kurios*), it is clear from other Qumran materials that *'el* and *'adon* were also used to represent the Tetragrammaton.³⁹ Given the

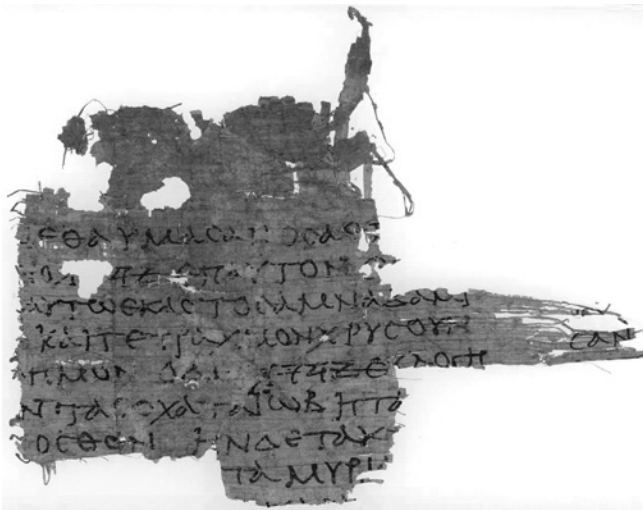


ILLUSTRATION 4 *P. Oxy 3522 showing a Hebrew Tetragrammaton in the middle of the fourth line from the bottom of the Greek text*

38 Colin H. Roberts, *Two Biblical Papyri in the John Ryland Library Manchester* (Manchester, 1936).

39 Patrick W. Skehan, "The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll and in the Septuagint" *Bulletin of the Society of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 30 (1980), 14–44.

paucity of evidence and the challenge of dating the material with precision, it may be better to hold that different conventions were held by different groups—perhaps at the same time. We should further allow for the possibility of different practices in different books: in some of the prophets, *kurios* may definitely appear to have been the original, but this need not have been so in other books.⁴⁰

The question is thus far from certainly settled. I shall therefore proceed with the possibility that the original Septuagint may indeed have a transliteration into Greek of the Tetragrammaton (*iaô*), and not the substitute *kurios*. Such a conclusion, however, leaves intact the previously established description of the other Jewish Greek biblical manuscripts which feature the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew as archaizing and Hebraizing, and there is now growing agreement that their use of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton represents a secondary stage in the transmission of the Greek biblical text. We shall also remain mindful of the residual evidence for an original *kurios*⁴¹ and the possibility that practice was not uniform. One advocate of diversity is K. de Troyer.⁴² She has drawn

40 I thank Dr Brock for this point.

41 H. St John Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship* (London, 1921; Munich, 1980), p. 33, observes an interesting recollection of Exodus 3:14 in three instances in Jeremiah (1:6; 14:13; 39:17) where, exceptionally, the Septuagint uses *ô kurie* to render a misreading of the interjection 'hh (woe!) as if it were 'hyeh, the name here. This translation cannot have been produced by a mechanical replacement on the part of Christian scribes of all primitive LXX instances of *iaô* by *kurios*, because *iaô* would not have stood here. I suggest this indicates a pre-Christian use of *kurios* to render 'hyeh considered as some form of the Tetragrammaton.

42 P. Oxy 656 is a 3rd-century B.C. Genesis published by Grenfell and Hunt in 1904, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Vol IV* (London, 1904). There are four places where the Tetragrammaton is given in the Hebrew but does not appear as *kurios*: in one place (p. 32) it is an empty space (later filled by a second scribe with *kurie*); in two places (p. 30) the later scribe has put *kurios* at the end of the line, as no space had been left in the text; finally (p. 32), for the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew of Genesis 24:40, the first scribe wrote *theos*. Significance may be attached to the fact that none of these *nomina sacra* are abbreviated (abbreviation, we shall see subsequently, was the usual Christian practice). This may suggest that they (the *nomina sacra* used here, which includes *theos*) are Jewish. Pursuing the line that non-contracted forms may be evidence of originality, she cites three cases of non-contracted *theos* used for the Hebrew text's Tetragrammaton from A. Kraft (For Kraft's position, see: Robert A. Kraft, "The 'Textual Mechanics' of Early Jewish LXX/OG Papyri and Fragments," in *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text*, eds. Scott McKendrick and Orlaith A. O'Sullivan (London, 2003), pp. 68–69, esp. pp. 52–54. Kraft draws on the suggestive essay of the late Kurt Treu, "Die Bedeutung des Griechischen für die Juden im römischen Reich," *Kairos nf XV Hft 1/2* (1973), 123–144, of which Kraft has

attention to the occurrence of *theos* (God) rather than *kurios* for the Tetragrammaton of the Hebrew text in some of the oldest Greek witnesses. Considering that Jewish pre-Hexaplaric corrections are unlikely (although admitting that some scholars have drawn attention to the influence of Jewish tradition in the Greek texts from Oxyrhynchus), she considers the evidence for an original *theos*.⁴³ Her point here really is to point to variety. The choice she presents is between *iaô*, *kurios*, and perhaps *theos*, and she also notices in the LXX Twelve Minor Prophets the case of Zachariah 9:14. Here the Massoretic text's Tetragrammaton is rendered in Greek as *pantokratôr* (Almighty).⁴⁴ Her argument is mobilized to contemporary concerns: she does not want "Lord" to appear as the sole authorized rendering of *yhwh* into modern languages because of a spurious authority attached to its supposedly universal Septuagint origin.

That the process of substituting *kurios* for the Tetragrammaton in Christian texts, however, may in itself have been more complex than we have so far assumed is suggested by the possibility that Tatian in the mid-2nd century A.D. may have had gospel texts which consistently read *theos* in Old Testament citations where the Massoretic text read *yhwh* and the Septuagint (and Old Testament Peshitta) read *kurios*. George Howard, we shall discover in the next chapter, assumed that the Tetragrammaton was preserved in the earliest New Testament manuscripts in Old Testament citations, with *theos* and *kurios* in secondary usage until the Christians removed the Tetragrammaton from the Septuagint, whereupon it was removed from the New Testament. But Tatian appears to have read "Lord" in Psalm 110:1, quoted in Matthew 22:44 and

placed a translation on the website mentioned in his article (accessed 25 November 2010). Roberts replies to Treu's article, *ibid.*, pp. 74–78). The three cases are in: P. Fouad 266a, a Genesis fragment from the 1st century B.C. (K p51–72, at p. 56); P. Fouad 266c, a Deuteronomy fragment from late 1st century B.C. (pp. 57–58); and P. Oxy 4443, an LXX Esther text from the 1st or 2nd Century A.D. (p. 59). She also suggests that a contracted form of *theos* found in a 3rd-century A.D. Aquila text of Genesis might be added to the list (p. 51). P. Oxy iv. 656 and P. Oxy vii. 1007 (Genesis from 3rd century A.D., parchment codex) have been much discussed. They may be Jewish, but this is far from certain: I doubt they can carry much weight in making a decision. On them, see: Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London, 1979), pp. 33–34 and pp. 78–81.

43 See Stickele, "The Lord Can No Longer Be Taken for Granted," pp. 179–188. Further, De Troyer, "The Choice is Yours!" pp. 53–67, who develops the argument by finding that *kurios* was not necessarily the original, and therefore authoritative, translation of *yhwh* in the early Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible.

44 C. Dogniez, "Le Dieu des armées dans le Dodekapropheton: quelques remarques sur une initiative de traduction," in *Proceedings of the IXth Congress of the Ioscs Cambridge 1997*, ed. B. Taylor (Atlanta, 1998), pp. 19–36, esp. p. 24, n. 12.

parallels, and in Isaiah 40:3, quoted in Matthew 3:3 and parallels. It is not obvious, therefore, that the mixed evidence of Tatian necessarily supports Howard.⁴⁵ It may be further evidence of diversity.

iaô

An original Septuagint transliteration of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton as *iaô* gains plausibility from other early uses of this name. Diodorus of Sicily I.29.2 (1st century A.D.) states that Moses referred his laws to “the god called *Iaô*.” *Iaô*, we shall later see, may also be found in patristic authors and the magical papyri. Varro (116–27 B.C.) tells us that the Jewish god is called *iaô* in the Chaldean mysteries.⁴⁶ It is also reminiscent in its pronunciation of the form of the Tetragrammaton found in the Elephantine papyri *yhw*, which we discussed in the Introduction. Dioscorides Pedanius (40–90 A.D.) in his *Peri Painônias* 11.2 cries, “Be with me Lord (*kurios*) God *Iao*, *Iao*.” The Alexandrian grammarian Aelius Herodianus (180–250 A.D.), writing on orthography (*Peri Orthographias*), begs, “May I heal you by *Iaô*.”⁴⁷ Much later, the 5th-century grammarian Hesychius, also from Alexandria, in his *Lexicon* (1212) explains the name *Ozeias* (Hosea) as “Strength of *Iao*” (*ischus iaô*).

The Christian biblical scholar Origen (c.185–253/254 A.D.) mentions the name *iaô* in his commentary on John 1:1, where, in discussing divine names, he glosses *ieremias* as *meteôrismos iaô* (exultation of *Iao*).⁴⁸ This appears to be an entry from a list giving the meaning of Hebrew names in LXX for which we have more evidence. The occurrences of *iaô* in Codex Machalianus (Q) mentioned above are in fact three glosses: in the margin at Ezekiel 1:2 *iôakeim* is interpreted as *iaô etoimasmos* (*Iao* has prepared); at 11:1, *banaïou* is glossed as *oikodomê ê oikos iaô* (residence or house of *Iao*). Further evidence has been amassed from two documentary papyri, each presenting, it so happens, nine names explained as compounds with *iaô*.⁴⁹ The fundamental work here is gathered by D. Rokeah and points to an anonymous compilation of the 3rd or 2nd century B.C. intended as a companion to the Septuagint, whose text

45 R.F. Shedinger, *Tatian and the Jewish Scriptures: A Textual and Philological Analysis of the Old Testament Citations in Tatian's Diatessarion* (Louvain, 2001), p. 137.

46 Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 9.55.

47 A. Lentz, ed., *Grammatici Graeci*, vol 3/2 (Leipzig, 1870, 1965), p. 476.

48 GCS Origines 4.53.

49 P Oxy 27453 (a 4th-century A.D. papyrus scroll) and P Heidl 1359 (a 3rd- or 4th-century A.D. papyrus sheet from a scroll).

it used.⁵⁰ Such a work gives strong evidence for the appearance of *iaô* in the earliest Septuagint. Similar later Christian lists suppress *iaô*, as apparently may have happened beforehand in the Septuagint itself. Jerome (346–420 A.D.), commenting much later on Psalm 8:2, says of the Tetragrammaton: “It may be read Iaho,” which probably preserves a reference to this old transliteration.⁵¹

The evidence we have reviewed so far is perhaps uncertain in its implications. Nevertheless, it betrays an interest in the special nature of the divine name and its treatment even in Jewish biblical texts in Greek. The variety of different ways the Tetragrammaton was handled also points to the possibilities of disagreement and controversy. Inconsistent scribal practice may here be an indicator of broader diversity of approach to the name of God, persisting apparently after other Greek scribal conventions were settled. It is not difficult to see the competing forces of a Hebraizing and archaizing promotion of the *Hebraica Veritas*, against which, Dr Brock has suggested, the Aristeas legend was directed. It is bootless to attempt more precisely to date such tensions—but perhaps the events leading to the Maccabean rising may have intensified controversy.

Hebraizing Trends in Jewish Greek Bibles: The Evidence of Origen’s Hexapla

We turn now from the earliest Greek manuscripts to consider the wider phenomenon of Hebraizing in Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible, particularly with respect to divine names.⁵² We shall discover evidence to corroborate

50 In R.A. Coles et al., eds., *Oxyrhynchus Papyri XXXVI* (London, 1970), pp. 1–6. A good summary is found in Skehan, “The Divine Name at Qumran,” pp. 14–44 at pp. 29–31. Page 31 draws attention to a later Christian interpolation of *iêsous iaô sôtêria*.

51 CCL. 72.191, “...legi potest IAHO.” One may note also Eusebius (*Demonstratio Evangelica* IV.17, 23), who glosses “Joshua” as “*iaô sôteria*,” that is to say, the “Salvation of God”; Cyril of Alexandria (380–444A.D.) in his *Commentarius in XII Prophetas Minores* (vol. 2, p. 251) explains the name of Jesus and then glosses Josedek as “the Justice of Iao” (*dikaïosunê iaô*), whom he describes as the God of the Universe (*iaô de estin ho tôn holon theos*); Didymus the Blind (313–398A.D.) explains that the name of Jesus means “Salvation of God” or “Salvation of Iao” and concludes that the name of God is “Iao in the language of the Hebrews” (*Commentarii in Zacchariam* II.14). John Chryostom (c.344–407A.D.), *In Psalmos 101–107* (vol. 55, 653, 62), glosses *allelouia* thus: “The translation of *allelouia* amongst them (the Jews) is, they say, Praise to the God, Iao.”

52 The use of Hebrew itself by the Qumran community—or, rather, their type of Hebrew—may be an indication of reactionary or eschatological impulses not dissimilar to this

our findings so far: that the initial transliteration of the Tetragrammaton in the Septuagint may have been *iao*, subsequently replaced by *kurios*, but that the use of Hebrew Tetragrammata is secondary and Hebraizing. We shall thereafter also consider the treatment of the divine name in the Hebrew texts from Qumran. But for the moment we shall remain with Greek manuscripts.

A significant part of our evidence here comes from the Origen's *Hexapla*, dating from the early 3rd century A.D. Origen was head of the catechetical and exegetical school in Caesarea, in Palestine. This essentially pagan city contained a significant Jewish and Samaritan community with whom we may imagine Origen and his students from the far smaller Christian community debating matters of religious and textual controversy in Greek. Sensing the disadvantage of apologetics based on what may be considered roughly our Septuagint text, which was often significantly different from either the Hebrew text or other Jewish Greek versions, Origen set out to correlate in six columns all the various textual material available to him.⁵³ The resulting *Hexapla* (*Six-fold*) was kept in the library in Caesarea, where it was seen by Jerome and perhaps copied in part. The book was probably lost with the arrival of the Arabs in 638 A.D., and only a few manuscript fragments of copies of the earlier masterpiece remain. An important source of surviving evidence is the *Syro-Hexapla*, a literal translation of the fifth column into Syriac, with marginal notes giving the versional readings made by Paul of Tella in 616 A.D. The *Hexapla* therefore has to be reconstructed mainly from quotations: consequently, there remain uncertainties about its exact form and content, and perhaps even to some extent about its precise purpose.⁵⁴

archaizing. Steve Weitzman, "Why Did the Qumran Community Write in Hebrew?" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119.1 (1999), 35–45.

53 For Origen's own doubtful knowledge of Hebrew and his place in 3rd-century Jewish-Christian relations, see De Lange, *Origen and the Jews*.

54 For Origen's work in a context of the ancient history of scholarship, see: Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge Mass., 2006); R.E. Heine, *Origen: Scholarship in the Service of the Church* (Oxford, 2010). The fundamental edition of the Hexapla, consolidating previous work, is F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae Supersunt...Fragmenta*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1875), in which the descriptions of ancient writers and ancient fragments are used to reconstruct what may be known of the work. For recent work on the Hexapla, see: D.C. Parker s.v. in *The Anchor Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 3 (New York, 1992), pp. 188–189; P.-M. Bogaert, "Origène et les Hexaples," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Suppl.* fasc. 68 (1993), pp. 568–573; and N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 204–222. Also Alison Salvesen, ed., *Origen's Hexapla and the Fragments* (Tübingen, 1998).

The *Hexapla* appears to have comprised for each Old Testament Book: (i) a word or phrase in Hebrew without vocalization; (ii) a Greek transliteration and vocalization of the same; (iii) Aquila's translation of the same; (iv) Symmachus's translation of the same; (v) Origen's Septuagint text; and (vi) Theodotion's version. Readings from other versions to hand were added, probably to column six.

Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion—Jewish Revisions of LXX

Our interest here is with the three Jewish revisions of the Old Greek towards the Hebrew: those of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.⁵⁵ They appear to have been preceded by what has been called the *kaige* recension, which was mentioned earlier and is represented by the Greek Scroll of the Minor Prophets from the Dead Sea that we have considered above. Barthélemy, in a revolutionary study of 1963 titled *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*, characterized this as a Septuagint text brought more closely into agreement with a proto-Massoretic Hebrew text type.⁵⁶ He went on to discover similar evidence of such a tendency elsewhere and presented a picture of a well-established LXX text undergoing a revising trend which was to culminate in Aquila's version.

Barthélemy also argued that Theodotion, traditionally a late 2nd-century A.D. Jewish proselyte, belonged among his 1st-century B.C. *kaige* revisers. This is a technical and controversial matter and is further complicated by the relationship of the Theodotian version of Daniel (which the Christians ultimately preferred for their canon as being closer to the Hebrew than the Septuagint) to the rest of the data. Fortunately, the issues do not need to be discussed here.

Aquila, both Jewish and Christian traditions (to this extent, at least) agree, was a proselyte from Sinope and was reputed to have produced his translation

55 In spite of its date, a great detail of fundamental data on these three revisions is to be found in Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, pp. 29–53. More recently, Dines, *The Septuagint*, pp. 81–93. Sebastian P. Brock, “To Revise or Not to Revise: Attitudes to Jewish Biblical Translation,” in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*, eds. G.J. Brooke and B. Lindars (Atlanta, 1992), pp. 301–338, for a clear presentation of the issues behind these revisions. Also Naomi Janowitz, “The Rhetoric of Translation: Three Early Perspectives on Translating Torah,” *Harvard Theological Review* 84.2 (1991), 129–140.

56 D. Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (Vetus Testamentum Supplements) 10 (Leiden, 1963), preceded by “Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante” *Revue Biblique* 60 (1953), 18–29. The name of the recension *kaige* arises from the very literal rendering in Greek of the Hebrew *wgm* (“and also”) characteristic of this Hebraizing trend.

in 128–129 A.D.—which seems a very short period of time.⁵⁷ Aquila's version, perhaps, is better seen as a culmination of the tendencies of the *kaige* recension we have discussed. It brought the Greek very close to the Hebrew, even at the expense of Greek idiom to the extent that it can sometimes sound like a crib: notoriously, the Hebrew object-marker 't was on occasion (e.g. Gen. 1:1) translated by the Greek word for “with,” *sun*.⁵⁸ Aquila was reputedly a pupil of Rabbi Akiba, and his work is illuminated by contemporary Jewish hermeneutics.⁵⁹ There is insufficient evidence, however, to identify him with the Onkelos credited with the eponymous Targum, as was once thought.⁶⁰

We do know, however, that Aquila's version used the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew script and not *kurios*. The evidence comes from the Cairo Genizah palimpsest of 3 & 4 Reigns in Greek.⁶¹ This contains Aquila's translation of 1 Kings 20:9–17 and 2 Kings 23:12–27, six pages of a codex in a 6th-century A.D. uncial hand (Illustration 5). (Thus from around the period of Justinian's novella, mentioned above.) From the same source were recovered also portions of Psalms 90–103 and a *Hexapla* fragment of Psalm 22, published by C. Taylor.⁶² In these texts of Aquila the Tetragrammaton is neither transliterated nor replaced with *kurios*. It is written in paleo-Hebrew script, though apparently spelled *yhyh*—the archaic *yod* and *waw* not being distinguished by this

57 For Aquila in general: Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 113–115.

58 As on other occasions, 't in Hebrew may mean “with.” Jerome drew attention to Aquila's rendering of this verse in *Ep. 57 ad Psammachium*.

59 K. Hyvärinen, *Die Übersetzung von Aquila* (Lund, 1977); L.L. Grabbe, “Aquila's Translation Technique and Rabbinic Exegesis,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1982), 527–536; idem, “The Translation Techniques of the Greek Minor Versions: Translations or Revisions,” in Brooke and Lindars, eds., *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*, pp. 505–556; Alison Salvesen, “Midrash in Greek: An Exploration of the Versions of Aquila and Symmachus in Exodus,” in *On Stone and Scroll: Essays in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies*, eds. J.K. Aitken et al. (Berlin, 2011), pp. 523–536. Though there is approval for Aquila in the Palestinian Talmud—*jMeg* 1.9 (71c); *jQidd* 1.1 (59a)—J.R. Labendz, “Aquila's Bible Translation in Late Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Perspectives,” *Harvard Theological Review* 102 (2009), 353–358, questions whether these indicate that he translated under rabbinic approval.

60 As argued by M. Friedmann, *Onkelos und Akylas* (Vienna, 1896).

61 Burkitt and Taylor, *Fragments of the Book of Kings*. For the story of the recovery of the Cairo Genizah and an indication of its contents: Stefan C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo: The History of Cambridge University's Genizah Collection* (Surrey, 2000) and Stefan C. Reif and Shulamit Reif, eds., *The Cambridge Genizah Collections: Their Contents and Significance* (Cambridge, 2002).

62 Taylor, *Hebrew-Greek Palimpsests*; also B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *Amherst Papyri I* (London, 1900), p. 30f.

scribe.⁶³ Burkitt had the acuity to observe that the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton here was read (i.e. pronounced) as *kurios*, since in one place in the Aquila fragments where there was no room to write “in the House of *yhwh*,” the scribe had written (using an abbreviation *ku* with a macron over the *u*) “in the House of the Lord (*kuriou*).”⁶⁴

This evidence concurs with the testimony of Origen, who wrote in his Commentary *In Psalmos* 2.2 that “in the most accurate exemplars” the divine name was written in paleo-Hebrew letters, that is, “not those currently in use, but the very oldest.”⁶⁵ By “most accurate exemplars,” one might assume he meant those of Aquila’s version, being the closest to the Hebrew, but perhaps he refers more generally to Greek versions.⁶⁶ Jerome in his *Prologus Galeatus*

63 Footnote on p. 15. Burkitt notes on p. 16 that this confusion between *yhwh* and *yhyh* is also found in Jacob of Edessa and in manuscripts witnessing to the Syro-Hexapla both in Syriac script and in Greek. A similar (mis-)reading of *yhwh* as *yhyh* lies behind the LXX rendering of last words of Ezekiel (48:35), where *yhyh* was read instead of *yhwh* and translated “will be” (*estai*). Hitherto confusions between *yod* (*y*) and *waw* (*w*) have been assigned to the employment of the Square Letters, in which these letters differ only in length, but we now have here evidence that confusions were also possible with some forms, perhaps debased ones, of the older alphabet. Not that one expects palaeographic accuracy here. The old characters had gone out of use in Origen’s time and this Cairo palimpsest is two and a half centuries later. The scribe of this manuscript must have blindly copied the Hebrew Tetragrammaton—as a mere symbol—from his *Vorlage*. In this respect, see: N. Walker, “The Writing of the Divine Name in Aquila and the Ben Asher Text,” *Vetus Testamentum* 3 (1953), 103–104, and the response of P. Katz, “*yhwh*=*jeha*, *yhyh*=*jaja*,” *Vetus Testamentum* 4 (1954), 428–429. Similar is N. Walker, “Writing the Divine Name in the Mishnah,” *Vetus Testamentum* 1.4 (1951), 309–310.

64 p. 16. This abbreviation may give us cause to pause in the light of what is generally held about such contractions being *nomina sacra* and diagnostic of Christian provenance (see below). The consideration of space was probably determinant here, contraction being rare in the fragment. But it does occur at other line ends, although on other occasions the copyist does not avoid splitting some proper names at line ends. That the Tetragrammaton was written in Hebrew in this fragment shows that there was no inhibition about writing it in full. On this see Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*, pp. 32–33. I here continue in Burkitt’s assumption that the text is Jewish, though I do not deny the obvious evidence of Christian palimpsests in the Genizah.

65 Migne PG XII, 1104 [B]. This important passage is the basis of many of the remarks in the Church Fathers on the Tetragrammaton. Origen is here referring to the form *-ia* found in *Hallelu-ia*. He transliterates the Tetragrammaton twice as *iaê*. One is a little uncertain as to how far one should trust the Migne text, but perhaps the *eta* at the end of *iaê* should be seen as a transcription of the Hebrew *yh*, with the *eta* marking the presence of the Hebrew letter *he*. Also relevant here are Origen, *in Num. Hom.* XIV.1 (GCS VII.121) and *in Ezech* viii.1 (PG XIII.796).

66 So, G. Mercati, “Sulla Scrittura del Tetragramma nelle antiche versioni greche del Vecchio Testamento” *Biblica* 22 (1941), 339–354 and 365–366, p. 345.

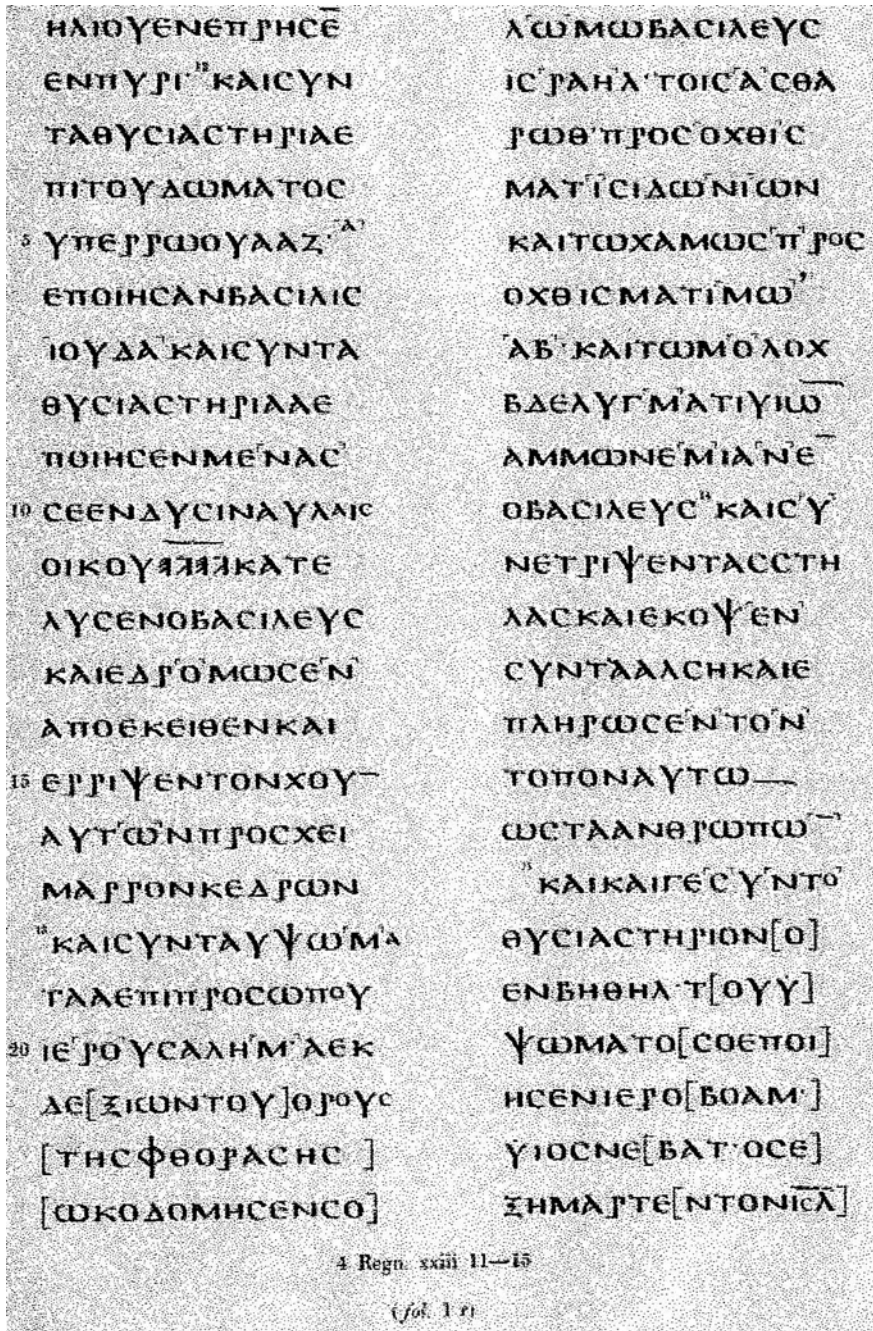


ILLUSTRATION 5 *Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew on a 5th/6th-century A.D. Cairo Geniza Parchment Palimpsest. The Tetragrammaton may be seen in the middle of the picture.*

said much the same: “We find the four-lettered name of God even today written in ancient letters in some Greek texts.”⁶⁷

Aquila’s translation of Exodus 3:14 *’ehyeh ’asher ’ehyeh* (I shall be what I shall be) and that of Theodotion is *esomai hos esomai* (I shall be who I shall be), which is more literal than the LXX, if perhaps a rather teasing tautology.⁶⁸ It may, however, show sensitivity to the thematic future tense throughout this part of the Exodus text, and one notes that the *idem per idem* idiom is preserved here.

Symmachus is faithful to the Hebrew, yet more elegant than Aquila in his Greek. There is uncertainty as to his date, but it probably should be late 2nd or early 3rd century A.D.⁶⁹ The revision reflects current Palestinian rabbinic exegesis and is so distinctive that some consider it strictly a new version and not a revision of the LXX at all. In 1910 C. Wessely published a fragment, as he supposed, of Aquila, which was quickly re-identified by G. Mercati as being of Symmachus.⁷⁰ The passage contained the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton.

Origen also makes reference in the *Hexapla* to other versions he had to hand—the *Quinta*, *Sexta*, and *Septa*; the *Hebrew*; the *Samaritan*; and the *Syrian*—but these remain very much obscure or even unknown entities today. Nevertheless, for our purposes it is interesting to note that some Hexaplaric fragments have the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew in normal Aramaic letters. The Mercati palimpsest of the Psalms has a stylized Tetragrammaton that reflects the Aramaic script across all its columns.⁷¹ Other evidence points to the use of the Greek letters ΠΙΠΙ (*pipi*) in place of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton in Aramaic script to which they bear an obvious visual similarity.⁷²

67 Migne PL 28, 594f.

68 Codex 64 (Holmes) seems to remove the relative pronoun *hos*, perhaps to ease this. See: Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*, *ad loc.*

69 On Symmachus, A. Geiger, “Symmachus der Uebersetzer der Bibel,” *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* 1 (1862), 39–64; D. Barthélemy, “Qui est Symmache,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 36 (1974), 451–465; Alison Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* (Manchester, 1991).

70 C. Wessely, “Un nouveau fragment de la version grecque du Vieux Testament par Aquila,” in *Mélanges offerts à Émile Chatelain...par ses Élèves et ses amis. 15 avril 1910* (Paris, 1910), pp. 224–229, corrected by G. Mercati, “Frammenti di Aquila o di Simmaco?” *Revue biblique* 8 (1911), 267–272. Also, Dom Capella, “Fragments du psautier d’Aquila?” *Revue bénédictine* 28 (1911), 64–65. Wessely’s article has its own bizarre form of the Tetragrammaton *ytwt*, for which presumably the printer is to blame!

71 J. [=G.] Card. Mercati, *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquae*, vol. I (Vatican City, 1958).

72 See s.v. ΠΙΠΙ in E. Hatch and H.A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint II* (Oxford, 1892–1906), p. 135 and *idem*, *A Concordance to the Septuagint...Supplement* (Oxford, 1906),

The evidence of C. Taylor's Hexaplaric fragments showed that Aquila, Symmachus, and the Septuagint column have ΠΙΠΙ where *yhw̄h* occurs in the Hebrew.⁷³ Jerome (346–420 A.D.) remarked in a letter to Marcella, in which he explains the ten names of God: “[the ninth Name of God is] the Tetragrammaton which they consider *anekphōneton*—that is ineffable—and is written with the (Hebrew) letters *yod, he, vau, he* (i.e. *yhw̄h*). Those who do not understand it generally read it as ΠΙΠΙ (*p̄ipi*) on account of the similarity of the letters to those found in Greek books.”⁷⁴ Origen, again in *In Psalmos* 2.2, remarks that:

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- p. 126. ΠΙΠΙ would not, of course, have arisen from the Tetragrammaton written in paleo-Hebrew script, to which it bears little resemblance. It may be that ΠΙΠΙ was derived from *yhyh* rather than *yhw̄h*: A.M. Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Profana* II.106–112, thought it was Origen or Eusebius who first made this transcription, but maybe it was first made by Jews. Conversely, it may have been the case that Christian transcription of the name in this way reinforced Jewish avoidance.
- 73 Taylor (op. cit.), pp. 6–11. Though *pȳpȳ* is found in some Syrohexaplaric manuscripts (e.g. The Isaiah in Jerusalem St Mark's I), others, including the Milan manuscript, have *yhyh*. I thank Dr Brock for this observation.
- 74 Jerome Ep. 25 *ad Marcellam* (PL XXIII.228f, CSEL LIV.218–220). The Syro-Hexapla—the 7th-century A.D. Syriac rendering of the Hexapla's LXX column—also makes use of *pȳpȳ* for *kurios*, even with attached prepositions. There is, of course, no visual similarity whatsoever between the Hebrew *yhw̄h* and the Syriac *pȳpȳ*! The Syrian Orthodox scholar Jacob of Edessa, born around 630, apparently had a rather weak knowledge of Hebrew. In his annotations to Severus' *Homiliae Cathedrales*, C.M. Brière, ed., *Les Homiliae Cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche: Traduction syriaque de Jacques d'Édesse* (Paris, 1960), pp. cxx–cxxv, he comments upon the master's text, and at one point between Homilies 123 and 124 offers an extensive scholion on Severus' comments on the names of God. In the course of Homily 123 Severus appeared unaware that the Hebrew of Psalm 110:1 has two different names, which Jacob gives as *yhyh* [*sic!*] and *'adonay*. The scholion at the end of the homily, however, undertakes the delicate task of explaining that the forms *pȳpȳ* in the Syro-Hexapla and ΠΙΠΙ in the Greek manuscripts are a Satanic deception and an error to be corrected. Pious Jewish translators of the Hebrew Bible, who read only *'Adonai* for the Tetragrammaton, left the divine name in Hebrew in the text of Scripture, but placed *kurios* in the margin as a substitute to be read for the divine name. These Hebrew letters were read in ignorance as ΠΙΠΙ. The true name is *yod-he-yod-he* (*yhyh* [*sic!*]) and is called the name “set apart” (*shm' prvsh'*). Finally, the scholion ends with a table of true and false names of God in Hebrew, Greek, and Syriac. Though Jacob does not seem to know the correct form of *yhw̄h*, his remarks are at least an improvement upon ΠΙΠΙ. Jacob's expressed intention was to remove ΠΙΠΙ from the Scriptures. The Syro-Hexapla Isaiah that was found in the 8th-century Codex Ambrosianus has *mry'* for the Tetragrammaton in the text and *yhyh* in the margin, perhaps as a result of Jacob's influence (Illustration 6). See: A.M. Ceriani, ed., *Monumenta Sacra et Profana VII Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus* (London, 1874). For the evidence: Eberhard Nestle, “Jakob von Edessa Über den Schem Hammerphasch

“the Tetragrammaton is read *Adonai* as a proper noun, but amongst the Greeks *kurios* is said.”⁷⁵ It seems that the ignorant at the time of Jerome may also have pronounced it “pipi”!

The Tetragrammaton in Early Hebrew Manuscripts from the Dead Sea⁷⁶

The early Hebrew biblical manuscripts from the Dead Sea show a variety of methods of presenting the divine name which indicate different degrees of inhibition with respect to both reading (i.e. pronouncing) it and writing it.⁷⁷

und andere Gottesnamen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Tetragrammaton,” *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 32 (1878), 465–508; idem, “Berichtigungen und Nachträge zu dem Scholion des Jacob von Edessa über den Schem hammerphorasch,” *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 32 (1878), 735–736; and also G. Hoffmann, “Zu Nestle’s Aufsatz S. 465,” *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 32 (1878), 736–737. Alison Salvesen, “Did Jacob of Edessa Know Hebrew?” in *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman*, eds. A. Rapoport-Albert and G. Greenberg (Sheffield, 2001), pp. 457–467, esp. pp. 465–467. One should now also consult Sebastian P. Brock, “Jacob the Annotator,” in *Studies on Jacob of Edessa*, eds. G.Y. Ibrahim and G.A. Kiraz, (Piscataway, 2010), pp. 1–12, esp. pp. 5–6, with reference to an English translation. There is a mention in the Palestinian Talmud, jNedarim xi. l. (42c), which considers someone bound by an oath that used *pipi* (יִּפְּיִי יִּסְרִי) as a substitute for the divine name. But see on this J.A. Emerton, “Were Greek Transliterations of the Hebrew OT Read by Jews before the Time of Origen?” *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 21 (1970), 17–31 at p. 19. A fascinating later use of PIPPI—repeated nine times while pressing one’s thumbs on the ground and spitting, as a way of vanquishing the evil impulse—is given in Joshua Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* (1939; Philadelphia, 2004), p. 162.

75 The spelling here, ΑΔΩΝΑΙ, leaves little doubt that the word was pronounced as *Adonai* and not *Adoni*. The significance of this will become apparent below.

76 It is perhaps worth emphasizing the fact that such Hebrew manuscripts as we possess from before the period of mediaeval Massoretic manuscripts are not vocalized, and only the consonantal text is written. It is for this reason that the contemporary pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton is uncertain.

77 The relevant bibliography here is extensive, so the following may be considered merely representative: H. Stegemann, “Religionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu dem Gotterbezeichnungen in der Qumrantexten” in *Qumrân: Sa Piété, Sa Théologie et Son Milieu*, ed. M. Delcor (Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium) 46 (Leuven, 1978), pp. 195–217; G.W. Buchanan, “Some Unfinished Business with the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Revue de Qumrân* 13 (1988), 411–420; J.R. Davila, “The Name of God at Moriah: An Unpublished Fragment from 4QGenExod-a,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 110.4 (1991), 577–582;

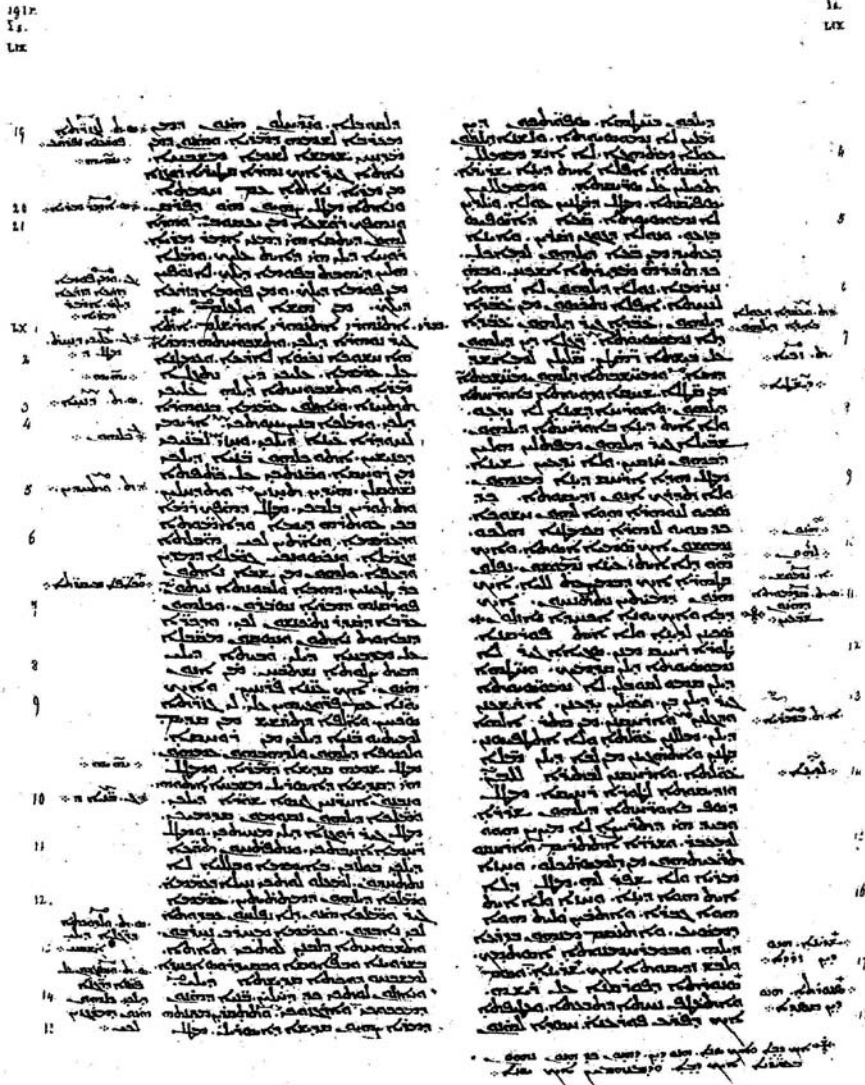


ILLUSTRATION 6 *Reproduction of part of a page from the Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus in Isaiah, showing yhyh glosses in Syriac in the margin*

A. Wolters, "The Tetragrammaton in the Psalms Scroll," *Textus* 18 (1995), 87-99; D.M. Pike, "The Congregation of YHWH in the Bible and at Qumran," *Revue de Qumran* 17 (1996), 233-240; D.W. Parry, "4QSam-a and the Tetragrammaton," in *Current Research and Technological Developments in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. D.W. Parry and S.D. Ricks (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah) 20 (Leiden, 1996), pp. 106-125; D.W. Parry, "Notes on Divine Name Avoidance in Scriptural Units of Legal Texts of Qumran," in

The scribe of the famous Isaiah A scroll from the 2nd century B.C. wrote the Tetragrammaton in normal script.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, the scroll contains clear evidence that *yhw* was not articulated, but that *'adonay* was said instead. He evidently wrote from dictation which used only *'adonay*: thus, he wrote *'adony* wrongly for the Tetragrammaton in 3:17 and the Tetragrammaton for *'adonay* in 3:18. In both cases he corrected himself by writing the correct alternative word above. In 6:11, 7:14, 9:7, and 21:16 where the scribe wrote the Tetragrammaton, the Massoretic text has *'adonay*. The pronunciation of this latter term is uncertain: perhaps it was *'adoni*'. Not until Origen, as we noted above, do we have clear evidence that the word was pronounced *'adonai*'. We shall discuss this pronunciation further later (in Chapter 5), when we consider Massoretic scribal practices.

While we are discussing Isaiah, we may note that the translator of the LXX had the Tetragrammaton written as such in his Hebrew *Vorlage* as it is in the Isaiah A scroll. In 4:15, 8:14, and 28:21 he misread *yhw* as *yhyh* and translated it as *estai*. In 49:1 it became *stêsetai*.

The LXX reading of Leviticus 24:16 provides some explanation for the practice of reading *'adonai* for *yhw*: where the Hebrew text has "He who blasphemes the Name of the Lord shall be put to death," the Septuagint (likely close to the Isaiah A scroll in date) reads "He who pronounces (or, literally, names) the Name of the Lord shall be put to death."⁷⁹

Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organisation for Qumran Studies Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten, eds. M.J. Bernstein et al. (Leiden, 1997), pp. 437–452. D. Green, "Divine Names: Rabbinic and Qumran Scribal Techniques," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Discovery*, eds. L.H. Schiffman et al. (Jerusalem, 2000), pp. 497–511; M. Dacy, "The Divine Name in the Qumran Benedictions," *Australian Journal of Jewish Studies* 15 (2001), 6–16; Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practice and Approach Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judaean Desert* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah) 54 (Leiden, 2004), esp. pp. 218–221 and 238–246; M.J. Bernstein, "Divine Titles and Epithets and the Sources of the Genesis Apocryphon," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 128.2 (2009), 291–310.

78 For dating, Arie van Kooij, "The Old Greek of Isaiah in Relation to the Qumran Text of Isaiah: Some General Comments," in Brooke and Lindars, eds., *Septuagint Scrolls and Cognate Writings*, pp. 195–213 at p. 195.

79 4QpapLXXLevb in Skehan et al., *Qumran Cave 4*, writes the divine name as *iaô* in spite of the fact that the LXX text seems to forbid saying the name. Perhaps although it was written, it was not said aloud. Thomas F. McDaniel, "Why the Name of God Was Ineffable" in idem, *Miscellaneous Biblical Studies* (2007), pp. 72–83, explains the later readings of the Targums here in light of the possible meanings of the Hebrew *nqb*. For the offence itself, J. Weingreen "The Case of the Blasphemer Leviticus XXIV.10ff," *Vetus Testamentum* 22.1 (1972), 118–123.

The bulk (though, as we shall see, by no means all) of Hebrew biblical manuscripts *stricto sensu* from all periods at Qumran show the same characteristics. They write the Tetragrammaton and *'lhm* (*'elohim*) in normal script and without apparent inhibition. The same holds true of many of the *pesharim* (biblical commentaries), again from all periods. It is, however, already clear that what they wrote does not necessarily indicate what they said.

The Tetragrammaton in Paleo-Hebrew Script⁸⁰

The Habakkuk Commentary (1QpHab) of the early 1st century A.D. and the Psalm Commentary (4QpPsa), by contrast, write the Tetragrammaton in full—but in paleo-Hebrew characters. The Psalm Commentary is content to write both *'l* (*'el*) and *'lhym* (*'elohim*) in normal script. The Habakkuk Commentary writes *'l* (*'el*), which it uses frequently in normal script, but has a rather agonized way of writing the Tetragrammaton on the four occasions on which it occurs. The Commentaries on Micah (1QMic) and Zephaniah (1QpZeph) also use paleo-Hebrew script for the Tetragrammaton. 1QMic. frg12 uses paleo-Hebrew to write *'l* (*'el*).⁸¹

The Apocryphal Psalm texts illustrate nicely both the development of this secondary practice of introducing the paleo-Hebrew divine name this time into quasi-biblical texts, and how the word was pronounced.⁸² 11QPsa writes the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew, but a second contemporary copy, 11QPs b,

80 See: J.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), 159–172. Also idem, "The Alexandrians in Jerusalem and their Torah Scroll with Gold Tetragrammata," *Israel Exploration Society* 22 (1972), 39–43. Emanuel Tov considers writing the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew a characteristic of the Qumran community and some others outside the community, and linked to the sacred character of the paleo-Hebrew letters. *'Elohim* and *saba'oth*, with and without prefixes and suffixes, are often written in paleo-Hebrew script. His exhaustive survey is Tov, *Scribal Practice*. (Reviewed by E. Tigchelaar, "Assessing Emanuel Tov's Qumran Scribal Practice," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, eds. S. Metso et al. (Leiden, 2010), pp. 173–207.) Also, previously, Emanuel Tov, "Further Evidence for the Existence of a Qumran Scribal School" in Schiffmann et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery*, pp. 99–216, esp. 204f.

81 Similarly, 4Q180 and 4Q183 have *'l* (*'el*) in paleo-Hebrew script.

82 On these, see again, Skehan "The Divine Name at Qumran," pp. 14–44, p. 42, and for a translation, Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London, 1998), pp. 301–307.

is content to write the name in full in normal script. 11QPsa contains an alphabet acrostic—running from *ʾaleph* to *pe*—in Psalm 155. A paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton now stands in the *initial* position: it was presumably read with an initial *ʾaleph* (the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet) as *ʾadonai*. Column V, line 1 of the scroll quotes Psalm 128:4 using a paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton for the first *yhwh* in the verse and *ʾadonai* for the second, again suggesting that they were both pronounced as *ʾadonai*. The manuscript substitutes *ʾadonai* for *yhwh* of the Massoretic text in Psalm 129:4 and in direct address to God in 130:1.

While the Tetragrammaton appears in this scroll in paleo-Hebrew letters, *yh* is written in normal letters, even in close proximity to *yhwh* (Ps. 135:1), and so, presumably, this word might be said—similarly, *ʾl* (*ʾel*) and *ʾlyn* (*ʾelyon*, another word for *God*). When *yhwh* occurs with an attached prefix (e.g. Ps. 136:1), the prefix is written normally, while the Tetragrammaton appears in paleo-Hebrew script. This suggests again the secondary and adventitious nature of the archaizing writing.⁸³ There is therefore ample evidence here that *yhwh* was pronounced as *ʾadonai* (or *ʾadoni*) long before the Massoretic Bibles.

Omission of the Tetragrammaton

The scribe who sometime between 100 and 80 B.C. wrote the Community Rule (1QS and 1QSa, b), certain additions to the first Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa a), the “Testimonies” (4Q175), and 4QSamc did not write the Tetragrammaton or even the common word for “God,” *ʾelohim*.⁸⁴ Other divine names he writes out in full, in his own hand and in the normal script, without resorting to paleo-Hebrew characters. But in places where *yhwh* was needed, he usually wrote four dots.⁸⁵ The Community Rule itself (VI.27–VII.1)—no doubt a text for public reading—would appear to explain the reason for this reticence;

83 1Q11 (first half of the 1st century A.D.) also has *yhwh* in paleo-Hebrew script.

84 I rely here on a helpful typology of inhibition set out by Patrick W. Skehan (op. cit.), with further detail. Also: Delcor, “Des diverses Manières,” 145–173. For a similar schema of the use of the divine name in the Septuagint: Martin Hengel, “The Interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism in the Pre-Maccabean Period,” in *The Cambridge History of Judaism II: The Hellenistic Age*, eds. W.D. Davies and L. Finkelstein (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 167–228, pp. 197–228.

85 See Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 2nd revised ed. (Minneapolis, 2001), p. 216.

If a man has uttered the [Most] Venerable Name even though frivolously, or as a result of shock or for any other reason whatever, while reading the Book or blessing, he shall be dismissed and shall return to the Council of the Community no more.⁸⁶

It was presumably to avoid this eventuality that the scribe simply declined to write the Most Venerable Name at all.⁸⁷ He also appears not to have written the common word for God, *'lhm* (*'elohim*).

The Increasing Use of ' adoni/ai

In the texts which our scribe was copying (1QS; 1QSa, b; and 4Q175) God is usually called *'l* (*'el*) (once *'ly: 'eli*, “my God”) or *'lyn* (*'elyon*). The Tetragrammaton does not occur, even in biblical quotations which require it. *shddy* (*shaddai*) is found, as well as *'dwny*. As the Qumran texts are unvocalized, there is again no indication how the last syllable of *'dwny* was pronounced.

The text at 1QS VIII. 13–14 offers an allusion to Isaiah 40:3 followed by a more exact quotation thereof. While the quotation text has four dots, the preceding allusion—unmistakably a reference to the Way of *yhwh* has *derek hw'h*. Thus, the pronoun *hw'* (*hua'*, or in the feminine, *hia'*, is the Samaritan pronunciation) with abnormal orthography stands in for *yhwh* here, although this is avoided at this place in 4QSe. Brownlee chose to understand this spelling as an

86 Translation by Vermes, *Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 107. The Qumran community prohibited all oaths using the Tetragrammaton or any other divine name. They also forbade the use of the Tetragrammaton for curses, magic, public recitation of the Scriptures, and the recitation of the benedictions: L.H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (Chico, 1983), pp. 133–154; Parry, “Divine Name Avoidance,” pp. 437–449.

87 Similar omission occurs in 4Q176 (1st century B.C.). *The Manual of Discipline* XV.1 similarly forbids an oath: “by *'aleph* and *lamed* or by *'aleph* and *daleth*”—that is, by *'lhym* or *'dny*. Mishnah Shebu'oth IV.13 discusses oaths taken using substitute names for God, which include *'aleph-daleth* (*'dny*) and *yod-he* (*yh*), though the favoured form in the Mishnah is *yy*. For a translation, see H. Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford, 1933), p. 415. I. Lévi, *Revue des Etudes juives* 68 (1914), 119–121. Jesus in Matthew 5:33–37 and 23:16f (cf. James 5:12) mentions surrogates in oaths but enjoins no oaths at all. For a comparison with the Dead Sea Scrolls, see: W.D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount* (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 239–245. jMegilla 71 d indicates the names which may not be erased: when one writes out the Name with four letters (that is, does not write *'l*, for example), and that whether with *yodh he* (that is, writing *yhwh*) or with *'aleph daleth* (writing *'elohim*).

abbreviation of *hw'h 'lhym*—"He is God."⁸⁸ Brownlee also suggested that the unusual form *w'm* found in the Manual of Discipline *à propos* of circumcision of the heart was inspired by Deuteronomy 10:17 and an abbreviation for *'lhy 'lhym* (God of gods) which appears there.⁸⁹

'dwny itself occurs some twenty times in the mid-2nd century B.C. Thanksgiving Hymns (1QHodayot), whose two copyists worked in the mid-1st century A.D. At 1QH VII.28 the text of Exodus 15:11 is quoted, but with *'dwny* substituted for the Tetragrammaton. *'l ('el)* is used frequently and in address to God, and *'l 'lywn ('el 'elyon)* occurs twice. There are no examples of *yhw'h* or *'lhym ('elohim)*. Though most names are written in normal script, there are four occasions when the first scribe writes, in a steady and practiced hand, the word *'l ('el)* in paleo-Hebrew script.

The copy of the War Scroll (1QM) we have dates from the last thirty years of the 1st century B.C. and has no exceptional script. *yhw'h* does not occur and *'lhym ('elohim)* occurs only once, normally written, but with a possessive suffix. *'l ('el)* appears throughout, especially as *'lysr'l* (God of Israel) in the same script as the rest of the text. Angels are called *'lym ('elim)*. There appears one occasion (XII.8–9) when a unique *'dwny* replaces *yhw'h* in a biblical quotation.

The copy of Ben Sira from Masada was written in normal Hasmonaean script in first half of the 1st century B.C. There is no *yhw'h* and no *'lhym*. *'l* and *'lywn* are found.⁹⁰ God is referred to, but not addressed, five times as *'dny*, one instance of which seems to stand for *'lhym* in a quotation.⁹¹ The book itself originated at a period when *yhw'h* is said have been articulated only by the High Priest in the Temple (Sir 50.5–21). It has, however, been plausibly argued that this passage refers not to the annual Day of Atonement, but to the morning sacrifice on any day when the High Priest officiated in person.⁹²

88 W.H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline, Translation and Notes* (Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplementary Studies) 10–12 (New Haven, 1951), p. 33, n. 29. We have considered in the Introduction the suggestions of J.A. Montgomery and W.A. Irwin that *hua'* was a divine name.

89 op. cit. Appendix. We consider Caitrin H. Williams's discussion of "I am He" (Deuteronomy 32:39; Isaiah 48:12) in the next chapter.

90 R.C.T. Hayward, "El Elyon and the Divine Names in Ben Sira," in *Ben Sira's God*, ed. R. Egger-Wenzel (Berlin, 2000), pp. 180–198. Also William Horbury, "Deity in Ecclesiasticus," in *The God of Israel*, ed. R.P. Gordon (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 267–292 for a summary of evidence and these trends there.

91 Skehan, op. cit., pp. 19–20, should be consulted for a comparison with the use of divine names in the mediaeval Hebrew manuscripts of Ben Sira from the Cairo Genizah. These later may be conveniently read in *Ecclesiasticus: The Fragments of the Hebrew Text Hitherto Recovered in Facsimile* (Cambridge/Oxford, 1901), where early editions are listed.

92 F. Ó Fearghail, "Sir 50.5-21: Yom Kippur or the Daily Whole Offering?" *Biblia* 59 (1978), 301–316.

This reluctance to use the Tetragrammaton—and even *ʾlhym*—does not begin in the 2nd century B.C. with the Judaeen scrolls, but it is characteristic of some, but not all, later books of the Hebrew Bible itself.⁹³ The “Elohistic Psalter” avoids mention of *yhwh*,⁹⁴ as does Qohelet; the name does not occur outside the prologue and epilogue in Job, and *ʾlhym* occurs only rarely; the Song of Songs has only one doubtful case of *yh* (8:6); and Daniel avoids the Tetragrammaton in the Aramaic portion.⁹⁵ Esther is entirely without any divine name.⁹⁶

The use and development of *ʾdn/ʾdny* (*ʾadon/ʾadoni/ai*) from the 8th century B.C. onwards within the Hebrew Bible itself is surveyed in some detail by Martin Rösel.⁹⁷ It may well be that the early and extensive association of *yhwh* and *ʾdny* was of considerable consequence in facilitating the more extensive use of *ʾdny* and may have enabled, rather than have been caused by, later reluctance to say *yhwh*. This point is worth emphasizing: we have seen plenty of evidence for inhibition in respect of the divine name, but it would be

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- 93 Additionally, of course, the name may be used with different theological nuances in those books where it does occur: Eep Talstra, “The Name in Kings and Chronicles,” in *The Revelation of the Name yhwh to Moses: Perspectives from Judaism, the Pagan Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity*, ed. George H. van Kooten (Leiden, 2006), pp. 55–70.
- 94 One may thus compare Psalm 14:2, 4, 6, 7, and Psalm 53, where the Tetragrammaton is changed to *ʾlhym*. Both terms were presumably acceptable to the ultimate editors of the Psalter.
- 95 This may be a question of the supposed suitability of the language as much as one of date. Notice also, J.A. Montgomery, “A Survival of the Tetragrammaton in Daniel,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 40 (1921), 86, where traces of IIIII are detected behind the *têi gêi* of Daniel 9:2 in the Chigi Manuscript and the Syro-Hexapla.
- 96 One should perhaps note here an apparently opposite trend in the Pentateuch Targums, where the incidence of the (translation term for) the Tetragrammaton is more frequent than the Tetragrammaton in the Massoretic text. Abraham Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel* (Breslau, 1857), pp. 279–299; A. Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God* (London, 1927), pp. 43–53, 67–72. A.N. Chester, *Divine Revelation and Divine Titles in the Pentateuch Targumim* (Tübingen, 1988), pp. 373, 325–351, observes that Onkelos renders *ʾadonai* wherever possible by the Tetragrammaton.
- 97 Martin Rösel, *Adonaj—warum Gott ‘Herr’ genannt wird* (Tübingen, 2000). A comparison of Chronicles with the books of Samuel makes it almost certain that the Chronicler, at least, pronounced *ʾadonay* even when he did write *yhwh*; for in reproducing his source he deliberately avoids the combination *ʾadonay yhwh* of 2 Samuel 7:28 (which to him would have been *ʾadonay ʾadonay*), writing for it now *yhwh ʾelohim*, now *ʾelohim*, now *yhwh*, and never once does he write *ʾadonay*. For a synchronic approach to the use of divine names in narrative: Jonathan Magonet, “The Names of God in Biblical Narratives,” in *Words Remembered, Texts Renewed*, eds. J. Davis et al. (Sheffield, 1995), pp. 80–96.

erroneous to retroject this to an earlier period when it appears that the name might be acceptably articulated in some circumstances and that the use of *ʾdny* was becoming widespread.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the Greek reading of Leviticus 24:16 does seem to mark something of a watershed.⁹⁹ Perhaps we may then take this reading as suggestive of a possible time (at the end of the 2nd century B.C.) for the progressive replacement of *iaô* by *kurios* in LXX manuscripts?

It may also be useful to recall that although there were clearly contexts where use of the name was inhibited—blasphemy, oaths, curses, and magic—for good theological and sociological reasons, it is not necessarily the case that the name or its pronunciation became totally forgotten. McDonough's study, which we shall mention below and which considers the presence of the name behind Revelation 1:14, speaks of a "loud silence" in this respect.¹⁰⁰

Nevertheless, a tendency toward inhibition is reflected in the Hebrew scrolls we have reviewed, which show a growing reluctance in pronouncing the name *yhwh* or perhaps writing it in merely ordinary script. They also indicate what was used instead. In scriptural material, as we have seen, there is evidence for written *ʾlhym* and *ʾl*; in a liturgical context, *ʾdny* is found as a written substitute for *yhwh*. *ʾdny* appears to have been *said* in the Masada scroll to avoid the Tetragrammaton and to have been pronounced for the Tetragrammaton by the scribe of the Isaiah A scroll as he wrote by dictation.

98 In a previous generation, and reflecting views similar to those of Baudissin, G.H. Dalman, *Studien zur biblischen Theologie: Der Gottesname Adonaj und seine Geschichte* (Berlin, 1890), considered that "with the introduction of the name Adonaj, Israel's God began his triumphant march among the nations as Lord of the world." This name made God comprehensible to humanity at the end of the Old Covenant, and coming down to us as *kurios*, contained germinally the final goal of all history, the union of a collected humanity under one head—Christ. P.A. Nordell's review of this book, "The Name Adonaj and Its History," *Hebraica* 7.2 (1891), 154–156, finds that Jewish reluctance to use the name was not just an error in translating Leviticus 24:16, but more deeply represented "the extraordinary degeneracy of Mosaic religion into rabbinical Judaism which annihilated the free and lofty spirit of the Law beneath grinding bondage to the letter" (p. 156).

99 Rösel, *Adonaj*, p. 4. But recall the reading of *iaô* in 4QpapLXXLevb (above). According to John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus* (Septuagint and Cognate Studies) 44 (Atlanta, 1997), p. XXV, the Greek Leviticus should be dated somewhere at the end of the 3rd century B.C. and reflects Alexandrian exegesis. In addition to Leviticus 24:16, Jeremiah 44:26 and Amos 6:7–11 speak of prohibitions on using the divine name. Their meaning is discussed in Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint of Amos: A Study in Interpretation* (doctoral thesis, Heythrop College, University of London), pp. 208–211.

100 McDonough, *yhwh at Patmos*, p. 232. On reasons for not using the name, pp. 111–115.

Skehan offers a consideration of the LXX Greek text of the Prophets in the light of this evidence.¹⁰¹ Some 250 times Ezekiel uses in first-person speech *ʾdny yhw*h—“My Lord, Yhw” —as a personal claim on the part of the prophet to be a servant of his lord. Yet before 100 B.C. we have in the Psalms of Thanksgiving or the Isaiah A Scroll evidence that *ʾdny* might have been used as a title spoken by anyone in worship or as a substitute for the Tetragrammaton in reading Scripture. The evidence of the earliest Greek version of Ezekiel, as perhaps represented by Papyrus 967 of the Septuagint Ezekiel, replaces almost all these occurrences of *ʾdny yhw*h with the single word *kurios*. The use of *nomina sacra* in the papyrus probably indicates, as we shall see below, that the scribe was Christian: he writes *ks* overlined (*kurios*) for *ʾdny yhw*h, but on fifteen occasions he has *ks* overlined and *ho ths* overlined together (*kurios ho theos*) in places where *ʾdny yhw*h does not appear in the later Massoretic text. Skehan judges these instances to be suggestive of a Jewish source which on fifteen occasions translated *ʾdny yhw*h after the fashion of later Massoretic text (the Palestinian *Qere*), that is to say, as *adoni/ai ʾelohim*.¹⁰² This presupposes that *kurios* is acceptable for *adoni/ai*, but also—as elsewhere some 215 times in the book—for *yhw*h alone. The Septuagint Isaiah also has on fifteen out of seventeen occasions a single *kurios* for *ʾdny yhw*h. A similar phenomenon is conspicuous in the Septuagint Amos. The point made here is that a large part of the Septuagint prophetic corpus (Jeremiah being in this case an exception) at its earliest stage shows that *kurios ho theos* may render *ʾdny yhw*h, as is similarly the case with the later Palestinian *Qere* of the Massoretic text, which has the Hebrew equivalent *ʾdwny ʾlhm*; that *kurios* may stand for *yhw*h or *ʾdny* on the basis of the pronunciation *Adoni/ai* that was used for each separately; and that one *kurios* may stand for the combined name.

This reflection of the Palestinian *Qere* in these texts may be taken as fairly persuasive evidence that the usage arises from Hebrew-speaking Jewish sources and is not solely a Christian phenomenon.¹⁰³ Thus, we obtain a reason to consider that the use of *kurios* in the Greek Scriptures preceded the work of Christian scribes.

101 Skehan, “The Divine Name at Qumran,” pp. 14–44.

102 The *Qere*—a read substitute for a written word—is discussed below in Chapter 5. Leviticus 18:21 LXX would appear to hide the name of *Molek* behind a translation of its consonants alone as *archon*, removing the offence of the cult, so, Dogniez and Harl, eds., *Le Pentateuque*, p. 630, who apparently see this as a parallel case to *yhw*h/*kurios*. The Massoretic vowels of *Molek* are surely, however, to be suspected as those of *boshet*, “shame”: a deliberate distortion of the god’s name.

103 Fontaine, *Le Nom Divin*, p. 80, would seem then to be wrong in asserting this convention did not exist at the time of Christ.

Briefly—Abbreviations of the Tetragrammaton

We have seen evidence from the 4th century A.D. for the use of two *yods* with a horizontal bar to abbreviate the Tetragrammaton. Evidence from the Greek text of the Septuagint indicates the presence of a graphic abbreviation of the Tetragrammaton to merely one *yod*. Thus, LXX Judges 19:18 has *eis ton oikon mou* (into my house) (i.e. presupposing Hebrew *byty*), whereas the Massoretic text has *byt yhwh*. Similar occasions where it appears that a single *yod* abbreviating the Tetragrammaton has produced a possessive include Jeremiah 6:11 and 25:37; Jonah 1:9; and, less certainly, Jeremiah 8:14; 20:13; 40:3; etc.¹⁰⁴ Talmon has found in the tradition of Exodus 15:2 no fewer than four forms of the Tetragrammaton in various states of abbreviation—*yhwh*; *yh*; *h*; *y*—in just one verse.¹⁰⁵ Similar practice is found in later in Mishnaic texts and among Jewish magicians.

Non-canonical Jewish Writings

We return now to the question raised earlier of the date of the widespread introduction of *kurios* into Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible.¹⁰⁶ We have seen that this is not an easy question to answer, but we have noted some apparent anticipations of the later Palestinian *Qere* in Skehan's work on the Septuagint texts of the manuscripts of the Prophets which suggested that *kurios* may have occurred in pre-Christian Jewish Septuagint texts.

The widespread use of *kurios* for the Tetragrammaton in a considerable range of Hellenistic Jewish texts with no textual uncertainties also makes plausible its origin in the Jewish Greek canonical Scriptures. Thus it is found in the "apocryphal" Alexandrian canon. *The Wisdom of Solomon*, for example, seems to have been influenced at formative stages of its composition by LXX

104 Delcor, "Des diverses Manières," pp. 145–173, pp. 155–157. In addition: G.W. Nebe, "Der Buchstabenname Yod als Ersatz des Tetragramms in 4Q511, Fragm. 10, Zeile 12?" *Revue de Qumrân* 12.2 (1986), 283–284. Also Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text*, p. lxix, n. 2. Note also J.M. Baumgarten, "A New Qumran Substitution for the Divine Name and Mishnah Sukkah 4.5," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 83 (1992), 1–5, also idem, "A Reply to M. Kister," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 84 (1993), 485–487.

105 S. Talmon, "A Case of Abbreviation Resulting in Double-Readings," *Vetus Testamentum* 4 (1954), 206–208.

106 Martin Rösel "Theo-logie der griechischen Bibel. Zur Wiedergabe der Gottesaussagen in LXX-Pentateuch," *Vetus Testamentum* 48.1 (1998), 49–62.

readings.¹⁰⁷ Such general acceptance of *kurios* may reasonably be considered to derive from the authority of Scriptural (i.e. Septuagintal) legitimization.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the evidence is not decisive and the appearance of the widespread use of *kurios* may be due after all to Christian transmission; nor can it always be known whether an example of *kurios* substitutes for *yhwh* in a supposed Hebrew *Vorlage*.

On the other hand, some have dated to the 2nd century B.C. the Greek *Prayer of Jacob*, now found among the Greek magical papyri. It has *iaô*, but perhaps this dating should not be pushed.¹⁰⁹

The Jewish Alexandrian philosopher and statesman Philo (20 B.C.–50 A.D.) gives an exposition of the divine names *theos* and *kurios* in *De Abrahamo* 121 and *De Plantatione* 85–90.¹¹⁰ On the basis of these passages, Dahl and Segal conclude: “While preserved Jewish versions of the Greek version have some form of transliteration for the Tetragrammaton, Philo must have read *kyrios* in his texts.”¹¹¹ James Royce, carefully reviewing the same data, concluded that Philo knew and read Greek biblical manuscripts in which the Tetragrammaton was not rendered by *kurios* but in paleo-Hebrew or Aramaic script. He concludes, nonetheless, that Philo quoted Scripture as he would have pronounced it, that is, by using *kurios*. Philo himself, rather than the Christian scribes who transmitted his work, may thus be responsible for *kurios* in his biblical quotations and exposition.¹¹² For corroboration, Royce refers to Origen’s statement

107 See: Baudissin (op. cit.), III, pp. 12–15. Of course, Christian transmission may have eliminated examples of the Tetragrammaton, but it is the amount and variety of Jewish texts without any textual trace of the divine name at all which are evoked here. *Wisdom* 14.21 considers the name “incommunicable” (*to akoinôtêton onoma*). This might possibly mean merely that it should not be communicated to non-Jews.

108 Dogniez and Harl, eds., *Le Pentateuque*, pp. 650–671, has a convenient summary of the influence of LXX upon Hellenistic Jewish writings.

109 P.G. M. XXIIb 1–26. See P.W. van der Horst and J.H. Newman, eds., *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek* (Berlin, 2008), pp. 213–246.

110 This exposition is also of interest because Philo finds the two *middoth* of God reflected in the use of *theos* and *kurios*. A. Marmorstein, “Philo and the Names of God,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* n.s. 22.3 (1932), 295–306.

111 N.A. Dahl and A. Segal, “Philo and the Rabbis on the Names of God,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 9 (1978), 1–28 on p. 1.

112 James Royce, “Philo, KURIOS and the Tetragrammaton,” in *Heirs of the Septuagint: Philo, Hellenistic Judaism and Early Christianity. Festschrift for Earle Hilgert*, ed. D.T. Runia (The Studia Philonica Annual: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism) 3 (Atlanta, 1991), pp. 167–183, p. 175. At several places (*Her.* 23; *Somn.* 2.29; *Ios.* 28; *Spec.* 1.30; *Q.E.* 2.62) Philo comments on the etymology of *kurios*, incorporating it into his expositions in such a way that indicates that *kurios* is what he wrote in his expositions. Philo mentions the High Priest’s turban

(in *Psalms* 2.2), with which we are familiar, that although the Tetragrammaton was written, *kurios* was said and also refers to the evidence from the 6th-century Cairo Genizah manuscript of Aquila we have examined, which uses an overscored *ks* (*kurios*) for the Tetragrammaton.

Josephus wrote after the Jewish Revolt and outside Palestine (and his work was transmitted in Greek by Christians), though we may conveniently mention his evidence here. In *Antiquities* 2.12.4 (in the passage where God (*theos*) meets Moses at the Burning Bush) he does not give the name—“concerning which it is not lawful to speak [before foreigners? or anyway?].” Josephus does not (perhaps for this reason) use *kurios* in his narrative, generally preferring *despotes* (*master*) as the Greek equivalent of the Tetragrammaton, but neither does he quite say that the name is ineffable—merely that discussion is forbidden.¹¹³ In *The Jewish War* 5.5.7, in the context of a description of Herod’s temple and the High Priest’s vestments, Josephus tells us that he wore a golden crown “bearing the holy letters: these are four vowels.” It is perhaps possible that he meant the holy letters were *matres lectionis* (Hebrew consonants used to indicate vowels). But far more commonly the divine name was thought to be made up solely of vowels. We shall meet this again, repeatedly.¹¹⁴

Did the Early Christians Find kurios in Jewish Greek Bible Manuscripts?

In summary, we may ask what the first Christians found denoting the name of God in the biblical texts, Hebrew or Greek, available to them: we have

twice (*Mos.* 2.114–115, 132) and the Tetragrammaton upon it—“that name has four letters, so says that master learned in divine verities.” Royce suggests on p. 183 that perhaps Philo saw the Tetragrammaton untranslated in paleo-Hebrew in his Bible. George Howard, “The Tetragram and the New Testament,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 96 (1977), 72, suggests that Philo wrote a Tetragrammaton when transcribing a Scriptural passage but wrote *kurios* in his comments upon the passage. This rather assumes that it was normal practice to write a Tetragrammaton in such circumstances. If the known written Tetragrammata in Greek biblical texts are now seen to be archaizing, should it perhaps not be suggested that Philo transcribed *iaô* in his biblical citations? Like Josephus, but unlike Jesus ben Sirā’s grandson, Philo was happy with the Aristeas account of LXX origins.

113 On the exceptional uses of *kurios* in *Ant.* 13. 3. 1. 68, and 20. 4. 2. 90, see J.A. Fitzmyer, “The New Testament Kurios-Title,” in idem, *A Wandering Aramaean* (Atlanta, 1979), pp. 115–142 at pp. 121–122, where he cautions against seeing these usages automatically as the adjustments of Christian scribes. Similarly, for the instance of *kurios* in the Letter of Aristeas (p. 155). For bibliography on Josephus’ use of *despotes*, *ibid.*, pp. 138–139.

114 There is some question as to whether the diadem is to be imagined as bearing the phrase “Holy to Yhwh” or just the Tetragrammaton On this, see R.P. Gordon, “Inscribed Pots and Zechariah XIV 20–21,” *Vetus Testamentum* 42.1 (1992), 120–123.

indisputable evidence of Tetragrammata in both Greek and Hebrew texts, and also of a more cautious and restrained use of divine names in Hebrew biblical texts and non-biblical texts from Qumran. These differences in scribal practice, we have suggested, are indicative not only of interest in the divine name, but also concern for its sanctity and perhaps also the part it played in debate about the authority of the Greek Scriptures. Such debate suggests that different groups had different attitudes to the issue.

In this respect, interest attaches to the remarks of Gregory Nazianzus (329/330–c.390 A.D.) upon the Tetragrammaton. In a passage much misunderstood in the past (*Or.* 30.17), he remarked upon the use of different letters by the Hebrews to write the divine name.¹¹⁵ We may now appreciate that he did mean *letters*, whether his reference is to Greek manuscripts with square or archaic Hebrew letters, or paleo-Hebrew letters in Hebrew manuscripts. The passage occurs in the context of his argument against the neo-Arians that God's essence cannot be named:

The divinity is not designated by its name. And this is not only demonstrated by the arguments [he had previously given above], but also the wise and ancient Hebrews used special characters to venerate the divine and did not allow that the name of anything inferior to God should be written with the same letters as that of 'God', on the ground that the divine should not have even this in common with our things.

But if the Tetragrammata are properly seen as archaizing and Hebraizing in the Jewish Greek Scriptures, the Hebrew manuscripts show increasing restriction upon their use—though of course this may also be a sign of interest in the name and concern for its sanctity.

It would appear that there is no unambiguous manuscript evidence for *kurios* used for the Tetragrammaton in a pre-Christian Jewish Greek biblical fragment. There are, however, some pieces of textual evidence, the practice of the non-canonical writers, and the traces of anticipations of the Palestinian *Qere* in the Greek Prophets to be considered. These incline one to take seriously the possibility that *kurios* did appear in some pre-Christian Jewish Greek manuscripts. It does not seem implausible that there may have been pre-Christian Jewish attempts to replace an original Septuagint *iaô* (if that was the early rendering) when the Septuagint understanding of Leviticus 24:16 became common (in spite of 4QpapLXXLevb writing the divine name as *iaô* when the LXX text seems to forbid saying the name!).

¹¹⁵ The passage first explained by F.W. Norris, "The Tetragrammaton in Gregory of Nazianzen (*Or.* 30.17)," *Vigilae Christianae* 43.4 (1989), 339–344.

J.A. Fitzmyer raises in this context the very pertinent question of the origin of the Christian New Testament *writers'* (rather than *scribes'*) practice of using *kurios* in scriptural texts, particularly as it may be that such a usage, e.g. in Bodmer Papyrus P75 (approximately 200 A.D.), antedates the earliest dated manuscript of the "Christian LXX."¹¹⁶

As it is, then, we can with some confidence say only that the Tetragrammaton, both in Hebrew and in other forms in Greek (*iaô*), might be found in manuscripts of the Greek Scriptures; that *kurios* may well also have been found as a substitute; and that the evidence is insufficient to establish a universal practice. In short: it appears prudent to conclude that there was no one way of way of presenting the Tetragrammaton or its substitutes in the Greek biblical texts of the time of the Apostle Paul. But importantly, the evidence of anticipations of the Palestinian *Qere* in the LXX Prophets and the usage of Philo prevent us from excluding *tout court* the presence of *kurios* in Jewish Greek biblical manuscripts.

We have also examined the variation in the presentation of the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew biblical material and other works—liturgical, expository, or controversial. The inhibitions upon both articulating and writing the Tetragrammaton clearly anticipate the reticence we shall meet in the Mishnaic and Massoretic material in Chapter 5.

Finally, it is pertinent to observe that we have in the main been describing scribal practice in biblical manuscripts. What we have not found, because it does not exist, is extensive use of the Tetragrammaton in Greek outside the biblical material.

We may be uncertain what the New Testament writers *read* in Scripture on any particular occasion (and how they pronounced what they read), but there is no question, as we shall see, of what they *wrote*.

116 J.A. Fitzmyer, "New Testament Kurios-Title," pp. 115–142 at p. 121.

The First Christians and the Tetragrammaton

Nomina sacra in Christian Greek Biblical Manuscripts

While no indisputably early Jewish Greek biblical manuscript currently known has contained *kurios*, no early undisputedly Christian Greek biblical manuscript has been found with the Tetragrammaton written in paleo-Hebrew or Aramaic script or with “*pipi*.” Rather, a set of abbreviations for about fifteen sacred terms, which palaeographers call *nomina sacra*, are taken as generally diagnostic of Christian provenance, though not always without some hesitation.¹ The words abbreviated have a horizontal line or supralinear bar above them as a warning that the word cannot be pronounced as written (which would be fairly obvious once one tried). The words *iesous*, *christos*, *kurios*, and *theos* are consistently abbreviated; *pneuma*, *anthropos*, and *stauros* frequently so; and *pater*, *huios*, *soter*, *meter*, *ouranos*, *israel*, *daveid*, and *hierousalem*

1 The fundamental monograph is Ludwig Traube, *Nomina Sacra* (Munich, 1907), supplemented by A.H.R.E. Paap, *Nomina Sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries* (Leiden, 1959), José O’Callaghan, *Nomina Sacra’ in Papyris Graecis Saeculi III Neotestamentariis* (Rome, 1970), and Schuyler Brown, “Concerning the Origin of the *Nomina Sacra*,” *Studia Papyrologica* 9 (1970), 7ff. An important consideration is Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, pp. 26–48, 74–78, and 83–84. He considers the system of *nomina sacra* established by the Jerusalem Church before 70 A.D. or slightly later in Antioch, whence it spread to Alexandria and everywhere Greek was written. Equally with the codex form, he considers *nomina sacra* to distinguish Christian books from Jewish and secular books. He stresses the need for a clear set of rules and authoritative exemplars to enable scribes to determine which secondary uses of the names were sacred and which were not, as this was too complicated to be improvised on each occasion. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that scribal practice is not in fact uniform in use of the *nomina sacra*. Dirk Jongkind shows that the several scribes of Codex Sinaiticus have clearly different patterns of use, though none of them is totally consistent, nor is use apparently determined solely by reverence, D. Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus* (Piscataway, 2007), pp. 62–84. James R. Royce, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 260–261, deals with scribal inconsistencies in the use of *nomina sacra* on p. 46. Christopher M. Tuckett, “P52 and *nomina sacra*,” *New Testament Studies* 47 (2001), 544–548, provides further arguments that “Jesus” was written out in full in this early papyrus. On p. 545 he points to apparent (and considerable) changes in Robert’s position. David Trobisch, *The First Edition of the New Testament* (Oxford, 2000), p. 19, considers the *nomina sacra* to constitute a conscious editorial decision on the part of those he boldly imagines producing a canonical version of both the Old and New Testaments in the middle of the 2nd century A.D.

episodically so—presumably depending on whether the scribe thought they had a sacral meaning or not. We do not know whether these markers of sanctity had any effect on what was said in reading—both public and private reading in antiquity was, of course, reading aloud—but we have no reason to think any of these words “ineffable.”

We have considered such evidence as exists for inhibitions in *writing* the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew: here also it is evident at least that the abbreviation was a mark of special reverence. But it is also evident that, contrary to Traube's initial conviction, the usage of *nomina sacra* does not go back to Jews of the 3rd century B.C.² By the 4th century A.D. contracted examples of *kurios* may be found exceptionally in Jewish manuscripts and probably should be attributed to the prevailing Christian custom,³ but for the first three centuries A.D. these *nomina sacra* appear to distinguish Christian manuscripts alone.⁴ C.H. Roberts draws attention to the evidence of Greek inscriptions in Palestine from the Qumran period to Bar Kokhba. He finds 184 instances of *kurios* in a sacred sense and 109 of *theos*. There is no case of contraction.⁵ This suggests strongly that the Christian *nomina sacra* are not Jewish—it also, of course, indicates a widespread Jewish use of *kurios* in a sacred sense. (This in itself might be due to a pre-Christian use of the word in the Septuagint.)

Roberts seeks to integrate his conviction that the Christian abbreviations are *sui generis* marks of reverence into a reconstruction of Jewish/Christian relations in Egypt.⁶ A somewhat greater emphasis upon textual mechanics has led Robert Kraft to suggest the possibilities of greater continuity between Jewish and Christian practice and to find more difficulties in the attribution of manuscripts. This may be taken as indicating some of the uncertainty which still adheres to the evidence, and perhaps also a little circularity in argument.⁷

2 For a liturgical papyrus, very probably Jewish, of the late 1st century A.D. (P. Fouad Inv. 203), which writes *kurios* without contraction, presumably not regarding it as a *nomen sacrum*, see: Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, pp. 30–31.

3 Thus the inscription of c.360–370 A.D. found in the synagogue at Sardis that has a contracted *theos* will not change opinions: J.R. Edwards, “A Nomen Sacrum in the Sardis Synagogue,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 128.4 (2009), 813–821.

4 For completeness it should be noted that *nomina sacra* appear in Christian texts in Greek, Latin, Slavonic, and Armenian. They also appear in Gnostic texts, such as *The Gospel of Truth*, *Acts of Peter*, *Acts of John*, and the *Gospel of Judas*. Manichaeans, too, used *nomina sacra*, see: Malcolm Choat, *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri* (Turnout, 2006), pp. 122, 124–125.

5 Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, p. 34.

6 Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, pp. 57–59.

7 For Kraft's position, see: Kraft, “Textual Mechanics,” pp. 68–69, esp. pp. 52–54. Kraft draws on the suggestive essay of the late Kurt Treu, “Die Bedeutung des Griechischen,” pp. 123–144,

Nevertheless, there has yet to be a convincing demonstration of Jewish antecedents or influence, beyond perhaps a reverence for sacred names in writing.

Anne Marie Luijendijk has extended the field in her recent investigation of the Christians in the Oxyrhynchus papyri by considering private and informal uses of the *nomina sacra*.⁸ She sees them both functioning as a sign of Christian identity and as the product of a Christian education. Her work only strengthens confidence in the Christian provenance of the *nomina sacra*, which may thus be considered as *sui generis* and a different phenomenon from Jewish reluctance to utter the Name of God.⁹

The Tetragrammaton and the New Testament

While it may seem merely possible that some of the Jewish Greek Scriptures of which the early Christians read had *kurios* for the Tetragrammaton, there can

of which Kraft has placed a translation on the website mentioned in his article (accessed 25 November 2010). Roberts replies to Treu's article in *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, pp. 74–78. For further conjectures: Brown, "Concerning the Origin," pp. 7–19; P. Comfort, *Encountering the Manuscripts: An Introduction to New Testament Palaeography and Textual Criticism* (Nashville, 2005), pp. 199–212. A suggestion of Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, pp. 35–36, that the numerical value of the contraction *iê* for Jesus may have a symbolic significance is developed by Lawrence W. Hurtado, "The Origin of the *Nomina Sacra*: A Proposal," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 117 (1998), 655–673. On the objection of Christopher Tuckett, "Nomina Sacra? Yes and No," in *The Biblical Canons*, eds. J.-M. Auwers and H.J. de Jonge, (Leuven, 2003), pp. 433–435. Hurtado modified his statement ("The Origin of the *Nomina Sacra*," p. 662) that no indisputably Jewish manuscripts had *nomina sacra* to a statement that there may be very few instances (e.g. p.Oxy 1007), though he still considers that there is no text both certainly Jewish and early enough to establish the origin of the usage; Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids, 2006), p. 109. Don C. Barker, "P. Lond. Lit. 207 and the Origin of the *nomina sacra*: A Tentative Proposal," *Studia Humaniora Tartuensia* 8.A.2 (2007), 1–14, revives a suggestion of A. Millard, who drew attention to the abbreviation of proper names on Phoenician and Palestinian coins of the Hellenistic period, and also on pots in Punic sites in North Africa, where the phenomenon also occurs occasionally on coins and in graffiti. A. Millard, "Ancient Abbreviations and the *Nomina Sacra*," in *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A.F. Stone*, eds. C.J. Eyre et al. (London, 1994), pp. 22–26.

8 Anne Marie Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008), pp. 57–78.

9 We may note from Oxyrhynchus itself a Hebrew Lamentation in which the Tetragrammaton is written with four *yods*, and *'elohim* is abbreviated with suspended letters, F. Klein-Franke, "A Hebrew Lamentation from Roman Egypt: Oxyrhynchus 5.941," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 51 (1983), 80–84.

be no question about the total absence of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton from all recovered early Christian Greek New Testament manuscripts and their texts.¹⁰ The clarity of the situation—which is incompatible with certain contemporary sectarian positions—has perhaps been somewhat obscured by the enthusiastic response of those same dominational interests to an influential article by George Howard.¹¹

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- 10 It may also be worthwhile to stress that no fragment of the New Testament has been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, contrary to the claims of José O'Callaghan, for 7Q5, "Papiros neotestamentarios en la cueva 7 de Qumran?" *Biblica* 53 (1972), 91–100, and Carsten Peter Thiede, *The Earliest Gospel Manuscript?* (London, 1992). For a clear, informed, refutation, see Graham Stanton, *Gospel Truth* (London, 1997), pp. 20–32 and 200–202.
- 11 The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation of the Greek Scriptures* (Watchtower, 1969, 1985) indicates the presence of the Tetragrammaton (*Jehovah*) 237 times in "Hebrew versions" of the New Testament. These are all—*mirabile dictu*—modern (post-16th century) translations of the Greek New Testament, except where they are references to modern English sectarian translations—or even dictionaries! The one exception is the Hebrew Matthew of a 13th-century Spanish polemicist, Ibn Shaprut (to be distinguished from Münster's 1537 Hebrew Matthew). It is poignant to notice that this version apparently uses *Ha-Shem* (The Name)—though even this is abbreviated to the article and two *yods*—and not the Tetragrammaton. In some witnesses *'lhm* is written *'lqm*. See: G. Howard, *The Hebrew Gospel of Matthew*, 2nd ed. (Macon, 1995), pp. 229–232, where he argues plausibly that Ibn Shaprut would not have dignified a heretical text (as he considered Matthew to be) with the use of the Divine Name were it his translation. But he then claims, perhaps less persuasively, that Ibn Shaprut would have left the Divine Name in the text if he were merely copying an earlier work. See also his article in the *Anchor Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 5 (New York, 1992), pp. 642–643, and idem, "A Note on Shem-Tob's Hebrew Matthew and Early Jewish Christianity," *Journal for Study of New Testament* 20 (1998), 3–20, where he argues that the presentation of John the Baptist, the enduring relevance of his baptism, the delayed entry of the Gentiles, and the delayed recognition of Jesus as the Messiah in the work argue for the original of this text belonging to an early Jewish Christian group in the first four centuries, though he finds no specific group indicated. Also: idem, "A Primitive Hebrew Gospel of Matthew and the Tol'doth Yesu," *New Testament Studies* 34 (1988), 60–70; idem, "A Note on Codex Sinaiticus and Shem-Tob's Hebrew Matthew," *Novum Testamentum* 34.1 (1992), 46–47. For a discussion of Shem Tob's *Vorlage*, G. Howard, "The Textual Nature of an Old Hebrew Version of Matthew," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 105.1 (1986), 62–63; J.V. Niclos, "L'Évangile en hébreu de Shem Tob Ibn Shaprut: une traduction d'origine judéo-catalane due à un converti, remplacée dans son Sitz im Leben," *Revue biblique* 106.3 (1999), 358–407, and R.F. Shedinger, "A Further Consideration of the Textual Nature of Shem-Tob's Hebrew Matthew," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 61.4 (1999), 686–694, supporting an ancient Hebrew tradition.

For a criticism of claims made for Guillaume Postel's sighting of a Hebrew Matthew around 1537, see Robert J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 106–107. Translations of New Testament texts in Arabic,

George Howard in 1977 discussed possible consequences for Christology that may have arisen from a Christian confusion resulting from the substitution of the Tetragrammaton by *kurios*.¹² He reviewed Greek biblical texts with which we are now familiar—Rahlfs 957 (Deuteronomy), 848 (Papyrus Fouad 266), 943, and 802 (4QpapLXX Levb)—and then wrote that from these we can now say with almost absolute certainty that the divine name *yhwh* was not rendered by *kurios* in the pre-Christian Septuagint, as had previously so often been thought. Usually the Tetragrammaton was written out in Aramaic or in paleo-Hebrew letters or was transliterated into Greek characters.

Howard's contention was that, as the Jewish Septuagint manuscripts had the Tetragrammaton, the New Testament authors would naturally incorporate

Judeo-Arabic, Coptic, and Syriac in the Cairo Genizah are discussed in F. Niessen, "New Testament Translations in the Cairo Genizah," *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 6 (2009), 201–227, and New Testament texts in mediaeval Hebrew books in P.E. Lapide, *Hebrew in the Church: The Foundations of Jewish-Christian Dialogue* (Grand Rapids, 1984), pp. 20–52. Münster's Matthew (which, as Howard stresses, is not that of Ibn Shaprut) is discussed in a later chapter below. Christopher Ochs, *Mattheus Adversus Christianos* (Tübingen, 2013), is an important study of the use of Matthew in Jewish polemic. See pp. 209–256 for Ibn Shaprut.

The *Kingdom Interlinear Translation of the Greek Scriptures* insertion of Jehovah into the New Testament raises questions of the theological significance of those passages where it is *not* inserted. It is not used where there is a clear reference to Christ, though the New Testament, we shall see, does in places use Hebrew Bible *yhwh* texts of Christ (Phil. 2:10–11 // Isa. 45:2–3; Rom. 10:13 (without Jehovah) // Joel 3:5 (with Jehovah); 1 Pet. 3:14–15 // Isa. 8:12–13). Fontaine, *Le nom divin*, is dependent upon G. Gertoux's work but seeks to defend the presence of the Tetragrammaton in the earliest New Testament copies against Lynn Lundquist, *The Tetragrammaton and the Christian Greek Scriptures* (Portland, Ore., 1998), *Jehovah in the New Testament* (Portland, Ore., 2001), and *The Divine Name in the New World Translation* (Portland, Ore., 2001). He takes seriously the "confusion" caused by the disappearance of the Tetragrammaton from the New Testament, which he associates with Neoplatonic convictions that God can have no name and the development of a Trinitarian Christology. He lists passages where he considers the Tetragrammaton should be "restored" on pp. 307–315, and textual variants which he considers have arisen upon the removal of the Tetragrammaton on pp. 258–263. He considers the passing of the biblical authors (and their autographs) and the destruction of Judaeo-Christianity during the Jewish revolts of the 2nd century to have caused the eclipse of the name.

12 Howard, "Tetragram and New Testament," pp. 63–68; idem, "The Name of God in the New Testament," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 4 (1978), 12–14, 57; "Tetragrammaton in the New Testament," *Anchor Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 6 (New York, 1992), pp. 392–393. For the interesting case of 1 Peter 3:14, see: K.H. Jobes, "The Septuagintal Textual Tradition in 1 Peter," in *Septuagint Research Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, eds. W. Kraus and R.G. Wooden, (Atlanta, 2006), pp. 311–333, 330.

this into the Septuagint biblical texts they quoted, thus marking a clear distinction between The Lord Jesus Christ and Yhwh. When *kurios* was substituted for *yhwh*, the line of demarcation disappeared and the two were “confused.”¹³ We have already seen that it is not possible to assert that all Jewish Greek biblical manuscripts had the Tetragrammaton, nor for that matter that someone reading a Tetragrammaton in a biblical text would necessarily transcribe it into another text as such rather than as, say, *kurios*: recall the case of Philo above as explained by Royce. It may also be pointed out that this conjectured account has Christians initially quoting biblical texts in their own writings to make a clear distinction between Christ and Yhwh and then introducing “confusion” by deciding to eliminate the Tetragrammaton from their own works. One may ask why they would do that and when.¹⁴ If we are, in fact, talking about extant New Testament writings, the imagined scenario surely becomes more difficult.

Might one not rather conclude that the practice of using *kurios* for the Tetragrammaton in Greek by Philo, Josephus, and Paul is itself evidence for a Jewish convention in this matter? One might then ask why the Christians appear to have used the Aramaic *mry*’ for the Tetragrammaton rather than the Hebrew *’adoni/ay*. We shall return to this.

The New Testament authors did not consider themselves to be scribes copying biblical scrolls, nor need we consider them bound by the scribal practice appropriate to biblical scrolls—though notice that it is particularly in treating the Tetragrammaton that we have found such a lack of scribal consistency. The case of Philo would suggest that they were likely to write *kurios*, regardless of what they read in a biblical manuscript. This would also appear to be

13 For a much earlier work arguing for a clear separation between Christ and Yhwh, Shirley L. Case, “Kurios as a Title for Christ,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 26.2 (1907), 151–161. One may ask to what extent the use of *kurios* for both God and Christ is confusing. The Syriac Peshitta New Testament, translated from Greek, distinguishes (unlike Scriptures in, say, Sahidic or Boharic) between *morio* or the Eastern *maria* for Yhwh and *moran* or the Eastern *maran* for Jesus. There are exceptions, but the whole indicates that the translators were sensitive to the context and knew how to distinguish Yhwh from Jesus. For further detail: Alain-Georges Martin, “La Traduction de KYRIOS en Syriacque,” *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 12 (1999), 25–54. Didier Fontaine cites (p. 242) as an example of confusion Tertullian’s comment on Psalm 10:1 in *Adversus Praxean* 13.3: “plus est quod in evangelio totidem invenies: In principio erat sermo et sermo erat apud deum et deus erat sermo: unus qui erat, et alius penes quem erat. Sed et nomen domini in duobus lego: Dixit dominus domino meo, sede ad dextram meam.” Ignorance of the Hebrew text certainly, but confusion?

14 G. Gertoux and Didier Fontaine (opera cit.) both consider that Christian apostasy from the practice and teaching of the original disciples led to hostility to the Tetragrammaton and its removal from the New Testament.

consistent with what we know of the growing Hebrew scribal inhibition in reading and writing the Tetragrammaton. It is worth recalling that New Testament documents were intended to be read aloud, as the cases of Paul's letters and Revelation 1:3 indicate.¹⁵ One may doubt that Jews in a mixed community would tolerate the articulation of the Tetragrammaton, or that Gentiles would be able to read aloud anything other than *iaô* or *kurios*.

In later Judaism writing the Tetragrammaton sanctified the material upon which it was written, which consequently had to be saved first from a fire and disposed of by burial.¹⁶ It appears such scruples were observed in the Second Temple period, and thus it seems very unlikely that Christian Jews would produce such awkward artifacts lightly.¹⁷ Not only do Christian scribes seem to have been capable of producing work of a very variable quality, but they

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- 15 P.J. Achtemeier, "Omne verbum sonat: The New Testament and the Oral Environment of Late Western Antiquity," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 109.1 (1990), 3–27. For some scepticism of the universality of reading aloud in antiquity which does not affect the point made here, M. Burnyeat, "Postscript on Silent Reading," *Classical Quarterly* 47 (1997), 74–76.
- 16 Deuteronomy 12:3–4 requires the obliteration of the names of pagan gods but adds, "You shall not act like this towards Yhwh, your god." Hence, though religious texts with the Tetragrammaton may become unusable (*pesul*) through old age or wear and tear, because they bear the name (*shem*) of God, they are called *shemoth*; they are stored and eventually buried. M. Schleicher, "Accounts of a Dying Scroll: On Jewish Handling of Sacred Texts in Need of Restoration or Disposal," in *The Death of Sacred Texts: Ritual Disposal and Regeneration of Texts in World Religions*, ed. K. Myrvold (Aldershot, 2010), pp. 11–30. The Mishnah requires a Torah scroll to be written in "Assyrian" characters in ink on the parchment of a clean animal (Yad 4.5). The hide has to be prepared with the intention of producing a Torah scroll (bMegillah 19a). The parchment is prepared on both sides (bShabbat 79b) and cut into sheets, lined in columns with a space for margins and sewn into a scroll by the tendon of a clean animal (bBaba Bathra 14a). The name of God and eighty-five coherent letters from the Torah make a document holy (bShabbat 15b).
- 17 Holy books render the hands unclean, but "Sadducees" took the opposite line and apparently considered Scripture to transfer holiness (Yad 4.5–6). Generally the appearance of the holy divine name on a manuscript seems to have been taken to have caused impurity of the hands because of its intrinsic holiness. Shamma Friedmann, "The Holy Scriptures Defile the Hands—The Transformation of a Biblical Concept in Rabbinic Theology," in *Minḥah le Nahum: Biblical and Other Studies Presented to Nahum M. Sarna in Honour of His 70th Birthday*, eds. Marc Brettler and Michael Fishbane (Sheffield, 1993), pp. 117–132; Jodi Magness, "Scrolls and Hand Impurity," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Text and Context*, ed. Charlotte Hempel (Leiden, 2010), pp. 89–97; Martin Goodman, "Sacred Scripture and 'Defiling the Hands,'" *Journal of Theological Studies* 41 (1990), 99–107; Chaim Milikowsky, "Reflections on Hand-Washing, Hand-Purity and Holy Scripture in Rabbinic Literature," in *Purity and Holiness: the Heritage of Leviticus*, eds. M.J.H.M. Poorthuis and J. Schwarz

also were not obviously concerned with the material sanctity of their work.¹⁸ There also seems to be no unambiguous rabbinic testimony to Christians using the Tetragrammaton.¹⁹

A further useful consideration may be to draw a distinction between official community-owned Greek biblical manuscripts and private copies. As it appears few Jewish community leaders with custody of official manuscripts converted, G.D. Kilpatrick suggested that the early Christian LXX documents were essentially private, less expensive, less elaborate, non-calligraphic copies—with, possibly, *kurios* for the Tetragrammaton.²⁰

(Leiden, 2000), pp. 154–159; Timothy M. Lim, “The Defilement of the Hands as a Principle Determining the Holiness of Scriptures,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 61 (2010), 501–515. It is probable that it was the Roman enemies of the Bar Kokhba rebels who wrote a (2nd century A.D.?) Greek cereal list on the back of a Hebrew text containing a Tetragrammaton; Hannah M. Cotton and Erik Larson, “4Q460/4Q350 and Tampering with Qumran Texts in Antiquity,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, eds. S.M. Paul et al. (Leiden, 2003), pp. 113–125.

18 H.Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church* (New Haven, 1995), p. 74.

19 S. Liebermann, “Light on the Scrolls from Rabbinic Sources,” in idem, *Texts and Studies* (New York, 1974), notices the inhibitions on use of the name in Qumran and goes on to explain Mishnah Yadai 8.4 and the Tosefta (Lieberman, *Tosefet Rishonim*, vol. 4, p. 160) on the morning bathers who challenge Pharisees over uttering the name when unclean—but the Pharisees counter that they do so themselves. There is a suggestion from the Mishnah that these are Galilean heretics (and therefore Christians). But we may ask: did the Mishnah really know what was going on in the 1st century? (However, from the 2nd to the 4th centuries, one can easily find Jewish-Christian groups practicing early morning immersion, cf. Peter and his disciples in the pseudo-Clementine literature (*Hom.* 8.2; 9.23; 10.1,26; 11.1; *Rec.* 4.3,37; 5.1,36; 6.1.)) JSabb.13.5 and bSabb. 116a discuss what to do with the writings of the *minim* which contain the divine name. Heretical works, of course, would usually be burned, but this is not so easy if they carry the divine name. It is difficult to see precisely what is in view here. The *minim* need not necessarily have been Christian, though that possibility is not excluded. Rabbi Tarphon (bShabbat 116a) speaks of the destruction of texts of the *minim* which had *gilyonim*. This latter word may designate the blank margins of a holy book or denote “gospels.” Dan Jaffé, *Le Judaïsme et l'Avènement du Christianisme: Orthodoxie et Hétérodoxie dans la Littérature talmudique Ier-IIème siècle* (Paris, 2005), pp. 232–312, considers that the *gilyonim* are gospels and the books of the *minim* are copies of the Torah (which would contain the Tetragrammaton) made by Jewish Christians. But it does not follow from this that the Tetragrammaton occurred in their *gilyonim*. L.H. Schiffman, *Who Was a Jew? Rabbinic and Halakhic Perspectives on the Jewish-Christian Schism* (Hoboken, 1985), also considers the passage to refer to Christians originally from Judaism. These, presumably, are the most likely among Christians to have used the Tetragrammaton.

20 G.D. Kilpatrick, Review of Howard, *Novum Testamentum* 27.1-4 (1985), 380–382, also previously in his Review of C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript etc., Vigiliae Christianae* 36 (1982), 99–106.

The Importance of the Tetragrammaton in Early Christianity

Nonetheless, even without the physical presence of the Tetragrammaton, the Hebrew Bible *yhwh* passages cited in the New Testament occupy a significant place in current speculations about the origins of high Christology, although exegetes of these passages usually and reassuringly look for something less banal than “confusion.”²¹ This marks a clear development from the Christological reconstructions of the earlier 20th century, and one cannot but be struck by the distance travelled since the effective exclusion of *yhwh*—long replaced by *kurios*—from the accounts of the History of Religions school. In this respect there has been something of a rediscovery of the name within contemporary New Testament exegesis itself.²²

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- 21 David B. Capes, “YHWH Texts and Monotheism in Paul’s Christology,” in *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, eds. L.T. Stuckenbruck and W.E.S. North (London, 2004), pp. 120–137; Richard Bauckham, “Paul’s Christology of Divine Identity,” in idem, *Jesus and the God of Israel* (Bletchley, 2008), pp. 182–232. For an attempt sensitive both to discourse analysis and textual families to describe the use of *kurios* in Acts as quite other than confused, see: J. Read-Heimerdinger, *The Bezan Text of Acts* (London, 2002), pp. 254–310, refining J.D.G. Dunn, “KURIOS in Acts,” in idem, *The Christ and the Spirit*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1998), pp. 241–253. C. Kavin Rowe, *Early Narrative Christology* (Berlin, 2006) also deals with *kurios* in Luke-Acts.
- 22 An earlier account of the significance of the name in early Christianity is Jean Daniélou, *A History of Early Christian Doctrine: The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (London, 1964), pp. 147–163. He was preceded by G. Quispel. In general terms one should also point to Christopher Rowland, *The Open Heaven* (London, 1982), which drew attention forcefully to Jewish exegetical themes focusing on Ezekiel’s Chariot in early Christian apocalyptic texts, and set the wider context for much contemporary discussion. His subsequent work continued to emphasize the Jewish background of early Christianity: idem, *Christian Origins* (London, 1985), and now Christopher Rowland and C. Moray-Jones, *The Mystery of God, Jewish Mysticism and the New Testament* (Leiden, 2009). A broadly ranging similar survey of the exposition of Ezekiel’s Chariot and notions of visionary experience through to the Middle Ages is found in Michael Lieb, *The Visionary Mode: Biblical Prophecy, Hermeneutics and Cultural Change* (Ithaca, 1991). This recovered world of imagination and reflection also helps the more precise positioning of Pseudepigraphic texts, e.g. A.A. Orlov, “Praxis of the Voice: The Divine Name Traditions in the Apocalypse of Abraham,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127.1 (2008), 53–70. This work (post-70 A.D.) uses the promise of seed in Genesis 15:3–6 in an account of Abraham’s heavenly ascent. After rigorous preparation the angel *Iaol* (whose name seems to be made up of the first three letters of the Tetragrammaton and the suffix *-el*) appears to Abraham in the likeness of a man. He has the patriarch meditate upon the ineffable name as a source of renewed strength and wisdom, after which Abraham ascends to the world of God to recite a liturgy in honour of the enthroned deity. By contrast in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (late 1st–second half of the 2nd

Such developments do not only concern New Testament exegesis; they also have relevance for the study of Gnostic texts, early Jewish Mysticism, and Patristics. One hesitates to attempt to summarize a complex and still developing debate, but some indication may be attempted of the emerging issues. The general context is that of a growing awareness of the need for careful specification of what was being claimed by Jewish assertions of the oneness and uniqueness of God, that is to say, the need for a more sophisticated notion of “monotheism” appropriate to the texts we have to consider.²³ Within that wider field consideration has been given to notions of divine agency and the delegation of authority to heavenly figures. The historic ancestor of many of these figures may, we have already suggested, be looked for in the angel with the name of God in Exodus, but the range of intermediaries is wider, although naturally they overlap. The heavenly agents may be personified divine attributes (like Wisdom or the Logos²⁴), exalted patriarchs (like Moses²⁵ or

century A.D.?) the namelessness of God is stressed: Glory is given to the Lord, whose name has not been revealed to the world (1.7). In 7.12, he who has no name is celebrated, the Almighty who lives in the heavens and whose name is a mystery to mortals. The nameless one and his chosen one, whose name is also unknown, are mentioned in 8.7. Finally, in 9.5 Isaiah is told that he who lives beyond the splendours of the sixth heaven wished to prevent his ascent, but God, his Lord, the Lord Christ, called Jesus here below, had obtained permission for him, though none can comprehend this mysterious name. He must leave his mortal envelope and ascend...

- 23 William Horbury, “Jewish and Christian Monotheism in the Herodian Age,” in Stuckenbruck and North, eds., *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, pp. 16–44. R.W.L. Moberley, “How Appropriate Is ‘Monotheism’ as a Category of Biblical Interpretation?” may be found in the same volume, pp. 216–234, as may N. MacDonald, “The Origin of ‘Monotheism,’” pp. 204–215, which helpfully describes the modern history of the term. The latter anticipates the first chapter of his *Deuteronomy and the Meaning of Monotheism* (Tübingen 2003). Also C.J. Davis, *The Name and Way of the Lord* (Sheffield, 1996); J.D.G. Dunn, *Did the First Christians Worship Jesus?* (London, 2010). His answer is “by and large, no.” S.B. Nicholson, *The Significance and Flexibility of Paul’s One-God Language* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Durham, 2007); J.F. McGrath, *Early Christian Monotheism in Its Jewish Context* (Champaign, 2009); M.S. Heiser, “Divine Plurality in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” Regional SBL Meeting, 13 May 2011; Alan F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (Leiden, 1977); Richard Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids, 1970); Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “Worship and Monotheism in the Ascension of Isaiah,” in *Jewish Roots of Christian Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrew’s Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, eds. J.R. Davila et al. (Leiden, 1995), pp. 70–89.
- 24 For initial reflections on divine hypostases, see: Gibson, *Biblical Semantic Logic*, pp. 92–96.
- 25 C. Fletcher-Louis, “4Q374 A Discourse on the Sinai Tradition: The Deification of Moses and Early Christology” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 3.3 (1996), 236–252; S. Niditich, “The Cosmic

Enoch²⁶), or angels (like Michael²⁷ or Metatron²⁸). A web of associations has been traced linking the roles of mediator, name, image, form, son, etc. etc. Particularly instructive is Philo's view of the heavenly Man (distinct from the created Adam) in *The Confusion of Tongues*, par.146. He is described, as we have already seen, as the Firstborn, the Word, the Beginning, Israel, the High Priest, and the Tetragrammaton. In the same work this Man is identified as both the firstborn and the eldest son.²⁹ Christ in the New Testament is identified with

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- Adam: Moses as Mediator in Rabbinic Literature," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 34 (1983), 137–146.
- 26 For an overview of Enoch, P.S. Alexander, "From Son of Adam to Second God: Transformations of the Biblical Enoch," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*, eds. M.E. Stone and T.A. Bergren (Harrisburg, 1998), pp. 87–122, with bibliography. Also his "The Enochic Literature and the Bible: Intertextuality and Its Implications" in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries*, eds. E.D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov (London 2002), pp. 57–68. G. Boccaccini, ed., *Enoch and Qumran Origins* (Grand Rapids, 2005), raises in several of its papers the question of to what extent there was an "Enochic" Judaism. Of the first significance for Enoch studies is J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford, 1976), in which Milik questions the date of the Similitudes (and thereby the Son of Man passages). The volume of recent work is otherwise vast: for some bibliography, Idel, *Ben*, pp. 74–75. Also: C.H.T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam; Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden, 2001).
- 27 J. Barbel, *Christos Angelos* (Bonn, 1941); G. Juncker, "Christ as Angel: The Reclamation of a Primitive Title," *Trinity Journal* 15.2 (1994), pp. 221–250; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology* (Tübingen, 1995); D.D. Hannah, *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angelic Christology in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 1999). For Angelomorphic Pneumatology, see B.G. Bucer, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology: Clement of Alexandria and Other Early Christian Witnesses* (Leiden, 2009). He also deals with the Apocalypse (pp. 89–112), the Shepherd of Hermas (pp. 113–138), and Justin Martyr (pp. 139–155). M.S. Kinzer, *All Things under His Feet: Psalm 8 in the New Testament and Other Jewish Literatures of Late Antiquity* (unpublished PhD dissertation (Near Eastern Studies), University of Michigan, 1995). Saul M. Olyan, *A Thousand Thousands Served Him: Exegesis and the Naming of Angels in Ancient Judaism* (Tübingen 1993).
- 28 A.A. Orlov, *The Enoch/Metatron Tradition* (Tübingen, 2005); G.G. Stroumsa, "Form(s) of God: Some Notes on Metatron and Christ," *Harvard Theological Review* 76 (1983), 269–288; Daniel Abrams, "The Boundaries of Divine Ontology: The Inclusion and Exclusion of Metatron in the Godhead," *Harvard Theological Review* 87.3 (1994), 291–321.
- 29 Idel, *Ben*, p. 23, with bibliography. Idel's typology of sonship in Late Antique and Mediaeval Judaism—by generation, emanation, adoption or vocation—is explained on pp. 34–35. He posits a fifth, more complex type illustrated by Philo's passage *Confusion of Tongues* 145–148 (trans. J.G. Kahn (Paris, 1963), pp. 176–182), which distinguishes three types of sonship: (1) that of the "first-born, the Word, who holds the eldership amongst the angels, a ruler as it were." He says: "and many names are his, for he is called beginning and

the Son, the Logos, the Glory, the Apocalyptic Son of Man, and so on. Even, perhaps, as the angel with the divine name in him.³⁰

It was in this context, argued Larry W. Hurtado, that an “early Christian mutation” of the Jewish material took place.³¹ Early Christian experience drew on notions of divine agency and was able to accommodate (so to speak) the Risen Christ in heaven. It was, however, the devotional life of the early believers who gave the Risen Christ the reverence and cult normally reserved for God that resulted in devotion with “a certain binitarian shape.” The motor here was

the name of God and His Word,” and (2) the man after His image, and (3) “he that sees, that is Israel.” For bibliography here, Idel, *Ben*, pp. 89–90.

- 30 Jarl E. Fossum, “Kurios Jesus as the Angel of the Lord in Jude 5–7,” *New Testament Studies* 33 (1987), 226–243, dealing with the textual variant there, and now Philipp E. Bartholomä, “Did Jesus Save the People out of Egypt? A Re-examination of a Textual Problem in Jude 5,” *Novum Testamentum* 50 (2008), 143–158, arguing for reading “Jesus” and a very high Christology; Margaret Baker, *The Great Angel: A Study of Israel's Second God* (Louisville, 1992); E. Earl Ellis, “Deity-Christology in Mk 14.58,” in *Jesus of Nazareth Lord and Christ Essays in the Historical Jesus and New Testament Christology*, eds. J.B. Green and M.M. Turner (Grand Rapids, 1994), pp. 192–203; Davila et al., eds., *Jewish Roots*; W. Binni and B. Boschi, *Cristologia primitiva: Dalla teofania del Sinai all' Io sono giovanneo* (Bologna, 2004). J.H. Ellens, *What Is the Son of Man in John? The Son of Man Logia in John and in the Synoptic Gospels in the Light of Second Temple Judaism Traditions* (unpublished PhD dissertation (Near Eastern Studies), University of Michigan, 2009). Further bibliography Idel, *Ben*, p. 75, also pp. 19–22. A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Church Tradition*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Atlanta, 1975) pp. 41–42, 52. Jarl E. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism* (Tübingen, 1985) and idem, *The Image of the Invisible God* (Göttingen, 1995). From the huge bibliography on the Messiah: James H. Charlesworth, “The Concept of the Messiah in the Pseudepigrapha,” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, eds. W. Haase and H. Temporini (Berlin, 1972), 2.19.1, pp. 188–218; James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis, 1992); John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York, 1995); P.G. Davis, “Divine Agents, Mediators, and New Testament Christology,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 45 (1994), 479–503; Richard A. Horsley with John S. Hanson, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs: Popular Movements at the Time of Jesus* (New York, 1985); C.R.A. Morray-Jones, “Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 43 (1992), 1–31; Jacob Neusner et al., eds., *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (Cambridge, 1987); George W.E. Nickelsburg and John J. Collins, eds., *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism* (Septuagint Cognate Studies) 12 (Chico, 1980).
- 31 Lawrence W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (London, 1988), pp. 93–124. Also his “Monotheism, Principal Angels and the Background of Christianity,” in *The Oxford Handbook to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. T.H. Lim and J.J. Collins (Oxford, 2010), pp. 546–564.

not titles or categories, but essentially religious praxis fuelled by the powerful religious experiences of Jesus risen to heaven and legitimated by God Himself.³²

Binitarianism has now become a legitimate term of debate—it was once a label of heretics—and this is indicative of the growing trend to locate firmly the very earliest devotion to Jesus within a Jewish context.³³ The Hellenistic notions of the Logos with their philosophical background can no longer be seen as characteristic solely of later Gentile Christianity: they were not unavailable to the earliest believers.³⁴

The growing and increasingly thorough investigation of post-biblical and late antique material in Jewish, Christian, and Gnostic texts opens up longer perspectives within the study of Judaism itself and upon subsequent exchanges between Judaism and Christianity. Moshe Idel's book *Ben: Sonship and Jewish Mysticism*, while not seeking to impose a monolithic typology on the notions of the various Jewish or Christian corpora, suggests both a broad schema for locating variant notions and a spirited argument for the persistence of late antique material into the Jewish Middle Ages in cases where direct historical transmission cannot be documented.³⁵ Thus, for example, he presents evidence for a cult of Enoch/Metatron in the Middle Ages and offers a sustained account of significant continuities.³⁶ All this helps move forward the study of many late antique texts, but it also enhances our understanding of the dynamics of exchange between Judaism and Christianity. We shall consider the possibility that when they converted to Christianity, some Kabbalists found richer possibilities in Judaism than they had previously recognized.

Schematically, Idel offers us the notion of two vectors passing through the permeable frontier between the divine and the human. That descending (from God to humankind) he calls "theophoric" and that ascending (from humankind to God) he calls "apotheotic." Angels move up and down on both vectors, and upon each line between heaven and earth, as it were, we may find placed mediating figures of considerable variety—some coming down from heaven, others, like Enoch, on their way up. This successfully avoids much theological

32 Dunn, *Did the First Christians Worship Jesus?*.

33 For a history and critique of the term B.G. Bucer, "Early Christian Binitarianism: From Religious Phenomenon to Polemical Insult to Scholarly Concept," *Modern Theology* 27.1 (2011).

34 D. Boyarin, "The Gospel of the *Memra*: Jewish Binitarianism and the Prologue of John," *Harvard Theological Review* 94 (2001), 243–284, 251.

35 Idel, *Ben*, pp. 50, 51–57.

36 Idel, *Ben*, *passim*, esp. pp. 645–670.

specificity, but it does enable one to organize a lot of rather diverse material into some sort of meaningful order.³⁷

Scholars promoting an early angelomorphic influence upon Christianity concede the lack of direct naming of Yhwh in the New Testament. Nevertheless, they find the Name allusively present and seek to stress its importance. Gliessen finds relevant antecedents in the Name in the Deuteronomist and Jeremiah, which he understands not with Von Rad as a theological abstraction, but as a theophanic form manifesting the presence of Yhwh—a tangible divine presence.³⁸ He considers the Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37–71 a pre-existent being possessed of the divine name, “named by the name” before creation.³⁹ In a far later work, the Hebrew 3 Enoch (5th or 6th century A.D.), God writes the letters by which heaven and earth were formed on a crown, which is placed on Metatron’s head. In this text Metatron is called the *Lesser Yhwh*, in contrast to the *Greater Yhwh*. The *Apocalypse of Abraham* probably comes from the 1st century A.D. In it the angelic Yahoel, as we have already mentioned, appears as a mediator of the power of the ineffable name. In the *Prayer of Jacob*, the named angel is the firstborn of all creation, who tabernacled among us as the man Jacob.⁴⁰

We have discussed what Philo has to tell us about the rather special angel in *Conf.* 146. Ezekiel the Tragedian, in his *Exagogue*, a Jewish Drama of the Exodus probably from the 2nd century B.C., calls the Angel of the Lord (96–99) the Divine Word (*theios logos*), and the destroying angel of the Tenth Plague is called God’s “all-powerful Word.”⁴¹ The reoccurring features here of face, image, name, son, etc., have now been discussed in Idel’s book.

37 Idel, *Ben*, p. 1–7.

38 C.A. Gliessen, *Angelomorphic Christianity: Antecedents and Early Evidence* (Leiden, 1998), concentrates mainly upon the Divine Name Angel in Exodus 23:20–21. His “The Divine Name in Ante-Nicean Christology,” *Vigilae Christianae* 57.2 (2003), 115–158, deals with both the New Testament and the early Fathers. For the Name in Deuteronomy: Grether, *Name und Wort*, pp. 1–55; T. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth Studies in Shem and Kabod Theologies* (Lund, 1982), pp. 129–132; I. Wilson, *Out of the Midst of the Fire: Divine Presence in Deuteronomy* (Atlanta, 1995), pp. 1–15 and engaging with Von Rad on pp. 199–217. S.L. Richter, *The Deuteronomistic History and the Name Theology* ‘le shakken shemo sham’ in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Berlin, 2002), suggests possible Mesopotamian backgrounds to these notions.

39 42:3; 62:7; 48:2; 69 make clear the identification of this figure with the man Enoch.

40 Gliessen, *Angelomorphic Christianity*, pp. 137–142. For a discussion of the *status quaestionis* of the Angel and the Memra, see p. 113.

41 H. Jacobson, ed., *The Exagoge of Ezekiel* (Cambridge, 1983). Also J.T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, “A Burning Bush on the Stage: The Rewriting of Exodus 3.1–4.17 in Ezekiel Tragicus, Exagoge 90–131,” in Van Kooten, ed. *Revelation of the Name*, pp. 71–88.

Articulating with precision and intelligibility a New Testament theological understanding of these speculations remains a work in progress. Richard Bauckham has written extensively in pursuit of both a serviceable notion of “monotheism” applicable to these texts and the development of what he calls the New Testament’s “Christology of Divine Identity.”⁴² His aim is both to establish a high Christology in the New Testament and to explain its emergence in its cultural and historical context. He has an evident confessional interest in a reconstruction that is not incompatible with later orthodox Trinitarian formulations. Not that this concern is not evident in the work of other scholars, too; indeed, it might be reasonably taken as precisely the issue they are attempting to address.⁴³ One might doubt, however, whether the unformalized notion of identity to which he has recourse is strong enough to uphold the structures he builds upon it.⁴⁴

Paul

Philippians 2:9–11 is surely one of the most important passages for Paul’s Christology, providing an elevated description of the significance of Jesus Christ. The passage is open to several interpretations: as a hymn or as lyrical prose; as the work of the Apostle, or as an earlier text he chose to quote; or even as a later insertion.⁴⁵ Nor is the content certain. Does the passage describe the

42 Bauckham, *Jesus and the God of Israel*, conveniently includes Bauckham’s earlier *God Crucified* (Carlisle, 1998) and other subsequent pieces developing the notion of Divine Identity. His “Biblical Theology and the Problems of Monotheism,” *ibid.*, pp. 60–106, addresses the wider issue.

43 Nonetheless, the variety of solutions is striking and runs a gamut spanning strict monotheism; monotheism with practical and theoretical acknowledgement of other divine beings; a supreme deity and an exalted angel; and anticipations of high Trinitarianism. For an early modern engagement in this area making use of Old Testament Apocrypha, Philo, and the Targums and with the specific intention of blocking Unitarian interpretations, see: P. Allix, *Judgment of the Ancient Jewish Church against Unitarians* (Richard Chiswell, London, 1699).

44 A related issue is that of the understanding of the unity of God as proclaimed in the *Shema*. For some contextualization of the sociological rather than strictly theological significance of the phrase: C.T.R. Hayward, “The Lord is One: Reflections on the Theme of Unity in John’s Gospel from a Jewish Perspective,” in Stuckenbruck and North, eds., *Early Jewish and Christian Monotheism*, pp. 138–154.

45 Ernst Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus: Eine Untersuchung zu Phil. 2, 5–11* (Heidelberg, 1928); E. Barnikol, *Philipper 2 Der Marcionitische Ursprung Der Mythos-Satze Phi. 2.6–7* (Kiel, 1932); R.P. Martin, *Carmen Christi* (Cambridge, 1983); R.P. Martin and B.D. Dodd,

condescension, *kenosis*, of a pre-existent Christ and his subsequent return to heaven, or rather his earthly life and subsequent heavenly glory? And how is the Resurrection here to be understood? For our purpose, of particular interest are verses 11–20, where a text very similar to the Septuagint Isaiah 45:23 has been somewhat rearranged, accommodated to the syntax in Philippians, and its meaning slightly adjusted (*exomologesetai* here no longer means “praise,” but “confess”). The Septuagint Isaiah applied “the Lord” to God, but in Philippians the title is applied to Christ. It thus appears that “the name above every name” which is given to Jesus is imagined as the Tetragrammaton. Nonetheless, the last words of the passage divert attention back to the Father, leaving open the precise relationship between Jesus called Yhwh and the Father. Later, the Acts of the Apostles suggests the very first communities may have defined themselves as those “who invoke the name [of the Lord]” (Acts 9:14). Perhaps this may refer to devotion, as suggested by Philippians Chapter 2? The Tetragrammaton may literally not appear in New Testament texts—and there is no evidence that it ever did—yet in another sense it may be argued that its presence can be detected indirectly. As the Apostle Paul put it: “God was in Christ.”

The description of Jesus in the Philippians passage as being “in the image of God” raises the question of the provenance of the term. Some see in the phrase a reference to Adam. For Fossum, however, the “form of God” refers to God’s Glory—the “radiant likeness of a man” in Ezekiel 1:26.⁴⁶ For Alan Segal, more generally, Paul was essentially a mystic whose religious visions, including his ascension into heaven, paralleled the *Merkabah* mysticism we shall discuss in a subsequent chapter. In proclaiming Jesus as divine, Paul was drawing on a rich Scriptural tradition which imagined God in human form or postulated an intermediary—angelic or human—sitting on God’s throne: “A human figure on the divine throne is described in Ezekiel 1, Daniel 7, and Exodus 34, among other places, and was blended into a consistent picture of a principal mediator figure, who, like the angel of the Lord in Exodus 23, embodied, personified or

eds., *Where Christology Began: Essays on Philippians 2* (Louisville, 1998). Bert-Jan Lietaert Peerbolte “The Name Above All Names (Philippians 2.9),” in Van Kooten, ed., *Revelation of the Name*, pp. 187–206. P. Nogel, *The Explicit KURIOS and THEOS Citations in Paul: An Attempt at Understanding Paul’s Deity Concept* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Praetoria, 2012).

46 Jarl E. Fossum, “Jewish Christian Christology and Jewish Mysticism,” *Vigilae Christianae* 37 (1983), 260–287, especially 264–265; L.A. Wanamaker, “Philippians 2.6–11: Son of God or Adam Christology,” *New Testament Studies* 33 (1987), 179–193; M. Bockmuehl, “The Form of God (Phil 2.6): Variations on a Theme of Jewish Mysticism,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 48 (1997), 1–23.

carried the name of God, YHWH, the Tetragrammaton.” He adds that “this figure, elaborated on by Jewish tradition, would become a central metaphor for Christ in Christianity.”⁴⁷

We may find further suggestive material in the Pauline Corpus. In the first Epistle to the Corinthians, believers are justified “in the name of the Lord Jesus” (6:11 cf. 1:2, 3). Chapter 10:4, 9–10, identifies the Rock in the Wilderness as Christ.⁴⁸ In Romans 15:20, the progressive naming of Christ is seen as part of Paul’s mission. In Chapter 10:9 the Lord Jesus is confessed with the believer’s mouth, as the heart believes that God raised him. Thereafter, in 10:13, Joel 2:32 is quoted, where invoking “the name of the Lord (Yhwh in Joel)” may refer to the name of Jesus. Ephesians 1:15–23 at verse 21 speaks of the exaltation of Christ “above every name that is named.” It is also perhaps possible that “the word” in 5:26 is the name used in a baptismal context. 2 Thessalonians 1 encourages believers who wait for the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven (v. 7) to glorify the name of the Lord Jesus Christ “in themselves” (v. 12). The Epistle to the Hebrew included early in the Pauline Corpus begins with an omnibus chapter of mediation themes—Jesus radiates God’s light and is in the form of God and His Son. He is superior to the angels, as his name is superior to theirs (v. 4). Angel names frequently end in *-el* (God). The writer here may possibly refer to the name “Jesus” understood as *Yehoshu’a* rather than as *Yeshu’a*—that is, comprising part of the Hebrew divine name.⁴⁹

The Gospel of John

The Johannine “I am” sayings (*Ego eimi/Ego ipse* in the Vulgate) were interpreted as a marker of Hellenistic influence in the days of the history of religion school. Particular attention was drawn to its use “by” Isis (see below for an example). The translation of *’ehyeh* as “I am” perhaps also erroneously encouraged considering the copula in dominical self-identifications (e.g. “I am the Good Shepherd”) as part of the divine name. More plausibly, a Hebraic background is now sought. The absolute use of the phrase found in the New Testament appears unattested outside of Jewish Greek texts and reflects

47 Alan F. Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven, 1990), p. 41.

48 C.D. Osborn, “The Text of I Corinthians 10.9,” in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Bruce M. Metzger*, eds. E.J. Epp and G.D. Fee (Oxford, 1981), pp. 201–212.

49 Idel, *Ben*, p. 24.

perhaps the Hebrew *’nî hû’* / “I am He” of Deuteronomy 32:39, Isaiah 48:12, et alibi. Jesus declares remarkably in John 8:24, “...if ye believe not that I am [he], ye shall die in your sins.” In 8:58 he says, “Before Abraham was, I am.”⁵⁰

John has *eimi* some twenty-six times, though only 4:26; 6:20; 8:24; 8:28; 13:19; and 18:5, 6, 8 seem relevant. Chapter 8:28 is the most striking: “When you have lifted up the Son of Man, then shall you know that I am [he], and that I do nothing of myself; but as my Father has taught me I speak these things.”

For the Synoptics (Mark 6:50 // Matthew 14:27; Mark 13:6 // Luke 21:8 (where Matthew 24:5 turns “I am [he]” into “I am the Christ”); Mark 14:62; and perhaps

50 C.H. Dodd, *The Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 93–96, is of particular interest: a 2nd-century A.D. rabbinic usage of *’ani wehua’* (I and He) is discussed, as is the possibility of the Evangelist’s familiarity with it. Also R. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (i–xii)* (Anchor Bible Series) 29 (New York, 1966), pp. 533–538; A. Feuillet, “Les ego eimi christologiques du Quadrième Évangile,” *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 54 (1996), 5–22, 213–240; E. Stauffer, “Ego,” *Theologische Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, vol. 2, p. 342s (§B “Das christologische Ego”); P. Harner, *The ‘I am’ of the Fourth Gospel: A Study in Johannine Usage and Thought* (Philadelphia, 1970), pp. 184–197; Woo-Jim Shin, *Kurios in Johannesevangelium Eine Exegetische Untersuchung zu Kurios-Titel in Johannesevangelium* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Reprecht-Karl Universität, Heidelberg, 2003). W. Manson suggested that some cases of *ego eimi*, “I am,” in the New Testament were used in the sense of “The Messiah is present.” So the declamation with which Jesus’ conversation with the Samaritan woman at the well closes: To the woman who says, “I know Messiah is coming,” Jesus replies, “I that speak to you am he” (John 4:25–26). David Daube considered this usage to follow a rabbinic model preserved now only in the Passover *Haggadah* in a passage based on Deuteronomy 26:5. In the exposition of this passage the *Haggadah* uses “I am” to denote the personal presence of the redeeming God on that occasion. The Pentateuch asserts both that God himself rescued the nation at the Exodus and also that “he sent an angel and hath brought us out of Egypt” (Num. 20:16). These were received as rather different explanations. Isaiah 63:9 (Massoretic text) says “the angel of his face saved them,” but the Septuagint says “neither a messenger nor an angel but he himself saved them.” *Exodus Rabbah* on 12.23 has “some say he smote the Egyptians through an angel, and some say The Holy One did it Himself.” The *Haggadah*, commenting on the Deuteronomic *credo* “the Lord heard our voice and the Lord brought us forth,” sees in the repetition of the word *Lord* God’s personal activity, “Not through an angel, and not through a seraph, and not through a messenger, but the Holy One in His Glory and Himself: as it is written (Exodus 12.12 is then distributed between these possible agents); For I will pass through the land of Egypt this night (I and not an angel); I will smite the first born (this means I and not a seraph); and will execute judgment (this means I and not the messenger): I the Lord (this means I am and no other).” This latter phrase is used to indicate the divine presence itself. God alone acted, not a messenger or *the* messenger (Jesus). David Daube, “The ‘I am’ of the Messianic Presence,” in idem, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism* (London, 1956), pp. 325–29.

also Luke 22:70), “I am” is not obviously a divine name, unless it be *’ani hu’*, though it does introduce dominical identity statements.⁵¹

Catrin H. Williams argues plausibly that this phrase, “I am he,” is not a substitute for the Tetragrammaton but “an expression possessing its own distinctive character and theological import” that declares the unique sovereignty of Yhwh.⁵² After a consideration of the biblical and rabbinic uses of the phrase, she considers its role in both Mark’s Gospel and John’s Gospel. She concludes of the latter: “All Johannine *ego eimi* pronouncements...convey the message that God’s saving powers are made visible and accessible in Jesus.”⁵³

- 51 A. Ruck-Schröder, *Der Name Gottes und der Name Jesu: eine neutestamentliche Studie* (Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament) 80 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1999), reviewed by L.A. Hurtado, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 120.1 (2001), 165–167, offers a close exegesis of all New Testament references to the name of God and Jesus. Frankmölle, *Yahwe-Bund*, pp. 79–83, interprets Jesus’ presence with the disciples in Matthew 28:16–20 partially in the light of Yhwh’s promise to be with his people. For Yhwh’s presence in Jesus in Matthew, see also D.D. Kupp, *Matthew’s Emmanuel Messiah: A Paradigm of Presence for God’s People* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Durham, 1992): pp. 150–178 offer useful documentation of the phrase “I am with you” in the Hebrew Bible and Jewish post-biblical sources in Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic. For Jesus assuming divine attributes and acting in exclusively divine ways (and thereby displaying a “correspondence” with Yhwh in Mark’s Gospel), see both Daniel Johansson, *Jesus and God in the Gospel of Mark: Unity and Distinction* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Edinburgh, 2011), and Jang Ryul Lee, *Christological Re-reading of the Shema (Deut 6.4) in Mark’s Gospel* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Edinburgh, 2011). Both theses were supervised by Hurtado. C.K. Rowe has examined the use of *kurios* in the Gospel of Luke. He finds the term used of Yhwh in 1:38; 1:45; and 1:46, but in 1:43 (“the mother of my Lord”) the term seems to be used unambiguously of Jesus. Rowe, *Early Narrative Christology*, pp. 44–45. Michel Hayek, *Le Christ de l’Islam* (Paris, 1959), for texts mentioning the divine name in the context of the revelation of Gabriel to Mary and her conception.
- 52 Catrin H. Williams, *I Am He: The Interpretation of ‘nî hû’ in Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (Tübingen, 2000), pp. 304–307. The work corroborates that of D.M. Ball, *I am’ in John’s Gospel: Literary Function, Background and Theological Implications* (Sheffield, 1996). See more generally Reisel, *The Mysterious Name of y.h.w.h.* Several scholars have considered *hu’* a divine name: J.A. Montgomery, “The Hebrew Divine Names and the Personal Pronoun *hua’*,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 63 (1944), 161–163; W.A. Irwin, “The Tetragrammaton, an Overlooked Interpretation,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 3.4 (1944), 257–159, and MacLaurin, “The Origin of the Tetragrammaton,” pp. 439–163.
- 53 Williams, *I Am He*, p. 303. For Mark’s Gospel, pp. 214–254. For John’s Gospel, pp. 215–303. There is a most useful list of the formulation in rabbinic texts on pp. 309–310. For Rabbi Abbahu’s refutation of Christian usage in *Exodus Rabbah* 29.4, see pp. 163–165. With respect to the Gospel of John, one may notice also the parallels between the mission of Moses in Exodus 3 and that of Jesus: Günter Reim, *Studien zum alttestamentlichen Hintergrund des Johannesevangeliums* (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 130–132.

Yet a case may also be made that Jesus is presented in the Fourth Gospel precisely as the Old Testament Kurios—as Yhwh. Such is the argument of Riemer Roukema.⁵⁴ He finds that in John, Jesus manifested the divine name, since he was not only the incarnate Logos and the Son of God “but even the incarnate Kyrios or YHWH himself.” Jesus in his prayer in John, Chapter 17:6, declared that, like Moses, he had “manifested Your name unto the people which you gave me out of the world...,” claiming, we may suppose, that what commenced at the Burning Bush was in some way accomplished in him.

Though Jesus thus revealed the transcendent Father who sent him, there is, however, a distinction—within some sort of unity—which may be perceived between the Father and Christ as the Tetragrammaton. For Roukema this is one of the several paradoxes of the Gospel of John. We make note of similar unresolved issues in the interpretation of, for example, the passage in Philippians Chapter 2 we discussed above. It is well to keep these issues open rather than rush to a dogmatic foreclosure. John blends several descriptors of Jesus together: John 12:23 and 28 seem to place the Son of Man in apposition to the Father’s name, if not actually identifying them. The usages of “word” and “name” are also similar.⁵⁵ In the Third Epistle of John, “the Name” is the only title of Jesus (v.7, “for his name’s sake”), deployed in a passage using “Exodus” imagery of Christian believers.

Our Father⁵⁶

In John 17:9–26, a particularly thematically rich passage, Jesus prays to his Father that his disciples may be kept “through your own name” (v. 11), which Jesus has and will thereafter declare to them (v. 26) “that they may be one, as we are one.” The passage draws attention to the use of “Father” and “Our Father”

54 Riemer Roukema, “Jesus and the Divine Name in the Gospel of John” in Van Kooten, ed., *Revelation of the Name* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 207–223. Also C.T.R. Hayward, “The Holy Name of the God of Moses and the Prologue to St. John’s Gospel,” *New Testament Studies* 25 (1978), 16–32; and idem, *Divine Name and Divine Presence, The Memra* (Totowa, 1981) and Boyarin, “The Gospel of the *Memra*,” pp. 243–284.

55 Gliessen, “The Divine Name,” pp. 115–158.

56 With great caution: G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus Considered in the Light of Post-Biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language* (Edinburgh, 1902), pp. 184–194. Generally: Ruck-Schröder, *Der Name Gottes*, and Christiane Zimmermann, *Der Namen des Vaters Studien zu ausgewählten neutestamentlichen Gottesbezeichnungen vor ihren frühjüdischen und paganen Sprachhorizont* (Leiden, 2007). *Kurios* in the New Testament is discussed pp. 171–204.

as characteristic usages of the New Testament deployed in a way and to an extent not exemplified in contemporary Judaism. This arises from the developing Christian understanding of Jesus as Son of God, the modalities of that relationship, and its implications. Of course, contemporary Judaism was capable of using paternal imagery of God. But the Father/Son relationship occupies a rhetorical space perhaps on the one hand somewhat displacing the use of the Tetragrammaton (or a substitute) for God, and at the same time promoting the name of Jesus.

The Name of Jesus

Jesus' name is a form of the Hebrew "Joshua," which in its longer form means something like "Yhwh is Salvation."⁵⁷ The Hebrew for "Joshua" (*Yehoshu'a*) we find in a shortened Hebrew form (*Yeshu'a*) in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles (and in the Aramaic of Ezra 5:2) that is often used for the High Priest Joshua (though the longer form does not disappear, e.g. 1 Chron. 7:27). The theophoric element *yhw-/yahu-* is often shortened at the beginning of a name to *yw-/yo-*, but in this case the shortened form has merely *y-*, which is the first radical of the root of the verb "to save," *ysh'*. By the 3rd century B.C. this name appeared in Greek as *iesous*. The first */s/* replaces the Hebrew */sh/*, which does not occur in Greek, and the final */s/* is a Greek nominative ending. Hence the Latin "Jesus."

In the Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible, *iesous* stands for both the long and short forms of the Hebrew name, between which Greek does not distinguish.⁵⁸ Philo explained Moses' reason for changing the name of the biblical hero Joshua, Son of Nun, from *Hoshea* (He saves") to *Yehoshu'a* in commemoration of Yhwh's salvation: "And *iesous* means 'Salvation of the Lord'" (*On the Change of Names* 21.121). Clearly he was speaking of the meaning of the longer Hebrew form.⁵⁹ Ben Sira (46.1-2) in the Septuagint tells us of *iesous*, the son of Nave (Nun), "who according to his name became great for

57 Brown et al., eds., *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, pp. 448 and 221.

58 But Aquila at Deuteronomy 1:38 (of Joshua, son of Nun) has *Iesoua*.

59 *Iesous* is used as the name of Joshua, son of Nun, in the New Testament, passages Acts 7:45 and Hebrews 4:8. It was even used in the Septuagint to translate the name *Hoshea* in one of the three verses where this referred to Joshua, the son of Nun—Deuteronomy 32:44. *Iesous* was thus used for Joshua and Jesus in Greek Bibles, and *Jesus* for both in Latin ones. Only with the Reformation does the distinction between the names of Joshua and Jesus reappear in English Bibles.

the salvation of his chosen ones.” The only extant Hebrew manuscript here has not “according to his name” but “in his days.” The name, however, is *Yeshu’a*, and if that stood in the original Hebrew there would appear to be no stress on the theophoric element here.

In contrast to Philo, at least, Matthew’s Gospel does not mention the theophoric element in the meaning of the name Jesus (1:21), but says “for he shall save his people from their sins.”⁶⁰ It seems reasonable to conclude that Matthew was offering the meaning of the shorter form of the name without the theophoric element. Tal Ilan’s lexicon of names on inscriptions in Palestine from the Second Temple period includes for “Joshua” eighty-five examples of the Hebrew *Yeshu’a* and fifteen examples of *Yehoshu’a*, and forty-eight examples of *Iesous* in Greek inscriptions, with only one Greek variant as *Iesoua*.⁶¹ The earlier form *Yehoshu’a* saw revived usage after the Hasmoneans, and the form *Yeshu’a* is still found in letters from the time of the Bar Kochba revolt (132–135 A.D.). During the Second Temple period, Jews of Galilee apparently tended to preserve the traditional spelling, keeping the *w* letter for the /o/ in the first syllable, even adding an additional letter for the /u/ in the second syllable. However, Jews of Jerusalem tended to spell the name as they pronounced it, contracting the spelling to *Yeshu’a* without the /o/ letter.⁶² This is the spelling used for both Joshua and Jesus in the Syriac Bible. Thus the Hebrew name *Yehoshu’a* was generally reduced to *Yeshu’a*, but an expanded *Yehoshu’a* is possible, especially in Galilee, whose traditional orthography possibly reflects this.

There is a third form of the name in Hebrew—*yshw* ‘*Yeshu*’ (missing the final ‘*ayin*’)—used solely of Jesus in Jewish texts and not clearly attested outside of them. J. Mayer has suggested that the two Talmud passages with this name (Sanhedrin 43a and 107b) may be later interpolations, but the name is undoubtedly found in the *Toledoth Jesu*, Jacob ben Reuben’s *Milhamoth ha-Shem*, *Sefer Nizzahon Yashan*, and the works of Ibn Shaprut, among authors we

60 The variant in v. 21, “for he shall save the world” (*ton kosmon*) of *syr c* presumably sought to reduce the Jewish focus of salvation brought by Jesus.

61 Tal Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity Part I: Palestine 330 BCE–200 CE* (Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum) 91 (Tübingen, 2002), p. 129.

62 David Talshir, “Rabbinic Hebrew as Reflected in Personal Names,” *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, vol. 37 (Jerusalem, 1998), p. 374ff. Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Harvard Semitic Studies) 29 (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), p. 25, describes the general linguistic environment of Hebrew dialects by the time of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The articulation of the /h/ weakened significantly. Thus, Hebrew pronunciations became less stable when two successive vowels were no longer separated by a consonant /h/. The speakers optionally either reduced the two vowels to a single vowel or, oppositely, expanded them to emphasize each vowel separately, sometimes forming a furtive glide in between /w/ or /j/.

shall mention later. The name is often taken as a shortening of *yimach shemo ve-zichrono*: “May his name and memory be erased.” David Flusser considered the form originally “almost certainly” a Galilean pronunciation of Yeshu’a with a characteristic swallowing of the final *‘ayin*, but one cannot rule out a deliberate and abusive truncation. Regardless, the adjustment relieved Jews of having to refer to Jesus under a name which clearly meant “Salvation.”⁶³

In the Name of Jesus

We have suggested that the name “Father” may have competed in Christian discourse for the rhetorical space previously occupied by the Tetragrammaton. New Testament phrases for “in the Name of Jesus”—*en toi onomati, epi toi onomati, eis to onoma*—constitute a pointed and knowing replacement of the Old Testament phrase “in the name of the Lord” by “in the name of Jesus.”⁶⁴ The use of “in the name of Jesus” in healing (e.g. Acts 3:6), blessing, and baptism visibly takes over rhetorical space used in the Hebrew Bible by “in the name of Yhwh.”⁶⁵ And in fact, with but a few usages of King David, “in the name of...” in the Hebrew Bible names Yhwh. The rhetorical space of the Hebrew Bible Tetragrammaton is thus visibly divided in the New Testament between the Father and the name of Jesus.

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- 63 Erasmus considered contemporary Jews as wishing to distinguish Jesus’ name from that of Joshua the general and Joshua the priest, but insists that even without the *vau* and the *he*, the name means “Salvation”: A. Reeve, *Erasmus’ Annotations on the New Testament: The Gospels* (London, 1986) on Matthew 1:19: “*Certum enim est ysh’, sive additis duanbus literis vau et he, yshw’h Hebraeis sonare salutem....*”
- 64 Acts 4:7 *en poiôï onomati...?* used by the chief priests asking by what (sort of) power or by what name Peter acts may be intended by the author as a non-Christian way of putting the question, suggesting magic. However, A. LaCocque, “La Révélation des Révélation Exode 3.14,” in P. Ricoeur and A. LaCocque, *Penser La Bible* (Paris, 1998), pp. 314–345 at p. 318, considers this equivalent to the question *mah shemo?* which, as we have seen in our Introduction, Moses anticipated the Israelites would ask him.
- 65 W. Heitmüller, *In Namen Jesu’* (Göttingen, 1902; repr. 2010), has handy tabulations of Hebrew Bible usages upon which I rely here. B. Jacob, *In Gottes Name* (Berlin, 1903), sought with great learning to show that, unlike early Christianity or pagan magic, there was no agency intended by the Hebrew Bible’s use of phrases like “in my name.” The messenger or angel in whom Yhwh was to place his name in Exodus 23:20–21 was none other than Joshua, and the reference was precisely to the theophoric nature of the name “Joshua.” The discontinuity between the proposed usage of the Hebrew Bible here and all other uses of the phrase fails to convince.

The Apocalypse

The book of Revelation has been of significant influence on Christian thinking on the divine name.⁶⁶ The designation of God as “[He] which is and which was and which is to come” in Revelation 1:4 has had an abiding influence over subsequent exposition of the divine name right up to the present, and we shall subsequently examine the use later made of this passage.⁶⁷ The formulation appears similarly in Revelation 1: 8; 4:8 (linked to the Trisagion); 11:17 (in inferior witnesses); and 16:5. The author has in 1:4 presented it in the nominative, resisting (I presume) the grammatical pressure to cast it in the genitive, in order to maintain the form and integrity of the phrase.⁶⁸ A similar formulation in terms of all three tenses is found in Targum Jonathan on Exodus 3:14 and is also imported most interestingly into the text of Deuteronomy 32:39 for the

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- 66 Some scholars have sought to date the Apocalypse early on the view that it assumes the Jerusalem Temple was still standing. Perhaps rather mischievously J.A.T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament* (London, 1976) suggested that *all* the New Testament could be dated before 70 A.D. (His serious point, however, is well taken: there is an irreducible subjectivity in dating much of the New Testament material.) His early dating of Revelation (pp. 238–242) on the grounds that Revelation 11:2 implies an earthly temple still standing has, however, not convinced everyone: previously exegetes had suggested that John here took over an earlier source and reinterpreted it in a spiritual sense.
- 67 McDonough, *yhwh at Patmos*. In the light of subsequent interpretations and an almost constant consensus it may be as well to stress that, of course, strictly speaking, “[He] which is and which was and which is to come” is not a *translation* of the Tetragrammaton. God is “first and last” (Isa. 44:6; Deut. 32:39) in the Hebrew Bible. Isaiah used the divine proclamation *ani hu’* rendered *ego eimi* by LXX. Combined with Exodus 3:14, the formulation in Revelation seems almost a natural development. While Revelation may pick up some of the language of the Septuagint Exodus 3:14, it does not stress the purely ontological aspects in the way that Philo, as we have seen, does: “Tell them that I am He Who is, that they may learn the difference between what is and what is not and...further...that no name at all can properly be used of Me, to Whom alone existence belongs” (*Vita Mos.* I.75). It is, however, from this verse that the ubiquitous conviction that the name signifies all the tenses at once arises.
- 68 On the Greek of the phrase itself see: R.H. Charles, *Revelation*, vol. 1 (International Critical Commentary Series) (Edinburgh, 1920), pp. 10 and 14–15. *Ho ên* seems merely the simplest way of putting *ho ên* into the past. Charles notes the subsequent use in Revelation of the future participle of the verb “to come,” *ho erchomenos* (and shall be), of the coming of Christ (1:7; 2:5, 16; 22:7, 12), “in whose coming God Himself also comes,” p. 10. Notice also a conflated quotation from Daniel 7:13 and Zechariah 12:10 between 1:4 and 1:8 in verse 7. This further suggests an association of the meaning given the name here and the Second Coming. *Ho erchomenos* may come from Habakkuk 2.3 LXX (without *ho*), quoted in Hebrews 10:37 with *ho*.

Hebrew *'ny 'ny hw'* (I, I am he).⁶⁹ Early modern commentators here were also not slow to notice pagan formulations similar to this used of Zeus: one thinks readily of the famous cries of the doves at Dodona in Pausanias x.12.5: "Zeus was, Zeus is and Zeus will be" or the inscription reported by Plutarch from Sais upon the statue of a seated Athena-Isis, "I am [an instance of *ego eimi*] all that has been, and is and will be; and no mortal has ever lifted my mantle."⁷⁰

Considerable interest attaches to the question of whether the Revelation gives evidence of early liturgical activity, and particularly of baptism. Of liturgical worship in heaven there is no shortage.⁷¹ With respect to baptism: believers are to be "sealed" with "the name of my God" in 3:12. In 14:1, the One Hundred and Forty Four Thousand have the Father's name written on their forehead.⁷² In 22:4 (where the antecedent is uncertain between God and the Lamb) "his name shall be on their foreheads." Glietzen draws attention to Revelation 7:3 and the sealing of the servants of God on their foreheads.⁷³ The quoted text here is, of course, Ezekiel Chapter 9:4, where those to be saved from the destruction of Jerusalem are marked with a *tau* upon their forehead by an angel. The hypothesis is that this sealing constitutes baptism; that the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet, the *tau*, even in the 1st century B.C. was written as an X or perhaps a +. After the 2nd century (it is contended), this was understood as a cross. This would stand in stark contrast to the "mark of the Beast," which is its name in Revelation 13:17.⁷⁴

69 Quotation from the Targum in Charles, *Revelation*, p. 10. *Exodus Rabbah* 3.6 interprets the three mentions of *'ehyeh* in Exodus 3:14 as referring to the three tenses. *Mekilta Bachodesh* 5 on Exodus 20 offers an exposition using the three tenses.

70 *De Iside et Osiride* 9. For commentary, see J.G. Griffiths, *Plutarch De Iside et Osiride* (Cardiff, 1970), pp. 283–284. The apocalypse of lifting her skirt belongs to a somewhat different world from the Christian material. The *Dreizeitenformeln* and the polemical use of it in the Revelation text are fully discussed in McDonough, *yhw at Patmos*, pp. 41–57, 187–191, 202. Recall that Calchas the seer in the first book of the *Iliad* "knew what is and what will be and what went before."

71 B.D. Spinks, *The Sanctus in the Eucharistic Prayer* (Cambridge, 1991), considers worship in Heaven in Judaism on pp. 25–45; Christian continuities on pp. 46–54; and the *Sanctus* in Revelation Chapter 4 on pp. 47–50.

72 R.H. Charles *ad loc.* considered Revelation 19:12c a gloss because it was apparently contradicted by 19:13. As to the meaning of "the name only he himself knows," he gives possible suggestions. Some have thought the Tetragrammaton may be in view here, but that is uncertain.

73 Glietzen, "The Divine Name," pp. 115–158, 133. Glietzen would appear to treat the Name, Glory, and Word of the Lord in the Hebrew Bible not as abstracts but almost as personal *hypostaseis*. See the more nuanced summary of J. Gordon McConville, "God's 'Name' and God's 'Glory,'" *Tyndale Bulletin* 30 (1979), 149–164.

74 Revelation 17:8 may also parody 1:4 in announcing "the beast that was and is not, and yet is."

The divine name thus appears soteriologically central, just as it had provided protection on the High Priest's turban.⁷⁵ We shall later also observe the divine name in Gnostic ceremonies of baptismal regeneration. We may also note the future career of the apocalyptic "secret name": the rider on the white horse, Christ, (19:11–16) had "a name written, that no man knew but he himself."⁷⁶

However, in respect of possible angelic antecedents for Christian uses of the name, we should perhaps be aware that the angelology of Revelation has not always been seen as suggestive of Christological evolution.⁷⁷

Finally, we may supplement the possible use of the Tetragrammaton, perhaps reduced to a *tau*, in baptism with an early eucharistic passage more generally concerned with the indwelling of the Tetragrammaton with believers. The manifestly Jewish-Christian work the *Didache* (10) contains a eucharistic prayer permeated by future eschatological hope, but also stressing the tabernacling of the holy name in the hearts of the believers:

We give thanks, Holy Father, for your holy name, which you have made to tabernacle in our hearts, and for the knowledge, faith and immortality which you have made known to us through your servant Jesus. To you be glory forever. You Lord Almighty did create all things for your name's sake, and gave food and drink to men for their enjoyment, that they might give you thanks; and to us you did grant spiritual food and drink and life eternal, through you servant. Above all we thank thee that you are mighty. To you be glory forever. Remember, Lord, your Church to deliver her from all evil and to make her perfect in thy love, and to gather from the four winds her that is sanctified into thy kingdom which you did prepare for her; for yours is the power and the glory forever. Let grace come and let this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If any is holy, let him come; if any is not holy let him repent. Maranatha. Amen.

75 Numbers 16:41–50 and Wisdom 18:22–25.

76 For the secret name, see Genesis 32:29, but also the *Gospel of Thomas* 13; *Gospel of Truth* 38.7–40.29; *I Enoch* 69.14; *Gospel of Philip* 54.5; *Joseph and Asenath* 15.12; and *Pseudo-Titus' Epistle in Apocryphal New Testament*, vol. 2 (London, 1992), pp. 53–74. (Also Migne PL supp. II 1522–1542.) This latter is a barbarously written piece perhaps drawn up to commend ascetic life. On p. 70: "They will receive the white stone, the helmet of eternal salvation upon which is written the ineffable name of God which no man knows save he who has received it."

77 P.R. Carrell, *Jesus and the Angels: Angelology and the Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (Cambridge, 1971), p. 228ff., hesitates to use "angelomorphism" to explain the very earliest Christologies and considers the possibility that this may be somewhat later.

Such material is, I suggest, indicative of a lively and functional role of the Tetragrammaton in early worship, Christology, and soteriology—where the name is mentioned *but unsaid*. Jesus was *just perhaps* (philologically) a bearer of the name, though Matthew was not interested in emphasizing this, but evidently this sufficed for the early believers: they encountered Yhwh in Christ. What is clear, however, is that—in spite of their evident interest in the Tetragrammaton in both worship and exposition—the early Christians did not write it in what became the New Testament.⁷⁸

There appears also to be no epigraphic evidence that they made use of it elsewhere. In general we may note that we have very little epigraphic evidence for early Christianity. In 1947 E.L. Sukenik found inscriptions on Jewish ossuaries in the Jewish settlement in the East Jerusalem suburb of Talpioth which he interpreted as evidence for the crucifixion and the early church—almost as eyewitness accounts of the death of Jesus—but this interpretation is now generally rejected.⁷⁹ Similar interest has attached to the Jewish names on the Roman ossuaries at *Dominus Flevit* on the Mount of Olives, and also now the notorious James Ossuary.⁸⁰ It does, however, appear that Jewish and Christian ossuaries cannot be distinguished until the 4th century and that the parting of the ways did not fall that sharply in this respect. The 3rd-century Syrian *Didascalia Apostolorum* and the 4th-century *Apostolic Constitutions* encourage Christians to worship in funeral ceremonies without concern for the ritual impurity observed by Jews, but this period is that of the rabbinic literature on impurity rather than of the New Testament.⁸¹ No inscriptions appear

78 Such a blunt assertion will be unpopular with the many contemporary groups who wish to promote the use of the Tetragrammaton in their worship and witness. For recent Roman Catholic restrictions against the liturgical use of the Tetragrammaton, see the directives of the *Congregatio de Cultu Divino et Disciplina Sacramentorum* dated 29. 6. 2008, which forbade the use of *Yahweh* in the liturgy, and thence in several popular modern Catholic hymns (“Yahweh, I know You are near...” by Dan Schulte; “Yahweh is my Shepherd” by Millie Rieth; and “Yahweh is God of my Salvation” by Gregory Norbet), which now appear adjusted in 2010 missals.

79 B. Lifschutz, “Jérusalem sous domination romaine,” in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römische Welt II Principat Band 8*, eds. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin, 1978), pp. 444–489 and 463–464, for bibliography to that date.

80 Byron McCane, “Archaeological Context and Controversy: The Bones of James Unpacked” in *Resurrecting the Brother of Jesus: Controversy and the Quest for Religious Relics*, eds. R. Byrne and B. McNary-Zak (Chapel Hill, 2009), pp. 19–30. For a good narrative journalistic account, P. Jean-Baptiste, *L’Affaire des Fausses Reliques: Enquête au Coeur des Trafics des Vestiges bibliques* (Paris, 2005).

81 K.E. Corley, *Women’s Funerary Rituals and Christian Origins* (Minneapolis, 2010), pp. 57–59.

demonstrably Christian, though there is perhaps some evidence of post-Constantinian interference in some cases. One inscription, however—the four-line ossuary inscription from Talypiot Tomb B—has attracted attention as possibly containing a Tetragrammaton, though this is not at all certain, nor is it demonstrably Christian.

Aramaic Usage

It may be appropriate at this point to consider the contribution that Aramaic studies may make to this discussion of the divine name in the New Testament. A fundamental survey of the evidence, sensitive to the essential matter of the chronology of the sources, remains J.A. Fitzmyer's article "The Semitic Background of the New Testament Kurios-title."⁸² Fitzmyer's care in dating the material he uses enables us to exclude from consideration material from much later sources, such as the traditional Targums, which had previously been used quite promiscuously in proposing the Aramaic linguistic context relevant to New Testament studies.⁸³

The discovery of the absolute use of the Aramaic word for "The Lord" (*mr'*) as a title of God in the Qumran Targum of Job has an obvious pertinence to discussions of the similarly absolute use of use of (*ho*) *kurios* for Jesus in the New Testament.⁸⁴ In the early part of last century, G. Dalman had influentially

82 Originally published in German in the Conzelmann Festschrift, *Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie*, ed. G. Strecker (Tübingen, 1975), pp. 267–298. I refer to an expanded English translation found in Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramaean*, pp. 115–142. Also relevant is his "Qumran Aramaic and the New Testament," *ibid.*, pp. 85–113, especially pp. 87–90, with substantive notes.

83 See his "The Phases of the Aramaic Language," *ibid.*, pp. 57–84.

84 By "absolute use" here is meant an occurrence of the title without a possessive suffix and not in a construct chain, as is usual in discussion of this issue. It does *not* mean the absolute as opposed to the emphatic state of an Aramaic noun. Thus, a proposed Aramaic *mr'n* or *mr'n'* reflected in the Greek *maranatha* (1 Cor. 16:22), or the form of address *mry*, "My Lord," found in the Qumran *Genesis Apocryphon* (e.g. 2.9 et al.), or a title such as *mr' shmy'*, "Lord of Heaven" (Dan. 5:23), are not in this sense "absolute." The usage of the Tetragrammaton in the Hebrew text of Job is uneven and the occurrence of the word appears to be almost entirely confined to the prologue and epilogue and Job's answer to God (42:1–6). The Qumran Targum renders *yhw* in Job 42:1; 42:9, 10, 11 as '*lh*', but by *mr'* in the absolute state in 34:10, 12, and probably 35:13. At Job 34:12 the Targum text places in parallelism '*lh*' and *mr'*, thus using *mr'* absolutely of God. Only fifteen per cent or so of the Targum remains, but what we have does not provide a case of *mr'* replacing an occurrence of *yhw* in the Hebrew text, and this point must be made clear, though it may be claimed

proclaimed that such a usage was not to be found in Palestinian Aramaic at the time of the New Testament.⁸⁵ Such a view was shared by Bousset and in turn by Bultmann, both of whom championed the Hellenistic origin of the New Testament title *kyrios*, considering it to be derived from ruler cults or mystery religions, as we have already seen.⁸⁶ It is evident now that in Aramaic in Palestine in the 1st century “The Lord” might be used absolutely of God. Fitzmyer goes on to conjecture that such a usage may well have facilitated the early Christian practice of calling Jesus “Lord” within an early community using variously Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic.⁸⁷ Fitzmyer’s conjectures have found support with L.A. Hurtado, who argues that the Christian use of “Lord” for Jesus arose in early Aramaic-speaking circles where *mry’* easily crossed the language border into the Greek *kyrios*.⁸⁸

The Separation of Jews and Christians

After the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem in 70 A.D., early Christians—however much their faith had been born within the matrix of Second Temple Judaism—deliberately sought to distance themselves from the Jews. A recent survey by Martin Goodman of relations between the Romans and the Jews in the aftermath of the Jewish Revolt treats the few and somewhat tendentious sources with vigour and imagination.⁸⁹ Dr Goodman draws attention to

that the absolute use of the “Lord” in Aramaic is a missing link. 14QEn b 1 iv 5 also uses *mry’* in an absolute sense.

- 85 Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, pp. 324–340, esp. p. 326. Dalman here explains the Greek title *kyrios* for Jesus as derived from the Aramaic *mari* or *maran*, which he considered to be a form of address for a rabbi.
- 86 Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, discussed above; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London, 1956), p. 51. The Achilles heel of Bousset’s argument was always 1 Corinthians 16:22, where the acclamation *maran-atha* or *marana-tha* is clearly Aramaic! Oscar Cullman pointed this out in his *Christology of the New Testament*, revised ed. (Philadelphia, 1963), pp. 195–237.
- 87 Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramaean*, p. 126. Of course, the early modern reception of Aramaic was without any of the subtleties brought to the treatment of the subject by Fitzmyer and others. For an account of such early modern studies, see: Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah*, *passim*.
- 88 Lawrence A. Hurtado, *Lord Jesus Christ: Devotion to Jesus in Earliest Christianity* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge, 2003), p. 111.
- 89 Martin Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem* (London, 2007), principally Chapter 12. The thesis can be found earlier in Peter Richardson, *Israel in the Apostolic Church* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 33–47, and also in Marcel Simon, *Verus Israel* (Paris, 1964), pp. 91 and 146f. See also

the issues of imperial politics and representation which both created and sustained hostility towards Jews, and not just in Judaea, on the part of the Romans well beyond the reign of Hadrian and until the time of Constantine, when the Emperor himself became Christian. He draws attention to the religious aspects of the Roman victory and triumph; the use of the Jewish tax, once paid voluntarily to the Jerusalem Temple, to finance as a matter of compulsion the rebuilding of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome; and the final rebuilding of Jerusalem by Hadrian as Aelia Capitolina with another temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the site where Herod's temple had once stood.⁹⁰ The eradication of a cult so thoroughly was not characteristic of Rome: the Jews were in bad odour.

Long before Constantine, indeed directly after the revolt of 66 A.D., Christians sought to mark their distance from Judaism, whose cult seemed to the Romans to have been declared powerless by the devastation of its sanctuary and whose devotees were suspected of being seditious. If theologically they found it sufficient to invoke the name of Jesus, politically and socially they may well have found it expedient not to name the Jewish God whose temple was in ruins and whose people were viewed with disapprobation.⁹¹ The Christians had their own problems with the Empire, of course: but this gave them all the more reason to distinguish themselves from Jews.⁹²

Such a general perspective needs some adjustment so as not to exclude continuing contacts and exchange between Jews and Christians—both after the Revolt but thereafter into the Middle Ages—evidence for which we shall constantly encounter.⁹³ Congregations do not always behave as their leaders

Peter Tomson, "The Wars against Rome, the View of Rabbinic Judaism and Apostolic Gentile Christianity and the Judeo-Christians: Elements for a Synthesis," in *The Image of the Judaeo-Christians in Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature*, eds. P. Tomson and D. Lambers-Petry (Tübingen, 2003), pp. 1–31.

90 Relationships between Jews and Jewish Christians are portrayed as deteriorating to the point of persecution of the Christians during the Bar Kochba revolt, by Justin *Apol* 31.6 and Eusebius' *Chronicle* (Hadrian Year 17).

91 For the charge that the Jews' God had been "taken captive" with the Temple: Minucius Felix in his 2nd-century *Octavius* 10.4, and Faustus, two centuries later, in Augustine, *Against Faustus* 15.1.

92 A valuable history of the separation of what became the two faiths remains Simon, *Verus Israel*. Also E.P. Sanders et al., eds., *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, 3 vols. (London, 1981). D. Boyarin, *Borderlines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia, 2004), emphasizes the role of "heresiologists" following Alain Le Boulluec, *La Notion d'Hérésie dans la Littérature grecque*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1985, 2007).

93 There is an up-to-date survey in the programmatically titled A.H. Becker and Y. Reed, eds., *The Ways That Never Parted, Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle*

might wish: John Chryostom (344–407 A.D.) gives us a vivid picture of Jewish/Christian promiscuity in Antioch in the sermons he preached against it.⁹⁴

In this context of mutual self-definition over against the other, one should also remark upon the relevance of language; Moshe Idel has argued for language separation as important for the bifurcation of the paths of Judaism and Christianity.⁹⁵ This is not to deny the importance of Jewish Hellenistic Greek in Palestine at the turn of the era, but to observe nonetheless that the documents which moved to the centre of rabbinic Judaism were written in Hebrew and Aramaic, whereas most of the early Christian material is Greek.⁹⁶ The traditions thus refer back creatively to authoritative texts in different languages with different reservoirs of association. Once the early Christians no longer spoke or read Hebrew, the division was naturally exacerbated, particularly as Christianity itself was changing rapidly as fluid eschatological aspirations were adapted to new circumstances in confrontation with paganism, Judaism, and Gnosticism. Origen in the 3rd century, we shall see, retained an almost magical view of the significance of Hebrew names, but he was not himself a master of the language, and he and his contemporaries studied the Hebrew Bible in Greek and Latin and not Hebrew. The simple fact that Christian communities effectively lost knowledge of Hebrew determines the contours of our account of Christian reception of the Tetragrammaton. Christian appropriation from Judaism was high in the 1st century with the adoption of the Greek version of the Hebrew Bible as Holy Scripture. In the 12th and 13th centuries, an increase in the numbers of learned converts from Judaism allowed the Church to make use of the Talmud for controversial ends. The 15th- and 16th-century enthusiasm for Kabbalah found the Church's Trinitarian and Christological presumptions in that material. Our story draws to a close as Christians finally learn to read and study Hebrew texts independently.

As the identities of the two developing faiths established themselves, so did their mutual antagonism as religious rivals. Within the Church there

Ages (Tübingen, 2003). Also, Tomson and Lambers-Petry, eds., *Image of Judaeo-Christians*.

94 M. Simon, "La polémique antijuive de Saint Jean Chrysostome et le Mouvement judaïsant d'Antioche," in his *Recherches d'Histoire judéo-chrétienne* (Paris, 1962), pp. 140–153. Further on, John Chryostom, R.L. Wilken, *John Chryostom and the Jews* (Berkeley, 1983).

95 Idel, *Ben*, pp. 11–12.

96 Paul explains to Christians in Rome (Rom. 9:3–4) that his Jewish "kinsmen" are distinguished by the Glory, the Covenants and the Law, and Worship. In Hebrew, "Glory" would be *kavod*, the Glory of God resident in the Temple; the Law is, of course, Torah; and Worship, *'avodah* or the Temple Cult. The "ethnicity" thus delineated does not here involve a shared language.

developed a tradition of writings *adversus Judaeos* which conditioned much of the anti-Judaic material produced thereafter.⁹⁷ An important influence upon later Christian writers was Augustine, who, though his own position has been recently more positively appraised, left an authoritative legacy for posterity whereby the Jews were to be maintained in a state of continuing wretchedness to demonstrate the fulfilment of God's promises in the prosperity of the Church and the abasement of the Synagogue.⁹⁸

Yet more potent forces for separatism arose within the Christian communities themselves. Marcion (c.85–c.160) of Sinope rejected entirely the notion that the God of the Old Testament was the Father of Jesus. He was rather merely the demiurge and tribal deity of the Jews. A god who walked around Eden asking where Adam was displayed both materiality and ignorance, which disqualified him from the highest office. Jesus revealed the Father to the world for the first time; although the Father in no way replaced or did away with the God of the Old Testament, he was evidently superior. Marcion was not inclined to read the Old Testament allegorically or spiritually. He saw the gospel as quite separate from Judaism and set about systematically de-judaizing the faith and the Christian Scriptures. The result was his *Apostolokon*, a bowdlerized edition of Paul without any offending Jewish or Old Testament material, and his *Evangelikon*, essentially a similarly purified Gospel of Luke.⁹⁹ Needless to say, Marcion, after rejecting the Hebrew Scriptures and the Jewish traits of Early Christianity, was not going to encourage his followers to take an interest in the name of the Old Testament God. His version of the Paternoster does not have "Hallowed be thy Name," but instead begins: "Father, Thy Spirit come upon us, Thy Kingdom come...." Marcion's rejection of Judaism, his dualistic theology, and the demotion of Yhwh are characteristics often found among Gnostics. He came to be considered a heretic by such Christians as reaffirmed their

97 A.M. Laato, *Jews and Christians in De duobus montibus Sina et Sion An Approach to Early Latin Adversus Judaeos Literature* (Åbo, 1988), discusses this short sermon dating from c.250 found among Cyprian works (Latin text PL 4.990-1000). Heinz Schreckenber, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarische und historische Umfeld* (Bern, 1990, 1991, 1992) has three volumes of such texts reaching to the 20th century.

98 For the early period, see: Simon, *Verus Israel*, and for anti-Judaic literature, J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1914), p. 43ff.; S. Simonsohn, *The Apostolic Sea and the Jews* (Toronto, 1991); Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval History* (Berkeley, 1999). For a nuanced reassessment of Augustine's own position, Paula Fredriksen, *Augustine and the Jews: A Christian Defence of Jews and Judaism* (New York, 2008).

99 Ulrich Schmid, *Marcion und sein Apostolos* (Berlin, 1995); G. Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions* (Leipzig, 1852).

attachment to both the Old Testament and its Creator God. That, of course, left them with the problem of the Jews, who stubbornly resisted evangelization.¹⁰⁰ One should not in any way see their retention of the Old Testament as a sign of solidarity with Jews; rather, the consequence of their reaction to Marcion may have been a greater distancing from Jews.¹⁰¹

Marcion's greatest modern historian, Adolf von Harnack, made somewhat of a hero out of him. In a first monograph on the subject he would write: *Dennach kann man nur wünschen daß sich in dem wirren Chor des Gottesuchenden heute weder auch Marcioniten finden.*¹⁰² Subsequently he would take up the strategic significance of Marcion's project and suggest the time had come to revisit it: "The rejection of the Old Testament in the Second Century was a mistake which the Great Church rightly avoided: to retain it in the Sixteenth Century was a fate which the Reformation was not yet able to escape; but still to preserve it in Protestantism as a canonical document since the Nineteenth Century is the consequence of a religious and ecclesiastical crippling."¹⁰³ Getting rid of the Old Testament—its de-canonization—he considered now to be a question of merely jettisoning unhelpful ballast.

Marcion and his Church were significant, though their celibacy did not help them propagate naturally. In the 2nd century, Tertullian devoted his interminable *Adversus Marcionem* to their refutation. The pagan Celsus apparently recognized two branches of Christianity, one of which was Marcionite.¹⁰⁴

100 A. von Harnack, *Marcion Der Evangelium vom fremder Gott*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1924). For Marcion's Paternoster: Beilage IV (CX. xl), p. 207. A summary of Von Harnack's view is found in idem, *History of Dogma*, vol. 1 (Boston, 1901), pp. 266–281. Subsequent scholarship is reviewed in Sebastian Moll, *The Arch-Heretic Marcion* (Tübingen, 2010), pp. 5–9, and his effect upon views of the Old Testament on pp. 135–158. Also S. Wilson, "Marcion and the Jews," in *Anti-Judaism in Early Christianity*, vol. 2, ed. S. Wilson (Ontario, 1986) pp. 43–58.

101 D.P. Erfroymsen describes the anti-Jewish strain in the Christian reaction in "The Patristic Connection," in *Anti-Semitism and the Foundations of Christianity*, ed. A.T. Davies (New York, 1979), pp. 98–117.

102 F. Steck, ed., *Adolf von Harnack: Marcion. Der moderne Gläubige des 2. Jahrhunderts. Der erste Reformator. Die Dorpater Preisschrift 1870* (Berlin, 2003), p. 235. In this work Von Harnack described Marcion as the Martin Luther of the 2nd century.

103 From the English edition, *Marcion: The Gospel of the Alien God* (Durham, N.C., 1990), p. 134. On Von Harnack here, W. Baird, *The History of New Testament Research: From Jonathan Edwards to Rudolf Bultmann* (Philadelphia, 2002), pp. 122–135. More comprehensively: K. Novak et al., eds., *Adolf von Harnack Christentum, Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft* (Göttingen, 2003).

104 Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2.6; 5.14; 6.51; 7.25–26.

In some areas Marcionism may have been the only available form of Christianity.¹⁰⁵ The dualist tradition also had a considerable future: the Cathars seem on good evidence to have preached that the God of the Old Testament was Satan.¹⁰⁶

105 See the first chapter of W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Early Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1971).

106 Generally Yuri Stoyanov, *The Other God: Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy* (New Haven, 2000). For the Cathars, H.C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, vol. 1 (1888; New York, 1955), pp. 92–93, with Latin text pp. 563–567. One notes the cautious approach to dualism and to the realities of the Cathars in R.I. Moore, *The War on Heresy: Faith and Power in Medieval Europe* (London, 2012).

The Tetragrammaton among the Orthodox in Late Antiquity¹

In this chapter we shall consider first explicit mention of the Tetragrammaton among the Church Fathers. This material was to form the basis of the intellectual heritage on the divine name which they transmitted to the Middle Ages and the early modern period, and it is for ease of later reference that I isolate that material rather artificially here. Thereafter we shall explore more fully their thoughts on the name of God when we consider their interpretations of Exodus 3:14.

We have anticipated repeatedly the emergence of a Christian Greek Old Testament—and, indeed, the New—without the Tetragrammaton and with the general substitution of *kurios* for it. By the end of the 1st century A.D. it would appear this version had been taken up by the Christians and was at the same time being progressively avoided by Jews.² The substitution of *kurios* in the Septuagint, and thence of *dominus* in the Vulgate, effectively removed the name of God from the awareness of those who read or heard read these Scriptures. As we have seen, Exodus 3:14 thereby effectively ceased to be an explanation of the Tetragrammaton, but rather became an independent statement of God's existence. The Tetragrammaton was simply not in their Bibles, nor did its absence draw attention to itself.

Explicit Mention of the Tetragrammaton among the Fathers³

Such learned comment as is found among the early Fathers of the Church on the subject of the Tetragrammaton may now receive our attention. It is not

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- 1 "The Orthodox" here usefully designates those whom subsequent centuries would consider (by and large) orthodox. It is not intended as an evaluative term.
 - 2 We have seen that Jews in the Byzantine Empire could continue to avail themselves of the resources of this translation and that Christians generally accepted the account of the origins of the Septuagint presented in the Epistle of Aristeas. An early modern exception is Hody in 1684. Details may be found of him and a few others in Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (Cambridge, 1902), p. 15.
 - 3 A. Deissmann, "Greek Transcriptions of the Tetragrammaton," in idem, *Bible Studies*, trans. A. Grieve (Edinburgh, 1909), pp. 321–336, discusses Patristic notices, as does Baudissin, *Kurios*, vol. 2, pp. 215–225.

extensive, and the comments of the great biblical scholars Origen and particularly Jerome, which we have already discussed, constituted the bulk of the legacy of knowledge on the subject bequeathed to later generations. Jerome's observations were particularly valued because of his distinction as a Hebraist, as a biblical translator, and as unquestionably orthodox. He wrote in Latin and his Prologues appear commonly in Latin Bibles.⁴ The most explicit of his remarks, *de Decem Dei Nominibus*, glosses: *El, Eloim, Eloë, Sabaoth, Elion, Ieje aser Ieje* (treated as a divine name⁵), *Adonai, Ia (dominus), Iao (dominus), and Saddai*.⁶ This was basic text upon the subject for the Middle Ages, though it was often the victim of scribal corruption. The notion of the ten names of God here and also in an anonymous Greek treatise on the subject is first found in Origen's comments on Psalm 2 (PG XII.1104), where the Tetragrammaton is given as *Iaê*. Dr De Lange considers it likely to be a Jewish explanation.⁷ But it was Jerome who put it into Latin. Isidore, we shall see later, knew this text and repeats it, perhaps with some philosophic meditation.⁸

Jerome wrote his *Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis* in explicit rivalry with Philo, who wrote on the same subject but also with an acknowledged dependence

4 See Michael Graves, *Jerome's Hebrew Philology: A Study Based on His Commentary on Jeremiah* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 1–12, for current work and bibliography. Also James Barr, "St Jerome's Appreciation of Hebrew," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 49.2 (1967), 281–302. Moritz Rahmer, *Die hebräischen Traditionen in Werken des Hieronymus* (Breslau, 1861), remains useful. The basic modern biography is J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings and Controversies* (London, 1975). See now: A. Cain and J. Lössl, eds., *Jerome of Stridon, His Life, Writings and Legacy* (London, 2009). Sarah Kamin, "The Theological Significance of the *Hebraica Veritas* in Jerome's Thought," in *Sha'arei Talmon*, eds. M. Fishbane and E. Tov (Winona Lake, 1992), pp. 243–254, suggests more than philology may lie behind Jerome's championing of the Hebrew against Augustine, and his rejection of the Aristeas myth of the inspired origin of the Septuagint. P. Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle, Wealth, the Fall of Rome and the Making of Christianity in the West* (Princeton, 2012), pp. 259–282, on patronage and scholarship, is enlightening. Eugene F. Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1985), deals admirably with his later reputation.

5 This presumably shows that his Jewish teachers (if such there were), like the translators of the Targum, treated both this and the Tetragrammaton as expressions of the divine name.

6 PL XXIII, p. 1272. Another version slightly complementing this is found in Jean Martianay's Benedictine edition of St Jerome, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis Presbyteri Operum Tomus V* (Paris, 1706), p. 883.

7 De Lange, *Origen and the Jews*, pp. 180–181.

8 W. Schmidt-Biggeman, *Philosophia Perennis: Historical Outlines of Western Spirituality in Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern Thought* (Dordrecht, 2004), pp. 78–80.

upon Origen.⁹ The work provides lists of names in Latin with Latin glosses ordered by biblical book in both the Old and New Testaments. An invaluable resource for mediaeval scholars, the work gives consistently *dominus* as the meaning of the part of the Hebrew divine name appearing in a theophoric name. Even where Origen mentioned the divine name, Jerome has consistently *dominus*.¹⁰ The work thus did not inform subsequent ages about the Tetragrammaton. His *Liber de Situ et Nominibus Locorum Hebraicorum* was written again with an acknowledged dependence, but this time upon Eusebius.¹¹ Again, this was a precious and valued resource for subsequent generations confined to Latin, but it was hardly informative on the subject of the divine name.

There are just a few other writers to consider. Their testimony also is not extensive, nor should one necessarily imagine it to be widely known, but they have been influential in more modern attempts to establish the correct pronunciation of *yhw̄h*. We shall turn in the next chapter to contrast this paucity of attestation with the usage of the Gnostics and the rich incidence of the Tetragrammaton in the Greek magical papyri. All of the forms of the divine name we find in the Fathers are also attested in the magical papyri.

The concurrence of Patristic articulations of the Tetragrammaton and the names in the magical papyri might be thought to offer some form of corroboration for them.¹² However, it seems very rash to prefer one articulation above another (unless one has other prior grounds for favouring a particular form). Furthermore, the textual integrity of the older Patristic editions may be questioned; the similarity of these transcriptions to the nonsense listing of vowels characteristic of some divine names in the magical papyri is evident; and the possibility of corruption or assimilation from or to this is always a risk.¹³ Nevertheless, the judgement of A. Vincent on the Patristic use of the names

9 PL XXIII, pp. 772–934; the references to Philo and Origen are to be found in the *Praefatio*. Ibid., pp. 1145–1206, has Greek fragments of the same.

10 PL XXIII, p. 835. Origen glosses “Jeremiah” in his Commentary on Matthew as *meteôrismo iaô* or *sublimitatem iao*. Jerome has merely *excelsus Domini*. The Greek version at Migne p. 1152 from Vaticanus 1450 glosses *Ioannes* as *eucharistato io*, apparently preserving a form of the divine name.

11 PL XXIII, p. 860 ff. Names glossed in Philo are collected pp. 1282–1290 and in Josephus pp. 1290–1296.

12 Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 147, points to the sheer carelessness of both Jewish and pagan magicians in copying spells: they were not as concerned with the exact forms as we may previously have thought.

13 Ammanius 29.2.28 has an anecdote of a young man reciting the Greek vowels in order as a cure for stomachache. There are lots of long strings of vowels in Greek magical papyri.

may be well founded when he reduced representations of the Tetragrammaton to essentially three: ...*Yahô la plus communer, Yahweh, plus rare et Ia qui n'est qu'un apocopé.*¹⁴

Thus Irenaeus in the 2nd century A.D. reports in his *Against Heresies* that the Gnostics formed a compound, *Iaoth*, of the divine name and the last syllable of Sabaoth.¹⁵ He also reports that Valentinian heretics use *Iao*.¹⁶ Tertullian says they used *Iao* and *Ia*.¹⁷ Origen, *Contra Celsum* VI.31 and 32 has mention of a "second *Iao*" in Orphite cosmology, and Epiphanius in the 4th century attributes to the Gnostics the form *Iao* (P.G. XLI, col. 685, and *ibid.*, col. 345). We shall consider the Gnostics in their own right shortly.

Clement (who died before 215 A.D.) writes of the ineffable God who is only known by the power which comes from Him and is the Son. He writes in *Stromata* V. 6:34–35: "... Further, the mystic name of four letters which was affixed to those alone to whom the adytum was accessible is called *Iaou*, which is interpreted, 'Who is and shall be'. The name of God (*theos*), among the Greeks also contains four letters."¹⁸ This passage is of interest in that it makes reference to a plaque on the High Priest's forehead which carried the Tetragrammaton. The information is taken from Philo's *De Vita Mosi* 3.1. Interestingly, Clement adds the Tetragrammaton, which Philo had not written! But clearly Clement knew of the Hebrew Tetragrammaton and was prepared to expound it. In *Stromata* V.38:6–7 he stated that Christ was the Tetragrammaton, the very name worn on the high priest's turban. This is reminiscent of the possible early baptismal symbolism we have discussed previously. Notice that Clement also finds it interesting that the Greek word for God contains four letters. This is a banality to which we shall become accustomed.

14 A. Vincent, *La Religion des Judéo-Araméens*, p. 40.

15 II, xxxv, 3, in PG VII, col. 840.

16 I, iv, 1, in PG VII, col. 481. Fossum, *The Name of God*, p. 249, points to the use of IAW to stabilize Creation on PGM XII.539 and mentions Scholem's consideration of this text in the light of the Valentinian use of IAO. Jacob is described as "son of Iao" on an ancient gem: H.C. Youtie, "A Gnostic Amulet with an Aramaic Inscription," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 50 (1930), 214–222, and Fossum, *The Image of the Invisible God*, p. 144, n. 34.

17 *Adv. Valent.* XIV.

18 PG IX, col. 60. Otto Stählin and L. Fruechtel, *Clemens Alexandrinus Werke*, 3rd ed. (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte) 15 (Berlin, 1960), gives the variants: "Ἰαοὺ Didymus Taurinensis de pronunc. divini nominis quatuor literarum (Parmae 1799) p. 32ff, ἰαοὺ L, ἰὰ οὐαί Nic., ἰὰ οὐὲ Mon. 9.82 Reg. 1888 Taurin. III 50 (bei Did.), ἰαοὺε Coisl. Seg. 308 Reg. 1825." and has Ἰαοὺε in the running text. This was discussed by Deissmann, "Greek Transcriptions," pp. 319–336 at p. 321.

Procopius of Gaza's (465–528) commentary on Exodus 6:3 is of interest only because he manages to spell the Tetragrammaton (which he understands as “Being”) *iod, aleph, tau, het*.¹⁹

Theodoret of Cyrillus (c.393–460) was an exegete of the Antiochene School and Bishop of Cyrillus. He was condemned for Nestorianism at the Council of Ephesus in 449, which he recanted at the Council of Chalcedon in 451—and thereafter finished his days back in his bishopric. In his *Question 15 on Exodus 7* from sometime after 453 he wrote of the name *yhwh*: “the Samaritans call it *iabe* whilst the Jews call it *Ia*.”²⁰ It has been commonly assumed that the Samaritan pronunciation reflected the sound of the word undistorted by Jewish inhibitions against vocalization and was thus strong evidence for the original vocalization being *Yahweh*, which was (and is) defended, as we know, also by morphological arguments.²¹ *Ia*, on the other hand, is hardly surprising

19 PG LXXXVII 541/542.

20 Natalio Fernández Marcos and Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *Theodoretus Cyrenensis. Quaestiones in Octateuchum. Editio Critica* (Textuus y Estudios “Cardenal Cisneros” de la Biblia Poligota Matritense) 17 (Madrid, 1979), p. 112. Also earlier: *Ex. Quaest.*, xv, in PG LXXX, cols. 243–244; and *Haeret. Fab.* V, iii, in PG LXXXIII, col. 460. Some texts have *‘Aia*; Johannes Brinktrine, “Der Gottesname *‘Aia* bei Theodoret von Cyrillus,” *Biblica* 30.4 (1949), 520–523. The same information contrasting Samaritans and Jews is found in the 9th-century Photius, *Epist.* 16 2. JSanh. 28b similarly adds the information that Samaritans pronounced the name of God with its letters when they swore oaths. This point is added by a 4th-century Amora R. Mana (II) to the report of Abba Shaul in the original Mishnah. R. Plummer, *Early Christian Authors on Samaritans and Samaritanism* (Tübingen, 2002): on Theodoret of Cyrillus, p. 223 ff.; on Epiphanius, pp. 121–183. G.H. van Kooten, “Moses and his God Yahweh, Iao and Sabaoth,” in idem, ed., *Revelation of the Name*, p. 120, notes how *ieuo* in Philo of Byblos becomes *iao* when cited by Theodoret of Cyrillus in *Graecarum affectionum curatio* 2.44.

21 In our final chapter we shall find Nicolas Fuller (1557–1626) trying to navigate through this sea of textual variants. He rejects *iabe* as an obvious error. Deissmann, “Greek Transcriptions,” pp. 319–336, finds evidence of *iabe* and *iaba* in the magical papyri and speculates on their Samaritan origin and Egyptian distribution on pp. 333–336. It is just possible that the form *iabe* reflects the Samaritan title *yafeh*, “The Beautiful,” used of God. If this were to be the case, obviously the form would tell us nothing about the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton by anyone. Epiphanius in the 4th century also has *iabe* and *iao* but attributes to the Gnostics the form *iao* (PG XLI, col. 685, and *ibid.*, col. 345). Eusebius, citing Philo of Byblos and Porphyry in *Praeparatio Evangelica* L.1, speaks of one “Hierobalos, a priest of Yeuo” as one of the sources of Sanchuniathon. This may be evidence, however, of a Phoenician rather than a Jewish cult. A fragment quoted by the mid-6th-century Byzantine official, John Lydud, links *iaô* to Phoenicia. See Vincent, *La Religion des Judéo-Araméens*, p. 29. S.R. Driver, “Recent Theories on the Origin and

as a transcription of *yh*, nor may one simply assume such Samaritan abandonment.²² It would appear that their preferred pronunciation of *yhw* may have been *shamah* (The Name)²³ and not the Jewish *ʾadonay*.²⁴ Theodoret in *Quaestiones in Libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon* (80.805) tells us that Iao is the God who Is (*iaô toutesti tou ontos theou*). Clement's gloss represents his remembrance of the text of Revelation, but here Theodoret seems to have both a form of the divine name and knowledge of the ontological teaching of the Septuagint Exodus 3:14

Finally, we may mention a tiny treatise by Evagrius, a late 4th-century theologian, on the writing PIP1, which is based on Jerome's ten divine names.²⁵

Nature of the Tetragrammaton" in *Studia Biblica*, vol. 1, eds. S.R. Driver et al. (Oxford, 1885), pp. 1–20 on p. 20 quotes from a Bodleian Ethiopic manuscript (*Aeth.* 9.5) which lists the Tetragrammaton as one of a list of magical names of Christ and which appears to be vocalized very much like *iabe*.

- 22 A Samaritan inscription from Syracuse from the 2nd century A.D. uses the Tetragrammaton in a quotation of Numbers 10:35. V. Morabito, "Les Samaritains de Sicile," in *Études sémitiques et samaritaines*, eds. C.-B. Amphoux et al. (Lausanne, 1998), pp. 195–197. The Samaritans generally interpreted the name as meaning "The Eternal," though the name is said to have been thought not "attributive." Nor does there seem to be any etymological interest in deriving it from *hayah* or *hawah*. See John Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans* (London, 1964), pp. 69–73, 93–97. Also idem, "The Tetragrammaton in Samaritan Liturgical Compositions," *Transactions of Glasgow University Oriental Society* 17 (1959), 37–47. For a description of Samaritan inhibitions against articulating the Tetragrammaton, S. Lowy, *Principles of Samaritan Biblical Exegesis* (Leiden, 1977), pp. 268–282.
- 23 So Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, p. 95; Baudissin, *Kurios*, vol. 2, pp. 218–219, 222–225; G.F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, vol. 1 (New York, 1917, 1971), pp. 426–427. The suggestion that the Judaeans wrongly took *shemah* to be the name of a pagan god, *Ashima*, mentioned in 2 Kings 17:30, seems unnecessary. For other, more convincing explanations: J.A. Montgomery and H.S. Gehman, *The Books of Kings* (ICC Commentary) (London, 1952), p. 475. For 19th- and earlier 20th-century use of *jahwe* or *jahu* by Samaritans, see Vincent, *La Religion des Judéo-Araméens*, pp. 44–45. Also Z. Ben-Haim, *On the Pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton by the Samaritans* (Madrid-Barcelona, 1954), pp. 108–109.
- 24 Their Targum even replaces *dwn* with *rb* (Great One) and also substitutes "the Power" and "Mighty One" for *ʾl*. Other substitutes are found, but the Tetragrammaton continued to be written. *ʾhyh* and the Tetragrammaton denote the everlasting changeless nature of God. Gematria is apparent in the mediaeval part of the liturgy, where mystical signs are ascribed to various portions of the Tetragrammaton and permutations of its letters. The Tetragrammaton has special treatment in the margin justification of early Pentateuchal manuscripts. So, A.D. Crown et al., eds., *A Companion to Samaritan Studies* (Tübingen, 1993), p. 105
- 25 Evagrius's fragment was not edited until the 17th century, reducing its influence. The interpretation of the four letters, however, is found extensively, as we shall see.

It speaks of the “Tetragrammaton ineffable amongst the Hebrews who substitute *Adonai* for it although the Greeks say *Kurios*.” Which is fair enough. The text also considers that ΠΙΠΙ was written “like a seal” (Exodus 28:36) on the *petalon* on the High Priest’s forehead. But there is more: the Tetragrammaton is written by the letters: “*ioth, ep, ouab, ethp*.”²⁶ These letters, we are told, mean *arche, aute, en autei, ho zon*—something like “The principle itself, existing in itself.” This is a gloss we shall meet frequently hereafter as the mysteries of God’s self-existence are sought in his name. What is most curious in this fragment, however, is the insertion of the Hebrew letter *sen* (*shin/sh*) into the middle of the Tetragrammaton to give *yhshwh*, which the author apparently believes spells Joshua, or more particularly Jesus. This anticipates a manipulation we shall meet frequently in the Renaissance. Here, though, we seem to be encouraged to read the new form as “the beginning,” “teeth in it” and “the one living.” Evagrius may be dependent on Jerome, who in *Ep.30 ad Paulam* offers a numerological analysis of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, linking them in fours and supplying an explanation for each *connexio* so produced. The seventh *connexio* is *qop, resh, shin, tau* (*q, r, sh, t*), of which Jerome writes, reading the names of the letters as otherwise meaningful words:

In the seventh number there is also a mystical meaning ‘the calling of the head, the signs of the teeth’ (*vocatio capitis, dentium signa*). Spoken sound is produced through the *teeth* (the meaning given to *shin*), and through these *signs* one arrives at the *head* of all things which is Christ. I ask you what could be more sacred than this mystery!

The etymology of ‘*shin*’ points to the *vox articulata* of Christ, the Word incarnate. Furthermore in this fragment of Evagrius one can note immediately that the second and last letters of the Tetragrammaton are not the same. We shall later meet in John Marchelinus an interpretation of Bede from the *Glossa Ordinaria* on Exodus 28, which decrypts a similar meaning from the Tetragrammaton—spelled with a final *heth*!

The Fathers’ Philosophy of Language

My reverence, Protarchus, for the names of the gods is profound

PLATO, *Philebus* 12c. Cited twice by Origen: *Contra Cels.* 1.25 and 4.4

²⁶ Paul de Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* (Göttingen, 1870), pp. 205–206.

It may be helpful at this point to reflect upon the Fathers' philosophy of language as an essential context for their remarks about the name of God. Let us begin with the most exceptional case—that of Origen.²⁷

For Origen, names do not represent or imitate, but point to the deepest nature of objects. They are a summary denomination which gives the real essence of the named object. The correspondence between signifier (name) and signified (named), especially in the case of the names of the Divine, is not at all arbitrary. In Piercean terms, Origen's conception of divine names may be called "iconic"—"a sign which would possess the characteristic which renders it significant even though the object had no existence, such as a lead pencil streak representing a geometric line"—and this combined with the special qualities of the Hebrew language which Origen regards as the Language of Creation; these are names which lose their efficacy when translated.²⁸

Whereas Aristotle had insisted upon the arbitrary ("conventional") nature of signifiers, the Stoics developed an essentialist interpretation of language which was apparently preferred by Origen (*Against Celsus* 1.24) to emphasize the superiority of the Hebrew name(s) over those of other names and cultures.²⁹ It is this essentialist view of names which accounts for the undoubted power of Hebrew names in exorcisms, miracles, and wonders.³⁰

In answer to the pagan Celsus' assertion that it matters not what the "God who is over all things" be called, Origen rejects this Aristotelian view to choose rather the Stoics' view of the natural status of names: "the first words being imitations of things, agreeably to which the names were formed, and in conformity with which they [the Stoics] introduce certain principles of

27 For a general view of the Fathers in relationship to Stoic views; D.G. Robertson, *Grammar, Logic and the Philosophy of Language in Fourth Century Patristics* (unpublished PhD dissertation, King's College, London, 2000). Also A. Chernikin, *Philosophy of Language in Greek Patristics* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Durham, 2007), pp. 188–207, for Origen.

28 N. Janowitz, "Theories of Divine Names in Origen and Pseudo-Dionysius," *History of Religions* 30 (1991), 359–372. Further, idem, *Icons of Power: The Pragmatics of Ritual in Late Antiquity* (State College, Pa., 2001). Most illuminating is her account of Jewish theories of similarly effective speech in *The Poetics of Ascent*, discussed below.

29 R.M. van den Berg, "Does It Matter to Call God Zeus? Origen *Contra Celsum* 1.24–25 Against the Greek Intellectuals on Divine Names," in Van Kooten, ed., *Revelation of the Name*, pp. 169–183; V. Izmirlieva, *All the Names of the Lord: Lists, Mysticism and Magic* (Chicago, 2008), pp. 32–36.

30 See also *Contra Celsum* 5.30–48. Origen is not, of course, without some appreciation of the difficulty of humans talking about God: *Contra Celsum* 6.65. 7 ff. J. Dillon, "The Magical Power of Names in Origen and Later Platonism," in *Origeniana Tertia*, eds. R.P.C. Hanson and H. Crouzel (Rome, 1985), pp. 188–207; Janowitz, "Theories of Divine Names," pp. 360–365.

etymology....” On the basis of this statement he then seeks to establish the “nature of powerful names” used by Egyptians, Magi, Brahmans, or Samanaeans to argue that magic is not (as Epicurus’ and Aristotle’s followers suppose) an altogether uncertain thing, but is, as those skilled in it prove, a consistent system having words which are known to exceedingly few. The divine names of the Hebrews are not applicable to any ordinary things, but belong to a secret theology which refers to the Framer of All Things.³¹ “These names accordingly when pronounced with that attendant train of circumstances which is appropriate to their nature, are possessed of great power; and other names, again, current in the Egyptian tongue, are efficacious against certain daemons who can only do certain things.”

Similarly, this is the case with other names in other tongues. Thus although Zeus may be a daemon and not a god, a Christian must not utter the word “Zeus,” for to do so might automatically promote a miracle. Hence there is (as we have said) a regionality among daemons who bear names appropriate to the dialects of their locality. Origen’s is not the commonest view of language among the Fathers, but it offers a very clear rationale for magic using the Tetragrammaton or the local names of demons, which we shall shortly examine.

In the light of this notion of language, we might return for a moment to Origen’s *Hexapla*. We have taken up the suggestion that the first column (of Hebrew) and the second transcribing it, and thereby effectively vocalizing it into Greek, were useful for polemical discussions with Jews.³² But might it not have had a further significance in the light of Origen’s linguistic notions—namely, to preserve the Hebrew text and its sound?³³

Cratylus, the eponymous hero of Plato’s dialogue, argues for this view that names have a natural relationship (*kata phusin*) with the things named.

31 Origen here appears to suggest that Hebrew divine names are part of an esoteric science of God. Idel notes in *Ben*, p. 53, that Yehuda Liebes adduces notices in Irenaeus of a secret tradition of divine names found among Jews.

32 S. Brock, “Origen’s Aim as a Textual Critic of the Old Testament,” in *Papers Presented to the Fifth International Conference of Patristic Studies Oxford 1967*, ed. F. Cross (Berlin, 1970), pp. 215–218.

33 Professor Emerton argued that the Hebrew text and the transliteration were intended to go together with the second column, providing the reader with a pronunciation guide for the unvocalized Hebrew in the first column. Because of the inadequacies of the Greek system of transcription, if read aloud alone column two would be unintelligible to anyone who knew Hebrew, and there would be no point whatsoever in reading it to a congregation whose knowledge of Hebrew had lapsed. It was, he concluded, to be read in conjunction with the Hebrew in the first column as a guide to vocalization. Perhaps Origen saw the importance of the sound of Hebrew—regardless of whether the reader understood it! John Emerton, “The Purpose of the Second Column of the Hexapla,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 7 (1956), 79–87.

His interlocutor Hermogenes considers them to be purely conventional (*kata thesin*). Christian “Hermogenists” (Justin Martyr (c.100–163?), Clement of Alexandria (c.150–c.215) and the Cappadocian Fathers, Basil the Great (329?–379), and Gregory of Nyssa (c.330–395) in their dispute with Eunomius held that the names of God were not natural to God and, being essentially arbitrary, were evidently inadequate.³⁴ God is beyond being and language and is radically unnameable. This, of course, creates an immediate liturgical problem: whom do we evoke in our prayers? “How shall I name You—You alone the Unnameable?” asks Gregory Nazianzus.³⁵ Like Jacob, he asks: “Tell me your name.” The answer—if it is such—was to evoke God only in negative terms. But the way of *apophasis* is not easy: one emphasizes that which God is not like, but does one ever, as it were, get into touch? And anyway, is it not just a convention presenting the usual positive terms in a negative way?³⁶ Moreover, how can the Church pronounce its doctrines and faith clearly and precisely within the unbounded freedom of what cannot be said?

There are two competing philosophies of language here, and neither need be adequate. Origen considered that divine names provided some sort of handle on the divine. Those who disagreed held, consequentially, that the arbitrary and conventional names of God were inevitably inadequate. But how does one speak of a nameless God, let alone worship him?

Reflections of Patristic Writers upon the Meaning of Exodus 3:14³⁷

The mediaeval Jewish commentator Rashi, as we saw in the Introduction, interpreted the Tetragrammaton in Exodus 3 as a revelation of the characteristics

34 In this context one may consider the Arian claim that the name of the Father is the Son, and the similar view of Eunomius the Anomoean extant only in fragments in *Contra Eunomium* by Basil the Great (PG 29–30) and Gregory of Nyssa (PG 45). Chernikin, *Philosophy of Language*, argues that the Greek Fathers not merely make an eclectic selection from the standard views of Platonists, Academicians, and Stoics (of which he gives an overview on pp. 1–100), but develop a distinctive, well-connected, and thought-out treatment. The distinctive feature is its rejection of mythological divine origins for language, and it follows the suggestive naming of animals by Adam to develop a theological anthropology of language. He deals with the 4th-century Cappadocians against Aetius and Eunomius on pp. 214–342.

35 *Hymn to God* at Migne, PG 37.507.

36 Robert Morley, *From Word to Silence*, vol. 2 (Bonn, 1986), p. 223.

37 I have used Childs, *Exodus*, pp. 84–89. Also see: Vignaux et al., eds., *Dieu et l'Être: Exégèse*. Further bibliography is to be found in Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentarius in Exodum*.

of God whereby the deliverance from Egypt would be affected.³⁸ He was long preceded by the Jewish *midrashim* in *Exodus Rabbah*. Early Christian interpretation, however, developed a concentration on fundamentally philosophical theological issues which endured throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. The later Jewish commentaries' engagement with the Nature of Being suggested here appears to begin with Maimonides, but even before that the Alexandrian Philo had concerned himself precisely with such philosophical issues.³⁹

Controversy provided the context for the development of the later commonplaces. We shall consider Exodus 3:14 in discussion with pagans and Jews, and finally among Christians.

Philo Judaeus and Debates with Pagans

To discover the Maker and Father of the universe is indeed a hard task

PLATO, *Timaeus* 28c.

Early in the Common Era, both Jewish and Christian authors were persuaded that Moses' designation of God as *ho ôn* was in agreement with—if not, in fact, the origin of—Plato's doctrine of true being as exemplified in *Timaeus* 27d–28a, where he speaks of *to on aei* (That Which Always Is), the transcendently perfect and unchangeable reality which is accessible only to reason and distinct from the transient world of becoming.⁴⁰ Plutarch (c.46–120 A.D.), *De E apud Delphos* 393e–393f, explains the inscribed letter E on the temple at Delphi as an abbreviation of the Greek *ei* (You Are), the correct way to address God, whose characteristic is that he exists while all other creatures are caught in becoming or passing away.⁴¹ Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* XI.6. 9; XI.10.14) claimed no'

38 C. Touti, "Ehye 'asher 'ehye (Exode 3.14) comme 'L'Être avec...," in Vignaux et al., eds., *Dieu et l'Être: Exégèse*, p. 75.

39 Maimonides, *Guide for the Perplexed* 1.63. See also A. de Libera and E. Zum Brunn, *Celui qui est: Interprétations juives et chrétiennes d'Exode 3.14* (Paris, 1986).

40 It may be that *ho ôn* specifically does not appear before the Common Era. So G.P. Luttikhuisen "The Revelation of the Unknowable God in Coptic Gnostic Texts," in Van Kooten, ed., *Revelation of the Name*, pp. 237–246 at p. 238.

41 One might here compare the LXX of Psalm 90:2: *su ei*. De Vogel, "Ego sum qui sum," pp. 337–355, draws attention to *De E apud Delphos*. See also his previous "Antike Seinsphilosophie und Christentum in Wandel der Jahrhunderte," in *Festgabe Joseph Lortz*, vol. 1, eds. E. Iserloh and P. Manns (Grimm, 1958), pp. 527–548. He considers the LXX translation of Exodus 3:14 most probably inspired by Greek philosophy.

less than that Plato borrowed his notion of being from Moses in Exodus 3:14. Such a view we shall find to be common among those writing in the Renaissance Hermetic tradition.

Theistic interpretations of Plato's real and eternal being are found among 2nd-century pagans, such as Maximus of Tyre, Alcinous, Apuleius, and Numenius of Apamea. The question arises as to whether Numenius was familiar with the Greek text of Exodus 3:14.⁴² He uses the biblical *ho ôn* and also posed the extraordinary question—quoted by both Eusebius and Clement of Alexandria—"What is Plato but Moses talking Attic?"⁴³ M.F. Burnyeat places Numenius in the wider question of the meaning of Eternity for the Platonists. Richard Sorabji considers this as essentially timelessness, but Burnyeat argues for "present being."⁴⁴ Christian authors similarly were able to speak of God in Platonic terms.⁴⁵

The Philo of Alexandria (*Quod deterius potiori insidiari solet* 160) had already combined the *Timaeus* passage and Moses' designation of God:

God alone has veritable being. This is why Moses will say of Him as best as he may in human speech: 'I am he that is', implying that others lesser than He have not being, as being indeed is, but exist in semblance only, and are [only] conventionally said to exist.⁴⁶

Philo uses both the Platonic neuter participle and the masculine participle of Exodus 3:14.⁴⁷ The distinction was noted by Pseudo-Justin, *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 22 (from the second half of the 3rd century):

Moses said, 'He who is' and Plato 'That which is'. But either expression seems to apply to the ever-existent God for he is the only one who always is and has no origin.⁴⁸

42 Not considered improbable by John Whittaker, "Moses Atticizing," *Phoenix* 21.3 (1967), 196–201.

43 Eusebius *Praep. Ev.* XI.6.9 XI.10.14; Clement *Stromata* I Ch. 22 (150.4). For general orientation, J.G. Cook, *The Interpretation of the Old Testament in Graeco-Roman Paganism* (Tübingen, 2004).

44 M.F. Burnyeat, "Platonism in the Bible: Numenius of Apamea on Exodus and Eternity," in Van Kooten, ed., *Revelation of the Name*, pp. 137–168.

45 For example: Athenagoras, *Supplicatio* 19, speaking of *Timaeus* 27b.6f; Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 3.

46 Translation is that of F.H. Colson, Loeb Classical Library, *Philo II*. For Philo and the *Timaeus*, D.T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria and the Timaeus of Plato*, 2 vols. (Kampen, 1983).

47 Dodd, *The Fourth Gospel*, p. 61, on Philo's use of the masculine and neuter.

48 For a succinct account of Philo in the context of Justin, Clement, and Origen, H. Chadwick, "Philo and the Beginnings of Christian Thought," in *Later Greek and Early Medieval*

How, then, is God known? For Philo, God is unknowable in himself and is only made known in his works. He distinguishes (the move is not original) between God's essence and his activities or energies, between "He who is" and his *dunameis*.

If we turn to the more circumstantial issue of the Burning Bush, which Philo discusses in *De Vita Moysis*, *De Mutatione Nominum* and *De Fuga et Inventione*, we find that Philo considered God's essence to consist in his being and that his nature cannot be expressed by words. He does not have a proper name, but because of the human need to name the highest being, he allows us the improper use of "Lord God." God is not only unnamable, he is also incomprehensible.⁴⁹ Philo clearly stands in the tradition of negative theology. Andrew Louth remarks tartly: "Negative theology must be something of an ill-begotten child, for the claims made for paternity are so diverse; but Philo certainly has some claim to be called the Father of negative theology."⁵⁰ Nevertheless, Philo draws a distinction—which we have seen is not original—between God's ineffable essence and His activities or energies. The notion that God is unknowable in himself but known in his activities had a long future.⁵¹

Though Philo taught God's incomprehensibility and used negative descriptions of God based on Scripture, he perhaps fell short of espousing a fully explicit *via negativa* in the approach to God. The pagan Albinus in the 2nd century clearly did not.⁵² He distinguished three epistemological pathways: first, that of the abstraction, *aphairesis*, of all sensible predicates, as one

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- Philosophy*, ed. A.H. Armstrong (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 137–194 esp. 137–157. Philosophical aspects of Philo's God are helpfully listed on p. 140: immutable (*Qu. Gen.* 1.93); infinite (*Leg All* III.206); incomprehensible (*Spec. leg.* 1.32); nameless (*Heres.* 170); and self-sufficient (*Mig.* 27); though needing nothing, God rejoices in his world (*Qu. Gen.* IV.188). For Justin on the impossibility of naming God, *Apol.* I.10.1; I.61.1.1; I.63.1; II.0.12.4.
- 49 E. Starobinski-Safran, "Exode 3.14 dans l'oeuvre de Philon d'Alexandrie," in *Dieu et l'Être: Exégèse*, pp. 47–55.
- 50 Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition from Plato to Denys* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 18–35, on Philo. Quotation from p. 19.
- 51 Dahl and Segal, "Philo and the Rabbis," pp. 1–28.
- 52 For Albinus, see H. Wolson in *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Religion*, 2 vols., eds. I. Twersky and G.H. Williams (Cambridge, Mass., 1973–1977), vol. 1, Ch. 6. For Albinus as the first to formulate a negative interpretation of divine attributes, see vol. 2, p. 500. Also, on Albinus, G.P. Rocca, *Speaking the Incomprehensible God* (Washington, D.C., 2004), p. 7–14. J. Daniélou, *A History of Early Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicaea*, vol. 2 (London, 1973), in Chapter 15 describes three developments from the Platonic stock: Hellenistic Judaism (Philo), Middle Platonism (Albinus and Maximus of Tyre), and also Gnosticism.

conceives of a point by subtracting from a sensible thing; the Euclidean definition of a point holds that it is both indivisible and without dimensions. The second way is analogy: Albinus coordinates the sun, sight, and the objects of our sight with the First Mind, our mind and the objects of our mind. (Comparing God and the sun goes back to Plato *Republic* VI.588-589, but the emphasis here is on causality—for just as the sun is the cause of visibility for sight, so God as the First Mind is the cause of understanding in our mind.) The third pathway is *hyperoche* or the ascent to God, which begins by beholding the beautiful in bodies, progresses to sensing it in the soul, then in morals and law, and thence to the vast sea of the beautiful and good and loveable themselves, and finally emerging in forming a conception of God (again rather similar to Plato's *Symposium* 210–212). Similar approaches may be found in two other middle Platonists, Maximus of Tyre and Celsus, though they use different terminology and their order of things is rather different. The pagan Plotinus was also a good source of negative theology for those who come after.⁵³

The 4th-century Cappadocian Gregory of Nyssa knew Philo's writings and likewise wrote a *de Vita Moysis*. A.C. Geljon has compared the two writers' accounts of the incident of the Burning Bush.⁵⁴ Whereas Philo considered the Name "He who is" to belong only to God and not to his subordinate Logos, Gregory believed God's Logos stands on the same level and can be called Being. Philo's view (says Gregory) was followed by the neo-Arian Eunomius, whom Gregory accuses of Judaizing. Both Philo and Gregory agree, however, on the unnameability and incomprehensibility of God. The issue in debate with the Jews was fundamentally the divinity of the Son.

Justin Martyr

Justin Martyr (d. 165 A.D.) was a philosopher who converted to Christianity and was also an apologist against Judaism. Caught somewhere between Middle Platonism's transcendent and supreme being and an eminently biblical God,

53 Paul Henry, *Plotin et l'Occident* (Louvain, 1934). In the light of Plotinus' teaching on the "One" (*Ennead* VI.9), it is interesting to note that C.H. Gordon, "His Name is One," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 29.3 (1970), 198–199, argues from Zechariah 14:9 and Job 23:13 that "One" was a Hebrew divine name.

54 A.C. Geljon, "Philo of Alexandria and Gregory of Nyssa on Moses at the Burning Bush," in Van Kooten, ed., *Revelation of the Name*, pp. 225–236. For Gregory's mystical theology, Louth, *Origins*, p. 84.

the extent to which Justin's is a thoroughgoing apophaticism is disputed.⁵⁵ Justin certainly rejects the capacity of human language to define God and expresses this idea with many negative titles. Justin in rather Aristotelian fashion distinguishes a proper name, *onoma theton*, from a common name, *onoma koinon*.⁵⁶ The word *theos*, however, designates the incomprehensible concept of deity, which is supernaturally implanted in the human mind. Language essentially fails in its attempt to designate God the Father, but this nevertheless does not apparently produce from Justin a very systematic apophatic philosophy. But he is perhaps not incoherent.

God has no proper name, says Justin:

He accepts those only who imitate the excellence which resides in him—temperance and justice and philanthropy and as many virtues as are particular to a God who is called by no proper name (*onoma theton* not *koinon*)' (*Apol.* I.10) and as the Father is eternally unnamable (*anoomastos*).

Greek "gods" have proper names, which is one of the reasons they cannot be regarded as gods, for the action of naming implies a master who names and a slave who is named (*Apol.* sec. 6). We shall meet such a view frequently among the Gnostics and in the Reformation.

Rather, the words "Father," "God," "Creator," "Lord," and "Master" are not names but appellations derived from God's good deeds and functions. As we have seen, the appellation *theos* is not a name but an opinion planted in the mind of men of a thing that can hardly be explained. Justin's pupil Theophilus (*Ad Autolyclus* I.5) tells us *theos* is not name but a common noun of fixed meaning—a human concept of God supernaturally revealed and implanted in men's nature which together with the Holy Spirit provides some reliable knowledge of God—but what God really is remains incomprehensible to human beings.

For Justin, the God of the Old Testament is the divine person who is different in number from the Father and Creator and is necessarily the Son. The Logos receives many, mainly cataphatic titles from the Father which designate various aspects of the Son in relation to the Father and Creation (*Dial.* 61). But most emphatically, the God who appeared to the Patriarchs and who spoke to Moses in a flame from the Bush, saying: "I am the One who is, God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob" was the Son (*Apol.* 1.63.7). (Theophilus

55 R. Morley, *From Word to Silence*, vol. 2, p. 33, criticized by P. Widdicombe, "Justin Martyr's Apophaticism," *Studia Patristica* 26 (2001), 313.

56 Chernikin, *Philosophy of Language*, pp. 116–142 on Justin followed above.

also followed his master in this common early view. He held that it was Christ who had appeared to Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses. Thus, the Son not only spoke in Exodus 3, but became the God of the whole patriarchal period.) Justin explained:

Therefore neither Abraham nor Isaac nor Jacob nor any other man saw the Father and ineffable Lord of all and also of Christ, but saw him who was according to his will his Son; being God, and the Angel (because he ministered to his will, a defining criterion); whom also it pleased to be born man by the Virgin; who also was fire when he conversed with Moses from the Bush. Since, unless we thus comprehend the Scripture, it must follow that the Father and Lord of all had not been in heaven when what Moses wrote took place: ‘and the Lord rained down upon Sodom and fire and brimstone from the Lord out of heaven...’

Dial. 127

In this context we may more fully appreciate that Justin’s theology of the divine name is a theology of the divine name *of Jesus*. He traces this name through its numerous mystical manifestations in Old Testament history, and not just with Joshua (*Dial.* 113). For Justin the name revealed to Moses in Exodus 3 was “Jesus” (*Dial.* 75).⁵⁷ The name “Jesus” is a proper name with a transparent etymological meaning (“Saviour”), but it also has a deeper meaning which, like *theos*, is implanted supernaturally in the human heart when applied to the Son. Similarly with the word “Christ,” which transparently means “anointed” but has a greater meaning when used of the Son. This name mixes both human intelligibility and etymological transparency but also mystery to mark the incarnation.

Jesus also is potentially a very powerful name, for every daemon when exorcised in the name of the very Son of God is overcome and subdued. Exorcisms in other names will not work, but exorcism in the name of the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob may perhaps subdue the daemon. (*Dial.* 85). For Justin, the name of the God of the Patriarchs here is Jesus. Thus, Justin equates Jesus not only with the angel in the bush of Exodus 3:2 (who is also the Logos of *John* 1.1 in *Dial.* 60.4), but also with Yhwh in 3.4 ff.⁵⁸

57 For Justin’s text here, see Joost Smit Sibinga, *The Old Testament Text of Justin Martyr*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1963), p. 36 ff.

58 B. Kominak, *The Theophanies of the Old Testament in the Writings of Saint Justin* (Washington, D.C., 1948); D.C. Trakatellis, *The Pre-existence of Christ in the Writings of Justin Martyr* (Missoula, 1976). Huffstuter, *He Who Dwelt*, pp. 32–44, on Ante-Nicaeans generally.

Clement of Alexandria

Another converted philosopher with a Platonic background makes the same point. Clement of Alexandria was born about middle of the 2nd century and died probably before 215.⁵⁹ The last of his teachers, the Alexandrian Pantaeus, a Stoic philosopher, converted to Christianity. Clement steered a course between the Gnostics, obscurantists in the church, and those hostile non-Christians who thought Christianity dangerous for civilization and culture generally. Clement does not in fact cite Justin, though he commends his pupil Tatian. His view is not dissimilar. In essence, the “unnamable” Father was increasingly viewed as a static being and thus beyond categorization, while the Son was identified with any divine activity or vocalization in the Old Testament. Clement asks:

How can that be spoken of which is not genus, differentia, species, individual, number, accident, subject of accident?... Thus God is without form and nameless. Though we ascribe names, they are not to be taken in their strict meaning; when we call him One, Good, Mind, Existence, Father, God, Creator, Lord, we are not conferring a name on him. Being unable to do more, we use these appellations of honour, in order that our thought may have something to rest on and not wander at random. ... He cannot be comprehended by knowledge, which is based on previously known truths... It remains that the Unknown be apprehended by divine grace and the Word proceeding from him.

Stromata 5.12

H.A. Chadwick remarked: “Clement’s language about the *via negativa* goes as far as anyone could go towards the apotheosis of the alpha privative.”⁶⁰

Irenaeus

Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons from 177/178, considered that the Son, who descended to rescue the Israelites, uttered the words spoken to Moses in 3:14. “For it is the Son who descended and ascended for the salvation of men. Thus through the Son who is in the Father and has the Father in himself, He who is (*ho ôn*) has

59 Chadwick, “Philo,” pp. 168–181 on Clement.

60 Chadwick, “Philo,” p. 179. See also: Bucer, *Angelomorphic Pneumatology*.

been revealed.”⁶¹ For Irenaeus, *ho ôn* signifies that the Lord of the Christians is the only true God, as opposed to false gods “who have no being.” He is also concerned with countering the philosophy of language of the Gnostics.⁶² Throughout his use of Exodus 3:14, Irenaeus continues the practice we saw above in Justin of assimilating the angel of 3:2 and Yhwh in 3:4 ff. This became characteristic of subsequent Christian writers as well, and significantly distinguishes these writings from their Jewish counterparts. Whereas Jewish treatments clearly see 3:14 as a declaration of a name uniquely held by God, early Christians considered this name as also belonging to the Son, and that it was the Son who appeared in Exodus 3:14—a view maintained until the Cappadocians.⁶³

Eusebius of Caesarea

Eusebius of Caesarea, as we seen above, argued in Book XI of his *Praep. Evang.* for the dependency of the Greek philosophers upon the Mosaic tradition.⁶⁴ Names, as Plato tells us in the *Cratylus*, are essentially natural, and Hebrew names are in this respect the most accurate. Greeks are unable to give an account of the etymologies of the letters of the alphabet, nor could Plato give the meaning and reason for the vowels and consonants, but the Hebrews are able to do so.

For they say also that the combination of the seven vowels contains the enunciation of one forbidden name, which the Hebrews indicate by four letters and apply to the supreme power of God, having received the tradition, they say, from father to son that this is something unutterable and forbidden to the multitude. And one of the wise Greeks, having learned

61 *Adversus Haereses*, 3.6.2. See also *Adv Haer*, 4.7.3; *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*, 46.

62 Chernikin, *Philosophy of Language*, pp. 143–162.

63 For a modern Lutheran appeal for a similar Old Testament Christology today: C. Glieschen, “The Real Presence of the Son before Christ: Revisiting an Old Approach to Old Testament Christology,” *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 68 (2004), 105–126. Also B.J. Cummins, *Yhwh Preincarnate, Jesus* (Enumclaw, 2010). Similarly, the older A.T. Hanson, *Jesus Christ in the Old Testament* (London, 1965). See A.H. Armstrong, ed., *Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1967), p. 441 (by I.P. Sheldon-Williams) for Gregory of Nazianzus briefly on divine names.

64 E.H. Gifford, trans., *Eusebius, Preparation for the Gospel*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1903; repr. Grand Rapids, 1981).

this, I know not whence, hinted it obscurely in verse, saying as follows; *'Seven vowels tell my Name...the mighty God,/ The Everlasting Father of mankind:/ The immortal lyre am I, that guides the world/and leads the music of the arching spheres'*⁶⁵

(We shall find this interest in the vowels and consonants among the Gnostics and others.) Eusebius is content to understand the Tetragrammaton in Platonic terms as “He who is”—that is, who always is and has no origin. Eusebius is also concerned in this book with exploring the second cause or god as presented in Philo and the pagan philosophers, which again he sees as derivative yet ultimately based upon borrowed primal and Trinitarian truth. He also is on the watch for Sabellianism and Arianism.

One of Eusebius' lost books is his *General Elementary Instruction*. Books VI–IX of this work are to be found in his *Eclogae Propheticae*, and there may be fragments elsewhere.⁶⁶ He is concerned with reserving the Tetragrammaton, the holy name on a plaque on the High priest's turban, only for God and not allowing it to angels. In this respect he discusses the story of Hagar and that of Sodom, the Revelation at the Bush, and the Giving of the Law.⁶⁷ The Tetragrammaton spoke only, he held, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—and to no others before Moses, and in these privileged cases it was the Word, not an angel, who spoke to them. He describes the Word as *deuteron einai tôn apantôn theôn te kai kuriôn*—“the second of all gods and lords.”

Christological interest in the Angel or Yhwh at the Burning Bush characterizes many of the Ante-Nicene Fathers. But by the middle of the 4th century,

65 C.F.W. Jacobs, *Anthologia Graeca*, 13 vols. (Leipzig, 1794–1813), vol. 12, p. 34.

66 The last edition was T. Gaisford, *Eusebius...Eclogae Propheticae* (Oxford, 1842). The received view of D.S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea* (London, 1960), that the fragments of a Commentary upon Luke's Gospel found in Migne are the missing Book Ten of this work is challenged by A. Johnson, “The Tenth Book of Eusebius's General Elementary Introduction: A Critique of the Wallace-Hadrill Thesis,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 62.1 (2011), 144–160. See also his “Eusebius the Educator: The Context of the General Elementary Introduction,” in *Reconsidering Eusebius: Collected Papers on Literary, Historical and Theological Issues*, eds. S. Inowlocki and C. Zamagni (Leiden, 2011), pp. 98–118.

67 PG 22 1025c; 1029d (Hagar); 1040d; 1049b, 1053d, 1056c 1065a, c; 1068a. Samuel Lee produced a text of Eusebius' lost *Peri Theophaneias* from a Syriac manuscript in 1842, and a translation with annotations, *Eusebius of Caesarea On the Theophania or Divine Manifestation of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, in 1843 (both from Cambridge University Press). In the latter, (pp. xxx, xxxiv) he discusses Eusebius' treatment of the Tetragrammaton in the *Eclogiae Prophetae* (which he believed were written before Nicaea), in an attempt to defend Eusebius against the charges, made by Athanasius and others before the Council, that he was an Arian.

anathemas fifteen and sixteen of the Formula of Sirmium condemned anyone who deemed that it was the Son who appeared to Abraham and Isaac. We need to turn now to controversies among Christians around the Council of Nicaea, when Exodus 3:14 enjoyed some significance. We shall then consider the later exposition of Augustine, which was of abiding influence and is explicable in terms of the controversial positions it was intended to refute. Last of all we shall consider pseudo-Dionysius.

The Council of Nicaea, 325 A.D.

At the beginning of the 4th century Christians had to argue not merely against Pagans and Jews. Within the Christian communities there had arisen dualists, like Marcion in Rome, who considered the Father of Jesus a newly revealed God that had nothing to do with the God of the Hebrew Bible. When we turn shortly to consider Gnostic texts, we shall see the wide variety of views which were held on the relationship between the God of the Hebrew Bible and Jesus, or perhaps the Christ.

Less exotic, though still richly varied, views were widely held, and the following formalization no doubt makes a confused area too tidy.

Around the time of Nicaea we find Modalists who denied the hypostatic existence of the Word, claiming that what others called *hypostaseis* was merely three modes of divine manifestation, and arguing that since Christ had appeared in Old Testament theophanies he was evidently not invisible, and therefore not the Father but distinct from him.⁶⁸

Homoians held the Son to be “similar” to the Father. They refuted the Modalist denial of the pre-existence of the Son, but they themselves managed to extract a subordinationist doctrine from the theophanies; since the Son was revealed in the theophanies, he must be visible—and, they thought, *inherently* visible—in a way the Father is not. Therefore, the Son is of a different nature. And visible meant mutable; hence, the Son was not divine.⁶⁹ The Nicæan response was to attack the conclusion of the Son’s mutability from his visibility. The Son was visible because he chose according to his will to show himself to the Patriarchs and Moses, but he remains invisible according to his essence. But this comes perhaps dangerously close to splitting the Son into a composite character.

68 cf. Epistle of the Six Bishops against Paul of Samosata (G. Bardy, *Paul de Samosate* (Louvain, 1929) pp. 16–18).

69 John 1:18; John 6:46. From the Old Testament, Exodus 33:20, cf. Hagar in Genesis 16:13. Vladimir Lossky, *The Vision of God* (London, 1963), on Greek Orthodox views.

The opponents of the Son's divinity as decided at Nicaea, the Subordinationists, Arians, and finally the Eunomians, clearly distinguished between the angel in Exodus 3:2 and Yhwh of 3.4 ff. This obliged the Nicaeans further to insist on the propriety of applying Exodus 3:14 to the Son. The victorious orthodoxy required that *ego eimi ho ôn* be applied as much to the Son as to the Father, since they are *homoousioi*.

During these controversies the philosophic treatment of Exodus 3:14 became standard. The use of the present participle (*ôn*) was taken as an indication of God's eternity; the verb "to be" (*eimi*) was to be used in an absolute manner such that only one being might be so described. All other creatures possess being only in so far as they relate to *ho ôn*. *Ho ôn* itself evokes the divine essence or *ousia* that was so much a part of the Nicæan debate.⁷⁰

Athanasius used *ho ôn* in Exodus 3:14 as a scriptural proof for the defence of the non-biblical term *ousia*. He argued that since God defined himself by the word *ôn*, one may speak of his *ousia*. This in turn allows one to say that the Son "proceeds from the *ousia* of the Father" as much as one may say simply "proceeds from God." Thus he uses *ho ôn* as an argument for the Nicæan formulation of the Son's generation.⁷¹

The Nicæan champion Athanasius also affected the way in which God was considered able to be known, by his emphasis upon *creatio ex nihilo* in *Contra Gentes*.⁷² This caused a major break in mystical theology, asserting a clear breach between Creator and creature inevitably affecting the relation between the soul and God. Origen's soul was of the same nature as the divine with which it sought union, and the Arian Son was a creature as mortals are. But Athanasius emphasized difference.⁷³

Augustine on Theophanies⁷⁴

The three-sided debate between Modalists, Homoians, and Nicæans we have just been considering motivated Augustine's position in *De Trinitate*

70 See M. Harl, "Citations et Commentaires d'Exode 3,14 chez les Pères Grecs des Quatre Premiers Siècles," in Vignaux et al., eds., *Dieu et l'Être: Exégèse*, p. 88, for nuance in Plato and the Fathers' use of *ousia*.

71 *Epistula de Decretis Nicaenae Synodi* 22.1–4. Quoted in Harl, "Citations," p. 100.

72 Conveniently, Robert W. Thomson, ed., *Athanasius Contra Gentes and de Incarnatione* (Oxford, 1971).

73 Louth, *Origins*, pp. 75–97 and p. 63 for Origen.

74 G. Legeay, "L'Angel et les Théophanies dans l'Écriture sainte d'après la Doctrine des Pères," *Revue Thomiste* 10 (1902), 138–158, 405–424; 11 (1909), 46–69, 125–154; Jules Lebreton,

I–IV, where his settled view of theophanies determined by these issues is found.⁷⁵

Theophanies may (1) take the form of an angel, or (2) angels may change material bodies to facilitate the theophany, or (3) theophanies may involve a purpose-made body that is discarded after use (like the Burning Bush or the Pillar of Fire). Exodus 3:6 involved, Augustine considered, a real created angel. God's presence, however, was really only in him in as much as the Angel speaks *ex persona Dei* (III.10.20) (but on the other hand, it may be said the Word of God was in the angelic manifestation on Sinai in the sense that he was present in the Laws and that the theophany anticipated the Incarnation).

Fundamentally, the stuff of theophanies was created and then discarded, and thus different from the divine essence. Augustine retains a distinction between nature and *species* produced by divine will, but cuts the ontological link: the *species* is no longer owned by the divine entity by nature.

So, unlike the earlier writers, who saw the angel as a reference to Christ in the form of an angel, Augustine held that the theophany involved both a real created angel and God, who spoke through him. God was not present himself but was impersonated by the angel. God produced visible effects in the creature to signify his presence and to reveal himself without appearing in that substance itself by which he is. In the case of a pre-existent body created by angels (type 2), God is present in as much as his presence and will are signified by the form made manifest. So theophanies are either angelophanies or evanescent manifestations of created material for the moment, whereas formerly the Son had been held to be directly present.⁷⁶ But Augustine, under the pressure of the Arian controversy and fearing that such identification

“Saint Augustin, Théologien de la Trinité Son Exégèse des Théophanies,” *Miscellanea Agostina* 14 (1964), 485–499; J.-L. Maier, “Les Missions divines selon S. Augustin,” Ch. 4 in idem, *Les Théophanies de l’Ancien Testament* (Fribourg, 1960), pp. 101–121; L.J. van der Lof, “L’Exégèse exacte et objective des Théophanies de l’Ancien Testament dans le *De Trinitate*,” *Augustiniana* 14 (1964), 485–499; Bogdan G. Bucur, “Theophanies and the Vision of God in Augustine’s *De Trinitate*: An Eastern Orthodox Perspective,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 52.1 (2008), 67–93. Louth, *Origins*, pp. 132–158, for Augustine’s way of approach to knowing God.

75 Basil Studer, *Zur Theophanie-Exegesis Augustins: Untersuchung zu einem Ambrosius-Zitat in der Schrift ‘De Videndo Deo’* (Studia Anselmiana) 59 (Rome, 1971); M.R., Barnes “Exegesis and Polemic in Augustine’s *De Trinitate* I,” *Augustinian Studies* 30 (1999), 43–60; idem, “The Visible Christ and the Invisible Trinity: Mt 5.8 in Augustine’s Trinitarian Theology of 400,” *Modern Theology* 19 (2003), 329–356.

76 Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 59–60; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III.6, IV.10; Ambrose, *De Fide* 1.13.

might lead to the Son being considered a creature, considered the angel merely to *represent* the Son and to speak in his name.⁷⁷

Saint Augustine and Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita

It may be helpful finally to compare Augustine more generally with an author who enjoyed a similar influence in the later West, pseudo-Dionysius.⁷⁸ Augustine was a Christian Neoplatonist whose towering reputation was in no way eclipsed by the arrival of Aristotle in the West in the 12th and 13th centuries. His fundamental approach to Exodus 3:14, aside from his anxieties about theophanies, was ontological in the tradition of the Septuagint, Philo, and the earlier Greek and Latin Fathers. Augustine shows no interest in establishing a hierarchy of discourse between philosophy and theology after the fashion of the mediaevals, but he does see the pursuit of reason in the context of a Neoplatonic and Christian *askesis*. The faith is pursued within a quest for meaning: philosophy is pursued to lift upwards first the soul and then the rational mind. Between the *esse* of philosophy and the *ego sum qui sum* and the *qui est* of Exodus 3:14 Augustine saw only an amazing consonance without disharmony—and later, perception of this same harmony ensured the longevity of the ontological explanation. Augustine speaks of *vere esse* (true being) or *ipsum esse* (being itself), meaning not the abstract idea of being common to all that exists, but what Étienne Gilson called *l'acte subsistant d'exister*, such as is the goal of a gradual intellectual and spiritual ascension in apprehension of immutable truths, which leads to the God of Exodus—it being understood by all that being is immutable, eternal, and incorporeal. The point of departure for the human ascension is an awareness of change—that great ontological scandal.⁷⁹ The human experience of change—of temporality torn between the “was” of memory, the “will be” of aspiration, and the “is” of the present—stands in contrast to the changelessness of God. “Think of God and you find a ‘He is’ where no ‘was’ or ‘will be’ have any place.” This is philosophical illumination

77 Augustine, *De Fide et Symbolo* IV.6. See essentially: Harl, “Citations,” p. 88. For Ephrem in response to the Neo-Arian crisis, Thomas Koonammakkal, *The Theology of Divine Names in the Genuine Works of Ephrem* (Oxford, 1991); idem, “Divine Names and Theological Language in Ephrem,” in *Studia Patristica*, vol. 25 (Louvain, 1993), pp. 318–323.

78 Jean Pépin, “*Univers dionysien et Univers augustinien*”: *Deux Approches du Christianisme* (Paris, 1961), Ch. 3, pp. 157–204, considers that although pseudo-Dionysius had access to later Neoplatonists Jamblichus and Proclus, the essentials remained unchanged (p. 157).

79 Ricoeur, “De l’interprétation à la traduction,” pp. 346–385 and 361–367. I have made extensive and close use of this article.

tied to religious experience, but this does not authorize any intuition of what God is. The *Qui est* gives no access to a *quid est*.⁸⁰ Someone is not something.⁸¹ Yet this language of being is adequate to speak of God, not as a mental category or super category, but as the existent one himself approached with an internal regard. It is this transcendence both internal and superior that Augustine in his later works designates by *ipsum esse* and even *idipsum esse*.

Augustine on the Name of God

Augustine's specific remarks about the *Qui est* of Exodus 3 may be thus defended against the view that his notion of God as being suggests an abstract God removed from the life of his people. Rather, it has been argued that Augustine's terms are grounded in Scripture, identify God's immateriality, and support the character of God as steadfast—the eternally living God for us.⁸² Against the view that his idea of God and being involves a Hellenistic imposition upon the Hebrew text, it is argued that to talk about God for Augustine is to talk about how the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit can be distinct from one another but only one God. He discusses Exodus 3:14 apparently some forty-six times.⁸³ With respect to the *idipsum* ("Being Itself," or perhaps "Self-Same"), the emphasis is upon immutability rather than being. Thus Augustine would appear (so to speak) to prefer a present to a future tense.⁸⁴ The *Qui est* is to be approached apophatically as utterly ungraspable, yet the proper response is (as we have already seen) to try to approach and to attempt to articulate something about it.

The *idipsum* is equivalent to the *Ego sum qui sum* of Exodus 3. The *idipsum* does not exist in a way that humans can understand it, yet it is exemplified in the Exodus narrative by the *Ego sum*.⁸⁵ The *idipsum* is also to be identified with Christ,

80 *Qui est* is often cited more often than *ego sum qui sum*, being presumably more serviceable as a name, avoiding repetition, and being third person.

81 Étienne Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de saint Augustin* (Paris, 1949), pp. 27 and 28; Émilie Zum Brunn, "L'Exégèse augustinienne de *ego sum qui sum* et la 'Métaphysique de l'Exode,'" in Vignaux et al., *Dieu et l'Être: Exégèse*, pp. 141–163.

82 My remarks here are based on Jean-Luc Marion, "Idipsum: the Name of God according to Augustine," in *Orthodox Readings of Augustine*, eds. A. Papanikolaou and G.E. Demacopoulos (Crestwood, 2008), pp. 167–189. This is then defended in Saner, *YHWH*, pp. 73–115, which I have used extensively. She discusses Augustine on the theophany at the bush (p. 73 f., pp. 98–101) and Augustine's Trinitarian reading (pp. 105–115).

83 Émilie zum Brunn, *St. Augustine: Being and Nothingness* (New York, 1988), p. 119.

84 *Sermo* 6.4.

85 *Ennaratio Psal.* 121.5. Also *Ennaratio Psal.* 101.2.10.

because Christ himself, even Christ is rightly understood by this name 'I am who I am' in as much as he is in the form of God (Philippians 2.6). In that nature wherein he deemed it no robbery to be God's equal (*ibid*) there he is Being-Itself (*idipsum*). But that you might participate in Being-Itself, he is first of all become a participant in what you are: the Word was made flesh (John 1.14) so that flesh might participate in the Word.⁸⁶

Augustine offers further remarks in rather similar passages in *Sermones* 6 and 7. Again he distinguishes between God as he is in himself and God as he is for us. Contemplation of God as he is—incomprehensible—was for Moses and, presumably, Augustine himself, an existential lesson in ontology. This is how they realized how insignificant they were. Such a pursuit of God is part of the contemplative life. Moses himself cries out—*ostende mihi temetipsum* (Exodus 33:18. Old Latin).

In *Sermo* 6.5 Augustine discusses the name "I am" and the name "the God of Abraham, God of Isaac and God of Jacob" as they both appear in Exodus 3. The unchangeable "I am" acts only in mercy, and so the Son comes to mankind's rescue while remaining the Word—thus, He who is clothed himself in mortal flesh so that it might be truly said "I am the God of Abraham *etc.*" It is perhaps not by the mode of the Incarnation that this is meant, but by way of covenant. This is widened to take in the Church (*Sermo* 7.7): "I am what I am, I am what is to be, in such a way that I do not wish to 'un-be' for men and women." There is a merciful comprehensibility in God's name as the God of Abraham, *etc.* Of course, ultimately the Incarnation will confront us with the Word unchangeable in being and yet in flesh.⁸⁷

There are considerable differences between Augustine and pseudo-Dionysius, as Jean Pépin wryly points out—period, place, language genre, and preoccupations, as well as Dionysius's perfect ignorance of Augustine. But both had a hierarchical view of the order of the universe. The critical question is to ask to what knowledge of God the different levels might lead—knowledge of God based tentatively on equilibrium between analogy, which suggests higher realities, and the negations of apophatic theology.

Placing the One above Being, Plotinus and subsequent Neoplatonists would appear to subordinate the positive theology to the apophatic. Here pseudo-Dionysius differs from Augustine. Augustine continued to speak of being as the ultimate stage in the upward quest of the Christian soul and intellect. Perhaps

86 *Ennaratio Psal.* 121.5.

87 *Tract Ev. Joh.* 2.2; 38.8.

this was because he recalled the Manichaean dismissal of being as evil. Pseudo-Dionysius speaks of things beyond being and calls ignorance *agnôsia*, the least unacceptable knowledge of God. The way of knowing God most worthy of him, is to know him by the way of ignorance in a union which surpasses all reason. Again: it is this perfect ignorance, in the best sense of the word, which constitutes the true knowledge of the one who surpasses all knowledge.

But perhaps one should not overstress the difference: the positive approach by analogy does not deny the negation of the everyday sense of words; the negative apophatic approach only negates affirmed positives.⁸⁸ The negative approach has perhaps more in common with mysticism in search of union than a speculative demonstration. The way of affirmation witnesses more to perseverance in the service of the intelligibility of the faith. One denies any quality to God, yet at the same time attributes its superlative to him. In all this we should remember that linguistically we are caught in the words of the Greek or Latin Bibles. Here the reading and possible meanings of the Hebrew Bible are unknown. To understand the mediaevals on this subject one must respect the autonomy of the Latin (and behind this the Greek) tradition. Their Bibles did refer them back at least to a possible Hebrew usage of the verb “to be” and proposed the exclusion of no sense of that verb. Any link with the Tetragrammaton itself was, of course, severed, as the Tetragrammaton does not appear in those Christian Bibles.

We have approached pseudo-Dionysius indirectly through a comparison with Augustine, but he deserves prolonged attention in his own right. He is one author of Late Antiquity who had an enormous influence upon subsequent Christian thought about the divine name. The pseudonymous author “St Dionysius the Areopagite” produced, probably at the beginning of the 6th century, a unified corpus of four Greek works: *The Divine Names*, *The Mystical Theology*, *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, and *The Celestial Hierarchy*.⁸⁹

88 P  pin, *Univers dionysien*, p. 211.

89 P. Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius: A Commentary on the Texts and an Introduction to Their Influence* (London, 1993), discusses the *Divine Names* on pp. 133–167; also Christian Sch  fer, *The Philosophy of Dionysius the Areopagite: An Introduction to the Content and Structure of the Treatise of the Divine Names* (Leiden, 2006). S. Coakley and C.M. Stang, eds., *Rethinking Dionysius the Areopagite* (Oxford, 2009); A. Louth, *Denys the Areopagite* (Wilton, 1989); idem, *Origins*, pp. 159–178. Morley, *From Word to Silence*, vol. 2; Denys Turner, *The Darkness of God: Negativity in Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge, 1995); G  nter Bader, *Die Emergenz des Namens, Amnese, Aphasie und Theologie* (T  bingen, 2006), pp. 70–114. Also, Rocca *Speaking the Incomprehensible God*, pp. 14–25, on Dionysius. Filip Ivanovic, ed., *Dionysius the Areopagite between Orthodoxy and Heresy* (Newcastle, 2011); Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Silence: A Christian History* (London, 2013), pp. 86–91 and 95–96,

Received as the work of the Apostle Paul's first Athenian convert (Acts 17:34), whom tradition considered both the first bishop of Athens and a martyr, the works achieved a status only just inferior to the canon of Scripture itself.⁹⁰ In the West they were attributed to Saint Denis, the first bishop of Paris, and thus these Eastern works became authoritative in the West, enjoying extensive translation and commentaries in Latin as well as in Greek.⁹¹ Pseudo-Dionysius was later frequently assimilated to the Kabbalah.⁹² The *Mystical Theology* was put into English in the 14th century by the author of the *Cloud of Unknowing as Hid Divinity*. The rich paradoxical language of the works, their rare or innovative vocabulary, and their rambling syntax almost demand the extensive exegetical attention they have received as successive ages have groped for their mystical insights. These are open texts, rich and inviting the cooperative labour of the reader engaged in pondering what it means to believe in a God beyond comprehension, who is both nameless and of every name.⁹³ It is through the notion of hierarchies that Dionysius orders and seeks to resolve these questions.⁹⁴

Aquinas referred to pseudo-Dionysius's "obscure style" (*In librum Beati Dionysi* 1). He says: "He often multiplies words, which may seem superfluous,

draws attention to the irony of pseudo-Dionysius' antipathy to Chalcedon and yet his subsequent popularity. S. Brock, *The Luminous Eye: The Spiritual World Vision of St. Ephrem* (Cistercian Studies) (Kalamazoo, 1992), p. 43, draws attention to the rich theology of names in Ephrem, whose "garment of names" anticipates pseudo-Dionysius in interesting ways.

- 90 For an articulation of the force of this pseudonymity almost as an ecstatic devotional experience, C.M. Stang, *Apophysis and Pseudonymity in Dionysius the Areopagite "No Longer I"* (Oxford, 2012); Turner, *The Darkness of God*, argued that mediaeval mysticism was not based upon experience—a view labelled "anti-mysticism" as opposed to experimentalism. Compare also Rowan Williams, *The Wound of Knowledge*, 2nd ed. (London, 1990).
- 91 Abbot Hilduin first put Dionysius into Latin and wrote (c.838) *Passio Sancti Dionysii* (Migne PL 106:23–50), which linked Dionysius with his own monastery, Saint-Denis. The whole of the Latin tradition is found in Philippe Chevallier, *Dionysiaca: Recueil donnant l'ensemble des traductions latines des ouvrages attribués au Denys de l'Aréopage*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1937–1950). More briefly Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysus*, pp. 167–181, on the mediaeval influence. J.H. Lupton, *Two Treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysus by John Colet* (London, 1869), is a translation of Colet's *Ioannes Coletus super Opera Dionysii*.
- 92 F. Secret, *Egidio da Viterbo Scechina e Libellus de Litteris Hebraicis Inediti a cura di François Secret* (Rome, 1959), p. 24, gives a list of 24 later authors who do this, to which may be added Jean Thénau (died c.1542).
- 93 "Open" in the sense of Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Hutchinson, 1981), pp. 47–106.
- 94 I have found particularly helpful here Izmirlieva, *All the Names of the Lord*, especially Chapters 3 and 4, and follow her exposition.

but nevertheless will be found to contain a great depth by those who consider them diligently" (ibid. 2).⁹⁵ The reader might like to ponder the characteristically formed term *hyperagnostos*, which means apparently "more-than-unknowable." The term nicely emphasizes Dionysius's apophatic or negative theology. Pico della Mirandola praised him as a master of the true Christian Kabbalah and Marsilio Ficino made a translation of the *Divine Names* and *Mystical Theology*. Pseudo-Dionysius was fundamental for the Renaissance Hermetic Tradition.⁹⁶ However, the influence of pseudo-Dionysius came under threat during the Reformation, with suspicions voiced by Lorenzo Valla (c.1406–1457), Erasmus, and Luther, whose damning remark was: "Dionysius is most pernicious, he Platonises more than he Christianises."⁹⁷ Certainly Luther was right to observe that the human Jesus is rather marginalized in Pseudo-Dionysius. Finally, at the end of the 19th century came the demonstration of Pseudo-Dionysius's extensive dependence on the Neoplatonist Proclus (c.410–485).⁹⁸

Pseudo-Dionysius does achieve some sort of merger between Neoplatonism and Christianity, and perhaps even between competing Christian doctrinal divisions. More generally and paradoxically for a work fully promoting the apophatic or negative approach, he presents an extensive cataphatic study of naming God. His hierarchical approach is intended apparently to transcend the limitations of both negative and positive approaches.⁹⁹

Pseudo-Dionysius offers a prospectus of his work:

In the Theological Outlines we have celebrated that which is most proper to cataphatic theology, how the divine and good nature is said to be single

95 F. O' Rourke, *Pseudo-Dionysius and the Metaphysics of Thomas Aquinas* (Leiden, 1992). Aquinas also wrote an *Expositio super Dionysium De Divinis Nominibus*.

96 Francis A. Yates, "Pseudo-Dionysius and the Theology of a Christian Magus," in idem, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London, 1964), pp. 117–129.

97 *Babylonian Captivity* (1520) in *Werke* 6.562. K. Froehlich, "Pseudo-Dionysius and the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century," in *Corpus Dionysiacum. Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita: De divinis nominibus*, 2 vols., eds. B.R. Suchla et al. (Berlin, 1990–1991), pp. 33–46. This work also contains a modern edition of the Greek text. A translation is found in C. Luibheid and P. Rorem, *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works* (New York, 1987), and an older one in C.E. Rolt, *Dionysius the Areopagite: The Divine Names and Mystical Theology* (London, 1920).

98 On whom see A.C. Lloyd in Armstrong, ed., *Cambridge History*, pp. 302–325; R.T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* (London, 1972), pp. 138–159 and E.R. Dodd, ed., *Proclus: The Elements of Theology* (Oxford, 1933; 2nd ed. 1963).

99 Janowitz, "Theories of Divine Names," pp. 359–372, p. 365 ff. for pseudo-Dionysius.

and how threefold; what is called in itself Fatherhood and what Sonship, and what the Theology of the Spirit is intended to express; how from the heart of the immaterial and indivisible Good Itself there proceed the rays of that goodness which are preserved inseparable by an eternally continuing regeneration, inseparable from Itself, in themselves and in one another; how Jesus who is beyond being, becomes being in truly human form; and other such matters drawn from scripture are celebrated in the Theological Outlines. In the book *On the Divine Names* we have celebrated how he is called Good, Being, Life, Wisdom and Power and other such things relating to the spiritual naming of God. In the Symbolic Theology we have celebrated what conversions of names are necessary in changing their use from the realm of the senses to the service of the divine; what are the divine forms, the divine figures and parts and organs; what are the divine places and the divine worlds; what the passions; what the griefs and wraths; what the inebriations and hangovers; what are the oaths and what are the curses; what the dreams and the awakenings and other likenesses belonging to the symbolic description of God that are sanctioned in the divine oracles. And I think you will see how much longer were the later writings than the earlier. For it was necessary that the Theological Outlines and the Divine Names should be much briefer than the Symbolic Theology, seeing that the higher we ascend the more our words are straitened by the fact that what we understand is seen more and more altogether in a unifying and simplifying way; just as now on our entry into the darkness that is beyond understanding, we find not mere brevity of words, but complete wordlessness and failure of the understanding. And there as our reason descended from the most exalted to the lowest, the lower it descended, proportionately the more our understanding was broadened to encompass a multitude of notions, so now as our reason ascends from the lower to the transcendent, the more it ascends the more it is contracted, and when it has completely ascended it will become completely speechless and be totally united with the Inexpressible.¹⁰⁰

(Whether the writings mentioned here were really a part of the writer's *corpus*, or mentioned merely to give the impression that what we have is only a part of his work, is a moot question.)

Dionysius coins the term "thearchy," by which he means the revealed God who shows himself as the hidden principle of creation through the

100 M.T.III 1032D-1033C. Translation of A. Louth.

“hierarchies” of the created world. These “hierarchies” are thus specific modes of God’s ordered manifestation in the world, and the goal of the hierarchies is to enable human beings to be as like God as possible and at one with him.¹⁰¹

On no account therefore is it true to say that we know God, not indeed in his nature (for that is unknowable, and is beyond any reason and understanding), but by the order of all things that he has established, and which bears certain images and likenesses of his divine paradigms, we ascend step by step, so far as we can follow the way, to the transcendent, by negating and transcending everything and by seeking the cause of all. Therefore God is known in all, and apart from all...for these things we rightly say of God, and he is praised in due proportion by everything among all those things of which he is the source. And this is, moreover, the most divine knowledge of God, that He is known through unknowing, according to the union which transcends the understanding, when the understanding withdraws from all, and abandons itself, and is united with the dazzling rays and in them and from them is enlightened by the unsearchable depths of wisdom.¹⁰²

God reveals himself as hidden and mysterious, and full knowledge of the Unknowable God would appear impossible, but the act of trying must be considered to bring epistemological and salvific progress, and the hierarchies illuminate the increasingly close approximations of the soul’s ascent. The only acceptable divine names are those in Scripture, which, though they are names for the whole of the Trinity, refer to God not directly but through the medium of created things. This is hardly restrictive, as Scripture praises the cause of all by every name and as the nameless one: to reinforce this, pseudo-Dionysius cites fifty-two names as directly scriptural and a further list of seventeen names descriptive of God’s “properties.” God is the cause of all things and the names of God may—must—be derived from all things caused. Anything God brought about provides a potential source of imagery for the description of

101 See Ch. 3 if: 164D–165C. It would appear that Dionysius did not adopt Augustine’s position on theophanies. He defined God’s intelligible providences as “His gifts, appearances, attributes, allotments, abodes and *every theophany* of the Old Testament” (Ep. 9.1 1105A), and all these elements of the divine procession are concentrated on the Second Person of the Trinity: Jesus, the One Who Is, who spoke to Moses. Bucer, “Theophanies,” pp. 67–93 at pp 78–79.

102 DN VII.3: 869 C–872 B.

God—except, of course, for evil, for Dionysius held that there is no kind of thing that evil is, nor is evil a property of anything at all. Thus, God is rightly named in all names, reflecting the created order of which he is the cause. Nevertheless, as the transcendent cause he is himself unnameable.

These names represent the “differentiation in unity” which is characteristic of the (non-hierarchical) inner life of the Trinity. Each name, without signifying God directly, stands for the entire divinity.¹⁰³ The different biblical names represent the multiplicity of distinctions of the one bounteous creator, but are united in that their underlying unity allows our return to God.

Pseudo-Dionysius may be seen as mediating between Origen’s naturalist view of names and the Cappadocian Fathers’ conviction that names are conventional. Like Origen, pseudo-Dionysius believed that the names were part of the very process of creation, but with the Cappadocians found them to bring also some revelation of knowledge (however necessarily limited) about God. Dionysius encapsulated this paradoxical synthesis by saying: “the Theologians praise Him by every name and as the Nameless One”.

Of first importance, then, for the Latin West is the authoritative influence of pseudo-Dionysius’s apophatic approach. But it should be noted that none of the Fathers or the great mediaeval scholastics—even the Aristotelians of the end of the 12th century and the 13th century—thought that rational speculation upon being brought human reason to the secret of the divine essence. Believing that Being was the proper name of God, they also believed that it was ungraspable.¹⁰⁴ They did this because they were heirs to the Neoplatonic tradition from Plotinus and Porphyry to Proclus and Damascius, and held that the One of whom nothing can be said (other than he is himself) transcends Being in as much as it is the place of intelligible beings. (Plato himself had taught that the Good was beyond Being.) But because of the abiding authority of pseudo-Dionysius, they also recognized that the positive assertions of their use of analogy robbed the words of their everyday sense, and these two impulses of apophatism and analogy encouraged appropriate theological modesty.¹⁰⁵

We should perhaps hesitate a little before describing pseudo-Dionysius as a mystic: or better, we should be precise about what we mean. A very influential account of Christian mysticism by Denys Turner denies an experiential basis behind both Pseudo-Dionysius and much subsequent mediaeval mystical

103 For a modern argument R.K. Soulen, “Hallowed Be Thy Name! The Tetragrammaton and the Name of the Trinity,” in *Jews and Christians: People of God*, eds. R.W. Jenson and C.E. Braaten (Grand Rapids, 2003), pp. 14–40.

104 Ricoeur, “De l’interprétation à la traduction,” pp. 346–385 at p. 360.

105 Ricoeur, “De l’interprétation à la traduction,” pp. 360–361.

philosophy, which he sees as greatly contrasted with what modern mysticism seems to mean; that is,—inwardness, ascent, union—all decidedly experiential.¹⁰⁶ Compared with modern notions, the mediaevals were proposing (says Turner) an “anti-mysticism.”

Valentina Izmirlieva has drawn attention to the legacy of pseudo-Dionysius in the Late Antique and mediaeval conventions of drawing up lists.¹⁰⁷ Such practices go back to the Ancient Near East but are found subsequently in Christianity.¹⁰⁸ She cites a 7th-century Byzantine *florilegium* with a list of 187 names of God. We have already met Jerome’s list of the Ten Names of God, which also appears in the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville (c.560–636). She draws attention to liturgical lists of names in the *Akathistos Hymn* tradition and cites a Slavic exegetical homily on Psalm 45 falsely attributed to John Chrysostom.¹⁰⁹ From the West she cites the 8th-century English poet Josephus Scottus and his poem *De Nominibus Jesu*. Valentina Izmirlieva’s book, however, gains much of its interest from her comparison of such theological and liturgical lists of divine names with those produced for magical purposes.

Before returning to her remarks on these sorts of lists, we must broach the question of the use of the Tetragrammaton in magic. We shall consider that in the next chapter.

106 Turner, *The Darkness of God*; Ysabel de Andia, *L’Union à Dieu chez Denys L’Aréopagite* (Leiden, 1996), speaks of a *théologie mystique* rather than an account of experience.

107 *All the Names of the Lord*, pp. 56–66. On this topic see also: Umberto Eco, *The Infinity of Lists* (London, 2012).

108 Wolfram von Soden, “Leistung und Grenze sumerischer und babylonischer Wissenschaft” in *Die Eigenbegrifflichkeit der babylonischen Welt. Leistung und Grenze sumerischer und babylonischer Wissenschaft*, eds. W. von Soden and B. Landsberger (Darmstadt, 1965), pp. 21–124.

109 For further Eastern material: Robert Slesinski, “The Name of God in Byzantine Tradition from Hesychasm to Imayaslavie,” *Communio International* 20 (1993), 26–48, 49–62. Martin Lugmayr, “The Name of God in Syriac Anaphoras,” *The Harp* 30 (2006), 211–234. Koonammakkal, “Divine Names,” pp. 318–323; idem, “Ephrem on the Name of Jesus,” in *Studia Patristica*, vol. 33 (1997), pp. 548–552.

The Tetragrammaton among Gnostics and Magicians in Late Antiquity

We have reviewed evidence for interest in the Tetragrammaton before Nicaea and before the almost universal ascendancy of the name of Jesus. Already in Justin (*Dia* 75.3.14), we saw, the name revealed at the Bush was thought to be *Jesus*.¹ As Christianity moved progressively away from a Hebrew or Aramaic linguistic background onto Gentile soil and opened a linguistic breach between Church and Synagogue, the Tetragrammaton was increasingly eclipsed. We shall see, however, that it enjoyed some longevity away from orthodoxy, not only among heretical sectarians, who perhaps found here angelomorphic tendencies that assisted their Arianism (not a context, perhaps, to promote a long future), but more strikingly among Gnostics and Magicians. The Tetragrammaton there, however, frequently denotes inferior or even pagan deities. In both cases these more marginal groups may arguably have been influenced by Judaism.²

The Gnostics and the Tetragrammaton

A considerable variety of different notions pass under the heading of Gnosticism, and while a universally serviceable general definition seems to elude us, scholars are able to work productively by specifying precisely who or what they are talking about.³ Someone disapproved of by Irenaeus (c.130–c.200) or Hippolytus (c.170–c.236) or Epiphanius (c.315–403)—our basic Patristic sources writing against these schools—has been a good qualification. The Coptic secret documents from Nag Hammadi (Chenoboskion) in Egypt

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- 1 One might compare perhaps *Acts of Thomas* (163) (c.225 A.D.): Midaeus asks Thomas, “Who is your Lord and what is his name?” Thomas said, “You cannot hear his true name at this time, but the name that was given him is Jesus Christ”; J.K. Elliot, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 2005), p. 507.
 - 2 N. Deutsch, *The Gnostic Imagination: Gnosticism, Mandaeism and Merkabah Mysticism* (Leiden, 1995); Stroumsa, “A Nameless God,” pp. 230–244; Fossum, “The Magharians,” pp. 303–343, with translations of relevant sources.
 - 3 J. Dan is not alone when in “Jewish Gnosticism,” *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 2 (1995), 309–328, he argues that the term is too imprecise to be used meaningfully.

found in 1945 greatly enriched our first-hand knowledge of Gnostics as they wrote for themselves, and further complicated the varieties of systems and mythologies of which we know. Some grew out of Jewish mysticism, and the apocalyptic and apocryphal corpus, and some are very clearly focused on Jesus. Gnostic schools drew widely on the syncretistic heritage of antique, Iranian, Jewish, Greek, Mesopotamian, and Egyptian traditions to establish basic myths and concepts relating to the creation of the world by the Demiurge, the fall of the soul, the mission of the redeemer and the revealer of Gnosis, and the ultimate release of the soul and its ascent to its heavenly home. There is also a sociological element to Gnostic attitudes, particularly with respect to what might be seen as the oppressing majority.⁴

The collectors of the Chenoboskion library were Christians, and some of the pieces were no doubt composed by Christians, though in time they became regarded as heretics—and naturally they themselves developed a similar estimation of their opponents. Yet not all these essays reflect Christian traditions: some draw on the Hebrew Bible, but other material seems to come from post-biblical Judaism. Other texts appear more philosophic and Neoplatonic and stress the unknown God, and yet others represent religious traditions wider than Judaism.

The names of God were attractive to Gnostic writers, but as with pagan magical texts, which we shall examine below, the divine name was often no longer reserved exclusively for the God of the Hebrew Bible, but liberally bestowed upon other beings, in this case upon the various powers and agents of Gnostic mythology.

Jeu appears in Gnostic texts as a transcription of the Tetragrammaton, an abbreviation of *yah* or *yeh* with the third-person pronoun meaning “Yhwh Himself” or “Yhwh, C’est Lui.” Two *Books of Jeu*⁵ are mentioned in *Pistis Sophia* and survive in Sahidic in Codex Brucianus of disputed date, bought in Egypt in 1769 by the Scottish traveller James Bruce and now in the Bodleian (Bruce Ms 96).⁶ Answering his disciples, Jesus reveals how the Father projected from his bosom *Jeu* (*’Jeou*), the “true God,” and how there issued from him twenty-eight emanations, whose form, mystic name, and number are in turn

4 A.F. Segal, “Ruler of This World: Attitudes about Mediator Figures and the Importance of Sociology for Self-Definition,” in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, vol. 2, eds. E.P. Sanders et al. (London, 1981), pp. 245–268.

5 W. Schneemelcher and R. McL. Wilson, eds., *The New Testament Apocrypha: Gospels and Related Writings* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 368–373.

6 C. Schmidt and V. Macdermot, eds., *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex* (Leiden, 1978).

noted with precision. Thereafter Jesus bestows on those present the triple baptism of water, fire, and spirit.

This may be considered vaguely Christian. But in the Nag Hammadi treatise *On the Origin of the World*⁷ (100.3–25), the lion-like Demiurge, called *Yaldabaoth* (Son of Chaos?⁸) and identified with the biblical Creator-God, came forth after a descending series of emanations from the spiritual world which had already produced matter. *Yaldabaoth* (who has a son, *Yao*) was responsible for the heavens and claimed (after Deut. 32:39) “I am He and there is no other.” This presumptuous monotheism constituted a sin against the “immortal ones” (103-10-15). *Pistis Sophia*, who had been responsible for his creation, called him *Samael* (the blind god) and prophesied his downfall to his mother, the *Abyss*.

F.T. Fallon discusses both *The Hypostasis of the Archons* and *On the Origin of the World* and finds here influence of Judaism, not merely that from the Hebrew Bible but later Judaism—specifically with reference to heavenly enthronement and the ascent of apocalyptic visionary—and with very little significant influence from or upon Christianity.⁹

The *Apocryphon of John*, the teaching of which was probably circulating by 185 A.D., may serve us as a further example.¹⁰ Here we are told that the heavenly archons created seven powers for themselves, and the powers in turn created for themselves six angels each. “And these are the bodies belonging with the names...the fourth is *Yao*, he has a [serpent’s] face with seven heads; the fifth is *Sabaoth*, he has a dragon’s face; the sixth is *Adonin*, he has a monkey’s face.”¹¹ Thereafter we learn that the fourth power is lordship, though the sixth is envy...etc. The work generates its celestial world from the narrative account of Genesis, and hence we find that when the chief archon, *Yaldabaoth*,

7 J.M. Robinson, ed., *The Nag Hammadi Library in English* (Leiden, 1984), pp. 162–179.

8 G. Scholem, “Jaldabaoth Reconsidered,” in *Mélanges de l’Histoire des Religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris, 1974), pp. 405–421. B. Barc, “Samael-Saklos-Yaldabaoth. Recherche sur la Genèse d’un Mythe gnostique” in *Colloque internationale sur les Textes de Nag Hammadi* (août 1978, Quebec), ed. B. Barc (Laval, Quebec, 1981), pp. 123–150.

9 F.T. Fallon, *The Enthronement of Sabaoth Jewish Elements in Gnostic Creation Myths* (Leiden, 1978), considers Ialdabaoth, the father of Sabaoth, a mixture of the God of the Old Testament, God (the leader of the fallen angels), and the god Olam/Aion from Canaanite myth. In the context of Jewish influence upon Gnosticism, notice the parallel between the relationship between Metatron and God (which Idel would see enduring into the Middle Ages) and You’el and Barbelo: Maddalena Scopello, “You’el et Barbelo dans le Traicté de l’Allogène,” in Barc, ed., *Colloque internationale sur les Textes de Nag Hammadi*, pp. 374–382.

10 (II.1) Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 98–116, esp. pp. 104–105.

11 Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, p. 105.

brought forth by Sophia out of the desire to create a likeness of herself without the consent of the Spirit (and thus appearing as a lion-faced serpent, imperfect and created in ignorance), seduced *Epinoia* (=Eve?), "...he begot in her two sons...*Eloim* and *Yave*." *Eloim* has a bear face and *Yave* has a cat-face.¹² "*Yave* is righteous and *Eloim* unrighteous.¹³ *Yave* he set over the fire and the wind, and *Eloim* he set over water and the earth. And these he called Cain and Abel with a view to deceive."¹⁴ Nevertheless, this work uses the framework of a revelatory discourse by the resurrected Christ, who is finally sent down from heaven to sort out this cosmological menagerie. Christ is the divine *Autogenes*, the invisible Virginal Spirit "subjected to him every authority and the truth which is in him that he may know the all which has been called with a name exalted above every name. For they will mention that name who are worthy of it."

These divine names appear amid a great many others, and it is difficult to believe they have not lost much of their distinctiveness as they have been absorbed into the complicated hierarchies of Gnostic powers, even though it is the narrative of Genesis which appears to determine some of the structure. Certainly they no longer name the sole deity.¹⁵ Of the complicated Gnostic heavenly genealogies and geographies themselves, perhaps the most positive interpretation is to see them as negative theology turned into stories or mythologies and serving to mark the great distance between the ultimate Being and the created world.

But by contrast, other Gnostic texts and prayers often name and evoke more positively "The-One-who-is." In the *Apocalypse of James* (V.3), for example, Christ expresses the essence of Gnostic soteriology when he encourages James to cast off the bonds of flesh and allow his inner self to return to its origins in

12 Yaldabaoth appears in *Apocryphon John/Hypostasis of the Archons* (Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 152–161); *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 329–338, 337); and the *Pro Trimorphic Protennoia* (Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 461–470, 464). He also appears in Origen *Contra Celsum* 6.30–31, where the Ophites use divine names from the Hebrew Bible to name the seven archons—*Ialdabaoth*, *Iao*, *Sabaoth*, etc. Characteristic of Gnostics is this relegation of divine names down a notch or two—not unrelated in part to a dislike of the God of the Hebrew Bible: Idel, *Ben*, p. 53.

13 One recalls that for Philo and subsequent rabbis the Tetragrammaton represented the *middah* of mercy and 'Elohim the *middah* of Justice; Dahl and Segal, "Philo and the Rabbis," pp. 1–28.

14 op. cit., p. 112.

15 Attilio Mastrocinque, *Jewish Magic to Gnosticism* (Tübingen, 2005), is a fascinating introduction to the recycling of Jewish material and divine names in this milieu.

the transcendent God: “Then you will reach The One who is. And you will no longer be James: rather you are The-One-who-is.”¹⁶

G.P. Luttikhuisen raises the question of whether this designation of God is inspired by the *ho ôn* of Exodus 3:14, but concludes that in view of the common Platonic usage, specific dependence of the passage cannot be shown.¹⁷ Hippolytus tells us that the Naassenes taught of the “essence of seed, the cause of all beings that are born...” which declares: “I become what I want and I am what I am.”¹⁸ Perhaps this harks back to Exodus 3. Nevertheless, Hippolytus assures us that they held that belief in just one generating source of all was erroneous, and that the universe proceeded forth from three principles: the Pre-Existent, the Self-Originated, and the Outpoured Chaos. A fourth principle, the Fiery God *Esaldaios*, owed his name evidently to the Hebrew *’el shaddai*.

The Gospel of Philip (II.3: late 2nd century), however, seems very close to the New Testament Christology of John’s Gospel with: “One single name is not uttered in the world, the name the Father gave the Son, the name above all things: the name of the Father.¹⁹ For the Son would not become the Father unless he wears the name of the Father. Those who have this name know it, but they do not speak it. But those who do not have it do not know it.”²⁰ Now, everything in the Gospel of Philip has its own secret name which reveals its own true nature—but nonetheless this passage is strongly reminiscent of John 17:11.²¹ Many years ago Gilles Quispel, who postulated common Jewish sources behind both the Johannine and Valentinian writings, argued for a Jewish origin of Christ as Name of God in the *Gospel of Truth*.²²

In the *Gospel of Thomas* Logion 13, the three words Thomas cannot utter without the others stoning him (after Leviticus 24:16) may be *’ehyeh ’asher ’ehyeh*.²³ This would mean that Jesus reveals himself to Thomas alone as LORD.

16 Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, p. 243.

17 Luttikhuisen “The Revelation,” pp. 237–246.

18 Hippolytus, *Haeres*. V.7.25 (84).

19 R. Mc L. Wilson, *The Gospel of Philip* (London, 1962), 102 (12), pp. 30 and 73–76.

20 Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 131–151, 133.

21 Cited by Gliessen, “The Divine Name,” pp. 115–158 at p. 115. Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, p. 133.

22 Gilles Quispel, “Johannesevangelium und Gnosis,” in *Gnostica, Judaica, Catholica: Collected Essays of Gilles Quispel*, ed. J. van Oort (Leiden, 2008), pp. 753–784. This was a seminal essay. Fossum was his pupil and Daniélou followed his lead. See also Jan Heldemann, *Die Anapausis in Evangelium Veritatis* (Leiden, 1984). Idel, *Ben*, pp. 27–32, explores the category of sonship in Gnostic texts, among other mediating categories.

23 So B. Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas* (London, 1961), p. 123; Fossum, *Image of the Invisible God*, p. 116, and his pupil A.D. DeConick, *Seek to See Him: Ascent and Vision*

This may be perhaps inconsistent with a Jesus who in Thomas rejects the Prophets who spoke in the Name of Yhwh. Others have suggested three words from Isaiah 28:10 which Hippolytus says were important for the Gnostics, or a three-fold *Iao* as in *Pistis Sophia*.²⁴

There appears to be something of a contrast in Christological doctrine between the *Gospel of Philip* and the *Gospel of Truth*. *Philip*, which originated in Valentinian Gnosticism, takes an Adoptionist line when it suggests that Jesus “put on the name,” that is, became the Son, at his baptism (II.53.5–13). (Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* I.21.3 tells us “the name which is hidden...with which Jesus of Nazareth was clothed” was evoked in Valentinian baptismal ritual.) The Valentinian *Gospel of Truth* (originally in Greek but surviving now only in Subachmimic and fragmentarily in Sahidic dialects of Coptic), however, presents the Son as the hypostasized Name of the Father:²⁵

Now the name of the Father is the Son. It is He who in the beginning named what emanated from Him, remaining always the same. And He begot him a Son and gave him His name which He possessed. It is he in whose vicinity the Father has all things; He has the name and He has the Son. The latter can be seen; but the name is invisible, for it alone is the mystery of the invisible, which comes into ears which are wholly full of it, because of him. And yet the Father’s name is not spoken, rather it is manifest in a Son. Thus, great is the name! Who then can utter the name, the great name, but he alone who possesses the name—and the children of the name in whom the Father’s name reposed and who in turn reposed in his name...but what exists along with its name...He is the Father, His name is the Son...The Son alone gives names. So the name belongs to the Father, just as the name of the Father is the Son.²⁶

Mysticism in the Gospel of Thomas (Leiden, 1996), who reads Thomas as more mystical than Gnostic and also proposes a Jewish background for the mysticism, p. 48; A. Guillaumont et al., eds., *The Gospel According to Thomas: Coptic Text Established and Translated* (Leiden, 1959), p. 9; Nicholas Perrin, *Thomas: The Other Gospel* (London, 2007), pp. 134–139. This work is a sober corrective to much speculation.

24 Hippolytus, *ad Haeres.* v.8.4; *Pistis Sophia* 136.

25 *Gospel of Truth* 38. Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 46–47; Raoul Mortley, “The Name of the Father Is the Son (Gospel of Truth 38),” in *Neoplatonism and Gnosticism*, eds. R.T. Wallis and J. Bregman (Albany, 1992), pp. 239–252. J.A. Williams, *Biblical Interpretation in the Gnostic Gospel of Truth from Nag Hammadi* (Atlanta, 1988), pp. 160–161, 192–195, observes systematic tendencies in handling scriptural citations assimilating Christ to the Father, assimilating God to the Father, and bringing Father and Son closer together.

26 *Gospel of Truth* 1.3 38; Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, p. 47.

The name of God is clearly central to this work, but the teaching of the work is far from clear: The Father (the Coptic word for God is only used once) is perfect and good (18.33), infinite (31.19), and apophatically beyond all needs or limitations (42.6ff.), beyond thought (37.2ff.), and unbegotten (39.53), and...the Father does not have a name at all (38.34). As also in *Allogenes* 47.18; 54.36, the Father is unnamable. We should not take this as a sign of a well-constructed apophatic theology throughout Gnostic texts. Although unnamability is common in Gnostic (especially Valentinian) texts and at Nag Hammadi (*1 Ap. Jas* 4.20), this appears generally because names are attributes of created beings. By contrast, far from God not having a name at all, we find that the name is said to be in its unrevealed form (in Egypt 43.19), that it cannot be uttered (40.14), and that the unrevealable name is inscribed on a table (43.20). It is called an invisible symbol. What we have here are perhaps apophatic metaphors rather than a systematic doctrine.

The totality of the world was, according to the *Gospel of Truth*, apparently *in potentia* within the Father, whence it everlastingly emanates and returns. All being is part of this process and emanations of the Father, and to all he gives a name and a form. These names are therefore clearly of divine origin. The main emanation of the Father at the top of the ontological hierarchy is the Word, which impresses the will of the Father on the totality but is also apparently modified by the soteriological process of bringing the true Gnostic back to the Father. The relationship of the Word to Jesus Christ is not very clear at all in this. He appears to have opened the Book of Life, written in the mind of the Father, and therefore was necessarily slain. This book apparently contains the names of true Gnostics called and written by name by the Father. Why these names are different from the divine names given to all creatures, not just to true Gnostics, is not too clear. The Word is Son, Mouth, Will, Truth, Saviour—and Name. This is now expounded:

And they (the things that created) have appeared for the glory and joy of his name. Now the name of the Father is the Son. It is He (Father) who first gave a name to the one who came from Him, who was Himself and He begot him as a Son. He gave him His name which belonged to Him; He is the one to whom belongs all that exists around Him, the Father. His is the name, His is the Son. It is possible for him to be seen. The name however is invisible because it alone is the mystery of the invisible which comes to ears that are completely filled with it by Him. For indeed the Father's name is not spoken, but is apparent through a Son. In this way the name is a great thing....

Thus, the Father who does not have name (in the sense of a title, epithet, or any word in our spoken languages) does have a name, and the name is the Son (38.34–39.5):

Since the Father is uncreated, it is He alone who has brought forth for Himself a name, before he set in order the aeons, that the name of the Father as Lord should be over their head, which truly is the name, secure in His command [and] perfect power. For the name is not one of words, and his name is [not] an appellation, but it is invisible.

Jean Daniélou found in these words “a very pure Jewish Christian theology.”²⁷ In this he considered the name to be considered much as was the Logos in Philo. There, *Onoma* (Name) is one of the names of the Logos (*Conf.* 146). The beginnings of this Christology of the Name he finds in the New Testament, suggesting “a faint echo of the hypostasis of the Word” in Acts 15:17; Romans 2:24; 9:17. Messianic collections of passages about the name—clearly all referring to Yhwh—must, he suggests, surely have suggested Christ. Of John 17:6 he tells us that Christ manifests the name of the Father—but this manifestation is his own person. James 2:7 points to the name called over the believers. Daniélou takes the baptismal invocation of the Three Persons and finds a similar liturgical use in the anointing in the name in 5:14 with support from several Patristic passages.²⁸ The name of the Father designates the Son in relation to the Father and the personhood of the Son. The invocation of the name takes place liturgically as the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Daniélou’s reading finds close parallels between the *Gospel of Truth* and Clement’s study of Theodotus. The *Gospel of Truth* does not appear to be terribly orthodox, though it clearly has elements which make use of biblical teaching.

The *Tripartite Tractate* (I.5.64–67) has some similarity with Valentianism but differs radically on the nature of the Father and the activity of the Logos in Creation and Redemption. It speaks of the ineffable, unnamable Father, unknown and incomprehensible, though he has “sown himself into the thoughts [of mortals], so that they might seek after him.”²⁹ Part of the Divine being is the engendered Son. We cannot conceive of him:

²⁷ Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, pp. 147–163 at p. 157.

²⁸ Daniélou, *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, I Clement 60.4: “the name designates the Son,” p. 151; Shepherd of Hermas, pp. 151–153, reconstructing LIX—“The Name is in all probability a designation of the Word.”

²⁹ We saw examples of this conviction in the last chapter.

all the names conceived or spoken about him are produced for an honour, as a trace of him, according to the power of each of those who glorify him. He [also] without falsification is all of the names, and he is in their proper sense, the sole first one, [the man] of the Father. Though he has many names, he is never called by his single name. He is neither divided as a body or split up into names, nor is he changed into the names he has.

Roelof van den Broek found similarities between the Gnostic work *Eugnotus the Blessed* and the Christian *Apology of Aristides* (from the time of Antoninus Pius and extant in Syriac), though they disagree inevitably on, say, the identification of the True God with the Creator. He accounts for this as being due to their mutual dependence upon the *Tripartate Tractate* NHC I.5., which we have just seen allows that traditional terms may be used of God, though they do not really apply.³⁰ Such names as (NHC I 100 24–30) *Father, God Demiurge, King, Judge, Place, Dwelling, and Law* reject the traditional proofs of God's existence from the created world by confronting them with the usual responses of the Sceptics. They then proceed to describe the true God in terms of negative theology, albeit while allowing some positive terms, like *good, perfect, eternal, or blessed*, etc. Van den Boeck argues that *Eugnotus* is Jewish rather than Christian. The negative aspects stressed are immortality, having no beginning, no likeness, and also no name—for names belong to created things.³¹

30 Roelof van den Broek, "Eugnotus and Aristides on the Ineffable God," in his collected essays in idem, *Gnosticism and Alexandrian Christianity* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 22–41; see also his "Jewish and Platonic Speculation in Early Alexandrian Theology: Eugnostus, Philo, Valentinian and Origen," in idem, *Gnosticism and Alexandrian Christianity*, pp. 117–130. For the two texts of Eugnotus (this philosophical epistle finds another version in the revelation discourse *The Sophia of Jesus Christ*), J.M. Robinson (op. cit.), pp. 206–228. For the complicated text of Aristides see the article cited. Anne Pasquier, "Invocation et Glorification du Nom divin dans le Livre sacré du Grand Êprit invisible ou Évangile égyptien (NHC III,2; NHC IV.2)," in *Mystery and Secrecy in the Nag Hammadi Collection and Other Ancient Literatures: Ideas and Practices: Studies for Einar Thomasson at Sixty*, eds. C.H. Bull et al. (Leiden, 2012), pp. 119–132, which we discuss below, at p. 210, cites: "He who is ineffable, no Sovereignty knew him... No one rules over him, since he has no name, for whoever has a name is the creation of another." See also her "Étude de la Théologie du Nom dans la Tracté gnostique d'Eugnostos le Bienheureux partir d'un fragment de Valentin," *Le Museion* 103 (1990), 205–214.

31 *Apocryphon of John* (24.4–6) has, "He is unnamable because there is no one prior to him to name him." We have seen the same thought in Philo; in Justin *II Apol* 6.1–2; Clement; and Pseudo-Justin *Cohort ad Graec.* 21 (PG VI 277AB).

The Valentinian Christology (such as it is) and baptismal doctrine are exemplified, as we have just suggested, in Clement's *Excerpta ex Theodoto*.³² Theodotus, a disciple of Valentinian, taught that the divine nature of Jesus is the Name, which is Only-Begotten Son (26.1). This descended upon Jesus in the form of a dove and redeemed him at his baptism (22.6–7). “At the beginning the angels had been baptised in the redemption of the name which descended upon Jesus under the form of a dove, which rescued him. For Jesus himself needed redemption so that he would not be kept by the ‘Ennoia of Deficiency.’” This baptismal sealing is then compared to the High Priest who had the Tetragrammaton on the plaque on his turban (27.1–5).³³ We have seen above that Clement himself thought Christ was the Tetragrammaton, the name worn by the High Priest on his turban. This descent of the name was apparently not incompatible with the notion that Jesus was not adopted (33.1).

Speaking again of baptism and of “the image and superscription” which believers have after the fashion of the coin brought to Jesus bearing the image and superscription of Caesar (Mark 12:16 and parallels), we learn that the superscription is through Christ the name of God, and the Spirit is as an image, the name of which is the Only-Begotten Son (26.1).

Sealing by name is suggestive.³⁴ It has been thought that a reference here to the use of the cross in baptism—or rather the letter *tau*, the last letter of the Hebrew alphabet, which early on had the form of a cross (X) and which the angel of Yhwh placed upon the foreheads of the elect in Ezekiel 9:4.³⁵ We have discussed this in relation to Revelation 7:2 and considered whether Revelation

32 F. Saynard, ed., *Sources chrétiennes* (Paris, 1970), Introduction pp. 5–48. Daniélou, op. cit., p. 153.

33 A.D. DeConick, “Heavenly Temple Traditions and Valentinian Worship: A Case for First Century Christianity in the Second Century,” in Davila et al., eds., *Jewish Roots*, pp. 308–341.

34 Idel, *Ben*, pp. 29–30, considers “the seal of truth” mentioned immediately after the quoted passage to stand for the Tetragrammaton. He compares the theory of the sealing of the six extremities of the world using permutations of the three consonants *y*, *h*, and *w* in the *Sepher Yetzirah*.

35 Origen, *Hom. Ez* 9, reports the opinion of a Jew that *tau* took its power from the fact that it was the last letter of the alphabet, and so was equivalent to *omega*, the sacred letter par excellence. Jerome thought the Samaritans had retained the ancient alphabet from before the captivity. He also comments on the *tau* when discussing Ezekiel 9 and elsewhere. For a similar view: Epistle of Barnabas 9; Isidore, *Contra Judaeos* I.26; and also Paschase Radbert (c.790–865), *In Lament. Jeremiae* (Lib. I Bib. PP xiv p. 773): *Diximus...quod Tau signum est...crucis; et, ut verius loquar, ipsa est crux...sed quia Tau finis est hebraeorum elementorum, ipsa vero elementa totidem sunt quot et libri veteris Testamenti quorum ipsa sunt signa: inde non inconvenienter reor quod sicut omnium elementorum finis est ita*

14:1 and 22:4 indicate that this was thought of as representing the name of God.³⁶ In Greek environments the X of the divine name was interpreted not as Yhwh but as the initial letter of *Christos*.³⁷

A persuasive case has been made by Anne Pasquier for a liturgical and baptismal context for *The Sacred Book of the Great Invisible Spirit*, otherwise known as the *Egyptian Gospel* (III.2 and IV.2), probably from the 3rd century.³⁸ It would appear that the initiate in the act of ritual incarnated in himself the process of transformation of the Word. It must be admitted that this is a difficult text and I follow Anne Pasquier's guidance, only simplifying her rich exposition. The initial mythology is complicated as we follow emanations from the Supreme God in the superior world to the Heavenly Man, who unites with the Word to become the human *logos*. None of this yet refers to mortal flesh put on by the Saviour, but to the manifestation of the Heavenly Man, whose image or powerful light each of the baptized carries in himself. This Heavenly Man is also equivalent to Seth, who puts on Jesus like a garment in his mission in our world.³⁹ The text moves on to the engendering of the world and the arrival of salvation by baptismal regeneration. Thereafter, the third person is abandoned for the second, and it would appear that the authorial voice also identifies with the candidate and speaks as I—as he, as it were, experiences the rite and evokes God directly. This work seems to represent the Tetragrammaton as IEOUE (where *OU* equals one letter *w*) or in the evocation as IEOUEAO, where use is made of all of the seven vowels and each letter is repeated four or twenty-two times (twenty-two is the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet).⁴⁰

totidem librorum veteris Testamenti finis est crux: passio videlicet Jesu Christi qui finis est totius legis ad justitiam. Odes of Solomon 41.15 suggests that souls are saved by "the truth of his name."

36 Matthew and Mark use *lambanein* and *hairein* to "bear the cross." Luke changes this to a "more liturgical" *bastazein* in 14:27—i.e., "carrying the cross" in the sense of having it marked upon one. So J. Daniélou, *Primitive Christian Symbols* (London, 1963), pp. 136–145, on *tau*.

37 Daniélou, *Primitive Christian Symbols*, pp. 154–155.

38 Pasquier, "Invocation et Glorification," pp. 119–132. The tag may also be found in Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 195–205.

39 For an overview of the enormous amount of material on Seth, with indicative bibliography, J.D. Turner, "The Gnostic Seth" in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*, eds. M.E. Stone and T.A. Bergren (Harrisburg, 1998), pp. 33–58, and also J. Fossum and B. Glazer, "Seth in the Magical Texts," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 100 (1994), 86–92.

40 Eusebius of Caesarea in *Prep. Evangel.* XI.6, 36–37, writes, "The combination of the seven vowels together embraces the expression of the name which it is not permissible to pronounce, the name the children of Israel indicated with the help of four consonants

It would also appear that the last two letters (A and O), designating God as beginning and end, may be swapped round. The numerical value of alpha and omega in Greek is 801, and we shall find that significant below in Irenaeus' account of the Gnostic Marcus.

The initial self-generation of the Light of the Word of Truth springing from the bosom of the incomprehensible Father manifests itself at once as Father, Mother, and Son, with the Mother being the Spirit. Thus is revealed the Logos or Word, who brings from the bosom of the Mother the seven powers of the great light and the seven vowels whose fullness the Word is. The Logos representing the fullness of the seven vowels is thus the divine name. Father, Mother Barbel, and Son are described as three Ogdoads (888), which we shall meet below again in Marcus in Irenaeus.

The ritual then approaches. There is presented a heavenly space or aeon called Domedon Doxomedon (*domos 'dn*), representing the infinite power of the divine Logos in which the divine name is revealed. There is pictured here the divine throne, surrounded by power, on which sits God in human form, and an infant, identified as Christ or Seth and on which his "secret name" is written, inscribed upon the tablet (*puchos*).⁴¹ An infant seems appropriate for a baptismal candidate. Yoh'el (Yhwh is God) appears, carrying the name to be given to the candidate which emerges from IEOUEAO.

The ritual itself begins with IEEOUOA, each letter repeated four times: "The great name which is yours is upon me." It is stressed that the divine cannot be expressed in another language. There then follows a series of modulations upon the name: He who is; EI AAA OOOO (IAO); He who is A&O. The Saviour is evoked by IE and by IEUS EO OU EO OUA. Evidently in this "theology of the name" the name of Jesus is integrated into the Tetragrammaton (IEOUEAO). One recalls the *Epistle of Barnabas* 9.8, where IE designates Christ to show his link with the Father.

Two questions arise from this material, both clearly isolated by Anne Pasquier: Does this text suggest that the Greek Old Testament text used by the author carried the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew, and does it further suggest that

and attributed to mighty power of God." Compare a spell in PGM XIII noted by Pasquier: "Lord, I reproduce your image by the seven vowels, come to me, hear me...."

41 The divine name is written upon a sapphire tablet in *The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* (VI.6), an explicitly Hermetic document in Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 292–297 at p. 296, esp. pp. 204–205. The *Discourse*, which from its affinities with Middle Platonism date, perhaps from the 2nd century (Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 292–297), has a similar sequence of multiple vowels, 56.15. At 61.5 we find, "I praise you, I call your name which is hidden within me (A sequence of vowels follows). You are the one who exists with the spirit."

it was pronounced *tel quel*? Our review of the evidence above suggests that while there remains no evidence that Christians wrote the Tetragrammaton in their Scriptures, it is imaginable that Jewish copies carrying the Tetragrammaton in Hebrew were in circulation perhaps until the 2nd century A.D. or until they were no longer understood in this particular. It would seem more than possible that such a text was used by the author of this text. Obviously we know how the name was sounded as repeated vowels in this rite, but surely it would be hazardous on the basis of this very singular text to posit someone else's more normal usage.

Irenaeus, one of our principal Patristic commentators on Gnostics, would appear not to have found a comprehensible philosophy of name among them. The *Aeon* appears as invisible and ineffable but is later called *Proarche Propater* and *Buthos*, and moreover, we are told, is comprehensible to spiritual men (AH I i 1; i 2; vii 5.) This is once again apophatic rhetoric rather than apophatic theology. The Gnostics do, however, distinguish between human words and divine words (understood, of course, without reference to incarnation), introducing a mythological element into their linguistics that was generally avoided by the Fathers: language is not just a human convention, but when of divine origin has a cosmological effect and is a reliable source of knowledge of the divine and the true source of Gnosis.⁴²

Irenaeus, copied by Hippolytus and Epiphanius, is our source for the Gnostic Marcus. A copy of one of his manuscripts had fallen into his hands, and the Presbyter of Lyon knew his ideas were popular in the Rhône valley. The cosmology of Marcus (apparently one of the earlier pupils of Valentinus⁴³) is presented by Irenaeus at AH 1 xiv ff. Its philosophy of language can hardly be systematized. Understanding of the name of Jesus is based upon numerical speculation, but it has at least some significance for enlightenment. It has a mysterious power, as do other mysterious names, but only to those of us dedicated to numerical manipulation and aware of the sacred numbers 6 (letters in Jesus), 24 (letters in the Greek alphabet), and 888 (for the Greek alphabet contains eight monads, eight decads, and eight hectads). Thus "Jesus" is formed of all numbers and on that account is called Alpha and Omega to indicate this origin from the All (AH 1.15.2). "Jesus Christ" has a different (phonetic?) equivalent in the languages of the semi-divine—the so-called ancient name.

42 Chernikin, *Philosophy of Language*, pp. 143–155, on Gnostics and p. 162 on Irenaeus' response.

43 Niclas Förster, *Marcus Magus: Kult, Lehre und Gemeindeleben einer valentinianischen Gnostikergruppe, Sammlung der Quellen und Kommentar* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament) 114 (Tübingen, 1999).

Angels are coeval with him. The arithmetically symbolic Jesus, however, is known by all who heard the call (AH 1.14.4). It would appear that while Jesus the Son is unapproachably divine, Christ the Son has made the symbol manifest and brought release from ignorance (AH 1.15.2 and further AH 1.15.3). Alpha and Omega are given a numerical value of 801, which is the same as that of the Greek word *peristera*, a dove, which represents the Holy Spirit (1.15.1).

Somewhat similar is the Tractate *Marsanes* (X.1) from Codex X, one of the most fragmentary of the Nag Hammadi codices.⁴⁴ There we find a description of an intellectual and visionary ascent to heaven similar to that in *Allogenes* (XI.3). There is a mystical meaning for letters of the alphabet, explaining their relationship to the human soul and to the names of the angels. In this passage the work seems similar to that of Irenaeus' Marcus.

Finally we may consider some of the teaching of the resurrected Christ in *Pistis Sophia*. Quispel (following Oldberg) considers that the *Greater* and *Lesser Yhwh* known from the Hebrew *III Enoch* appear in *Pistis Sophia*.⁴⁵ Jesus tells his disciples that he cast powers into their mothers' wombs which now exist in their bodies, But Elizabeth received power from "the little Yao" for the forerunner John the Baptist. Jesus and the disciples pray by turning to the four quarters and pronouncing the name "Yao," which reminds us again of sealing the extremities by different combinations of *yhw* in the *Sepher Yetzirah*.

Gershom Scholem assumed that early Provençal and Catalan Kabbalah and the book of *Bahir* drew fairly directly upon older Gnostic traditions combined with Neoplatonic philosophy. Such "older Gnostic traditions" reflect earlier scholarship which sought Egyptian, Iranian, and Greek origins for Gnosticism. But more recent scholarship—extensively illustrated above—rather assumes that Jewish material was influential upon Gnostic material rather than the other way around. Such a change of perspective obviously allows for other accounts of the origin of Kabbalah, such as that proposed by M. Idel: that Jewish motifs appearing in Gnosticism "remained part of the patrimony of Jewish thought and continued to be transmitted in Jewish circles, ultimately providing the conceptual framework of Kabbalah."⁴⁶

44 Robinson, *Nag Hammadi Library*, pp. 417–426

45 Gilles Quispel, *Gnostic Studies*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1974), p. 210. See also M. Idel, *Ben*, pp. 139–141.

46 Quotation from M. Idel, *Kabbalah: New Perspectives* (New Haven, 1988), pp. 30–32 at p. 30. For Scholem's own views, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (1941; New York, 1961), pp. 40–79; idem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition* (New York, 1960). Idel, *Ben*, pp. 53–57, for further defence of the hypothesis which is basis of the book. Also pp. 70–71 and the appendix pp. 645–670 for the possibility of Enochic material in the Middle Ages.

The Tetragrammaton in Magic Texts

I conjure by the god of the Hebrews, Jesus, Iabe, Iaê...

P.G.M. IV 3019–3024⁴⁷

Jewish inhibitions over the use of the Tetragrammaton, as well as its absence from the New Testament, contrast starkly with the widespread use of the Tetragrammaton in magic texts. Initially we shall consider the ancient evidence, but the magical use of the Divine Name is found in all periods: it is away from the control of religious authorities that its use was most common.

An excellent modern survey of Western Jewish magic in the Second Temple and Late Antique periods offers us a rigorous chronological treatment of sources both “insider” and “outsider,” addresses the problems of oral and written traditions, examines the distinction between defensive and aggressive magic, and seeks to define characteristics which define particularly Jewish magic.⁴⁸ The biblical injunctions are ambiguous, and it may be that foreign practitioners are their specific target. Nevertheless, the possibility that the Tetragrammaton might be used for help or harm is constant and central in all periods. Later Second Temple and Mishnaic periods display mixed attitudes to magic, but certain positions seem established. Second Temple Jewish magic mainly comprises exorcisms by holy men. This is reflected in the Gospels and in the later *Toledoth Jesu* traditions which accused Jesus of sorcery with the Name.⁴⁹ Rabbinic sources speak of holy men like Honi the Hasid and his prayer for rain, or R. Zeira.⁵⁰

47 Just before this conjuration we are told a phylactery should be made containing the name *iaeô*, *iaô*, and *iaeô*. The papyrus is discussed in P.W. van der Horst, “The Great Magical Papyrus of Paris (PGM IV) and the Bible,” in idem, *Jews and Christians in Their Graeco-Roman Context* (Tübingen, 2006), pp. 269–279, esp. p. 273. For another identification of Christ with the name of God, this time in a Coptic magic text, *Iao, Iao, Christ Pantocrator* (XLIII.83), see A.M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1930), vol. 1, p. 25. W.E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1905), p. 543A; cf. p. 540A (in the index) gives other Coptic magical texts with *iaô* and *iaô saba’oth*.

48 Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, of which I have made extensive use here. Also Joseph Angel, “The Use of the Hebrew Bible in Early Jewish Magic,” *Religion Compass* 3:5 (2009), 785–798. M. Bloom, *Sacred Ceremony and Magical Praxis in Jewish Texts of Early and Late Antiquity* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Brunel, 1995).

49 G.A. Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist: A History of Religions Study* (unpublished PhD, Nottingham, 1981); and P.E. Jewell, *Magic in the Work of Josephus* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Southampton, 2006).

50 Adolph Büchler, *Types of Jewish-Palestinian Piety from 70 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.* (London, 1922), pp. 196–264.

Surprisingly, amulets are not found in the Second Temple period (though we have two from Ketef Hinnom from the 6th century B.C. and they are very common from the 4th to 8th centuries A.D.).⁵¹ It is difficult to distinguish specifically Jewish magical gems from the 5000 or so Late Antique gems in collections around the world.⁵² Some, however, carry a Menorah, which is not generally used as a pagan magic symbol and may for that reason be specifically Jewish. Others fairly unambiguously have Hebrew or Aramaic inscriptions. One interesting specimen (if genuine) has on one side in Greek *Adonai(os)* and “The One who Is,” and on the other the *’ehyeh asher ’ehyeh* formula included in a long list of Hebrew letters.⁵³ It would also seem that *on* for *ho on* (The One who is) appears on amulets.⁵⁴

Jewish magic does show signs of syncretism but with clear limits, and by and large pagan deities are excluded. The Tetragrammaton, *’ehyeh*, and the names of angels, on the other hand, are used extensively, and new combinations of their letters or substitutes for the name of God compete in numbers with the proliferation of angel names which were also evoked in magic.⁵⁵ The Late Antique *Sepher ha-Razim (Book of Mysteries)*—probably the most important Jewish book of magic—has some 700 angel names.⁵⁶

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- 51 Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 115–123. The Ketef Hinnom amulets were found in a burial cave below St Andrew’s Presbyterian Church in Jerusalem in 1979. The Tetragrammaton is attested in citing the priestly blessing of Numbers 6:24–26 and in reference to Deuteronomy 7:9. This is also the earliest attestation of the biblical text. A. Yardeni, “Remarks on the Priestly Blessing on Two Amulets from Jerusalem,” *Vetus Testamentum* 41.2 (1991), 176–185; G. Barkay et al., “The Amulets from Kefer Hinnom: A New Edition and Evaluation,” *Bulletin of the American Society of Oriental Research* 304 (2004), 41–71. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, pp. 139–152, discusses later amulets which illustrate the use of divine names.
- 52 Simone Michel, *Die Magische Gemmen im Britischen Museum* (London, 2001), gives examples of Jewish gems. A later 14th-century manuscript, the *Sefer Gematriaot*, with a rare description of the properties of precious stones—specifically those of the twelve tribal gems—is given in Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, pp. 136–138, with Hebrew text on pp. 265–268.
- 53 Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 158–165.
- 54 LAW CABAW ON COLOMON in A.A. Barb, “Magica Varia,” *Syria* 49.3–4 (1972), 343–370.
- 55 In a context of healing Josephus mentions the importance of not disclosing angel names (War 2.142); in Jubilees, Noah is given special healing knowledge by angels (10:10–17; 48:10); in Enoch, the watchers under Azazel teach humanity the secret of roots and plants, and Raphael is responsible for human illness and wounds (40.9). On the other hand, one finds a physician might also cure—using the name of God, see Yom. 3.7(40d).
- 56 On the importance of the work, Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, pp. 97–110, with bibliography. Many of the etymologies and meanings of angel names once proposed by M.M. Schwab,



ILLUSTRATION 7 *The Tetragrammaton in the priestly benediction from a 6th-century B.C. amulet from Ketef Hinnom found in a burial cave below St Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Jerusalem in 1979. The Tetragrammaton is attested in citing the priestly blessing of Numbers 6:24–26 and in reference to Deuteronomy 7:9. This is also the earliest attestation of the biblical text*

Magic was not just an interest among common people; it also aroused elite interest, as is evident in criticism of Maimonides's dislike of popular magic.⁵⁷ R. Abraham Abulafia (1240–1291) after citing Maimonides gives an example of pronouncing the first four combinations of the seventy-two-letter name, which we shall encounter below.

The Hekalot literature of Late Antiquity, which we shall subsequently discuss, has obvious magical traits, as does the *Sepher Yetzirah*, one of the oldest and most influential books in post-biblical Judaism.⁵⁸ The *Hasidei Ashkenazi* literature of the late 12th and early 13th centuries is replete with magic. Arabic magic (itself originally from Hellenistic sources) influenced writers like R. Abraham ibn Ezra and Judah ha-Levi in the 12th century, as well as their successors. Kabbalah shows conspicuous magical characteristics in the late 15th and early 16th centuries in Spain, Italy, Jerusalem, and Safed, enjoying something of a Golden Age in the century 1470–1570, when Christian scholars like Pico della Mirandola were taking an interest in it. Later relationships between Kabbalah and magic need not concern us, but observe the ritual of *pulsa' di-nura* (Beating by Fire) applied more recently to curse both Saddam Hussein and Yitzak Rabin.

Pagan Magic

The main corpus of Greek magical papyri date from the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th centuries A.D., though their content may well be older.⁵⁹

Vocabulaire de l'Angéologie (Paris, 1897), are now judged implausible. The work is also of interest as aggressive magic: P.S. Alexander, "Sepher ha-Razim and the Problem of Black Magic in Early Judaism," in *Magic in the Biblical World*, ed. T. Klutz (London, 2003), pp. 170–190. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 170–175. For other magical books: the *Harbe de-Moshe* (*Sword of Moses*) with all its names, Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 175–179 and originally, M. Gaster, *The Sword of Moses* (London, 1896). The *Testament of Solomon* is clearly Christian but may contain traces of Jewish magic, Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 179–182, with translation by D.C. Duling in J.H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1 (New York, 1983), p. 935ff. Greek edition in C.C. McCown, *The Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig, 1922). For a later period, L.H. Schiffman and M.D. Swartz, eds., *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation: Texts from the Cairo Geniza* (Edinburgh, 1992).

57 Idel's preface to Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, pp. xi–xiii.

58 P.A. Hyman, "Was God a Magician? Sefer Yesirah and Jewish Magic," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 40 (1989), 225–237.

59 Karl Preisendanz, ed., *Papyri Graecae Magicae: die Griechischen Zauberpapyri*, (Stuttgart, 1973), t. I–II; Hans Dieter Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, (Chicago, 1986).

They display a distinctive idiom that began around the turn of the era and lasted beyond the Roman Empire, characterized by several different types of magical papyri, curse tablets, gems, and amulets. Other similar magic texts are found thereafter throughout the mediaeval Christian and modern world. The Papyri themselves are characterized by a marked syncretism. Divine names are listed fully and promiscuously in the attempt to attract the appropriate deity's benevolent attention. What are evidently intended to be forms of the Tetragrammaton and other Hebrew divine titles (*ia(h)o*, *adonai*, *eloi*, *sabaoth*) and angel names, together with names of the Hebrew biblical patriarchs, occur very frequently.⁶⁰ It must be stressed, however, that in this context the biblical God no longer enjoys exclusivity, but is merely one among many in the pagan magicians' pantheon. Origen, condemning some Ophite Gnostics in *Contra Celsum* 6.32, describes the situation:

One must know that those who composed these things neither understood the magical texts nor grasped the meaning of divine Scripture, but mixed everything up. From magic they took Ialdabaoth and Astraphaios and Horaios, while from Hebrew Scripture they took Iao (also called Ia by the Hebrews) and Sabaoth and Adonaios and Eloaios. Now the names which they took from Scripture are epithets of the One and Only God, but these enemies of God did not understand this, as they themselves admit, and thought that Iao was one god, Sabaoth another and a third besides this was Adonaios (whom Scripture calls Adonai) and yet another was Eloaios (whom the prophets call in Hebrew Eloai).

60 Thus, a Hellenistic Egyptian magic papyrus runs: "I evoke you, Mighty One of the Gods, Loud-thundering Zeus, Zeus, Master Adonai, Lord Iawouhe." C. Wessely, *Greichische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* (Vienna, 1880), p. 115. Baudissin, *Kyrios*, vol. 2, p. 206ff., describes curse tablets in Greek from Puteoli (*Sabaoth*, *Sa[b]aoth*, *Iao*, *El Michael*); from Carthage (*Iao...Sabao Adonai*); from Hadrumetum (*Iao*, *Adonae*); and from elsewhere. Also, Deissmann, "Greek Transcriptions," pp. 321–336. An illustrative example of linguistic and theological syncretism is Marc Philonenko, "Une prière magique au dieu Créateur (PGM 459–489)," *Comptes rendus des Séances de l'année-Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 129.3 (1985), 433–452. See also Marc Philonenko, "Une intaille magique au nom de Iao," *Semitica* 30 (1980), 57–60. J.M.R. Cormack, "A Tabella Defixionis in the Museum of the University of Reading," *Harvard Theological Review* 44.1 (1957), 25–34, describes a *tabella* of perhaps the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. bought in Istanbul and allegedly from Bithynia. *Aperbethe* there seems to be a combination of the Hebrew *'aph* (anger) and some form of the Tetragrammaton. *Arbath iao* (p. 33) seems to include the word for "four"—possibly in relation to the Tetragrammaton.

Jews acquired a reputation as powerful magicians in the early part of the Common Era—a reputation which was to endure in the Christian West—and the frequency of Greek forms of Hebrew names in the papyri may reflect this.⁶¹ It would be wrong, however, to suggest that Moses, Iao, and Yhwh were perceived by pagans solely in terms of magic. There is plenty of evidence for a more positive reception of Moses and for admiration of his aniconic god on ontological grounds, sometimes even as the highest god or even the one true God.⁶²

The question arises as to what extent the magical papyri present a unified and consistent synthesis, and indeed to what extent that consistency may have monotheistic tendencies.⁶³ A recent study has suggested such a consistency may be detected in the merged identity of many of the deities invoked, and it also detected an idealizing notion of magic, perhaps similar to that held by the

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- 61 But perhaps not just the Jews. In the *Vita Saturnini* in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (81), Hadrian is represented as comprehensively accusing Jews, Samaritans, and Christians of magic: *nemo illic archisynagogus Judaeorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum presbyter non mathematicos, non haruspex, non aliptes*. On Jews as magicians, see in addition to Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, correcting many previous views, L. Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen* (Strasbourg, 1898); and Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews* (London, 1966), pp. 57–75, and his *Jewish Magic*. Both Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberwesen*, p. 117ff., and Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, p. 90ff., make it clear that knowledge of the Ineffable Name of God was the most powerful force in Jewish magic. See also Simon, *Verus Israel*, pp. 394–431, for early Christian attitudes. Josephus considers magic a prerogative and advantage of Judaism: in *Antiquities* 8.2.5 it was revealed by God to King Solomon for healing, and Solomon remained the patron of beneficent magic for Jews and Christians thereafter. We shall meet the Solomonic magical literature later when considering the Middle Ages. For the New Testament: Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (London, 1978); John M. Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition* (London, 1974), and Todd Klutz, ed., *Magic in the Biblical World* (London, 2003). The professional magician is well characterized in Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, pp. 81–93. Also G. Veltri, “Der Magier in Antiken Judentum: Von Empirischer Wissenschaft zur Theologie,” in *Der Magus: Seine Ursprünge und Seine Geschichte in Verschiedenen Kulturen*, eds. A. Grafton and M. Idel (Berlin, 2001), pp. 147–168. S.J.D. Cohen, ed., *Morton Smith: Studies in the Cult of Yahweh*, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1996), is a collection of Smith’s papers, many of which are relevant to this topic. R. Thomas, *Magical Motifs in the Book of Revelation* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Durham, 2007), considers the thesis of D.A. Aune that Revelation has an anti-magic agenda. John Chrysostom in Antioch in the late 4th century agonized over the recourse of his flock, not content with the power of the Eucharist, the Sign of the Cross, and the saints and martyrs, to Jewish magic. The question was which religion was the more powerful. See: Wilken, *John Chrysostom*, pp. 83–88.
- 62 An important summary is George H. van Kooten, “Moses/Musaeus/Mochos and his God Yahweh, Yao and Sabaoth Seen from a Graeco-Roman Perspective,” in idem, ed., *Revelation of the Name*, pp. 107–138.
- 63 Hans Dieter Betz, “The Formation of Authoritative Tradition in the Greek Magical Papyri,” in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*, 3 vols., eds. E.P. Sanders et al. (London, 1981), vol. 2,

Neoplatonist Proclus, who saw magic as the result of love and strife “in the all,” the natural sympathy of things alike and opposition to difference which contribute to the one living being.⁶⁴

Modern definitions of magic tend to be functional and pragmatic, defining it unambitiously as manipulative strategies for influencing the course of events by supernatural means. One no longer distinguishes between magic and religion with the confidence of previous generations. There are too many counter-indications to any neat scheme so far proposed, and we are now accustomed to seeing a common resort to the divine in ways once considered antithetically magical and religious generally and in all periods of Western history.⁶⁵ One would hesitate to say that magical practices and convictions were no longer common, even today.⁶⁶ There is certainly no shortage of evidence for magical practices in both Judaism and Christianity in the early Common Era.⁶⁷ One feels also the futility of attempting rigorously to distinguish white and black magic, though in given instances it may be clear whether the specified operation is designed to heal or harm. Magic has always been a contested category, and is even so today. Debates over legitimate and illegitimate access to supernatural power—and which power—are characteristic of the Christian reception of the Tetragrammaton in all periods.

Christian Magic

In spite of the ubiquity of recourse to supernatural power, ecclesiastical authorities did criticize and in time proscribe certain practices. The 4th-century

pp. 161–170, traces the formation of reflective and theoretical traditions by professional magicians within the GMP corpus and places an important emphasis on an increasingly coherent articulation of the craft emerging in the collection: “Was there an urge to assemble the tradition because of the competing Christian and Jewish canons of the Bible?” he asks (p. 169). Such questions open large vistas!

- 64 E. Pachoumi, *The Greek Magical Papyri: Diversity* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Newcastle, 2007).
- 65 The promiscuous resort to different intermediaries is well illustrated in David Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto* (Manchester, 1992).
- 66 One of the most generally illuminating modern studies on witchcraft arose from field work in the Bocage of modern France in 1969: Jeanne Favret-Saada, *Les Mots, La Mort, Les Sorts* (Paris, 1977) and Jeanne Favret-Saada and José Contreras, *Corps pour Corps* (Paris, 1981).
- 67 Some Jewish texts forbid magic (bSanh. 65b–66a) but others authorize it. So bSanh. 17a for the Sanhedrin, or bSukkah 28a for Johanan ben Zakkai. See Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 351–427.

Spanish “heretic” Priscillian was accused of making use of an amulet bearing the Tetragrammaton for magical purposes.⁶⁸ (The issues, of course, were more complex than mere superstition.⁶⁹) Augustine vigorously condemned the Neopythagorean theurgy found in the 2nd-century Chaldean Oracles in his *City of God* X.9–12, and, more generally, in *De Doctrina Christiana* he rejected as superstitious many types of religious practice then current—many of them magical and including the use of talismans and amulets.⁷⁰ His fundamental diagnosis in *Ennaratio I in Ps 34.7* suggests that his hearers tended erroneously to place a hiatus between God and the material universe, which left a perceived gap for the activities of *daemones* and the technicians attendant upon them.⁷¹ Augustine’s category of the superstitious has been both influential and long-lived.⁷² He defined superstition thus: “Superstition is that instituted by

68 H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila: The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 20, 54–55. The suggestion was that he dabbled in weather magic.

69 Brown, *Eye of a Needle*, pp. 211–215, for the threat of Priscillian’s asceticism, his access to wealth, and the resultant opposition of the Spanish urban clergy. Jacques Chocheyras, *Saint Jacques à Compostelle* (Rennes, 1997), boldly conjectures that Priscillian’s remains are those venerated today in Compostela as St James’.

70 M. Meyer and R. Smith, eds., *Ancient Christian Magic* (San Francisco, 1994), for Coptic material. For the Chaldean Oracles: (ed.) Édouard des Places, *Oracles chaldaïques*, (Paris, 1971); Hans Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire* (Paris, 1978), in which volume see Pierre Hadot, “Bilan et perspectives sur les Oracles chaldaïques,” pp. 703–720. *De Doctrina Christiana* Book II, cap. XX, 30, is found in PL, vol. 34, col. 50. For amulets in general the bibliography is large: Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*, (London, 1950); A. Delatte and Philippe Derchain, *Les Intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964); Paul Perdrizet, “Negotium perambulans in tenebris” in *Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg*, fasc. 6 (1922), pp. 1–38; Louis Robert, “Amulettes grecques,” *Journal des Savants* (January–March 1981), 4–44; N. Brox, “Magie und Aberglaube an den Anfängen des Christentum,” *Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift* 83 (1974), 157–180. Michel, *Die Magischen*.

71 “There are those who say: ‘God is good, he is great, he is supreme, eternal and inviolable. It is he who will give us eternal life and that incorruption he has promised at the Resurrection’. But those things, indeed, of the [physical] word (*ista vero saecularia*)... belong to the daemons and to the Invisible Powers. They leave aside God, as if these things did not belong to him; and by sacrifices, by all kinds of healing devices, and by the expert divination of their fellows...they seek out ways to cope with what concerns the present life.” Quoted in Brown, *Eye of a Needle*, p. 201.

72 For Augustine’s part in the definition of the notion of superstition and its long life, see: Jean-Claude Schmitt, “Les ‘superstitions’ in *Histoire de la France religieuse*,” in *Des dieux de la Gaule à la papauté d’Avignon*, vol. 1, eds. Jacques Le Goff and René Rémond (Paris, 1988), p. 428 *et seq.* However, magic persisted equally tenaciously. For mediaeval magic, see

men (...) to consult demons, conclude and seal by certain pacts a communication with them as the magic arts do."⁷³ We may, however, see the use of the word as an indication of differences of opinion in the propriety of specific modes of recourse to the supernatural.

Early on, the Christians developed a habit of burning books of which they disapproved. *The Acts of the Apostles* (19.19) tells of the bonfire specifically of magic books occasioned by conversions at Ephesus.⁷⁴ Constantine the Great continued the tradition, and historians of the early Christianity have to be aware that their sources have suffered culling at the hands of those who sought to preserve truth and defeat error by destroying evidence in which we might otherwise have taken a great interest.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the evidence of the papyri is overwhelming for magical uses of the divine name. Popular piety does not necessarily follow closely the dictates of intellectual religious elites. Indeed, one should not exempt elites from the attractions of magic. It appears that practices deemed unsuitable by some authorities, both Jewish and Christian, were widespread, and shared no doubt by pagans, too. These included recourse to vocalizations of the Tetragrammaton. The magical texts, as we have indicated, give endless examples.⁷⁶

We need then to add to our description of Jewish inhibition and the absence of the Tetragrammaton in the New Testament, an awareness of its widespread and promiscuous use in "heretical," Gnostic, and magical texts.

initially Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. 2 (New York, 1923), and Claire Fanger, ed., *Conjuring Spirits: Texts and Traditions of Medieval Ritual Magic* (Stroud, 1998). Conversely, for miracles: R.A. Greer, *The Fear of Freedom: A Study of Miracles in the Roman Imperial Church* (London, 1989).

- 73 *Superstitiosum est quidquid institutum est ab hominibus ad facienda et colenda idola pertinet, vel ad colendam sicuti Deum creaturam partemve ullam creature, vel ad consultationes et pacta quedam significationum cum demonibus placita atque federata, qualia sunt molimina magicarum artium.*
- 74 For Rome's earlier legacy of book burning, including that of soothsayers' books: Frederick H. Cramer, "Book Burning and Censorship in Ancient Rome: A Chapter from the History of Freedom of Speech," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 6.2 (1945), 157–196.
- 75 The point is made by Smith, *Jesus the Magician*, p. 1.
- 76 Hermann Gollanz, *The Book of Protection Being A Collection of Syriac Charms* (Oxford, 1912; Amsterdam, 1976), contains interesting, clearly Christian material with Jewish influence. "I am," "I am that I am," "Adonai" are found frequently. Codex C at paragraph 18 (p. 86)—and parallels—admittedly a rather difficult passage, seems to use PIPPI. E.A. Wallis Budge, *Bandlet of Righteousness* (London, 1929; Whitefish, 2003), for Ethiopic magic names of God and their creative power.

The Tetragrammaton in Jewish Hebrew Mishnaic, Talmudic, Hekalot, and Biblical Texts in Later Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages

Christian knowledge of the Tetragrammaton was—unsurprisingly—mediated through Judaism. By the end of the period covered by this book, Christians had established some significant independence in their treatment of Hebrew material, both biblical and post-biblical, and often they chose to read it in their own way and without reference to the original Jewish context or the guidance of the received Jewish reading. Nonetheless, all such knowledge or competence they eventually acquired came initially from Judaism. The purpose of this chapter is to allow us to review, albeit in a cursory fashion, Jewish material concerning the Tetragrammaton which would in time become available to Christians. This is what they learned, and to make our subsequent account intelligible we shall need to know of the material which progressively became available to them.

The Tetragrammaton in the Mishnah and Talmud

The *Mishnah* is a collection of Jewish legal debate and decision-making gathered in the 3rd century A.D. by Rabbi Judah the Prince. It purports to collect the opinions of earlier rabbis. Indeed, the *Mishnah's* view of itself, as presented in the tractate *Aboth*, is that it is the culmination of a tradition of oral (rather than written) law which goes back to Moses on Sinai.

This fundamental corpus is supplemented by the later *Gemara*, which in turn is essentially legal debate upon the *Mishnah* itself and which comprises the *Talmud*. There are two Talmuds, that of Palestine (the Jerusalem Talmud) and that of Babylonia. Alongside this strictly legal material (*Halachah*), we have from the period narrative and exegetical material (*Haggadah*). A large corpus of textual exegesis and exposition is that of the *Midrashim*.

Jewish Talmudic tradition gives an account of the inhibitions upon the use of the Tetragrammaton. Thus *Mishnah Sanhedrin* (3rd century A.D.) 10.1: “The following have no portion in the world to come: ... Abba Saul says: Also one who pronounces the divine name as it is written.”

Furthermore, the divine name was not to be uttered in court by a witness—that is, it might not be mentioned in the witness’s report (as that apparently was still perceived as using the name). R. Joshua spoke of the use of “Jose smote Jose” in oaths to avoid mentioning the name until the final judgement (*Sanh* 7.5 and *bSanh* 91a: compare *bSanh* 55a).¹ The extension of punishment for blasphemy, even in cases where divine attributes were substituted for the name, suggests that as these still refer to God they therefore qualify as names (*bSanh* 56a and 60a).

The Babylonian Talmud also offers a report of how it was later considered that the ban had started:

The [Seleucid] Greeks decreed that the name of God may not be spoken aloud; but when the Hasmoneans grew in strength and defeated them they decreed that the name of God be used even in contracts...when the Rabbis heard about this they said, ‘Tomorrow this person will pay his debt and the contract will be thrown on a garbage heap [thus defiling the Name of God]’ so they forbade its use in contracts.²

Beyond what is here (a salutary indication of) a clear difference of opinion and practice, there is also evidence of a less restrictive practice requiring good reason for uttering the name: “What is meant by the verse, “And upon those that fear my name shall (the Sun of Righteousness) shine” (Malachi 3:20)?—This refers to those people who fear to utter the Divine Name without good reason.”³

When reading the Scriptures aloud, Rabbinic Judaism used euphemisms or substitutions instead of pronouncing the name.⁴ According to the Talmud, after the time of Simon the Just (a contemporary of Alexander the Great) the High Priest stopped using the Name in the blessings.⁵ The ban on the name, however, perhaps did not continue in this form, for later in the Second Temple era the name was reputedly used, but only in the Temple as the Mishnah states: “... In the sanctuary one says the Name as it is written but in the provinces, with a euphemism....”⁶

1 For the suggestion that this word is Zeus: A. Kohut, “Zeus in Misnah, Talmud and Midrash,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 3.3 (1891), 552–554.

2 *bR. Sh.* 18b.

3 *bNed.* 8b.

4 *jMeg.* 71d.

5 *bYom.* 49b. For the priestly blessing in the Hebrew Bible, see: Horst Seebass, “YHWH’s Name in the Aaronic Blessing (Numbers 6.22-27),” in Van Kooten, ed., *Revelation of the Name*, pp. 37–54.

6 *mSot.* 7.6; *bSot.* 38b; *mTam.* 7.2.

The use of the name in the Temple, even in giving greetings, as the Mishnah states (speaking of behaviour in the Temple grounds) is described thus: “And they ordained that an individual should greet his fellow with [God’s] name, in accordance with what is said: ‘And behold Boaz came from Bethlehem’; and he said to the reapers, ‘Yhwh be with you!’ And they answered, ‘Yhwh bless you’” (Ruth 2:4).⁷

We have seen a strong dissuasion from use of the divine name in the threatened loss of place in the world to come. Moreover, care was needed over the transmission of the name only to suitably reliable students (*bKiddushin* 71a), and the sages were restricted in using it. (*bPes.* 50a repeats *bKid.* 71a about Rav’s restriction upon saying the name. It adds that in the world to come the name will be uttered as it is written in a sort of eschatological reunification of language.) *bAvodah Zera* 17b recounts the punishment of Rabbi Hananiah ben Teradion under Roman rule in the 2nd century, who taught his pupils the name. He was burned at the stake, his wife executed, and his daughter condemned to a life of shame, for no other cause than that the Rabbi had pronounced the ineffable name in public hearing. This is happily of doubtful historicity.⁸

The rabbinic data are presented above in such a way as to give as coherent a picture as possible, but of course it would be rash to assume that there were not different views on the matter and different practices, and the synthetic picture just sketched may in fact conceal outright contradictions: it is a traditional rather than a historical account. Nevertheless, we have seen similar inhibitions at Qumran in reading Scripture and also in inappropriate uses of the Tetragrammaton. There is nothing obviously implausible in these remarks.⁹

More generally, one notices the reluctance of the Mishnah to use “God” and an evasive or precautionary use of substitutes like “Heaven,” “The Place,” or “The Holy One, Blessed be He.” It has been suggested that the earlier use of “Kingdom of Heaven” by Matthew’s Jesus may exemplify a similar sensibility. It was not thought to be impossible that Jesus himself shared such inhibitions, though they are not universal in the Gospel traditions.¹⁰ This sensibility originally suggested by Dalman has, however, been vigorously criticized, and both his arguments and the case for a widespread reverential circumlocution have

7 *mBer.* 9:5. The question here may be whether one shall or shall not use the divine name in ordinary salutation. If the salutations of Ruth 2:4 and Judges 6:12 were, as a matter of course, pronounced by speakers as *Adonai*, this may have been preferred as a good old religious form preferable to the godless *shalomaleychem* of their own unregenerate days.

8 W. Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten* (Strasbourg, 1903), vol. 1, p. 400.

9 For more rabbinic material, see *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1906) s.v. *Shem Mephorash*.

10 Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 194ff. J.Z. Lauterbach, “Substitutes for the Tetragrammaton,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 2 (1930–1931), 39–67.

been shown to be defective. Other, more positive explanations for Matthew's usage have been proposed.¹¹

It should, however, be stressed that inhibitions in pronouncing the Tetragrammaton were a mark of its holiness within Judaism, not its eclipse. Whereas mediaeval Christianity in the West lost familiar knowledge of both Hebrew and the name of God, the Tetragrammaton remained a central and powerful focus of Jewish speculation, devotion, and magic.

Talmudic Interpretations of Exodus 3:14

The Babylonian Gemara at *Berakoth* 9b offers an interpretation of Exodus 3:14:

'Ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh—'The Holy One, Blessed be He, said unto Moses: 'Go and say unto Israel, I have been (*hythy*) with you in this bondage: I will be (*'ehyeh*) with you in the (future) bondage of the kingdoms'. And he (Moses) spoke before Him: 'Lord of the World, sufficient unto the hour is the evil thereof'. The Holy One, Blessed be He, said unto him: 'Go and say unto them *'ehyeh* sent me to you'. Compare *Shemoth Rabba*: '*And God spoke to Moses*'—Rabbi Abba b. Mamal said: 'The Holy One, Blessed be He, said unto Moses: 'You seek to know my name: according to my acts am I designated; sometimes I am called 'El Shaddai, at other times 'Elohim at others Saba'oth, at others, *yhwh*. When I judge mankind, my name is 'Elohim; when I make war upon the wicked, my name is Saba'oth; when I bear with the sins of men, my name is 'El Shaddai; and when I show mercy upon the world, my name is *yhwh*; for *yhwh* is but the symbol of mercy, as it is written, *Yhwh, Yhwh 'Elohim merciful and longsuffering* (Exodus 34. 6). So my name is *'Ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh* because of my acts'. Rabbi Yisshaq says, The Holy One, Blessed be He, said unto Moses: 'Say unto them, What I was in the past, that I am at present and will be in the future'; therefore *'ehyeh* occurs three times [in Exod. 3:14].

And further:

'ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh—Rabbi Jacob b. Rabbi Abina, on the authority of Rabbi Htina of Sepphoris, said, 'The Holy One, Blessed be He, said unto

11 J.T. Pennington, *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew* (Leiden, 2007), for criticism of Dalman and a reassessment of Matthew's usage. Quite conversely, A. LaCocque, "Le Grand Cri de Jésus dans Matthieu 27.50," *Études Théologiques et Religieuses* 75.2 (2000), 161–187, proposes a last great cry from the Cross, which was the Tetragrammaton.

Moses: 'Say unto them, I will be (*'ehyeh*) with them in this bondage, and in the bondage to which they go, I will be with them'. He (Moses) spoke before Him: 'And am I to relate this to them? Sufficient unto the hour is the evil thereof'. He said unto him: 'No, thus (only) will you say unto the children of Israel, '*Ehyeh* has sent me to you; unto thee I make (the future) known, not unto them'.¹²

This passage is noteworthy because it is the interpretation subsequently espoused (as we have seen) by Rashi, the most respected and influential of all Talmudic commentators and biblical exegetes, and one of the most respected and influential figures in Judaism.

The Midrash *Exodus Rabbah* 3:6 has several interpretations of *'ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh*, among which we may consider the following.¹³

The first interprets the phrase as a declaration by God that, depending upon the work He is then performing, He is to be known by one of four biblical (as opposed to rabbinic) divine names, "hence in virtue of My deeds." The second interpretation in *Exodus Rabbah* identifies all three occurrences of *'ehyeh* in Exodus 3:14 as together denoting the immutability of God. It reads: "God said to Moses: "Tell them that I am now what I always was and always will be'; for this reason is the word *'ehyeh* written three times." This is an interpretation we have seen used by Moses Mendelssohn in the 18th century.

Another interpretation is a fuller version of *Berakoth* 9b. One suggests "I am that I am to individuals, but as for the mass, I rule over them even against their desire and will, even though they break their teeth." Finally, *'ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh* is taken as a declaration that God will manifest himself in his creation howsoever he pleases. This interpretation is reflected in that subsequently adopted by Buber and Rosenzweig, and has become a fairly common interpretation of the verse. *Leviticus Rabbah* 11:5 follows the Talmud in its identification of *'ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh* as a divine name, but, rather strangely, apparently suggests that it is only a temporary name: "This is my name for the time being: *'ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh*."

The Targums are Aramaic paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible from Late Antiquity which are not that easy to date in terms of either the exegetical aspects of their renderings or their final form.¹⁴ At Exodus 3:14 in the Jerusalem

12 Two other Talmudic passages in the Babylonian Talmud refer to *'ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh*: *Shebu'oth* 35a and *Baba Bathra* 73a. Both identify it as a divine name. *Baba Bathra* 73a implies that *'ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh* is a divine name by listing it alongside two other divine names; the words *'ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh yah yhw' seba'oth amen amen selah* written on a staff caused a stormy sea to subside.

13 Soncino *Midrash Rabbah* for the translations.

14 M. McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (An. Bib) 27 (Rome, 1966).

Targum, God, who had spoken once at the creation, now speaks: "I am he who is and who shall be." This is (similar to the formulation in Revelation) perhaps a natural development of Exodus 3:14, Isaiah 44:6, and *'ani hu'*. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan at Deuteronomy 32:39 has "I am he who is and who was: I am he who will be." The Fragment Targum and Targum Neofiti at Deuteronomy 32:3 have: "It is not possible for any of the angels to recall the divine name until they sing 'Holy Holy Holy' three times."¹⁵ The Pentateuchal Targumim show several writings of the Tetragrammaton, *yhy*, *yyyy*, *yy*, *hy*. There is, in fact, as we have mentioned, an increased number of occurrences of the Tetragrammaton above that of the Massoretic text, though care is taken to distinguish between sacred and profane uses of *'adonay*, which was of course the *Qere* for the Tetragrammaton.¹⁶

It is perhaps worthwhile to indicate the evidence of the Old Testament Peshitta, the Syriac Vulgate (Syriac is a later dialect of Aramaic).¹⁷ The divine names, *'dny* and *yh*, are usually translated by *mry'* (= *kurios*), though *yh* is both translated and transliterated in Exodus 15:2. This practice, which differs from most of the Targums, shows some awareness of the Jewish reading convention.¹⁸ *'Ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh* is, however, transliterated as one divine name as in most witnesses to Targum Onkalos. The Peshitta substitutes "May Peace be with you" for "May Yhwh be with you" in Ruth 2:4, which is more inhibited than counseled in Mishnah *Ber.* 9.5

We need to mention only briefly here later Jewish commentators. We have seen the views of several modern Jewish scholars in our Introduction and have now also seen some of the traditional sources of their exegesis. The general distinction we observed there between ontological interpretations and providential interpretations also holds for the earlier Middle Ages. Maimonides is the great exponent of Aristotelian ontology, as we have already seen. He interprets the question Moses asks God in Exodus 3:13 as anticipating that the Israelites would not believe in the existence of God, and so Moses asks God how he can demonstrate His existence to them: "Then God taught Moses how to teach them, and how to establish amongst them the belief in the existence of Himself, namely by saying, *'ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh*."¹⁹ Maimonides then has God

15 Spinks, *Sanctus*, pp. 47–58.

16 Chester, *Divine Revelation*, pp. 325–351. Also Hayward, *Divine Name*.

17 Michael P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 50, 53, 58, 190, 234, 238.

18 Though *Qtg Job*, the Job Targum found at Qumran, represents the Tetragrammaton by *'lh'* (eg 42.1).

19 M. Friedlander, trans., *Maimonides, Guide of the Perplexed*, 2nd ed. (1904), Part 1, Ch. 63 (LXIII).

tell Moses the “intelligible proofs” by which His existence could be confirmed, which proofs are presented in Part II of the *Guide* and comprise twenty-six principles of Aristotelian physics and metaphysics, as well as a philosophical treatise of his own. The divine statement *’ehyeh ’asher ’ehyeh* is interpreted as a summary statement of these philosophical proofs. One wonders what the elders of Israel made of (the first) Moses’ lectures on Aristotle. Joseph Albo interpreted the verse along similar lines to Maimonides.²⁰ So did Saadia Gaon.

On the side of a providential interpretation there is Rashi. His interpretation of Exodus 3:14 is taken, as we have now seen, entirely from *Berakoth* 9b and its corresponding interpretation in Exodus *Rabbah* 3:6.²¹

But perhaps it may be interesting to notice some commentators who blend the two approaches. Judah Halevi discusses Exodus 3:14 before 1140 in *The Book of the Kuzari*, in the context of a discourse on divine names (IV.1–16). Like Maimonides, he identified *yhwh* as the proper name of God, though he identified the *’ehyeh* of Exodus 3:14b as the divine name in this verse. *’Ehyeh* he derived from *hayah*, which he considered to mean “to exist.” However, by way of explaining the name *’ehyeh* he contended that its principal effect was only “to prevent the human mind from pondering over an incomprehensible but real entity.” He thereby avoided a philosophical interpretation of the verse. He paraphrases God’s words as follows: “What have they to ask concerning things they are unable to grasp? Say to them *’ehyeh*, which means: *’ehyeh ’asher ’ehyeh*, the existing one, existing for you whenever you seek me. Let them search for no stronger proof of my presence among them, and name me accordingly. Moses therefore answered *’ehyeh* has sent me to you.”²² This assurance of God’s availability to Israel is similar to the providential interpretations. For Halevi the difference between the god of Aristotle and the God of Moses was the Tetragrammaton.

The 16th-century Italian biblical commentator Obadiah Sforno also took an ontological view of Exodus 3:14. He interpreted the question of Exodus 3:13 as Nahmanides had done before him, which was not so much as a request for God’s name as for an identification of the divine attribute by which Moses would deliver the Israelites from servitude: “By what function emanating from Him, by which He can be called by name, did He send you to deliver us?”²³

20 E. Munk, *The Call of the Torah*, vol. 2 (New York, 1994), p. 41.

21 Y. Herczeg, trans., *Rashi, The Sapirstein Edition Commentary on Torah*, vol. 2 (New York, 1999), p. 25.

22 H. Hirschfeld, trans., *J. Halevi, The Book of Kuzari* (New York, 1946), Part IV, p. 178.

23 R. Pelcovitz, trans., *Sforno, Commentary on the Torah, Translation and Explanatory Notes* (New York, 2004), p. 295.

The answer in Exodus 3:14 he interprets in the light of both Maimonides and Ramban (who in turn had read Rashi, Halevi, and Maimonides) Sforno then interprets *ʾehyeh ʾasher ʾehyeh* in similar terms to Maimonides, with: “He whose existence is constant and consistent, and whose essence is His existence.” But if this is from Maimonides, Sforno then identifies Justice and Righteousness as the divine attributes that would deliver Israel from servitude, just as Ramban had identified them as Mercy and Justice, and, like both Ramban and Rashi before him, he finds the expression of these two divine attributes are realized historically in God’s contrasting actions towards Israel and Egypt—very much as Rashi would have seen it.

The Lore of the Name

But to focus merely on inhibitions in the use of the name and explicit commentary is to miss much of the lore surrounding the Tetragrammaton in rabbinic texts. The name was considered to be endowed with incomparable power.²⁴ No one text gathers together all the material on the name or its power. Blessing and cursing in the name, however, do seem automatic and irrevocable in later use, much as they appear in the Hebrew Bible.

The use of the name in sealing the Abyss in creation is mentioned, as we shall see below, in *Hekhalot Rabbati* 23 and in *bMakkot* 11a, where a shard with the name written on it is thrown into the Abyss to hold back the waters which threaten the world. *bBerachot* 55a attributes to Rav the idea that Bezalel, the builder of the tabernacle, knew how to combine the letters by which heaven and earth were created. Genesis 2:4 and Isaiah 26:4 are interpreted as proof that one letter of the divine name was used to create the world, and another was used for the world to come (*Pesikta Rabbati* 21).

The divine name was entrusted to the entire nation during the desert journey but was taken away after the episode of the Golden Calf (*Midrash Psalms* 36.8; *Midrash Numbers* 12.3). Israel is defended by the name in *Numbers Rabbah* 16.24—“He girded them with cuirasses”—while R. Simai said: “He clothed them with royal cloaks.” The Ineffable Name was engraved on them, and as

24 For discussions of the Power of the Name: Leopold Zunz, *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1895), p. 145ff.; Blau, *Das altjüdische Zauberesen*; Bacher, “Shem ha-meforash,” pp. 30–40; Marmorstein, *Rabbinic Doctrine*, pp. 19–31, 41–107; Kaufman Kohler, *The Origins of the Church and Synagogue* (New York, 1929); Simon, *Verus Israel*, pp. 394–431; E.E. Urbach, *The Sages* (Jerusalem, 1975, 1979), pp. 124–134; Fossum, *Name of God*, pp. 76–87, 241–256.

long as they possessed it no evil thing could touch them, neither the angel of death nor anything else.

Knowledge of name was once widespread, but due to corruption of human society it was continually restricted until after the death of Simon the Righteous (*bYoma* 39b, *jYoma* 40d). The death of Simon the Righteous (identified by Christians as Simeon, the old priest in the Temple who blessed baby Jesus) will occur frequently in Christian histories of the use of the name.

The name was diminished: after the destruction of Temple it consisted of two letters (*bEr.* 18b). The present state of the world is such that prayers are not heard because they do not contain the name (*Midrash Psalms* 91.8)—a situation to be remedied in the world to come.

Use of the Tetragrammaton was not, however, confined to creation. Solomon had a ring with a divine name on it to subdue the demon Ashmodei (*bGit.* 68b). Moses used it to kill the Egyptian (*Exodus Rabba* on 2.14; *PdeRK* 19). “What did the sea behold? It beheld the divine name graven on Aaron’s staff and fled.”

The name also enabled Solomon to fly (*bSanh* 95a). A woman used the divine name to ascend to heaven and God turned her into a star.²⁵

The Tetragrammaton was used to animate lifeless images. Abraham created living souls by this method (*Genesis Rabba* 39, sec. 14). Scholem compares this to the creation of a homunculus by Simon Magus in the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies* (II.26) and to later golem stories.²⁶

Jeroboam’s golden calf was animated by the name which was placed in its mouth (*bSota* 47a). Nebuchadnezzar made an image live either by placing the high priest’s breast plate with the name on it into the image’s mouth or by writing the name on its forehead. Daniel removed the name by kissing it, and the image became lifeless again (*Song of Songs Rabbah* 7.9). Two rabbis created a calf using the name (*bSanh* 65b/67b).²⁷

But the divine name was also central in devotion. The mediaeval prayer book of Saadia Gaon from the 10th century contains the following words:

As far as Your glorious name is concerned, Your name is in accordance with Your praise, in Your name will Your people rejoice, for the sake of Your name You will be lenient, You will bestow honour to Your name, because everyone who knows Your name it is Your name that is pleasing, the one who guards it will mention it in awe, purity and holiness, in

25 *Midrash Abkir, Yalkut Simoni* 44, *Bereschit Rabbati* (Albeck) 29, 14–31,8 and Raymond Martin, *Pugio Fidei* (1687), pp. 937–939.

26 Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, p. 217f.

27 Gershom Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism* (New York, 1965), p. 166f.

accordance with Your glory You have concealed it from the majority of the people; it has only been handed down to anyone who is modest humble, God-fearing, slow to anger and not seeking his own interests. In each generation You have disclosed something from its secret.²⁸

Praise of the name of God has obvious biblical roots (e.g. Isaiah 57:15; Psalm 72:19; etc.). By Saadia's time the name of God was considered to embrace the secret laws and harmonies of all existence. In particular, the combination of the Hebrew letters of the name was often considered as part of the fashion by which the world was created, as the numerous commentaries on the *Sepher Yetzirah* indicate. The Late Antique liturgical poetry of the *Piyyutim* exemplifies Jewish devotion to the name in prayer and praise, marking both its ineffability and its holiness.²⁹

The Tetragrammaton and Jewish Magic³⁰

I adjure you by the Sacred Name which is not uttered...

Magic Tablet of Adrumetum³¹

28 I. Davidson et al., *Siddur R. Saadja Gaon* (Jerusalem, 1978), p. 379, quoted in Wout Jac. van Bekkum, "What's in the Divine Name? Exodus 3 in Biblical and Rabbinic Tradition" in Van Kooten, ed., *Revelation of the Name*, pp. 6–15 at p. 6.

29 Van Bekkum, "What's in the Divine Name?" pp. 6–15 on pp. 10–13 discusses Yannai's handling of Exodus 3.

30 From an enormous bibliography: M. Fishbane, *Aspects of Jewish Magic in the Ancient Rabbinic Period: The Samuel Solomon Lectures II* (Chicago, 1979), pp. 29–38; P. Hayman, "Was God a Magician? Sefer Yesira and Jewish Magic," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 40 (1989), 225–237; B. Kern-Ulmer, "The Depiction of Magic in Rabbinic Texts: The Rabbinic and Greek Concept of Magic," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 27 (1996), 289–303; E.R. Wolfson, "Phantasmagoria: The Image of the Image in Jewish Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages," *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 4.1 (2001), 78–120; Peter Schäfer, "Jewish Magic Literature in Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 41.1 (1990), 75–91; Peter Schäfer and S. Shaked, eds., *Magische Texte aus der Geniza* (Tübingen, 1994); Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls* (Jerusalem, 1985); idem, *Magic Spells and Formulae* (Jerusalem, 1993). M.D. Swartz, "Scribal Magic and Its Rhetoric: Formal Patterns in Medieval Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Geniza," *Harvard Theological Review* 83.2 (1990), 163–180; D.M. Salzer, *Die Magie der Auspielung* (Tübingen, 2010), pp. 193–200 (also pp. 52; 73f.; 313–315 for quotations of Exod. 3:14 in Jewish magical texts).

31 Marmorstein, *Rabbinic Doctrine*, p. 18, discussing Deismann's interpretation.

Both rabbis and magicians (not necessarily mutually exclusive groups) used abbreviations of the Tetragrammaton. The rabbis often confined themselves to a single *yod*, but the magicians allowed themselves more variety.³² We have seen such abbreviations at Qumran, and there is no reason not to consider the rabbis' practices going back to Second Temple times.³³

To a famous dictum of Rabbi Akiba that “whosoever whispers on a wound and recites Exodus 15.26”—that is, engages in magic—has no share in the world to come, Abba Shaul, as we have just seen above, adds that “even one who pronounces *the name by its letters* suffers a similar fate.”³⁴ Here is both the temptation to make use of the power of the name and its prohibition. The name here is referred to as the *shem mephorash*.³⁵ The precise connotation of this term is long lost, but it subsequently caught the attention of the Christians, whose usage is very much their own. The desire to avoid saying the

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- 32 Lauterbach “Substitutes,” pp. 39–67. Apparently some 83 substitutes for the Tetragrammaton have been listed. For fear of writing the particle *yh-* in proper names, it was claimed they were abbreviated, so Jehudah becomes Judah, the final *h* of Elijah and Isaiah was dropped, and the numerals 15 and 16 were not written *yh* and *yw* but another way, in order to avoid use of parts of the name. Today it is more common to find epigraphic and philological explanations for the difference between Jehudah and Judah.
- 33 Baumgarten, “New Qumran Substitute,” pp. 1–5, demonstrates the continuity between the blessing from 4Q266 and the words of Rabbi Judah in *mSukkah* 4.5.
- 34 *mSan* 10.1; *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan* A12; b.AZ. 17b–18a. Whispering on a wound is a magical practice. Artapanus (*frag.* 3b) in the 2nd century B.C. (cited in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Ev.* 9.27.24–25) tells how Moses, having been asked the name of his God by the Egyptian king, whispers it in his ear. The king falls down dead until Moses brings him back to life.
- 35 There is uncertainty over the meaning of this phrase and exactly what it designates. Informed use of the phrase seems to have ceased soon after the close of the Talmud. Suggestions have included: the engraved name, the explained name, the concealed name, the proper name, the express name, the distinctly uttered name. Arnold, “The Divine Name,” pp. 107–165 at p. 158 for a list, and his own suggestion at p. 160. The apparently synonymous use of the phrase *Shem ha-Meyuhad* has suggested that both terms mean something like “pre-eminent.” Some take it to mean the name pronounced “separate” or “by its letters.” Gaster, *The Sword of Moses*, p. 9, argued for the meaning of “ineffable” rather than “explicit” or “separate.” Further, Joshua Trachtenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 288–289; Bacher, “Shem ha-Meforash,” pp. 262–264; Samuel Cohon, “The Names of God: A Study in Rabbinic Theology,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23.1 (1951), 579f.; M. Grunbaum, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sprach—und Sagenkunde* (Berlin, 1901), argued that the Hebrew term came from an Aramaic equivalent found in the Targums. The root PRS is used, for example in the translation of Judges 13:8, where the angel refuses to reveal his name because it is *meforash*. The transcription of the term also varies considerably, especially with Christian authors. I have not tried to standardize this.

Tetragrammaton together with the desire to use its great power gave rise to numerous substitute names. The rabbis devised names of four, twelve, forty-two, and seventy-two letters which were transmitted to those thought worthy and who would keep them secret.³⁶ *B.Kidd.* 71a is, as we have already seen, a key text here describing just to whom a sage may transmit explanations of these names. This is a passage which later caught the attention of Raymund Martin.

The magicians employed a great variety of abbreviations: *y, yy, yyy, yyyy, yh, yhw, yhwh, 'hyh, 'h, w, y*, etc. etc. as well as a wide variety of other names and titles of God.³⁷ Gideon Bohak's work makes it clear, however, that what are *not* found among the earlier magicians are these names of twelve, twenty-two, and seventy-two letters which enjoy such widespread popularity in later Jewish magic and devotion and attracted the attention of the Christians. These are absent from Late Antique amulets, Babylonian incantation bowls, and the Genizah magical texts. Consequently, it is only later in Geonic texts (900–1500 A.D.) that we encounter some discussions of these names.³⁸

The Names of Twelve, Forty-Two, and Seventy-Two Letters

We need to say a little more about the extended names, as it were, of God. The rabbis talk about a twelve-letter name of God, apparently made from more than one name. They also speak of a 72-letter name of God. The latter is constructed from Exodus 14:19–21, three 72-letter verses which yield 72 three-letter names when the three verses are written one below the other (the first from left to right, the second from right to left, and the third from left to right again)

36 *bYoma* 3.8 (40d); *Eccl R* 3.11; *bKidd* 71a; *Gen R.* 44.19; *AdRN* A13.

37 Joshua Trachtenberg, op. cit., p. 91, for variations in the order on consonants and vowels. For the formation of magical names from the Tetragrammaton and other words, pp. 260–264.

38 Joshua Trachtenberg, op. cit., pp. 90–103. See *ibid.*, p. 289, for speculative attempts to reconstruct the 12-, 42-, and 72-letter names of Talmudic times on the assumption that they were not the same as those known in later times. L.H. Schiffman, "A Forty-Two Letter Divine Name in the Aramaic Magic Bowls," *Bulletin of the Institute of Jewish Studies* 1 (1973), 97–102; Moshe Idel, "Defining Kabbalah: The Kabbalah of Divine Names," in *Mystics of the Book: Themes, Topics and Typologies*, ed. R.A. Herrera (New York, 1993), pp. 97–122. There is a *responsum* from Hai Gaon (939–1038) to the Jews of Kairouan asking about the efficacy and legitimacy of using the Name for magic purposes. He reveals himself in general to be very sceptical of magical powers, Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, pp. 224–225, 325.

so that 72 vertical rows of three consonants are formed. Verse 19 also contains the words “the angel of the Lord,” which provided the stimulus for the next step: to these 72 names are added suffixes in *-iah* or *-el*, to produce 72 trisyllabic angelic names. So *VHV* became *Vehuiah*; *SJT*, *Sitael*; *MHS*, *Mahasiah*; and so on. Thus subsequently, for example, Agrippa (*De Occulta* III.25) in 1533 will refer to the *Vehuiah* list:

Then each of the three letters being subordinate to one another, make up one name, which are seventy-two names, which the Hebrews call Schem Hamphoras, to which if the divine names El or Jah be added, they produce seventy-two trisyllabic divine names of angels, whereof every one carries the great name of God, as it is written: ‘My angel shall go before thee; observe him, for my name is with him’. And there are those that set over the seventy-two celestial quinarys,³⁹ and so many nations and tongues, and joints of man’s body, and cooperate with the seventy-two seniors of the Synagogue, and so many Disciples of Christ (Illustration 24).

Notice that for Agrippa, as for many Christians, the *Schem Hamphoras* is specifically the 72-letter name, whatever it once meant for the rabbis. It is perhaps also worth dwelling on the pervasiveness of the symbolism of 70 or 72 that Agrippa suggests. It is the number of the Sons of Israel or the Sons of God in Deuteronomy. It is the number of the nations in Genesis 10, and the number of the disciples in Luke.⁴⁰ The apocryphal *Books of Adam and Eve*, surviving in Greek, Latin, Slavonic, Georgian, Armenian, and Coptic, tell of the 70 (or 72) diseases inflicted upon Adam as punishment for his disobedience, corresponding to the 72 parts of the human body and the number of its joints. The High Priest had 72 bells on his robe...and so on. In the Gnostic *On the Origin of the World* there are 72 celestial powers or “gods.” In the *Apocalypse of James* there are 72 heavenly forces.

Less quantitatively striking than Arthur C. Clarke’s *The Nine Billion Names of God*, nor even obviously a round number like the 100 names of Allah, of which the last and most mysterious one holds the others in unity, or the 50 names of Marduk, 72 is a round number in a duodecimal system (12×6) and is the only duodecimal number in the centum that has as many as ten divisors, which in itself places it at an intersection of the two number systems. We shall repeatedly meet the number.

39 Astrological terms: the sun’s rays for five degrees of the celestial sphere, six for each of the twelve houses of the zodiac.

40 B. Metzger, “Seventy or Seventy-Two Disciples?” *New Testament Studies* 5 (1959), 299–306.

Valentina Izmirlieva offers a fascinating account of uses of the number 72 in Slavic texts naming the Lord.⁴¹ She then examines in depth a particular Slavonic amulet, first printed in 1520, known as *The 72 names of the Lord*, contrasting the open-ended list of divine names which pseudo-Dionysius proclaimed with the closed list of names on this charm that were specifically intended not to illumine the soul rising to God, but to ward off evil. She further establishes the amulet's dependence upon Provençal rather than Greek sources. We shall return to her work shortly.

Magic in the Talmuds

Hans-Jürgen Becker has examined the magical material from Amoraic times in the Palestinian or Jerusalem Talmud (*Yerushalmi*) and compared it with that of the Babylonian (*Bavli*).⁴² He was looking for evidence of interest in Hekalot and magical sources in Amoraic Palestine, and particularly in the Galilean centres which produced Yerushalmi. There are statements in other Palestinian rabbinic works which ascribe a variety of magic effects to use of the name, some of which we have already met: Moses killed the Egyptian in Exodus 2:12 by expressing the divine name over him (*AdRN* A.20; *Leviticus Rabbah* 32.4 on Lev. 24:10 with parallels⁴³); he divided the Sea by use of the name (*PdeRK* 19.6 expounding Isaiah 57:15); according to one manuscript of the Mekilta on Exodus 13:18, a gold tablet inscribed with the ineffable name enabled Moses to raise the metal coffin of Joseph from the bottom of the Nile, where the Egyptians had maliciously sunk it, and get it to float; and, more generally, that God defended Israel by the means of the name of 72 letters. He also considers treatment of Honi the circle-drawer in the earlier Mishnah *Ta'anit* 3.8, who swore "by your great name" and produced rain.

The presupposition of both Bavli and Yerushalmi seems to be that the world was created by letters which are generally taken to be those of the divine name. This is not necessarily a marginal view—it appears in *Sepher Yetzirah*, though there the intentions seem perhaps more cosmological than magical. Magic, however, may be suspected if the letters of the name are combined in new

41 Izmirlieva, *All the Names of the Lord*, pp. 69–78.

42 H.-J. Becker, "The Magic of the Name and Palestinian Rabbinic Literature," in *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture III*, ed. P. Schäfer (Tübingen, 2002), pp. 391–410.

43 For Moses as a magician using the Tetragrammaton, Rivka Ulmer, *Egyptian Cultural Icons in Midrash* (Berlin, 2009), pp. 124–136.

ways in order to reconstruct the ever-continuing process of creation and thus make human intervention possible.

Bavli (but not Yerushalmi) *Berakhot* 55a has Rav Yehudah in name of Rav speak of Bezaleel combining letters in his work. Yerushalmi tells us that the name was uttered ten times on the Day of Atonement, Yom Kippur, but that as soon as the people had given their responses they forgot it (deduced from Exod. 3:15 *l'wlm/l'lm* ("for ever" or "for secrecy") and stressing secrecy), whereas Bavli deals with the four-letter, twelve-letter, and forty-two-letter names and the contemporary issue of to whom—to people of what degree of trustworthiness—they may be communicated. Bavli presupposes the use of the name in magic, but the name or its pronunciation seems of less interest—certainly when compared to the Tannitic evidence—in Yerushalmi. An almost ironic account in Yerushalmi *Yoma* 3.7 remarks that some non-Jews know more about the divine name than the rabbis of Sepphoris. There is little evidence therefore to point to much interest in magic or Hekalot literature in Palestine at this time. In all, magic using the name seems more of a Babylonian preoccupation.⁴⁴

A. Bij de Vatte has drawn attention to some very odd Jewish grave inscriptions from the early period which make no mention of the deceased but consist solely of alphabetic sequences in Hebrew or Greek. Such apparently nonsensical *voces magicae* she plausibly interprets as having an apotropaic magical function to protect the last resting place. Michael Martin, however, goes somewhat farther and suggests a tradition considering the alphabet as a form of the divine name, and thus sequences of letters, in an appropriate context, as functioning as divine names.⁴⁵

Jewish Magic and Jewish Mysticism

A major topic of ancient and mediaeval Jewish esotericism is that of the divine names and the various ways of expressing them. These considerations are not without a magical component, and before we come to discuss Kabbalah it will be useful to consider some earlier texts.

An important article by Moshe Idel brings together considerations of both magic and mysticism within Judaism. Idel, who describes magic

44 J. Neusner, *The Wonder-Working Lawyers of Talmudic Babylonia* (Lanham, Md., 1987).

45 A. Bij de Vatte, "Alphabetic Inscriptions from Jewish Graves," in *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*, eds. J.W. van Henten and P.W. van der Horst (Leiden, 1994), pp. 148–167; M. Martin, "Spelling the Divine Name: Observations on Jewish Alphabetic Inscriptions," *Abgadiyat* 2 (2007), 38–44.

unexceptionally as “a series of acts and beliefs that presume the possibility of achieving (beneficial) physical results through the use of techniques not subject to empirical explanations,” considers it should be studied together with Jewish mysticism—a combination common in the Hekalot literature, to which we shall now turn, where magic may be admitted as a lower form of religious expression than mysticism, but only because it seeks to effect a lower stratum of existence. Jewish magic, Idel argues, no less than *torat ha-sod* (secret teaching or mysticism), is based upon reliable teachers and traditions. In this context Idel compares and contrasts the mystical study or contemplation of the divine names and their powers with the magical activation and use of their powers. Such a rapprochement is only helpful and emphasizes continuities rather than the controversial distinctions of theological debate.⁴⁶

Hekalot Literature⁴⁷

A rather loosely defined group of texts—*hekalot* (palace) texts and *merkabah* (chariot) texts—generally portrays human ascent through the heavens to see

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- 46 Moshe Idel, “On Judaism, Jewish Mysticism and Magic,” in *Envisioning Magic*, eds. Peter Schäfer and H.G. Kippenberg (Leiden, 1997), pp. 195–214. Also Gershom Scholem, *Origins of the Kabbalah* (Princeton, 1987), pp. 97–123; E. Kanarfogel, “Peering through the Lattices”: *Mystical, Magical and Pietistic Dimensions in the Tosaphist Period* (Detroit, 2000), pp. 131–188, on magic. Michael D. Schwarz, *Scholastic Magic Rituals and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton, 1996), pp. 18–30, finds three elements in Jewish magic from Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages—an emphasis upon the power of the name of God, the intermediary role of angels in negotiating between divine providence and human need, and the application of the divine names and ritual practices for the needs of specific individuals. Gershom Scholem, “The Name of God and the Linguistics of Kabbala,” *Diogenes* 79 (1972), 59–80; *Diogenes* 80 (1973), 164–194; K.E. Groezinger, “The Names of God and the Celestial Powers: Their Function and Meaning in the Hekhaloth Literature,” in *Early Jewish Mysticism*, ed. J. Dan (Jerusalem, 1987), pp. 53–69; Martin S. Cohen, *The Shi’ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism* (Lanham, Md., 1983); idem, *The Shi’ur Qomah: Texts and Recensions* (Tübingen, 1985); Idel, *Ben*, p. 77, n. 20, for bibliography on the name in ancient and mediaeval esotericism. Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism* (London, 1910), p. 70, offered the classical distinction that magic signifies a wish to control reality while mysticism pursues the unselfish goal of mystical union.
- 47 D. Halperin, *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature* (New Haven, 1980); Peter Schäfer, “Tradition Redaction in Heikaloth Literature,” *Journal for Study of Judaism* 14 (1984), 172–181; idem, “New Testament and Hekhaloth Literature: The Journey to Heaven in Paul and Merkavah Mysticism,” *Journal of Jewish Studies* 35 (1984), 19–35; idem, *Hekhalot-Studien* (Tübingen, 1988), pp. 118–153, 277–295 on magical elements. Saul Shaked, “Peace

the upper realm and its inhabitants. The manuscripts are generally mediaeval, their language lush and repetitious with frequent apparently nonsensical words. They are cryptic, mystical, and no doubt also magical. They have attracted a lot of attention and have been thought to illuminate the world of early Christianity, and Gnosticism as well as post-biblical Judaism. Their dating, however, remains uncertain.

Gershom Scholem initially edited these texts.⁴⁸ He was concerned with pressing their early date (1st to 4th century), seeking a context in the religious speculations of Greek and Christian literature in the first centuries of the Common Era. Although he succeeded in showing that many of the themes of this literature were around at that period, he was not generally successful in persuading scholars that the texts in the form we have them were known at such an early date. The texts contain few historical references and are often clearly composite, displaying signs of redaction, editing, expansion, and duplication. Subsequently Morton Smith found the apocalyptic portions of the texts to date to the mid-4th century⁴⁹; P. Alexander thought that although texts like 3 *Enoch* contain some old material belonging to traditions dating back to the Maccabees, the redaction of that text belonged to the 5th or 6th century.⁵⁰ Scholem was also concerned with embracing these practitioners within normative Judaism, stressing Talmudic features of the texts, while at the same time highlighting the experiential nature of the texts by comparing them to the Greek magical papyri. He concluded famously: “Indeed the speculative religious elements in these remains of the Hebrew and Aramaic Heikaloth books is so closely interwoven with the magical ones, that I feel the distinction drawn by many scholars today between Gnostic literature proper and that of the magical papyri is somewhat overstated.”⁵¹

Be upon You Exalted Angels: On Hekhaloth, Liturgy and Incantation Bowls,” *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 2 (1995), 197–219. Also: Rachael Elior, *The Mystical Origins of Hasidism* (Portland, 2006); Peter Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (Tübingen, 2009); James Davila, *Descenders to the Chariot: The People behind the Hekhalot Literature* (Leiden, 2000).

48 Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*. His collection included the *Visions of Ezekiel, the Lesser Hekalot, the Greater Hekalot (Rabbati), physiognomic fragments, Maaseket Hekaloth, III Enoch and Maaseh Merkabah*—all revelations of the heavenly realm and all except the first associated with Rabbis Akiva and Ishmael.

49 Morton Smith, “Observations on Hekhaloth Rabbati,” in *Biblical and Other Studies*, ed. A. Altmann (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 142–160. Morton Smith considers the hymnic material “spells.”

50 P.S. Alexander, “(Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch,” in *The Old Testament Apocrypha*, ed. J. Charlesworth (New York, 1983), pp. 223–315.

51 Op. cit., p. 75.

An interesting work by Naomi Janowitz studies one of Scholem's texts, the *Maaseh Merkabah*, within the context of reflection upon the nature of ritual language—its functions in naming, the relationships between language forms and their contexts of use, and also the meaning located in the internal structures of the composition.⁵² The ritual text as a whole is seen as transformative in that the accomplishment of the rite establishes a context that presupposes the effected rite. She differentiates this account of ritual language from the step-by-step recipes of the magical papyri which Scholem had found to be so close. Reviewing the ideologies of language thus presented in the texts, she devotes a whole chapter to employing the name of God within the text.⁵³

Briefly: the underlying philosophy of language she distinguishes from the referential account of creation in Genesis, where the divine articulation of the word "light" produces light. This new theory exemplified in *Maaseh Merkabah* is no longer based upon reference and the predication of words uttered by God. Rather, by stating that the creative word spoken was his name, the pragmatics of divine speech have been located in a specific meaningful unit—the divine name. Divine language now becomes the uttering of the divine names, and the creative word no longer refers to the deed it brings about. God's proper name has no fixed sense; rather, when he speaks his name, it does not refer to the deeds it effects, but instead to himself. These effective divine names are placed at the centre of the ritual language system. Other words are apparently transformed into the name by explicit equation with it: "He is His name and His name is Him/He is in Him and His name is in His name./Song is His name and His name is Song." The piling up of words in this way becomes characteristic. So, new powerful words are generated from others among the many powerful names of the deity. Sometimes these include letters of the name and look at first glance like nonsense words. But others are effective because of their identification with the name. In this way the normal content of words risks being evacuated as the entire text becomes a remembrance of the name, thereby enhancing its "magical" status.

An ideology of a divine language as spoken ("Thus saith the Lord") is here being replaced by the power of the written text—itsself a powerful object containing the tokens of "Thus saith the Lord." The text is identified as a collection of powerful words becoming a fetish, and at the same time their transformative power is located in the name of God. She considers the Targums' use of the Aramaic word for "word" (*memra*) as indicating that God's power was represented on earth by his effective speech, and that the words he spoke are

52 Janowitz, *The Poetics of Ascent*. Her comments on the problems of ritual language (pp. 101–111) anticipate her later work, which we have already cited.

53 Janowitz, *The Poetics of Ascent*, pp. 83–99, and also pp. 103–105.

contained in the very text. This protects against both the vagueness of *hypostaseis* and the obvious inadequacy of anthropomorphisms.

She goes on to show how the experience of ascent is integrated into such a scheme. It is interesting to compare her account with that of Anne Pasquier's description of the *Sacred Book of the Great Invisible Spirit* as a Gnostic baptismal ritual text, which we have already discussed.

The antecedents of Janowitz's text may be sketched very briefly. Hebrew exegetical literature, as we have seen, abounds in statements about the power of the name and prominent anecdotes about its powers, accounts of its use by God in creation, and injunctions against uttering it or the names of other gods.⁵⁴ None of this is in the Hebrew Scriptures, which protest against its abuse but do not prohibit its mention. Nor does the Hebrew Bible suggest that God created the world by his name. Jarl Fossum suggested that the use of the name in creation first appeared in connection with an oath containing the divine name that sealed creation, and this was a reinterpretation of an earlier cosmology.⁵⁵ Enoch asks to learn the hidden name from the oath by which "the heaven was suspended before the creation of the world" (*Enoch* 69.14–25 from the *Similitudes*, late 2nd century B.C.). In *Jubilees* 36.7 (again, 2nd century B.C.), Isaac exhorts his son to swear a great oath, "for there is no oath greater than it, by the name glorious and honoured and great and splendid and mighty, which created the heaven and earth and all things together." The *Prayer of Manasseh* (found in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and dated somewhere between the 2nd century B.C. and the 1st century A.D.) has: "He who bound the sea established by the command of his word, He who closed the bottomless pit and sealed it by his powerful and glorious name...."

Theophoric Names in Rabbinic Literature⁵⁶

Theophoric names appear a lot more commonly in rabbinic literature than in earlier Jewish texts. With reference to the angel of Exodus 23:21—interpreted, as we have seen, by Philo as the Logos the Firstborn Son of God—it was claimed that the name of the angel was Metatron and "that his name is like the name of his master" (*bSanh* 38a). We also meet *yhwh qatan*, the Lesser Yhwh, and

54 De Lange, *Origen and the Jews*, p. 183, n. 23, for evidence of prohibition of using names of other gods.

55 Fossum, *Name of God*, pp. 245–253.

56 Idel, *Ben*, pp. 113–193, for the following. For the theme of the righteous and the name, pp. 113–117.

discover that the translation of Enoch and his transformation into Metatron is accompanied by transferring upon him the Tetragrammaton.

The name of God is found within names of angels like *Micha-el* and *Gabri-el*. The name of God is found engraved upon tablets of the breasts of angels, some becoming particularly specialized. The Tetragrammaton is also attributed to human beings in order to indicate the conferring of a higher status than that of the angels. A messianic document from Dead Sea Scrolls has: "Yhwh will visit the pious ones, and the righteous ones he will call by name." Their name, or perhaps His name? (4Q521, line 5 of the fragment). In *I Enoch* we read: "At that hour, that Son of Man was given a name in the presence of the Lord of Spirits..." (48.1,2,4). Again, we may ask, what name?

Similarly, the Talmud considers who is called by the name of the Holy One, Blessed be He:

Rabbah in the name of R. Johanan further stated: The righteous will in time to come be called by the name of the Holy One, blessed is He; for it is said: *'every one that is called by my name, and whom I have created for my glory. I have formed him, yea, I have made him'* (Isaiah 43.7). R. Samuel ben Nahmani said in the name of R. Johanan: "Three were called by the name of the Holy One, Blessed be He, and they are the righteous men, the Messiah and Jerusalem'. [This may be inferred as regards] the righteous men [from] what has been said above. [As regards] the Messiah it is written: *'And this is the name whereby he shall be called, The Lord is our Righteousness'* (Jeremiah 23.6). [As regards Jerusalem] it is written: *'It [Jerusalem] shall be eighteen thousand reeds round about; and the name of the city from that day shall be 'the Lord is there'.* (Ezekiel 48.3) Do not read 'there' (*sham*) but 'its name' (*shemo*).

BABA BATHRA 75B

Notice that here the Messiah is called by the Tetragrammaton on the basis of Jeremiah 23:6. This will become a standard Christian proof text of the divinity of Christ. The Messiah is also called by the divine name *'Adonai* in Midrash *Lamentations Rabba* 1.51.

pTa'anit 2.6 65b assumes God gave his name to Israel and that it serves as a key to his palace and connects both by a chain.

The name of Shem, son of Noah, whose name, of course, means "name," attracts the interest of the Midrash. Shem was not only righteous but born circumcised.⁵⁷

57 *Genesis Rabba* 26.3. See E.R. Wolfson, "Circumcision and the Divine Name: A Study in the Transmission of Esoteric Doctrine," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 78 (1987), 77–112.

Angel Names and the Angel with the Name

The Tetragrammaton also plays a large part in angel names in the Hekalot literature and frequently follows the names of angels, perhaps in order to emphasize the connection between them.⁵⁸ However, let us consider now some important Talmudic texts which relate to angels and the Tetragrammaton. In the Babylonian Talmud at *Sanh* 38b, we read:

Once a min [that is, a 'heretic'] said to R. Idith: It is written: and unto Moses he said, 'Come up to Yhwh' [Exodus 24:1]. But surely it should have stated 'Come up to me'. He [R. Idith] replied: It was Metatron [who said that], whose name is like that of his master, for it is written: 'For my name is in him' [Exodus 23:21]. But if so [retorted the heretic] we should worship him! The same passage, however, replied R. Idith, says: 'be not rebellious against him', i.e. 'exchange Me not for him'. But if so, why is it stated: 'he will not pardon your transgression'? He [R. Idith] answered: By our troth we would not accept him even as a messenger, for it is written, 'And he said unto him: If Thy face go not *etc*' [Exodus 33:15].⁵⁹

Here we have the presence of the name in the angel of Exodus 23:21, whom we mentioned at the beginning of the Introduction. However, as the comments indicate, no cultic approach is insinuated in the situation. R. Elisha ben Abbuyah discovered that Metatron and God share the divine name and also the same throne. Seeing them both seated, he exclaimed: There are two powers in heaven! And consequently both he and Metatron were punished.⁶⁰

Scholem pointed out here that on the basis of Exodus 24:1 (where the Tetragrammaton is mentioned), the similarities between the name of God and the names of the angels should be attributed to the presence of the Tetragrammaton in the angel. He concluded that Metatron represented the earlier angel *Yaho'el*, the first of the seventy names of Metatron mentioned in *3Enoch*.⁶¹ In *3 Enoch* 48.7.9 we read:

58 Idel, *Ben*, p. 118.

59 Idel, *Ben*, pp. 168–169, for bibliography on this passage.

60 Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, pp. 60–97.

61 Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism*, pp. 41–42; Orlov, *The Enoch/Metatron Tradition*, pp. 136–142; Claudia Rohrbach-Sticker, "Die Namen Gottes und die Namen Metatrons: Zwei Geniza Fragmente zur Hekhalot-Literature," *Frankfurter judaistischer Beiträge* 19 (1991/1992), 95–168.

...and I put upon him my honour, my majesty and the splendour of my glory that is upon the throne of my glory. I called him lesser Yhwh, the prince of the presence, the knower of secrets. For every secret did I reveal to him as a father and all the mysteries declared I unto him in uprightness... Seventy names did I take from [my] names and called him by them to enhance his glory there. R. Ishmael said: 'I said to Metatron, Why are you called by the name of your creator, with seventy names? [Why are] you greater than all the princes, higher than all the angels?'

This appears to suggest Metatron bears both the Tetragrammaton and the seventy names.⁶²

Metatron, it is argued, is an office rather than a proper name.⁶³ A. Segal remarks that Metatron is "the rabbinic name for many mediators in heretical thought."⁶⁴ In early post-biblical Judaism there was in some circles a tradition according to which the highest angel, called "the angel of the Lord" in the Hebrew Bible, was seen as God's primary or sole helper and was allowed to share in God's divinity. It was part of this tradition that a human being, as the hero or exemplar of a particular group, should ascend to heaven and become one with this figure, as did Enoch and Moses.⁶⁵ So, these angelic mediators often began as humans and later achieved a kind of divine status in some communities.

Moshe Idel has pursued echoes of discussions concerning figures of Yahoel and Metatron, the main two angels of late Jewish antiquity, functioning as mediators, and indeed sons, through mediaeval material.⁶⁶ He has followed the thread through Ashkenazi Esotericism, stressing the importance of name and exploring the categories of angel of the face, image glory, young man, etc.⁶⁷

The theme of the son found in pre-rabbinic literature almost disappears in rabbinic literature, but it is evident in the Hekalot literature, returns more conspicuously in the Hasidei Ashkenazi, Abulafia, and Zoharic literature and works influenced by them, and becomes quite prominent in Hasidic literature.

62 H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (Cambridge, 1928; New York, 1973), p. 169, Hebrew text p. 68. Idel, *Ben*, pp. 121–122.

63 Idel, *Ben*, pp. 124–130, and appendix; Idel, "Metatron à Paris," in *Les Anges et la Magie aux Moyens Ages*, eds. J.-P. Boudet et al. (Rome, 2002), pp. 701–716.

64 Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, p. 72, also P.W. van der Horst, *Essays on the Jewish World of Early Christianity* (Göttingen, 1990), p. 82.

65 Moses' ascent on high and his replacement of a sublime figure on the throne are depicted in a fragment from the *Exagoge* of Ezekiel the Tragedian. Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*, pp. 54–55 for text and translation, pp. 90–92 for comment.

66 Idel, *Ben*, pp. 130–164.

67 Idel, *Ben*, Chapter 2.

Though they bypassed rabbinic literature, such traditions endure, especially in relation to Metatron. Sonship in the Middle Ages, Idel argues, is a recrudescence of this mature Hebrew material rather than lateral influence from Christianity. This is not, however, Scholem's view of the rabbinic suppression of earlier Gnostic material; instead, it is an argument for a common source for earlier Gnostics and later mediaeval Jews—with Judaism affecting Gnosticism rather than the other way round.⁶⁸

In the 19th century R. Elijah ben Amozegh considered that early traditional Kabbalistic Judaism had in fact generated Christianity.⁶⁹ He pointed to the Kabbalistic distinction between fathers and sons among the *Sephiroth*, a trinity and sonship. There is an obvious anachronism here, but it does indicate the imaginative possibilities open to those Kabbalists who became Christian and then wrote of the Trinity. It enables us to see why they made their claims, even if we cannot accept their view that all this was ancient and primordial tradition.

Much of what Christian scholars had to say about these matters we shall discover subsequently. But first we must consider Kabbalah more generally.

Kabbalah and the Christians

In contrast to emphasizing the legal and philosophical rigour characteristic of many Jewish texts, modern 20th-century scholarship has devoted a great deal of effort to the exposition of more spiritual, mystical, and theosophic trends within Judaism. The pioneer scholar of these studies of Kabbalah—*tradition*—was Gershom Scholem, though his legacy is now being re-evaluated by a new generation of scholars.⁷⁰ Though Scholem was able to point to the early appearance of many of the characteristic features and dispositions of Kabbalah, it is (in spite of tradition) essentially a mediaeval phenomenon—perhaps emerging at the end of the 12th century in Languedoc—and perhaps even a reaction to more philosophical accounts of the faith.⁷¹ Kabbalah has a clear interest in divine names.⁷²

68 Idel, *Ben*, pp. 590–592.

69 Idel, *Ben*, p. 600.

70 So, for example, Idel, *Kabbalah*. The bibliography for this field is so great that I do not attempt to offer an orientation.

71 For a modern account of Kabbalah as a reaction to Maimonides's philosophical account of the Faith, see: Maurice-Ruben Hayoun, *Le Zohar aux origines de la Mystique juive* (Paris, 1999).

72 Gershom Scholem, *Le Nom et les symbols de Dieu dans la Mystique juive* (Paris, 1983), pp. 57–68S. Cohon, "Names of God," pp. 579–604. Later mediaeval material in

From the 5th or 6th century an anonymous cosmosophic text, the *Sepher Yetzirah*, prefigures much of subsequent Kabbalah.⁷³ Its influence will be found in several Christian Kabbalists, and we shall later see its influence on Van Helmont, for one. The author takes the individual letters of the Hebrew alphabet to be the building blocks of the universe. He takes each letter in order and combines it with the other letters, thereby obtaining 231 basic “roots” or “gates” from which, according to him, all created things developed. The works make an equation between different groups of letters and various principles in the real world. The letters are divided into three “mother” letters (*’aleph, mem, shin*), twelve simple letters (*he, waw, zayin, chet, tet, yod, lamed, nun, samech, ’ayin, tsade, and qof*), and seven “double” letters (*bet, gimel, dalet, kaph, pe, resh, and tau*). The three mother letters represent the three elements of air, fire, and water (or moderation, cold, and heat). The simple letters represent a gamut of senses, passions, and actions. By manipulating these, God created the twelve signs of the zodiac, twelve months of the year, and twelve parts of the body. The double letters represent life, peace, knowledge, wealth, grace, fecundity, and power, but, being double, they also signify the opposites of these things. From these God created stars, days, the seven doors of the human face, the seven climates, seven animals, and the planets. All of these letters seem to have been placed upon a revolving sphere, and its revolutions brought about creation.

A collection of material from 12th-century Provence, the *Bahir*, has connections with Gnosticism and Neoplatonism. Here the numbers and letters of the Hebrew Bible become important in a hermeneutic providing insight into relationships between God and the world, thanks to a knowledge of intermediary chains and giving every letter an enormous amount of significance.⁷⁴ We shall return to this work in a moment. The most important book of the Kabbalah—*The Book of Splendour*, the *Zohar*, appeared in Spain after 1275 but was first translated into Latin by Guillaume Postel, who began the work in 1547.⁷⁵ It is a

E.R. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum That Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 234–269.

73 For the complicated business of the Tetragrammaton in this work, E. Rosh-Pinnah, “The Sefer Yetzirah and the Original Tetragrammaton (Ernst E. Eettish),” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 57.3 (1967), 212–226.

74 I am grateful to Dr Tzahi Weiss for a copy of his “The Creation of the World from Letters and Jacques Lacan’s Perception of Letters as Real,” *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 17.1 (2009), 107–115.

75 The first Christian mention of the *Zohar* turns out to be spurious. The convert Pedro de la Cavalleria held high offices under Juan II of Aragon. His *Zelus Christi* (c.1450) contains a

compilation often associated with Moses de Léon and contains speculative mysticism applied to the knowledge and description of the divinity's mysterious works.⁷⁶ It also prolongs a Talmudic dimension relative to the tasks or rites for developing of a mythology of nature, a cosmic valorization from which Renaissance thought profited.

Finally, Abraham Abulafia (1240–1291), born in Saragosa, taught meditation techniques esoteric in their initiatory and symbolic aspects but also calling upon physical aspects. After the Expulsion from Spain in 1492, Isaac Luria (1534–1572) redirected Kabbalah from theogony and cosmology to salvation history and messianism. The 1492 decree brought exiled Jews to Italy, helping to stimulate Christian interest in Jewish mysticism.

Some of the characteristic notions of Kabbalah proved particularly captivating to Christians: the idea of a secret tradition allowed them to import their own notions into Jewish texts by using Kabbalistic techniques of letter and word manipulation. Kabbalah would give witness to the very earliest evangelical truths, regardless of what the Jews, blind and hard-of-heart, made of their texts. Quite when we should place the beginning of Christian Kabbalah is a rather difficult question. If we take the doctrine of the ten *Sephiroth*, or emanations of God, as a defining characteristic of Kabbalah, Christian discussions are not found before the end of the 13th century. If we mean, however, esoteric traditions concerning the divine names, like those we have discussed above, we may find passages in Joachim of Fiore, or even the whole treatise *Allocutio supra Tetragrammaton*, of Arnaldo of Villanova, before the end of this century.⁷⁷ Another way of defining such beginnings is to look for the creative absorption of techniques characteristic of the Jewish Kabbalists by Christians

false citation from *Sefer Azobar* (as he calls it), according to which the Trisagion of Isaiah 6:3 refers to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This became a commonplace. Postel also translated *Bahir*; see Robert J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation* (Leiden, 2007), pp. 118–119.

76 For comment on Exodus 3:14 in the *Zohar*, note an exchange between Rabbi Eleazar (2nd century A.D.) and his father, Rabbi Simeon, in which the former asks the latter to explain the words *'ehyeh asher 'ehyeh*. Rabbi Simeon answered thus: "Eleazar, my son, the companions have explained it. Behold, everything is bound together in one thing, and the mystery of the thing is 'Ehyeh. It includes everything...the sum of all, hidden and not revealed." I. Tisby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts*, vol. 1, trans. D. Goldstein (New York, 1989), p. 345. In *ibid.*, p. 310, *'ehyeh* is described as "a sacred name engraved in its [creation's] extremities"; on pp. 243–244 *'ehyeh* is identified with *Keter 'Elyon*, the Supreme Crown, the first of the creative emanations, or *Sephiroth*, of the *Boundless, 'Ein-Sof*—the infinite essence which is God.

77 Idel, "Defining Kabbalah," pp. 97–122.

and to ask not whether they are copying a particular Jewish tradition, but rather whether they have adopted a Kabbalistic way of thinking. In this sense the combinatory technique of interpreting the first word of the Hebrew Bible by separating its letters, found in Alexander of Neckam, or the combination of letters by means of concentric circles, found in Ramon Lull, might count.⁷⁸ There seems to be little self-conscious awareness at this early stage that these combinatory or speculative techniques derive from Jewish sources, although in the last third of the 13th century Alfonso Sabio's nephew, speaking of his famous uncle mentions, his concern of having the Talmud and the Jews' secret Kabbalah translated: *Ostrosi fizo traslador toda le ley de los judios et aun el su Talmud et otra scientia que han los judios muy escondida, a que llaman Cabala*.⁷⁹ But there seems to have been no Christian Kabbalah at the court of Alphonso, nor did the Kabbalistic material used by the converts like Alfonso de Valladolid (or Abner of Burgos) or Paulus de Heredia, which we shall examine immediately below, give rise to anything which we might call a Christian Kabbalah. Chaim Wirszubski felt that the first Christian to practise an independent Christian Kabbalist technique was Pico della Mirandola, and we shall mention his views again when we discuss him later.

I have elsewhere discussed some 16th-century Christian Kabbalists and provided an indicative bibliography.⁸⁰ For now we may note in summary that from the end of the 15th century, a few Christian scholars of mystical and theosophical bent began to take an interest in harmonizing Kabbalah with Christian doctrine and discovering therein the Christian mysteries of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement. Two major stimuli to such engagement were detected by Scholem. The first is found in the Christological speculation of a number of converts from Judaism, like Abner of Burgos and Paul de Heredia, whom we may consider for a moment now. The second will occupy us subsequently when our story reaches the Renaissance.

Abner of Burgos (c.1270–c.1348)—otherwise known as Alfonso of Valladolid—was a convert experienced in post-biblical Jewish literature in both Hebrew and Arabic, who was prepared to conduct his polemic in Hebrew. He appears to be the first converted Jew to refer specifically to Kabbalah,

78 For Neckam, Yehuda Liebes, *Studies in the Zohar* (Albany, 1993), pp. 151–152. For Lull, see Moshe Idel, "Ramon Lull and Ecstatic Kabbalah: Preliminary Observation," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 51 (1988), 170–174.

79 Cited from Norman Roth, "Jewish Collaborators in Alfonso's Scientific Work," in *Alfonso X The Learned of Castile and his Thirteenth Century Renaissance*, ed. R.I. Burns (Philadelphia, 1991), pp. 60, 225.

80 Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, with bibliography of Christian Kabbalah on pp. 5–6, and idem, *The Kabbalistic Scholars of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (Leiden, 2007).

though he should perhaps be seen more in the light of the systematically Christological work of *haggadah* and *midrash* found in Raymund Martin's *Pugio Fidei*.⁸¹ His *Moreh Zedek* is known only as the 14th-century Castilian *Mostrador de Justicia*.⁸² His *Teshuvot ha-Meshabot* is a collection of polemical letters he exchanged with local Jews.⁸³ The third letter characterized the Jews' special sin as ignorance of the Holy Name, *ha-shem ha-meforash*. He was also taken by the fact that the "seal of God," the word for "truth," *'mt*, had three letters, as the Trinity has three persons. He is of further interest in his attempts to read the Incarnation back into Jewish literature.⁸⁴

Abner managed to persuade Alfonso XI of Castile that the *birkat ha-minim*, the prayer against sectarians, which had been included in Jewish daily prayers since the 1st century A.D., was a curse against Christians and blasphemed the Christian God. After a disputation, the formula was forbidden in February 1336. He also accused the Jews of having a ten-fold God (a reference to the *Sephiroth*) and a sort of dualism with both God and Metatron.

Paul de Herédia pseudographically produced several Christian Kabbalistic texts, the *Iggeret ha-Sodot* and the *Galei Rezaya*, under the name of Judah ha-Nasi. These had a clear missionary purpose. The first, published in Rome in 1487, purportedly contained Latin translations of letters exchanged by Rabbi Nehuniah ben Hakanah, a sage of the 1st century A.D. and reputed Kabbalistic master, and his son. They are filled with bogus quotations which misrepresent Kabbalistic teaching as Trinitarian. The *Galei Rezaya* (*Secretorum Revelator*),

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- 81 Gershom Scholem, "The Beginnings of Christian Kabbalah," in *The Christian Kabbalah*, ed. J. Dan (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), pp. 17–51 at pp. 26–27; Isidore Loeb, *Revue des Études juives* 18 (1889), 58.
- 82 Paris BnF. M.S. Esp. 43. W. Mettmann, ed., 2 vols. (Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften) 92/1-2 (Oplades, 1994), pp. 40–54, with reactions pp. 55–64. R. Szpiech, *From Testimonia to Testimony: Thirteenth Century Anti-Jewish Polemic and the Monstrador de Justicia of Abner of Burgos/ Alfonso of Valladolid* (PhD dissertation, Yale, 2006), notes the direct appeal of the *Monstrador* to Jews and its development of the arguments of the Disputation of Barcelona reinforced by the story of Abner's own conversion. The *Libro de las Tres Creencias* is probably not his: Carlos Sáinz De La Maza, "La Reescritura de Obras de Polémica Antijudía: el *Libro de las Tres Creencias* y unos 'sermones sorianos,'" *Centro de Estudios de Historia de México* 29 (2006), 151–172.
- 83 An important assessment of Abner's status as a polemicist and an account of the Jewish community's response may be found in Yahuda Shamir, *Rabbi Moses Ha-Kohan of Tordesillas and His Book 'Ezer Ha-Emunah* (Leiden, 1975). S.G. Gershenzon, *A Study of the Teshuvot ha Maharef by Abner of Burgos* (New York, 1984).
- 84 Scholem, "The Beginnings of Christian Kabbalah," pp. 17–51 at pp. 26–28. Now see: Idel, *Ben*, pp. 90–102, for Abner's use of *hitlabbeshut* and for bibliography on "incarnation" in rabbinic literature and later in some mediaeval texts.

otherwise entirely non-existent, exists only here in citations and is attributed to Rabbi Haccados, said to be the editor of the Mishnah. Again, its purpose is to present Trinitarian interpretations of the names of God. (A similar text in the style of the *Zohar* circulated in Italy at the end of the 14th century.) It is worth stressing that though Reuchlin later may have at least attempted to use genuine Kabbalistic techniques for Christian apologetic ends, these texts of Paul de Herédia, though influential, are unambiguously forgeries.

These teachings were later diffused through the 1516 polyglot Psalter of Agostino Guistiniani and by Pietro Galatino. Athanasius Kircher explicitly follows the interpretations of “Rabbenu Hakadosch,” and the *Ensis Pauli* was borrowed, again by Galatino.⁸⁵

Let us return for a moment to the *Sefer ha-Bahir*, which presents the *shem ha-mephorash* in detail and appears to have surfaced in manuscript in Provence in the 13th century (c.1150–1200) during the time of the Cathars, but was first translated for Christians, as we have just seen, by Postel. Nevertheless, the *shem ha-mephorash* may have left a trace in the 13th-century Christian Provençal *Roman de Flamenca*.⁸⁶ Flamenca, the heroine, is imprisoned by her jealous husband, but the knight William of Nevers is eager to meet her and win her heart. His prayerful entreaties in church (he is absolutely orthodox) conclude with several Paternosters and:

...a little prayer
 that a holy hermit had taught [him]
 and it is of the 72 names of God,
 as one says them in Hebrew
 and in Latin and in Greek;
 this prayer renews one's love of God,
 and every day makes one more courageous.
 Everyone who says and believes it
 will find mercy in the Lord God,
 and no one who trusts in it with a good heart
 or carries a written copy on his person
 will ever come to a bad end.

It worked! William got his first glance of Flamenca that morning. The prayer, or the amulet bearing it, is apparently based on a Christian reinterpretation of

85 On this work, F. Secret, “L’*Ensis Pauli* de Paulus de Heredia,” *Revista di Sepharad* 26 (1966), 79–102 and 254–271.

86 U. Gschwind, ed., *Le Roman de Flamenca: Nouvelle occitane du 13e siècle* (Bern, 1976).

the seventy-two-letter name into an apotropaic list of the seventy-two names of God.⁸⁷ Valentina Izmirlieva, as we mentioned above, has provided us with the extraordinary story of this amulet in both Provençal and Slavonic versions, to which the reader is referred.⁸⁸ We may note, however, the presence of the amulet in the *Enchiridion*, a popular book of white magic falsely attributed to Leo III (795–816) (first edition [n.d.] in Paris; the second in Venice in 1513) and fascinatingly described as *Precatio pietatis plena ad deum omnipotentem composita ex duabus et septuaginta nominibus divinis, hebraicis et latinis* by the Christian Kabbalist Agostino Giustiniani (1470–1536), whom we have just mentioned.⁸⁹

Thereafter, a more profound and influential interest was taken in Kabbalah by Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) in Renaissance Florence. To these matters we shall in time return. But we run ahead of ourselves. The Mishnaic and Talmudic discussions we have been considering in this chapter, like those of the Church Fathers, have bridged the gap (so to speak) between the Qumran and New Testament evidence and that of the mediaeval Massoretic Hebrew Bibles to which we now turn.

The Massoretic Bibles and the Tetragrammaton

The great excitement caused by the progressive exploitation of the Dead Sea Scrolls after the Second World War was due in part to the early witness they gave to the text of the Hebrew Bible. Previously, our knowledge of that text was based upon the painstakingly copied manuscripts of the Massoretic tradition, which were both vocalized and accompanied by marginalia or *massorah*—whence their name.⁹⁰ These manuscripts come from the early Middle Ages, a

87 Moses Gaster thought the Christian amulet drew directly on Kabbalistic sources, proposing the *Sepher Raziel* as the source. Johannes Bolt, “Über die Gottes,” *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 13.4 (1903), 444–450, disagreed with him and considered it a free improvisation of a Jewish model. Izmirlieva, *All the Names of the Lord*, p. 130, considers it a “Christian adaption.”

88 Izmirlieva, *All the Names of the Lord*, p. 123ff.

89 Op. cit., pp. 129 and 200. The *Enchiridion* is a collection of charms turned into prayers and placed in the contexts of a list of saints’ days, readings, litanies, etc. God is referred to in various places as *ego sum; qui est, erat et venturus est*; and + *Tetragrammaton + Ieova*. We read of several conjurations *per ista sanctissima nomina + Joth + Hyet + Vari + Haet*. The 72 names are found on p. 95 of the Lyons 1584 edition.

90 That the vowel points of the Hebrew Bible were secondary was shown decisively but controversially, as we shall see below, by Elias Levita in his *Massoreth ha-Massorah*

thousand years after the Qumran material.⁹¹ The text of the Massoretic tradition shows little significant variation and has had its reputation generally enhanced by comparison with the earlier witnesses.⁹² Nonetheless, the Massoretic Bibles (and obviously not the Qumran material) constitute the Hebrew Bible throughout the Christian Middle Ages, and indeed beyond. Christian knowledge of the Tetragrammaton was inevitably conditioned by the scribal practice deployed in these manuscripts. It is therefore important that we examine that evidence. Thereafter, the advent of printed Hebrew Bibles in the 16th century made access to the Hebrew Scriptures far easier for Christian scholars and facilitated the development of Christian Hebrew scholarship in that period: therefore, we shall subsequently also have to examine the printed editions.

There are more than 6000 Massoretic manuscripts. Of some 2700 dated manuscripts before 1540, six come from the 10th century,⁹³ eight from the 11th century, and twenty-two from the 12th century. From before the 12th century there are also about sixty fragments recovered from the Cairo Genizah and now in Cambridge.⁹⁴

(Venice, 1538), edited by C.D. Ginsburg, *The Massoreth Ha-Massoreth of Elias Levita* (London, 1867). This work is discussed with bibliography in Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, pp. 49–52. For the early modern debate over the authenticity and authority of the Massoretic vocalization, see: S.G. Burnett, *From Christian Humanism to Jewish Studies* (Leiden, 1996), Ch. 7, esp. pp. 205–213. This material will be considered in depth below in a subsequent chapter. The Massorah itself may be consulted in C.D. Ginsburg, *The Massorah*, 5 vols. (London, 1880), where volume five offers an English version. See also his *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London, 1897).

- 91 For the development of Hebrew scrolls between these two periods, see: Colette Sirat, “Les Rouleaux bibliques de Qumrân au Moyen Âge: du Livre au Sefer Tora, d’Oreille à l’Oeil,” *Comptes-rendus des Séances de l’Année—Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 135.2 (1991), 415–432. Also, C. Sirat et al., “Rouleaux de la Tora antérieurs à l’an mille,” *Comptes-rendus des Séances de l’Année—Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 138.4 (1994), 861–887.
- 92 For a discussion of the likelihood of finding typologically significant variants in the Massoretic tradition, M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, “Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts: Their History and Place in the НУВР Edition,” *Biblica* 48 (1967), 243–290; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 37–39. I have relied heavily upon this magisterial work of Tov.
- 93 Concerning an 8th-century date for a manuscript in Jews’ College, London: S.A. Birnbaum, “A Sheet of an Eighth Century Synagogue Scroll,” *Vetus Testamentum* 9 (1959), 122–129.
- 94 For the Cairo Genizah, visit: <http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/Taylor-Schechter>. One should consult M.C. Davis et al., *Hebrew Bible Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collection*, 5 vols. (Cambridge), for many examples of graphic abbreviations of the Tetragrammaton.

The practice of vocalizing the text of the Hebrew Scriptures (that is, adding written vowel signs) began sometime between 500 and 700 A.D.⁹⁵ Three basic systems finally evolved by the 10th century: the Tiberian, Palestinian, and Babylonian systems.⁹⁶ The Tiberian system is that of the school of Aaron (son of Moses) ben Asher and is faithfully represented in the Aleppo Codex (A) of 925 A.D., the consonants of which were written by Shelomo Buya'a and the vocalization added by Ben Asher himself. Three quarters of this magnificent manuscript are preserved and have been published in a facsimile edition.⁹⁷ This is now the basis of the Hebrew University Bible (Illustration 8).

A 10th-century Karaite codex of the Pentateuch (called C₃) represents a slightly different Tiberian tradition—that of Ben Naftali—but has been corrected towards the Ben Asher.⁹⁸

The Leningrad Codex (B_{19A} or L) was written in 1009 A.D. It is generally considered the single most complete source of all the biblical books. It is close to the Ben Asher and has been used as the basis of the modern *Biblica Hebraica* and *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* editions, but all three of these manuscripts have informed the modern editions.⁹⁹ Though used for the *Biblica Hebraica*, it

95 I do not discuss the famous Nash Papyrus from the 1st or 2nd century A.D. that was found in Egypt in 1902. It contains a Decalogue mixing Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5 together with Deuteronomy 6:4–8. It appears to be a liturgical rather than a biblical text and is not vocalized, so it is of no significance for our present concerns. F.C. Burkitt, "The Hebrew Papyrus of The Ten Commandments," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 15 (1903), 392–408; S.A. Cook, "A Pre-Massoretic Biblical Papyrus," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 25 (1903), 34–56; Norbert Peters, *Die älteste Abschrift der zeh'n Gebote der Papyrus Nash* (Freiburg-in-Breisgau, 1905); W.F. Albright, "A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabean Age: The Nash Papyrus," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 56 (1937), 145–176.

96 For the Palestinian system: E.J. Revell, *Hebrew Texts with Palestinian Vocalisation* (Toronto, 1970).

97 M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Aleppo Codex* (Jerusalem, 1976); idem, "The Aleppo Codex and the Rise of the Massoretic Bible Text," *Biblical Archaeologist* 62.3 (1979), 145–163; Tov, op. cit., p. 46, for extensive bibliography.

98 Vocalization traditions may have been different among the Karaites. Daniel al-Kumisi in the 9th century in his *Epistle to the Dispersion* (Nemoy ed. pp. 60–63) argues against those who articulate the Tetragrammaton. In the 10th century Jacob al-Kirkisani indicates that in Khorasan some Karaites pronounced the Tetragrammaton while others did not.

99 The Leningrad Codex, known as LB_{19a}, is now available as D.N. Freedman, ed., *The Leningrad Codex; A Facsimile* (Grand Rapids, 1998). For other important Tiberian witnesses, Tov, op. cit., p. 47. It is perhaps worth remarking that the printed Second Rabbinic Bible (1524–1525 A.D.) does not in fact reflect any one specific manuscript. This book was of the first importance because of its contemporary reputation as almost the authentic bible and its extensive use by 16th-century scholars both Jewish and Christian. Tov, op. cit., pp. 78–79.

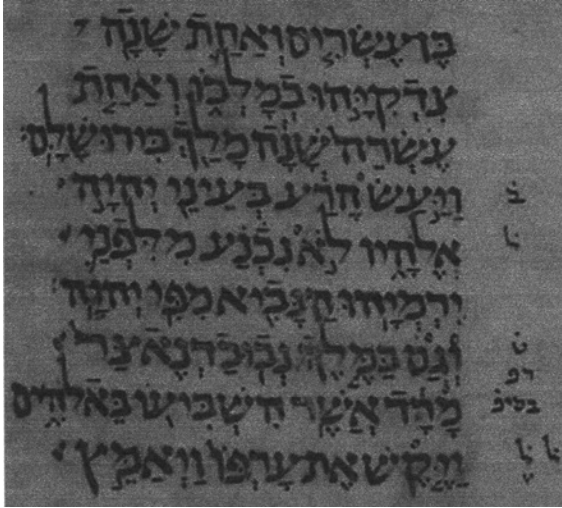


ILLUSTRATION 8 *Reproduction of the Aleppo Codex The Tetragrammaton vocalized with the vowels of the Aramaic shēma' is apparent at the end of the fourth line*

is not a good basis for modern editions, as it is decidedly inferior, being secondarily corrected to a Ben Asher text, and has unsatisfactory plene, and defective spellings and divisions of sections.¹⁰⁰

For our purposes it is important to ask how the Tetragrammaton is vocalized in these manuscripts.¹⁰¹ Let us recall that the earlier Hebrew Bible texts from Qumran were not vocalized at all, and that the Massoretic notation is at least half a millennium later than that of those texts.¹⁰²

In the Massoretic Bibles we frequently encounter a distinction between a word written (in the consonantal text and called the *Kethib*, from the Aramaic word for “written”) and the word which is to be read aloud in its place

100 M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, “Editions of the Hebrew Bible—Past and Future,” in Fishbane and Tov, eds., *Sha’arei Talmon*, pp. 221–242 at pp. 232–233.

101 Ginsburg, *Massoretico-Critical Edition*, pp. 375–396, describes other Massoretic strategies to protect the sanctity of the shorter forms *yh* and *yhv*, particularly in the phrase *halleluia* and names compounded from the divine name. Some of these phenomena others would now explain on epigraphic and philological grounds (see above).

102 The distinctive treatments of the divine name in the Qumran texts we have discussed are not found in the Massoretic text. Nevertheless, some variants between the Massoretic text and that of the Greek Septuagint are plausibly explained by assuming that at some stage the Tetragrammaton was abbreviated to merely a *yod* (*y*). See; Judges 19:18; Jonah 1:9; Jeremiah 6:11; Deuteronomy 32:35. We have discussed this above when dealing with early abbreviations of the Tetragrammaton.

(called the *Qere*, from the Aramaic for “read”).¹⁰³ In most manuscripts and editions the *Qere* is written in the margin without vowels, while the *Kethib* is written in the text but with the vowels of the *Qere*.

Of interest to us is the case of the *Qere Perpetuum* (a modern term), which concerns vocalization of the Tetragrammaton. An incidence of the Tetragrammaton is not marked by a marginal word (nor by a circle at the word in the text referring to said marginal word, as is often the case with examples of the *Qere*); nevertheless, the Tetragrammaton carries the vowels of its *Qere*—*ʾadonai*¹⁰⁴—unless the Tetragrammaton itself follows the word *ʾdny* (*ʾadonai*), in which case it carries the vowels of *ʾlhm* (*ʾelohim*).¹⁰⁵

Such a common practice is not, however, universal. The Leningrad Codex uses *shəmaʾ* (the Aramaic word for “The Name”) as the *Qere* for the Tetragrammaton.¹⁰⁶ This is what is found, for example, in the *Biblia Hebraica* edition.¹⁰⁷ The Aleppo Codex also follows this practice (Illustration 9).

103 See Tov, op. cit., pp. 59–63, for a discussion of this phenomenon. Earlier: Robert Gordis, *The Bible Text in the Making: A Study of the Kethib-Qere* (Philadelphia, 1937); H.M. Orlinsky, “Problems of Kethib-Qere,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 60.1 (1940), 30–45.

104 The initial *yod* has a simple and not a compound *shewa* (*hateph patach*), but it takes prefixes as if they precede the compound *shewa* under a quiescent *ʾaleph*. For a full picture of vocalization of the Tetragrammaton with suffixes, Gesenius, *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar*, p. 300. Also P. Jouon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew Part One: Orthography and Phonetics, Part Two: Morphology* (Subsidia Biblica) 14/1 (Rome, 1993), §16 f n. 1; 103d.37d. The final /a/ vowel in *ʾadonai* is always long when used of God (it distinguishes the word from the word spelt with a short /a/, which means “my lords”; Gen. 19:2: Gesenius, *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar*, p. 441). This plural vocalization with pausal lengthening produces a more solemn pronunciation. We found this more sonorous pronunciation already attested in Origen in *Psalms* 2.2. Brown et al., eds., *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, p. 217b, indicates 6518 examples of *yhw* vocalized as *ʾadonai* and 305 examples of it vocalized as *ʾelohim* in the Massoretic text.

105 Gesenius, *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar*, p. 66. Manuscripts and editions do not always follow precisely this vocalization of *yhw* with the vowels of *ʾelohim* but turn the initial vowel into a *shewa* and omit the /o/ vowel.

106 But not at e.g. Exodus 3:2. Rösel, “Readings and Translation,” pp. 411–428, argues that the oldest manuscript vocalizations preserved among others in the Leningrad Codex must indicate not *Shema* but rather *Adonai*. He claims exegetical observations in the Greek Pentateuch show that translators already chose *kurios* as an approximate representation of the Tetragrammaton.

107 Many students and scholars of the Hebrew Bible use *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (=BHS), the famous one-volume (larger or small) of the Hebrew Bible edited by a team of scholars under the leadership of Rudolph Kittel and Paul Kahle and produced by the Stuttgart Bible Society, the *Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft*. Currently, a group of scholars is preparing a new edition of this text; the project is called BHQ, Q standing for *Quinta*. In this project, the

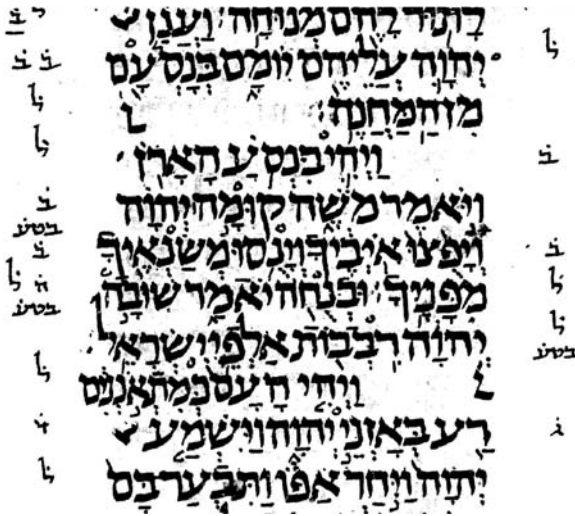


ILLUSTRATION 9 *Reproduction of the Leningrad Codex at Numbers 10:35–36. The Tetragrammaton vocalized with the vowels of the Aramaic shəma’ is apparent at the beginning of the second and last line*

The variety of usages (and others may be found) has caused some considerable confusion in accounts of the Massoretic vocalization of the Tetragrammaton. What is important for our consideration of the early modern users of the Massoretic Bible first printed in Venice is its usage. Those encountering the Tetragrammaton in previous manuscripts (and they were not many) would naturally have seen the form characteristic of the manuscript in question.¹⁰⁸

old Kahle edition is considered the first edition (1905), then, come three editions from the Kittel/Kahle text (1937, 1972–77, 1983); the new edition is, hence, the fifth in its kind. The first fascicle of *BHQ* has been published. In this edition the Name of God, more specifically the Tetragrammaton (that is, literally, the four consonants) is written without vowels.

108 The common practice is represented in S. Baer, *Textum Massoreticum, accuratissime expressit...* (Leipzig, 1869) and in D.C. Ginsburg’s edition *The Pentateuch...et seq* (London, 1926). Their usefulness as editions is criticized by Paul E. Kahle, *The Cairo Genizah* (London, 1947), pp. 63–78. Ginsberg, *The Massorah*, vol. 4, pp. 8–29, has: “From time immemorial the Jewish Canons decreed that the incommunicable Name be pronounced *’Adonai* as if it was written *’Adonai* instead of YHWH. Nothing was, therefore, more natural for the copyists than to substitute the expression which they were forbidden to pronounce. This is confirmed by the fact that the Massorah itself in giving the catchword of a passage substitutes *’Adonai* for YHWH and that the Easterns read *’Adonai* where the Westerns have YHWH and *vice versa* (see Is.38:14; Mal.1:14; Lam.5:21). Hence we may safely

If this is so, it is most difficult to resist the usual explanation of the name *Jehova(h)* as the consonants of *yhw* vocalized with the vowels of *'adonai*. Such a mistaken reading naturally arose among Christians unfamiliar with the conventions of Massoretic scribal practice and Jewish liturgical propriety. But it was hardly an error that needed to be invented, rather an inevitable mistake lying in wait for the ignorant.¹⁰⁹ We may therefore doubt that the first time the form *Jehova(h)* is attested is necessarily the first time it was used.¹¹⁰ On the other hand, we shall also discover mediaeval authors (for example, Gerard de Huy and the anonymous author of *Quoniam quedam glose mencio-nem*) who were well informed of the Jewish convention and believed the name to be pronounced *'adonai*. Indeed, this convention was widely understood. On the other hand, the fact that *Jews* substituted *'adonai* for the Tetragrammaton need not have struck all Christians as normative. Obviously, knowing that *Jews* said *'adonai* was easily kept separate from question of how (really) to pronounce the name.

assume that though the Scribe wrote *'Adonai* for ΥHWH , he would not insert the incommunicable Name instead of *'Adonai*. The reading, therefore, in the conflicting passages is in favour of the Tetragrammaton."

- 109 Regardless of the erroneous origins of Jehovah, it has been defended on the grounds of established usage and its accumulated connotations. F. Denio, "On the Use of the Word Jehovah—Conclusions Based on Forty Years Experience in the Hebrew Classroom," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 46 (1927), esp. pp. 147–148; also A. Westphal, *Jehovah, les étapes de la révélation dans l'histoire du peuple d'Israël* (Montauban, 1924).
- 110 G.F. Moore, "Notes on the Name ΥHWH ," *American Journal of Theology* 12 (1908), 34–52, p. 43 says: "It is...a bootless inquiry who first made this inevitable blunder...." Waterman, "Method," pp. 1–7, who considered that the Tetragrammaton was pronounced *yahwoh*, found this too dismissive. He followed Luckenbill, "Pronunciation of the Name," pp. 277–283, who favoured an original *yahaun*. Gertoux, *Historique du Nom Divin*, considers *Jehovah* to have been the original pronunciation anyway.

PART 2

Times of Ignorance



The Tetragrammaton in the Middle Ages

The Bible was the most studied book of the Middle Ages. Bible study represented the highest branch of learning.¹ Nor was that knowledge merely an affair for specialists: the influence of Scripture permeates mediaeval culture and thought, though until c.1300 we should not expect the laity, handicapped by illiteracy, to be familiar with the Scriptures other than through the preaching of the clergy. The Bible was read in Latin, and in Latin Bibles, of course, the Tetragrammaton does not occur. Moreover, the dominant hermeneutic followed more the spiritual reading of Augustine than the often Hebraising literalism of Jerome. There was little knowledge of Greek and, as we shall see, little engagement with Hebrew.² Such knowledge of Hebrew as there was needs briefly to be contextualized within the broad history of relationships between Jews and the Christian majority, and the slow development of Christian Hebraism in Europe.

Relations between Jews and Christians

For the purposes of sketching relationships between Jews and Christians we may roughly divide the period into three: the early Middle Ages (up to 1096), a central period (to 1306), and finally the 14th and 15th centuries.³

- 1 Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (South Bend, Ind., 1964), p. xi. The earlier L. Diestel, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche* (Jena, 1869), is still useful.
- 2 P. Courcelle, *Les Lettres grecques en Occident de Macrobe à Cassiodore* (Paris, 1943); W. Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages: From Jerome to Nicolas of Cusa* (Washington, D.C., 1988). Recently and more controversially, S. Gougenheim, *Aristote au mont Saint-Michel: les racines grecques de l'Europe chrétienne* (Paris, 2008). Also for the later period: Paul Botley, "Learning Greek in Western Europe 1396–1529: Grammars, Lexica and Classroom Texts," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* n.s. 100.2 (2010), iii–xiii, 1–270. Samuel Berger had deplored the mediaeval concentration on Hebrew and Jewish exegesis at the expense of Greek; *Quam notitiam linguae hebraicae habuerint Christianii medi aevi temporibus in Gallia* (Nancy, 1893), p. 58. His judgement is corrected by Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, pp. 360–366. Bernard Bischoff, "The Study of Foreign Language in the Middle Ages," *Mittelalterliche Studien* 2 (Stuttgart, 1967), p. 24, considered one was more likely to find a Hebrew scholar in *Francia* than a Greek linguist. Also: Gilbert Dahan, "La connaissance et l'étude des langues bibliques dans le Monde chrétien d'Occident (XIIe–XIVe siècles)," in *Les Origines du Collège de France (1500–1560)*, ed. M. Fumaroli (Paris, 1998), pp. 327–356.
- 3 For this historical periodization I make use of Dahan, *Polémique... Moyen Âge*, pp. 15–30. For the earlier period, James Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (New York, 1977).

In the early period Jewish communities appear scattered through the area of the Roman Empire, involved in trade but also in manufacture and agriculture, and generally fairly well integrated into their greater communities. Bernhard Blumenkranz, the scholar of this period, rather dismisses such frictions as arose as *bagarres entre voisins*, although others have detected a more political partisanship.⁴ Nevertheless, the period also gives evidence of religious pressures at work in forced conversions in Merovingian Gaul. More seriously, the conversion of the Visigothic king Reccared to Catholicism in 589 initiated a marked attempt by his successors forcefully to suppress Judaism in the realm. One of the fruits of this was Isidore of Seville's influential *De Fide Catholica... contra Iudaeos*.⁵ Jews appear to have been generally well integrated into the Carolingian Empire, though the period produced six violently polemical works by Agobard, Bishop of Lyon.⁶

One should not underestimate Christian ignorance of Hebrew during this period. Columbanus (c.543?–615) appears to know little more than that “Jonah”

For more detailed surveys of the changes in Jewish-Christian relationships over this period, see Jeremy Cohen, “Recent Historiography on the Medieval Church and the Decline of European Jewry,” in *Popes, Teachers and Canon Law in the Middle Ages*, eds. S. Chodorow and J.R. Sweeney (Ithaca, 1989), pp. 251–262, and A. Sapir-Abulafia, “Recent Research on Jewish-Christian Co-existence in Medieval Europe,” *Journal of Medieval History* 23 (1997), 179–190, and Kenneth Stow, *Alienated Minority: The Jews of Medieval Latin Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

- 4 Bernard Blumenkranz, *Juifs et Chrétiens dans le Monde Occidental (430–1096)* (Paris, 2006); B.S. Bachrach, *Early Medieval Jewish Policy in Western Europe* (Minneapolis, 1978); B.M. Bedos-Rezak, “Les Juifs et l'Écrit dans la mentalité eschatologique de Moyen Âge chrétien occidental (France 1000–1200),” *Annales, Histoire, Science Sociales* 49 (1994), 1049–1063.
- 5 Bernard Blumenkranz, *Les Auteurs chrétiens latins du Moyen Âge sur les Juifs et le Judaïsme* (Paris, 2007), pp. 90–94. Isidore knows of the Tetragrammaton through Jerome's *de decem nominibus*. He mentions the Tetragrammaton in book VII, *De Deo et nominibus eius etym* (VII 1,2), and book XIX, *De Veste sacerdotali in lege*, glossing the *petalum* on the High Priest's turban—which carries the four-letter Hebrew word.
- 6 *Ibid.*, pp. 152–163. Agobard (in PL CIV) and his successor Amolo (in PL CXVI) show some knowledge of Talmudic tradition, perhaps again learned from converts or Jewish Hebrew scholars. On these, see: A. Lukyn Williams, *Adversus Iudaeos: A Bird's-Eye View of Christian Apologiae until the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 348–365. Also: Bat-Sheva Albert, “Adversus Iudaeos in the Carolingian Empire,” in *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient & Medieval Polemics between Christians and Jews*, eds. O. Limor and G.G. Stroumsa (Tübingen, 1996), pp. 119–142; Cohen, *Living Letter of the Law*, pp. 124–141; and generally Stow, *Alienated Minority*. Agobard also shows some knowledge of the magical powers of the letters of the alphabet, of the *kisse ha-kavod*, and *shī'ur qomah*, like descriptions of the Almighty, reflecting material found in the Hekalot corpus and suggesting that some of it was available and known to Jews in central France before 1000 A.D. Kanarfogel, ‘Peering through the Lattices’, pp. 27–28.

is the Hebrew equivalent of his own name.⁷ In biblical exposition during this period, however, Alcuin (c.735–804) does make some reference to Hebrew, but possibly only through intermediate sources,⁸ although one of his poems indicates Hebrew books in the Episcopal Library in York.⁹ Among Alcuin's *dubia* is the *Disputatio Puerorum per Interrogationes et Responses* in twelve chapters, showing the influence of Isidore of Seville.¹⁰ The anonymity of the two main Viennese manuscripts means its attribution is uncertain, but it comprises a lively fictional question and answer session between two students, *de decem Dei nominibus*, again drawn from Jerome's *Ten Names of God*. The names are identified and their meaning explained. *Eloi* is said to be the proper name of the Trinity, belonging to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The sixth name *Eiei*, *Qui est*, refers to God's eternal and immutable existence.¹¹ God is said "to be" in a sense compared to which other things are not, and because he is eternal he is spoken of as *Qui est* rather than the limiting *Qui fuit* or *Qui erit*.¹² Here God's immutability is presented rather differently from the commonplace of the many who claimed that God "is" in such a way that he both was, is, and also will be, *all at once*—though perhaps the real difference is not great. The eighth name is *iah*, the last syllable of *alleluia*, and the ninth is the Tetragrammaton, which is treated as a separate name from *eiei* and said to be the proper name of God, *jode*, among the Hebrews. The author seems rather uncertain of the spelling here and appears to think the name is doubling of *ja*, which makes it ineffable—but only ineffable in the sense that it is incomprehensible, not because it cannot be articulated. The author does not appear to know of the

7 G.S.M. Walker, ed., *Sancti Columbani Opera* (Dublin, 1970), p. xxxviii.

8 E.g. his note on Eccles. 10.12. S.A. Hirsch, "Early English Hebraists," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 12 (1899), 40. His interpretation of Hebrew names is found in PL C 723–724a, part of a short work on the meaning of the Hebrew names in the genealogy of Christ at the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew. *Dominus* is used throughout.

9 L. Maître, *Les Écoles épiscopales et monastiques de l'Occident 768–1180* (Paris, 1866), p. 4.

10 The relevant section is Chapter IV. A modern edition is C.L. Maloney, ed., *The Disputatio Puerorum Per Interrogationes et Responses of Alcuin* (Washington, D.C., 1943), and also I.E. Felson, *Disputatio Puerorum: Analysis and Critical Edition* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Oregon, 2003). The text is also found in PL CI 1097–1144.

11 *Deus, enim solus, qui aeternus est, & ob hoc qui exordium non habet essentiae nomen vere tenet.*

12 *...tamquam in eius comparatione, qui vere est, quia incommutabilis est, ea, quae commutabilia facta sunt, quasi non sint. Quod enim dicitur, fuit non est: & quod dicitur erit: nondum est; Deus autem esse tantum novit, fuisse & futurum esse non novit: solus enim Pater cum Filio & Spiritu Sancto veraciter est, cuius essentiae comparatum esse nostrum, non esse est. Unde & in colloquio dicimus: vivit deus quia essentia vita vivit, quem mors non habet.*

substitution of *ʾadonai*, the seventh name, for the Tetragrammaton.¹³ The seven names are held to suggest different attributes of God—*immortalis*, *incomprehensibilis*, *aeternus*, *invisibilis*, *impassibilis*, *simplex*, *incorporeus*, *immensus*, and *perfectus*, illustrated with proof texts. Finally, there is questioning in the light of this to explain anthropomorphisms in Scripture.

The earliest attempts of which we know to put Christian texts into Hebrew also appear to come from this period with the first *Auinu Sebassaim* (Pater noster), which presents words from Matthew 6:9–11 without the doxology in Roman letters and in inexpert Mishnaic Hebrew. As there is no theological content, this, unlike subsequent attempts to put Christian material into Hebrew, was probably without conversionist motives. An apparently unrelated *Auinu Sebassaim* is found in the late 9th- or 10th-century *Psalterium Triplex Cusanum*, and later a 12th-century manuscript in the Cistercian monastery at Kaisheim has a Hebrew *Apostles' Creed* and *Magnificat* (Luke 1:46–55).¹⁴

Avron Saltman considers that Theodulf of Orléans (c.750–828) had access to both Haggadic and Talmudic material. He also suggests that he attempted to create a Latin edition of Origen's *Hexapla*, bringing a Jewish convert to Orléans to help him.¹⁵

Raban Maur (776–856), Abbot of Fulda, made use of some Hebrew traditions from *De quaestionibus in libris regum et Paralipomenon*, once attributed to Jerome but more probably the work of a 9th-century baptized Jew.¹⁶ He also

13 *Nonum Tetragrammaton, hoc est quatuor literarum, quod proprie apud hebraeos in Deo ponitur, Jode, id est duabus Ja, quae duplicata ineffabile illud & gloriosum Dei nomen efficiunt; dicitur autem ineffabilis non quia dici non potest, sed quia finiri sensu & intellectu humano nullatenus potest & ideo, quia de eo nihil digne dici potest, ineffabilis est.*

14 For these three texts, see Lapide, *Hebrew in the Church*, pp. 7–13.

15 On the Hebrew scholarship of the Carolingian Renaissance, see Avrom Saltman, ed., *Pseudo-Jerome's Quaestiones on the Books of Samuel* (Leiden, 1975), pp. 3–62. Also his earlier "Rabanus Maurus and the Pseudo-Hieronymian Quaestiones Hebraicae in Libros Regum et Paralipomenon," *Harvard Theological Review* 66 (1973), 43–75. Jean-Louis Verstrepen, "Raban Maur et le Judaïsme dans son Commentaire sur les Quatre Livres des Rois," *Revue Mabillon* 7 (1996), 23–55. Albert, "Adversus Judaeos," pp. 119–142; Aryeh Grabois, "The Hebraica Veritas in Jewish and Christian Intellectual Relations in the Twelfth Century," *Speculum* 50.4 (1975), 613–634; M.A. Singer, "Polemic and Exegesis: The Varieties of Twelfth Century Hebraism," in *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*, eds. A. Coudert and J. Shoulson (Philadelphia, 2004), pp. 21–32.

16 So Berger, *Quam notitiam*. His *De Institutione Clericorum* considers *inter alia* the relationship between the *Shema'* and the Trinity and explains *Alleluia* and its component *yah* (PL 107 323). The same material appears in *Liber de sacris ordinibus* (1178). Raban Maur's *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis* (Migne PL 107.133ff.) involves letter manipulation and was later seen as Christian Kabbalah by Jean Thenaud.

acknowledges the help of a contemporary Hebrew scholar.¹⁷ We have a short comment on *Alleluia* from his remarks on the Psalms.¹⁸ He glosses *Adonai Dominus* in Ezekiel 28 with the explanation that the Tetragrammaton is the ineffable *Dominus*—*est dominus quod dominetur omnibus*.¹⁹ Notice that the explanation is the Latin etymology of *dominus*. And he knows of the Tetragrammaton on the High Priest's turban from Isidore.²⁰ But Raban Maur's extraordinary poems, particularly *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis*, stand out as exercises in manipulating the sacred name of Jesus.

A remarkable account is found in the *Revelationes* of Audradus Modicus, a monk and a priest of St Martin of Tours. On the strength of two visions he had experienced during the Norman attacks on Paris in 845 and 851, he warned Charles the Bald against divine judgement. He had seen the saints around Christ's throne blame the Carolingian kings for the empire's ruin—*culpa regum est*. In this vision Christ judges Lothar, brother of Charles the Bald and Louis the German, with severity: he had dared to say *ego sum*.²¹

Paschasius Radbertus (785–865) also appears to have received some similar advice from Jewish scholars.²² This all adds up to very little, but Abbot Sigo of St Florent de Saumur (d. 1070) was eager to show off his knowledge of Hebrew in a poem *de divinis nominibus*, usually called *Deus pater piissime*, in which he began each paragraph with an invocation to God under a different, usually garbled, Hebrew name. Moreover, his poem contains an account of the Tetragrammaton:

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- 17 His comments on Exodus 3:14 (PL CVIII.21) cite Jerome on the "sixth name," *Escher eheie*, which he translates as *Qui sum*. His comments understand the name ontologically and also emphasize the timelessness of God: *Deus enim solus, qui exordium non habet, essentiae nomen vere tenuit et hoc enim nomen ad sanctum Moysen per angelum est delatum... Tanquam in eius comparatione qui vere est, eo quod incommutabilis est, ea quae commutabilia facta sunt quasi non sint. Quod enim dicitur fuit, non est; et quod dicitur erit, nondum est. Deus autem tantum est; non novit fuisse, et futurum esse non novit. Solus autem cum Filio et Spiritu Sancto veraciter est: cuius essentiae comparatum esse nostrum, non esse est.*
- 18 PL CVII 123: *Alleluia enim duorum verborum interpretatio est. hoc est laus dei, et est hebraeum. ia enim de decem nominibus quibus apud hebraeos Deus vocatur unum est. He remarks that Alleluia, like Amen, is a sacred word never translated but left by the Apostles in its propriae linguae antiquitas. He refers to Revelation 1:9. His remarks depend, of course, upon Jerome.*
- 19 PL CIX, *Expositio in Librum Judith*, cols. 585–586.
- 20 PL CXI 563, *Petalum aurea lamina in fronte pontificis quae nomen Dominus Tetragrammaton hebraicis litteris habebat scriptum.*
- 21 Cited in Jean-Claude Schmitt, *The Conversion of Herman the Jew: Autobiography, History and Fiction in the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, 2010), pp. 54–55.
- 22 PL CXX. 22c. Also col. 957.

Nomenque anefoneton
 Quod fronte tulit Aaron
 Sculptum per tetragrammaton
 Quatuor gemmis in petalon:
 Joth, He, Vau, Heth Hebraicum²³

Less learned, perhaps, is the old Advent hymn *Veni, Veni Emmanuel*—a synthesis of the great “O Antiphons” that are used for Vespers during the octave before Christmas (December 17–23). These antiphons are of ancient origin, dating back to at least the 9th century. The hymn itself, though, is much more recent. It first appeared in the 18th century in the *Psalteriolum Cantionum Catholicarum* (Cologne, 1710).

One of the antiphons links Christ with the *Adonai* of Mount Sinai:

Veni, veni Adonai!
 Qui populo in Sinai
 Legem dedisti vertice,
 In Maiestate gloriae.
 Gaude, gaude Emmanuel
 Nascetur pro te Israel.

There are several arrangements of this hymn. One gives the seven verses in the order in which the antiphons appear during the octave before Christmas, except for the first verse, which is really the last of the O antiphons and would otherwise go at the end if it were not the standard first verse of the hymn. It is interesting to note that the initial words of the actual antiphons in reverse order form an acrostic: *O Emmanuel, O Rex, O Oriens, O Clavis, O Radix* (“virgula” in the hymn), *O Adonai, O Sapientia*. ERO CRAS can be loosely translated as “I will be [there] tomorrow.” That is a fitting message, since Christ’s birth is celebrated on the following day.

23 G.M. Dreves, ed., *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (Leipzig, 1893), vol. 15, p. 14. We shall notice below in the *Mammothrectus super Bibliam* of the Franciscan John Marchesinus a similar spelling of the Tetragrammaton with a final *heth*. The hymn is often known as *Deus pater piissime*. A manuscript in a strong hand c.1140 is in St John’s, Cambridge (College Classmark B20). The manuscript is described in the College’s digital catalogue. Bibliothèque nationale (lat. 15045) contains a copy bound with the Templar’s Rule owned by Godfrey of St. Victor (1125–1190). Godfrey notes that the Tetragrammaton is spelled with a final T. If this is not an error it may be the substitution of a Tau as a sign of the Cross. *Deus pater piissime. Christe Ihesu dulcissime. Spiritus clementissime. non est deus rex preter te. Tu habitas o*

There is a mention of the Tetragrammaton in the early German (Weitz) tradition of the glosses on that most Christian of books, Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, which belong to the late Carolingian and early Othonian periods and show learning from Jerome and from Bede. The passage annotating the preface to the *Psychomachia* 3 is taken from Jerome's *Quaestiones in Libro Geneseos*, and we shall meet the material again. The comment is on the significance of the Hebrew *h* added to Abram's name to make it Abraham: it appears as *adiecta auunt hebraei quod He litteram de nomine suo quod apud eos tetragrammaton est, abrae deus dedit, ut qui prius pater excelsus appelebatur, postea pater multorum, subauditur populorum sive gentium*.²⁴ This is also found in Peter Comestor below.

The 11th-century *Summarium Heinrici*, a Latin work on Latin philology with German glosses based on Isidore's *Etymologies*, again repeats Jerome's material on the ten Hebrew names of God.²⁵

The First Crusade brought this period to an end with the slaughter of over 100,000 Jews in Rouen, Alsace, and down the Rhine.²⁶ If the enemies of God were being fought in the East, similar efforts were evidently not out of place at home. In 1146 Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) earned the gratitude of Jewish communities for his work to prevent such massacres in the Second Crusade. Bernard offered his own remarks upon the Tetragrammaton in a letter to his brethren.²⁷ Drawing on Jerome's *Epistle XXV* on the letters of the name, Bernard innovatively sees each

domine. in circumscripto lumine... abba pater, ben filius. rua amborum spiritus.... O eloe. theos. fobos. deus timoris yschyros. anastasis athanatos.... Deus excelsus eleon. deus deorum panteon. rerum creator ysiton. emmanuel panta craton. pastorque homo usyon. saluator mundi tu theon. patri nato sinagion. amborum sacra neupmaton. caritas ignis uiuus fons. trium unus tu de syon. succurre mini pateron. per nomen tuum areton. gloriosum stratimon.... nomenque a. n. e. c. f. e. n. e. t. o. n. quod fronte tulit aaron scultumque tetragramaton. Quattuor grammis infantulum H(hi), Z (vaut), IT ebraicum. e. iste sonat proprium. vav uita ioth principium. Ends f. 135b: mihi clemens sis et pius. cui seruit ordo celicus. et celestis exercitus. Amen. O intemerata et in eternum benedicta... intercessores nobis existere dignemini. Amen.

24 Jerome CCSL LXXII (1959), p. 21. Sinéad O'Sullivan, *Early Medieval Glosses on Prudentius's Psychomachia: The Weitz Tradition* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 94, 121.

25 Reiner Hildebrandt, ed., *Summarium Heinrichi Buch I-X*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1974), pp. 114–115.

26 Jeremy Cohen, *Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Memories of the First Crusade* (Philadelphia, 2006). Simha Goldin, "Juifs et Juifs convertis au Moyen Âge: Est-tu encore mon Frère?" *Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 54.4 (1999), 851–874, notes that the Jewish attitude to converts to Christianity appears to have changed after the First Crusade and the term "brother" as used in Torah was no longer applied to them.

27 Jean Leclercq, *Recueil d'Études sur St. Bernard et ses Écrits*, vol. 1 (Storia e Letteratura) 92 (Rome, 1962), pp. 66–67, being the text of manuscript Strozzii 28 in the Laurentian library in Florence f38–38v.

letter as a stage on the path to salvation and a way in which God is with us. In this exposition he goes on to forge links with the four syllables of Emmanuel, which mark four modes of God being with us—delivering us from fear, participating in our humanity, binding us in Fatherly love, and by the *patrocinium veritatis*—four modes which operate in their own specific ways in the contemplative life.²⁸

From the 12th-century Abbas Monasterii S. Heriberti Tintiensis we have an interesting distinction in the double name and nature of God: *Ego sum* speaks of his nature, but *The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob* speaks of his grace.²⁹ This is not dissimilar from Augustine. From the middle of the 12th century we read in the Song of Roland (3694) *Francs les cumandent a Deu et a ses nuns*—which hides a reference to God's names, not a convent near Roncevaux.³⁰

During the period of the first two crusades the status of Jews began to change. In Antiquity and the early Middle Ages their status had been that of Roman citizens of the Jewish religion. But, excluded from the peace and the truce of God, the Jews became exposed to sudden outbreaks of regional and local violence. As the seigneurial order came into being in the 11th and 12th centuries, there was a change in their status linked to the appropriation of royal prerogatives, and then the territorialization of rights. Once citizens, the Jews became “our Jews” (*Iudaei nostri*), the possessions of the castellans, counts, or kings on whose land they lived. The earlier status was never formally abolished, but Oldradus de Ponte (d. c.1337) was able to maintain that the death of Christ had turned the Jews into serfs to be sold, exiled, or dispossessed by the prince who owned them.³¹

28 *Dilectissimis fratribus suis, dilectissimus eorum frater: caritatem. Booz veniens ad messoros suos invenit nihil in via quod honestius et utilius in breviliquio posset eis dicere quam hoc: Dominus Vobiscum* (Ruth 2:4). *Unde sciendum est quod Dominus pluribus nominibus voluit appellari in Veteri Testamento, scilicet nomine tetragrammaton, id est quatuor litterarum: quatuor haec literae sunt in hoc nomine, scilicet yod, he, vau, et het, id est Deus. Quatuor literae istae significant quatuor partes verbi vel doctrinae Dei sive quatuor quadrantes: primus quadrans est fides in corde, secundus est confessio fidei in ore, tertius ut quod ore confitemur opere compleamus, quartus ut quod operamur, docere non cessamus. Primus justificat: unde: Corde creditur* (Rom. 10:10). *Secundus saluat: unde: Ore confessio* (ibid.) *et propheta: Credidi propter quod locutus sum* (Ps. 115:10). *Tertium caelum reserat, quia bonum opus caelum aperit. Quartus gloria coronat. Voluit etiam appellari nomine quatuor syllabarum, scilicet Hemanuel, quod est: Nobiscum Deus, quod nomen ex interpretatione significat Dominus nobiscum...*

29 PL CLXVII *De Trinitate et Operibus eius Libri XLII*. In *Exod Lib I*, col. 581.

30 Leo Spitzer, “Dieu et ses Noms,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 66.1 (1941), 13–32.

31 N.P. Zacour, *Jews and Saracens in the Concilia of Oldradus de Ponte* (Toronto, 1990), pp. 83–84.

The legal status of Jews was a preoccupation of Christian scholars in the Middle Ages, and in that context the question of acceptable oaths arose frequently in local statutes.³² We may note in passing the statutes for Arles in 1151—a rather archaic, and perhaps therefore theoretical, formulation—which seem to require Jews to swear by something they would consider binding, but is perhaps sensitive to their reluctance to use the Tetragrammaton: “Do you swear by God the Father, *Adonai*; by God the Almighty who said ‘I am who I am’; by God the Almighty *Saba’oth*; by God *Eloy*...?” No such sensitivity, however, is found in the formula for Jewish oaths rendered obligatory by James I of Aragon (26 February 1241), unless the corrupt form *ylya* allows the swearer to avoid articulation of the divine name. The oath identifies the Jewish God from key verses in the Hebrew Bible and from the Ten Commandments. It then proceeds (13) *per nomen sanctum et gloriosum heye asset heye huc heye*; (14) *et per nomen honorificatum hya, ylya et ihyz, et per nomen magnum et forte tam mirabile quod erat sculptum super frontem Aaron*; (15) *et per nomen admirabilis Ananiae fortis quod dixit Moses super mare et divisit se per VII vias...* The later, rather obscure term perhaps hides a reference to the use of the name *yh* in Exodus 15:2.³³

The condition of the Jews deteriorated in the 12th and 13th centuries. Economic tension grew with rising populations, land shortages, and more widespread trade. The Franciscans’ *monte di Pietà* sought to make Jewish pawnshops unnecessary and irrelevant in the marketplace. It may be that the intellectual revival of the 12th century opened up for the Church potentially dangerous questions of faith and prompted a growing anti-Judaism together with a reluctance to tolerate the relaxed circumstances which, ironically, had prompted the work of the early Christian Hebraists.³⁴ The period saw a rise in the number of accusations of ritual murder, profanation of the Host, and

32 G. Dahan, *Les Intellectuels chrétiens et les Juifs au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2007), pp. 63–91. See p. 80 for the oath formula from Arles. Also Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, pp. 69–70.

33 Josep Maria Marquès, ed., *Cartoral de Rúbriques Vermelles de Pere de Rocaberti, bisbe de Girona (1318–1324)* (Barcelona, 2009). Text 43 on pp. 214–219.

34 A. Funkensteen, “Basic Types of Anti-Jewish Polemics in the Later Middle Ages,” *Viator* 2 (1971), 373–382. G. Dahan, “Quelques Réflexions sur L’Anti-Judaïsme chrétien au Moyen Âge,” *Histoire Économie Société* 2.3 (1983), 355–366. Jeremy Cohen, “Scholarship and Intolerance in the Medieval Academy: The Study and Evaluation of Judaism of Judaism in European Christendom,” *American Historical Review* 91.3 (1988), 592–613. Jaroslav Pelikan memorably remarked that the 12th century “seems to have produced more treatises of Jewish-Christian disputation than any preceding century of the Middle Ages, perhaps as many as all these centuries combined.” *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, 5 vols. (Chicago, 1971–1989), vol. 3 (1978), p. 246.

liaisons with the Devil.³⁵ Jews were expelled during this period for political and economic reasons from France (1182, recalled in 1198), England (1290), and France again (1306).³⁶ Nonetheless, the 12th century may still have enjoyed some normal relations; indeed, the picture of the prosperous communities in northern France in the 12th century which emerges from the works of their rabbis is far from the desperate stereotype of later times. Beryl Smalley described them delightfully as a typically “French, prosperous, middle-class people, who keep a rich table, set prudent limits to their families..., lead respectable lives and practice their religion, [who] are not intolerant and seldom saintly.”³⁷

The Christian world closed in upon itself in the 13th century, particularly in France, England, and Germany. Spain was to follow a century later.³⁸ There, in

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- 35 Ritual murders were alleged in the cases of William of Norwich (1144), Hugh of Lincoln (1244), and Simon of Trent (1475). D. Chwolson, *Die Blutanklage und sonstige mittelalterliche Beschuldigungen der Juden* (Frankfurt a. Main, 1901); Po-chia Hsia, *The Myth of Ritual Murder: Jews and Magic in Reformation Germany* (New Haven, 1988); S. Buttaroni and S. Musial, eds., *Ritual Murder* (Krakow, 2003), with bibliography. For a similar but not identical charge, E. Wickersheimer, *Les Accusations d'empoisonnement portées pendant la première moitié du XIIIe siècle contre les Lépreux et les Juifs; leur relations avec les épidémies de peste* (Antwerp, 1927). For the profanation of the Host in the Rue de Billettes 1290, see: L. Lazard, “Note sur la Légende du Juif de la rue des Billettes,” *Annuaire des Archives israélites* 4 (1887–1888), 56–60; G. Dahan, “Il ya sept cent ans à Paris (1290): L'affaire des billettes,” *Communauté nouvelle (Paris)* 58 (1991), 72–84; and Miri Rubin, *Gentile Tales: The Narrative Assault on Late Medieval Jews* (Philadelphia, 2004). For the Jews' diabolical reputation, Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews*, pp. 11–53. Elio Toaff, *Pasque di Sangue Ebrei d'Europa e Omicidi Rituali* (Bologna, 2007), caused outrage in Italy by appearing to give credence to the charge that some Jewish mystics used Christian blood in their unleavened bread. He removed some remarks from a second edition of 2008. Both editions and their supporters may be found on the web. See: S. Loriga, “The Controversies over the Publication of Ariel Toaff's ‘Bloody Passover,’” *Journal of the Historical Society* 8.4 (2008), 469–502.
- 36 Isidore Loeb, “Les Expulsions des Juifs de France au XIVe siècle,” in *Jubelschrift... H. Graetz* (Breslau, 1887), pp. 39–56; E.A.R. Brown, “Philip V, Charles IV and the Jews of France: The Alleged Expulsion of 1322,” *Speculum* 66 (1991), 294–329. For England, R.R. Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution: Experiment and Expulsion 1262–1290* (Cambridge, 1998).
- 37 Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, p. 150.
- 38 Generally: R.I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (Oxford, 1987), and Jeffrey Richards, *Sex, Dissidence and Damnation: Minority Groups in the Middle Ages* (London, 1994), pp. 88–115. For relations with the Church in the 12th and 13th centuries, S. Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century* (Philadelphia, 1933); idem, “Popes, Jews and Inquisition From *Sicut to Turbato*,” in *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century*, vol. 2, eds. K. Stow and Solomon Grayzel (Detroit, 1989), pp. 3–45. Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, p. xxxxx. John D. Martin, *Representation of Jews in Late Medieval and Early Modern German*

1492, more than a quarter of a million Jews were expelled and an equal number forced to convert. Many in the latter group fell victim to the Spanish Inquisition, which found them guilty of Judaizing and also promoted pure blood laws to protect Christendom from the contagion of those who had been forcibly converted.³⁹

The canons of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) attempted to separate Jews from their neighbours, and the papacy pressured secular princes in this direction.⁴⁰ Usury became an issue and characteristic of anti-Jewish rhetoric. The Talmud itself became a target of anti-Jewish propaganda: it was seen as a blasphemous addition to the Jews' "proper" Old Testament.⁴¹ Innocent III (1199–1216), pope of the Fourth Lateran Council, was the outstanding talent of a new generation, and when he became pope at the age of thirty-seven he was probably the youngest man ever to do so. He wrote of the Tetragrammaton and the Hebrew word for Lord in his letter from Anagni, the papal stronghold to the south of Rome, to an Archbishop of Lyon.⁴²

Literature (Bern 2004), for an evaluation of different explanations for changes of attitude during this period. Also Milan Zonca, "Apostasy and Authority: The Transformation of Christian Anti-Jewish Polemic in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Focus Pragensis* 9 (2009), 1–28. Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism and Islam (1000–1150)* (Ithaca, 2002), deals thoroughly with Peter the Venerable's work in the context of this moment of growing intolerance. His writings against Judaism are discussed pp. 275–322.

39 Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain*, 2nd ed. (New York, 2001).

40 Peter Browe, *Die Judenmission in Mittelalter und die Päpste* (Rome, 1973).

41 Fausto Parente, "La Chiesa e il Talmud," in *Storia d'Italia Annali II: Gli Ebrei in Italia*, ed. Corrado Vivanti (Turin, 1996), pp. 521–643.

42 Text in C.U. Hahn, *Geschichte der Ketzer*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, 1850), pp. 361–367 at 363. *Non enim hoc nomen Adonai primum fuit Patribus inauditum, sed mysterium Trinitatis et unitatis dei eis non fuerat nisi forte tenuiter indicatum, quod et nomine illo expressius designatur, quod Graeci Tetragrammaton dicunt, quia quatuor literis figuratis I. E. V. E pro quo Judaei proferunt Adonai. Quum enim dicant ineffabile nomen illud, ipsum proferre non audent, sed aliud proferunt loco eius. Nam hoc nomen Adonai sex literis scribitur, illud autem quatuor solum modo figuratum I. E. V. E. Licet enim populo Judaeorum multipliciter omnipotentem se Dominus ostendisset, eis tamen non indicavit hoc nomen, donec Mosi, cum gregem invisit ad interiora deserti, in montem Dei Oreb gregis ductor ascendit, pro parte revelavit mysterium Trinitatis. Est enim hoc nomen I. E. V. E. tantae virtute, sicut periti asserrunt Hebraeorum, quod si distinuatur in tres dictiones, ut sigillatum quaelibet proferatur, integritatem sui nominis praesentet: et sic secunda sumatur a prima, ut tertia, quidquid habet a prima, recipiat et secunda. Quod ad exprimendum trinitatis et unitatis mysterium in suo figura subjecta potest plenius denotari...* The diagram is given in the main text below.

He speaks of the Tetragrammaton and the Trinity in a way which will become familiar. The mystery of the Trinity was only hinted to the Patriarchs but is more clearly expressed by the Tetragrammaton IEVE, for which the Jews say *'adonai*. Within the Tetragrammaton are concealed three words which “procede” from each other and illustrate the mystery of the Trinity:

IE
I
EV
E
EV VE

The Hebrew sages divide the word into three, each part having the meaning of the whole: *IE*, *EV*, *VE*—that is, *IEVE*, one God in three Persons. The pattern of the letters shows the procession of the Son from the Father and the procession of the Spirit from the Father and Son (the doubled middle letter representing the Son and the Spirit, the second syllable taking a letter from the first and the third syllable taking letters from the first and second, representing the two different processions). The pope finds here the inclusiveness of Alpha and Omega, which also denote the two natures of Christ. Finally he points out that the *IE* of the name of Jesus is part of the divine Tetragrammaton, the essential name of the Holy Trinity.

Innocent mentions the High Priest’s golden plaque inscribed with *ioth, he, vau heth* (a misspelling we have previously encountered) in his *De Sacro Altaris Mysterio Libri Sex*. He glosses these four letters as *id est principium passionis vitae iste*.⁴³ For Christ is the author of life restored by passion, who by dying destroyed our death and restored life by rising. The sacred Tetragrammaton is pronounced *'adonai* but is ineffable only in the sense that its mysteries are incomprehensible.

The Pope also discussed the name of Jesus in his sermon *In Circumcisione Domini*.⁴⁴ The name of Jesus has two syllables, which indicate his two natures. Drawing a distinction between vowels and consonants—*notandum vero quod vocalis est illa quae dat semper vocem per se, consonans illa, quae reddit sonum ex alia*—he tells us that the three vowels of Jesus’ name represent the divinity of the Three Persons, whereas the two consonants represent the humanity of Christ’s body and soul. The three vowels are those of the Tetragrammaton: *Habet autem hoc nomen Jesus illas easdem vocales, quas habet illud nomen*

43 Bk I cap xxx PL CCXVII, cols. 785 and 789.

44 PL CCXVII, col. 467.

Domini Tetragrammaton et erat scriptum lamina aurea super frontem pontificali cidari pendente, videlicet I E V sive iode, eth, vau. This name is said to be ineffable and the Jews pronounce only *'adonai*, but erroneously: it is not that the word cannot be articulated; rather, it is the mystery of the Trinity which is ineffable: *revera illud nomen est ineffabile non quantum ad sonum sed quantum ad intellectum, quia trinitatis et unitatis mysterium designat tres personas in una substantia...*

The Role of Converts

At the instigation of Nicholas Donin, a converted Jew, a trial of the Talmud was held in Paris in 1240. It was declared heretical, and twenty-four wagonloads of Jewish books were burned in June 1242.⁴⁵ For the following century this censorship of Jewish texts remained in vigour, effectively damaging the ability of Jewish communities to maintain their desired standards of scholarship. Such attacks upon the Talmud are also reflected iconographically and thereafter became common, particularly among Dominican friars.⁴⁶ Theobold of Sézanne, another Jewish convert, made use of Nicholas Donin in his *Extractiones de Talmut*, which was in turn circulated widely in the anonymous Dominican *Pharetra Fidei contra Judaeos* (c.1240).⁴⁷

The crucial role of converts from Judaism in these polemics is evident. We shall see it repeated frequently in all periods. The apostates presumably needed to justify the renunciation of their faith and identity but also, as converts, to have something to offer their new community. They were often learned Jewish scholars and they brought knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish thought the Christians did not possess. Inevitably they became not only Christian experts in Judaism, but also in what was wrong with it.

For this earlier period in this respect, an interesting text preserved in two manuscripts from around 1200 apparently tells in the first person of the conversion of Judah ben David Halevi, who took the baptismal name of

45 G. Dahan, ed., *Le Brûlement du Talmud à Paris 1242–1244* (Paris, 1999).

46 K.A. Morrow, "Disputation in Stone: Jews Imagined on the Saint Stephen Portal of Paris Cathedral," in *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti Judaism and Anti Semiticism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, ed. M.B. Merback (Leiden, 2007), pp. 63–86. (The South Porch was built under Bishop Berthold von Teck, 1223–1244.) One might consider also: N. Rowe "Idealisation and Subjection at the South Face of Strasbourg Cathedral," in Merback, ed., *Yellow Badge*, pp. 179–202.

47 *Pharetra Fidei...* (Melchior Lotter, Leipzig, 1502).

Herman.⁴⁸ That this is a genuine autobiography in the modern sense may be doubted, but the formal use of the first person is interesting. Earlier, Peter Alphonsi, converted in 1160 in Huesca at the age of forty-four, wrote the polemical *Dialogues between Moses and Peter*, in which he appears both as the Jew he once was (Moses) and the Christian he had become.

The period between the First and Second Crusades seems characterized by a more insistent evangelism on one side, and a greater intolerance of renegades on the other. We have several witnesses from the early Middle Ages of confrontation between bishops and Jewish communities that had previously enjoyed relative peace but were now given the choice of collective baptism or expulsion. Gregory of Tours (c.540–594) in his *Historia Francorum* tells of the earlier efforts of Avitus, bishop of Clermont, to convert the city's Jews, who either had to accept baptism or leave. The 7th century saw a letter on the miraculous conversion of the Jews of Minorca, which took place two centuries earlier and was attributed to Bishop Severus of Minorca.⁴⁹ According to the text, Theodorus, the leader of the Jews there, was persuaded by the many miracles wrought by the reliquaries of Stephen the Proto-Martyr brought to the island in 418. After an admonitory dream—and the burning of his synagogue by the Christian mob—he decided the will of God had become apparent and he submitted with 540 other Jews. Alfred Haverkamp has compiled an exhaustive inventory of narratives of voluntary conversions in German areas at this time, detailing accounts of young Jewish girls and boys and paying particular attention both to the nature of the relevant sources and their treatment of the singularities of the cases.⁵⁰ Needless to say, not all these accounts enjoy the same level of plausibility.

There are also some famous conversions from Christianity to Judaism. We may mention in passing Iodo the deacon, a regular of the court of Louis the Pious, in 839, and also the Calabrian priest John of Oppido Mamertin—later known as Obadiah—sometime between 1070 and 1121.⁵¹ And we shall in the

48 For a sophisticated evaluation of this text, Schmitt, *Herman the Jew*. Also Jeremy Cohen, "The Mentality of the Medieval Jewish Apostate: Peter Alfonsi, Herman of Cologne and Pablo Christiani," in *Jewish Apostasy in the Modern World*, eds. S.T.M. Endelman and Jeffrey Gurrook (New York, 1987), pp. 20–47; idem, *Living Letter of the Law*, p. 291.

49 Scott Bradley, ed. and trans., *Severus of Minorca's Letter on the Conversion of the Jews* (Oxford, 1996).

50 Alfred Haverkamp, "Baptised Jews in German Lands during the Twelfth Century," in *Jews and Christians in Twelfth Century Europe*, eds. M.A. Signer and J. van Engen (South Bend, Ind., 2001), pp. 255–310. Also, Robert Stacey, "The Conversion of Jews to Christianity in Thirteenth Century England," *Speculum* 67 (1992), 263–283.

51 Schrekenberg, *Die christlichen*, vol. 1, pp. 485–488, and for Obadiah pp. 84–85. Also, B. Blumenkranz, "Jüdische und christliche Konvertiten im jüdisch-christlichen

course of our investigations consider the individual cases which made such a difference to Christian Hebraism.

Dominicans in Aragon were themselves able to find a learned ex-Jew similar to Nicholas Donin in the person of Paul Christian, a pupil of Raymond of Peñaforte, the Dominicans' expert polemicist and a distinguished canon lawyer—it was he who asked Thomas Aquinas to write his *Summa contra Gentiles*—and who claimed not only to show that the Talmud contained blasphemies against Christianity, but also contained proof of the same!⁵² King James I of Aragon was pressured by the Dominicans, particularly by Raymond of Peñaforte, to arrange a public disputation on the Talmud. The king was prevailed upon to require his foremost Talmudic scholar, Moses ben Nahman (Nahmanides), to dispute with Paul. The disputation took place in Barcelona in July 1263.⁵³

The 14th century brought several crises—social, economic, political, and religious—to Europe, and consequently insecurity to the Jews, who were often treated as scapegoats. Anti-Jewish preaching in Spain in 1391 by the deacon Ferrand Martinez produced violent attacks and forced conversions. It sounded the beginning of the end for Spanish Jewry. In Italy and Germany anti-Judaism grew, with increasing accusations of diabolical malice: the Jews were often seen as the very incarnation of evil.⁵⁴

Controversial Literature

Within the development of relationships between Jews and Christians there naturally arose polemical arguments and an ever-growing adversarial literature. The arguments no doubt were often spontaneous, but in time they

Religionsgespräch des Mittelalters," in *Miscellanea Mediaevalia*, vol. 4, ed. P. Wilpert (Berlin, 1966), pp. 264–82; and his *Judentum im Mittelalter: Beiträge zum christlich-jüdischen Gespräch* (Cologne, 1996).

52 For Paul, see Grayzel, op. cit., p. 76.

53 Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and its Aftermath* (Berkeley, 1992). Documents and discussion in Grayzel, op. cit., pp. 95–97 and 98–102 for subsequent events. For the Paris Disputation of 1240 and the Tortosa Disputation of 1413–1414, see Hyam Maccoby, *Judaism on Trial* (London, 1982).

54 A less uniform view of mediaeval intolerance is suggested in M.D. Meyerson, *A Jewish Renaissance in Fifteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, 2004); J.M. Elukin, *Living Together, Living Apart: Rethinking Jewish-Christian Relations in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2007); R.E. Lerner, *The Feast of St Abraham: Medieval Millenarians and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 2001).

became organized theological debates in front of monarchs, and then became forced.⁵⁵ Jews had debated before Saint Louis at Cluny.⁵⁶ A disputation took place in Paris in 1240. James I of Aragon, as we have just seen, attended the famous debate in 1263 in which Nahmanides took part. In 1413–1414 another took place in Tortosa. These three disputes are those for which detailed records survive. We also have several controversial works which take the form of debates.⁵⁷ Gilbert Crispin, bishop of Westminster, reports his friendly discussions with a Jew from Mayence.⁵⁸ Gautier de Châtillon is slightly less amicable.⁵⁹ But the Church clearly felt uneasy about such debates and attempted to discourage them.⁶⁰

Nonetheless, the Middle Ages preserve plenty of controversial works in addition to disputations.⁶¹ Leaving aside Jewish polemical documents⁶² and concentrating on the Christian production,⁶³ we may note collections of *Testimonia*, or biblical proof texts—exemplified by Isidore of Seville (archbishop of Seville, 600–636),⁶⁴ Peter Damian (1007–1072),⁶⁵ Peter the Venerable

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- 55 Examples of spontaneity: Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks* VI.5; Gerald of Wales, *Itinerarium Cambriae* I.2; Inghetto Contardo, *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*.
- 56 Joinville, *History of Saint Louis*, Ch. X.
- 57 For some earlier “dialogues”: A. Harnack, *Altercatio Simonis et Theophili* (Texte und Untersuchungen) 1.3 (Berlin, 1883); F.C. Conybeare, *The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus and of Timothy and Aquila* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Classical Series) 8 (Oxford, 1898).
- 58 A. Sapir-Abulafia and G.R. Evans, eds., *The Works of Gilbert Crispin* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 1–61. Friendship is evoked in the preface. See more generally, Robert Chazan, “Philosemitic Tendencies in Medieval Western Christendom,” in *Philosemitism in History*, eds. J. Karp and A. Sutcliffe (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 29–48, for such evidence as there is of the same.
- 59 *Dialogus contra Iudaeos* PL 209,457.
- 60 G. Dahan, op. cit., pp. 42–46. More fully in Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*.
- 61 Again I follow Dahan, *Polémique chrétienne*, pp. 57–95. Also, Funkenstein, “Anti-Jewish Polemics,” pp. 373–382. J.B. De Rossi, *Bibliotheca Judaica Anti-Christiana* (Palma, 1800) retains its interest.
- 62 Daniel Lasker’s *Jewish Philosophical Polemics against Christianity in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1997, 2007), for the generally ill-informed Jewish attempts to refute basic Christian dogmas.
- 63 H. Trauler-Kromann, *Shield and Sword: Jewish Polemics against Christianity and the Christians in France and Spain 1100–1500* (Tübingen, 1993). Jeremy Cohen, “Medieval Jews on Christianity: Polemical Strategies and Theological Defense,” in *Interwoven Destinies: Jews and Christians through the Ages*, ed. E.J. Fisher (Mahwah, 1993), pp. 77–89.
- 64 *De Fide Catholica contra Iudaeos* PL 83, 449–450. One of the earliest such collections is, of course, Cyprian’s *Testimonium Libri Tres Adversus Iudaeos* PL IV 675–780.
- 65 *Antilogus, Dialogus Epilogus* PL 145, 41–68.

(d. 1156),⁶⁶ and Pierre du Blois (d. 1205)⁶⁷—who shows a little knowledge of Hebrew. The work of Joachim of Fiore (d. 1201/1202), *Contra Iudaeos*, is also very much a collection of proof texts.⁶⁸ The converted Jew Guillaume de Bourges shows a predictably good knowledge of Hebrew in his *Book of the Wars of the Lord* (1235) and also makes Talmudic citations, but the approach is the same.⁶⁹ The works of Raymund Martin (d. 1284), to whom we shall return; Bernard Oliver (d. 1348),⁷⁰ who knew Maimonides after the 1230 Latin translation of *The Guide of the Perplexed*; and Alphonse Bonhomme (d. 1353),⁷¹ though increasingly varied and sophisticated, still have recourse to the basic strategy of proof-texting.

Peter Damian also wrote a dialogue, and so did Gilbert Crispin (as we have seen), Peter Alphonsi⁷² (approximately 40 years old in 1106), and Rupert de Deutz (d. 1130).⁷³ Similar works were written by Paschalis Romanus (1158) and

66 *Adversus Iudaeorum Inveteratam Duritatem*, ed. Y. Friedman (Turnhout, 1985). M.A. Signer, “Polemics and Exegesis: The Varieties of Twelfth-Century Hebraism,” in Coudert and Shoulson, eds., *Hebraica Veritas?* pp. 21–32. Peter the Venerable seems to be the first Christian to employ the term “Talmud,” which he regards as a *portentosa bestia*, and he makes controversial use of it very early and well before the middle of the 12th century. What he actually knew of it remains conjectural: Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion*, pp. 301–305, 318. His description of the Talmud (an evidently non-Christian) work as “heretical” appears to be explained by the belief that it is another law supplanting the Biblical Law to which Jews should have confined themselves: Cohen, *Living Letter of the Law*, pp. 260–264.

67 *Contra Perfidiam Iudaeorum* PL 207, 825. Bedos-Rezak, “Les Juifs,” pp. 1049–1063, finds Peter the Venerable the representative of an extreme development of the traditional theme of Jewish “carnal” reading of Scripture, particularly among Benedictines, which culminated in regarding Jews themselves as inhuman, bestial, and irrational.

68 A. Frugoni, ed. (Rome, 1957).

69 G. Dahan, ed. (Paris, 1981).

70 *Contra Caecitatem Iudaeorum*, ed. F. Cantera Burgos (Madrid, 1965).

71 *Rabbi Samuelis Marochiani de Adventu Messiae Praeterito Liber* PL 149, 335–368.

72 Peter Alphonsi was a convert from Judaism baptized in 1106. His *Dialogi contra Iudaeos* (PL 157, 535–672) made a small amount of Talmudic material available, but without the consequence of an attempt to suppress Jewish blasphemy, which was the case with the later Talmud trials. See J. Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and his Medieval Readers* (Gainesville, 1993). Peter Alphonsi finds (like Innocent III) the Trinity in the division of the letters of the Tetragrammaton into three—*IE, EV, VE*—which he arranges in a triangle. He draws attention to things that come in threes: Jewish priests blessed with three fingers to indicate the Trinity, the angels sing the Sanctus three times, etc. etc. He is quoted and developed by Joachim of Fiore, Raymund Martin, and Arnaldo de Villanova. See Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi*, pp. 38–39, 113–114.

73 Rupert de Deutz, *Anulus seu Dialogus inter Christianum et Iudaeum*. Conveniently Schmitt, *Herman the Jew*, pp. 94–110.

Peter of Cornwall (1208).⁷⁴ Vernacular disputes appear in the 13th century, and the tone of 14th-century Latin dialogues becomes more aggressive. A particular type of dialogue between *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*, taking its inspiration from the *Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae*, attributed to Augustine, makes an appearance in the 10th century.

It is also possible to distinguish a genre of “treatises” among the controversial literature in the works of Ildephonse, bishop of Toledo (607–669);⁷⁵ Agobard (c.779–840) and his successor in Lyon, Amolon;⁷⁶ Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1030); and the 12th-century Guibert de Nogent.⁷⁷ The third book of Alan de Lille’s (d. 1203) *Summa Quadripertita*,⁷⁸ the *Pharetra fidei* (c.1240), Raymund Martin writing after the Disputation at Barcelona (1263), and the work of his pupil Arnaldo de Villanova fall into this genre. Villanova’s *Allocutio super Tetragrammaton* of 1292 will occupy us below.

Hebrew in Christian Biblical Interpretation

Knowledge of Hebrew was not common among mediaeval Christian scholars, but there are outstanding individuals to note before we consider the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyra in the early 14th century.⁷⁹

74 *Disputatio contra Iudaeos*, ed. G. Dahan, *Recherches augustiniennes* 11 (1976), 161–213. A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London, 1971), pp. 61–81. For Peter of Cornwall, *Disputationes contra Symonem Iudeum* (1208), see R.W. Hunt, “The Disputation of Peter of Cornwall against Symon the Jew,” in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to F.M. Powicke*, eds. R.W. Hunt et al. (Oxford, 1948), pp. 143–156.

75 *De Virginitate Perpetua Sanctae Mariae* PL 96, 53–102.

76 For Agobard, *Blumenkranz*, *Les Auteurs chrétiens*, pp. 152–168. Amolon, *Contra Iudaeos* PL 116, 141–184.

77 Fulbert, *Tractatus contra Iudaeos* PL 141, 305–318; Guibert, *Tractatus de Incarnatione contra Iudeos* PL 156, 489–528.

78 PL 210, 399–422.

79 For such very early evidence as there is, see Charles Singer, “Hebrew Scholarship in the Middle Ages among Latin Christians,” in *The Legacy of Israel*, eds. E.R. Bevan and C. Singer, (Oxford, 1928), pp. 283–314, 289–290; B. Walte, *Christliche Hebraisten Deutschlands am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Münster, 1916), pp. 1–8. A very accessible introduction is D. Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible...with Special Reference to the Hebrew Tradition* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 88–166. See Berger, *Quam notitiam*, particularly on a 10th-century transliteration from the Hebrew of Psalm 2:8–12 in a manuscript from Chartres. L.I. Neuman, *Jewish Influence on Christian Reform Movements* (New York, 1925), pp. 1–126; M. Thiel, “Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkenntnisse des frühen Mittelalters,” *Studi Medievali* 10.3 (1969), 3–21, and Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 239–270.

As a foil to their sometimes considerable achievements we may notice beforehand the *Summa Britonis* of Guillaume Breton, drawn up sometime between 1250 and 1272.⁸⁰ This exists also in an abridged metrical version, *Brito metricus*, comprising 2320 more or less regular leonine hexameters, of which some 120 are consecrated to Hebrew words, though the rest are devoted to Greek words. Hebrew proper names are mentioned, as are Hebrew words in the Christian liturgy, wet and dry measures, the months, and Hebrew phrases from the New Testament. The work depends clearly upon Jerome, Bede, Isidore of Seville, the *Glossa Ordinaria*, the lexicographers Papias and Hugutio, Peter Comestor, and Alexander Neckam. Such may be taken as representative commonplaces of the mediaeval scholar without Hebrew—nothing firsthand but all widely spread through the theological literature. What Guillaume knows about the Tetragrammaton, however, is at least accurate: “Write *yod, he, vav, he*, but you do not read as you write—rather the whole word should be pronounced *’adonai*.”⁸¹

The *Mammothrectus super Bibliam* of the Franciscan John Marchesinus is an exegetical handbook from the end of the 13th century explaining difficult words and more general questions, offering prologues to the biblical books, and incorporating bits of liturgy and legend.⁸² It draws from Scripture, Jerome, and others, particularly Brito. It contains a very brief essay, *de nominibus Dei apud Hebraeos*, based on Jerome’s Ten Names: we learn little more than that *ia*, as in *alleluia*, is number eight, and the ninth is the Tetragrammaton, being the personal name of God and spelled *ioth he vau he*. More interesting is his comment preserved in *Prologo super Librum Regum*, which is taken from Bede according to the *Glossa Ordinaria* at Exodus 28, just slightly changed.⁸³

M. Olszowy-Schlanger, “The Knowledge and Practice of Hebrew Grammar amongst Christian Scholars in Pre-Expulsion England: The Evidence of ‘bilingual’ Hebrew-Latin Manuscripts,” in *Hebrew Scholarship in the Medieval World*, ed. N. de Lange (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 107–130.

80 L.W. Daly and B.A. Daly, eds., *Summa Britonis sive Guillelmi Britonis Expositiones Vocabulorum Biblie* (Padua, 1975). Earlier, Samuel Berger, *De Glossariis et Compendis Exegeticis quibusdam Medi Aevi* (Paris, 1879), pp. 18–25.

81 L.W. Daly, ed., *Brito Metricus: A Mediaeval Verse Treatise on Greek and Hebrew Words* (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 3: *Scribe iod heque vau simul he, sed non legis ut tu scribis, at Adonay debet vox integra dici*. Gérard de Huy in the second half of the 13th century in his *Liber Triglossos* borrows these remarks from Brito, see Berger, *Quam notitiam*, p. 47.

82 Berger, *De Glossariis*, p. 3ff.

83 *Tetragrammaton id est quatuor litterarum, a tetra quod quatuor et gramma quod est littera. Istae sunt litterae: ioth, he vau, heth. Ioth, id est principum, he et vau iste, heth vita sive Christus*. Bede’s own knowledge of Hebrew was probably overrated by Bacon. A knowledge

The four letters are interpreted as *iod*, meaning “beginning”; *he* and *vau*, meaning together “he”; and *heth* (*sic*—the error recurs!), meaning “life” (of which Hebrew word that letter is the first). Bede’s own rather obscure comment interprets the Tetragrammaton as meaning: “He is the beginning of the passion of life,” since Christ “is the beginning of the life lost in Adam which he has restored by his passion.”⁸⁴ We have seen this interpretation in Innocent III. Here we find Christ introduced into the meaning of the Tetragrammaton. We shall become very familiar with this, though the method of insertion will be different with authors whose spelling is more correct. We may, however, recall how similar the garbled text of Evagrius writing on PIFI is to this interpretation and anticipate similar remarks by Arnaldo de Villanova, which we shall shortly encounter.

Andrew of the Abbey of St Victor in Paris was probably English and arrived at the monastery c.1154.⁸⁵ He was taught there by Hugh of St Victor, who had himself attempted to learn some rudimentary Hebrew and knew of at least one of Rashi’s expositions.⁸⁶ Richard of St Victor, another of Hugh’s disciples, also made enquiries of the Jews but came to disapprove of Andrew as a Judaizer, particularly in his interpretation of the Emmanuel prophecy of Isaiah 7:14. Andrew returned to Wigmore, a daughter house in Herefordshire, some nine years later as abbot. He died there in 1175. His pupil, Herbert of Bosham, was Becket’s secretary and biographer.

As an exegete Andrew depends on Jerome and his master Hugh, and like Jerome (but unlike Augustine) he links the literal sense with a growing appreciation of Hebrew and Jewish scholarship. He shows knowledge of Jewish sources and enjoyed contacts with local Jewish scholars. He knows the work of Rashi and his rational, literalist successors in northern France: Joseph Kara (1060–1130), and Rashi’s own grandson, Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam). He also knows Eliezer of Beaugency and his contemporary Joseph Bekhor Shor of

of the difference between *schin* and *samech* is evident in *Quaestiones super Genesim* (PL XCIII, 300), but the work may not be Bede’s. His *Expositio Nominum* appears to depend on Jerome.

84 *Iste principium passionis vitae, quia Christus principium vitae in Adam amissae, quam reparavit sua passione.*

85 Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, pp. 112–195. Beryl Smalley was primarily responsible for the modern appreciation of Andrew of St Victor as a Hebraist. Her characterization of the Order in general is on pp. 83–111. See also: Dominique Porrel, “L’École de Saint-Victor au Moyen Âge: bilan d’un demi-siècle historiographique” *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartres* 156 (1998), 187–207. W. McKane, *Selected Christian Hebraists* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 42–75, for Andrew of St Victor.

86 Smalley, *Study of the Bible*, pp. 103–104.

Orléans. Andrew follows their literal interpretations and shows a preference for the Hebrew over the Vulgate.⁸⁷ His commentary on Isaiah 53 was too much for one reader of the manuscript Bibl. nat. Latin 574 f70v, who wrote in the margin a complaint against Andrew's violent Judaizing of the text: *satis violenter hunc textum exsequeris dum nimis iudizare tu niteris*.

Miss Smalley described the extensive and surprising influence of Andrew's work.⁸⁸ We shall confine ourselves to his pupil Herbert of Bosham. From Hugh we have an edition of the *Magna Glosatura* of his master Peter Lombard, and also a commentary on the Psalter found by N.R. Ker in the Cathedral Library of St Paul's and informed by what he had learned from the "masters of the Hebrews, Greeks and Latins."⁸⁹ The commentary was written after he had retired from Archbishop Thomas Becket's service to the Cistercian house at Ourscamp. He holds Jerome in high esteem and conceives of the Hebrew text and Jewish exposition as his prime sources. A literal reading of Scripture and an interest in the Hebrew text together characterize his work. He cites Rashi and Dunash ibn Labrat. The openness of the 12th-century intellectual encounter between Jews and Christians exemplified at St Victor was, however, to become unthinkable by the turn of the 14th century.⁹⁰ Nicholas of Lyra knew his rabbis only through books, not face to face.

By the end of the 14th century, Nicholas and his books came to replace neighbourhood rabbis as a source of knowledge of the Hebrew text. In this way Nicholas successfully separated Jewish literature from the contemporary community; and at a time when that community was being pushed increasingly to the margins, Jewish commentary was being more widely read than ever before

87 Ibid., pp. 151–156.

88 Ibid., pp. 173–185. For Herbert of Bosham, pp. 186–195.

89 Raphael Loewe, "Herbert of Bosham's Commentary on Jerome's Hebrew Psalter: A Preliminary Investigation into its Sources," *Biblica* 34 (1953), 44–77, 159–192, 275–298. B. Smalley, "Les Commentaires bibliques de l'époque romane: glose ordinaire et gloses périmées," *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale* 4.13 (1961), 15–22. See now Deborah L. Goodwin, *Take Hold of the Robe of a Jew: Herbert of Bosham's Christian Hebraism* (Leiden, 2006). E.S. de Visscher, *The Jewish-Christian Dialogue in Twelfth-Century Western Europe: The Hebrew and Latin Sources of Herbert of Bosham's Commentary on the Psalms* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Leeds, 2003), emphasizes Herbert's significant linguistic skills and his knowledge of Rashi, and observes that he evidently had a personal teacher.

90 B. Smalley, *Hebrew Scholarship amongst Christians in XIIIth Century England as Illustrated by Some Hebrew-Latin Psalters* (*Lectiones in Veteri Testamento et in rebus Judaicis*) 7 (London, 1939), p. 1, remarked that "when a Medieval scholar talked to a Rabbi, he felt that he was telephoning the Old Testament." The difference between biblical Israelites and contemporary Jews was not well appreciated.

in Nicholas's *Postilla Litteralis super Bibliam*, the most widely disseminated of mediaeval Bible commentaries.⁹¹ Moreover, Hebrew among Bible scholars is quite rare after Nicholas, who himself became the authority on Jewish exegesis.⁹² The Dominican attack on Jewish literature no doubt also had an effect, and of course such material was now acceptably available in Nicholas.

The Council of Vienne (1311–1312)

The Council of Vienne, very much at the instigation of the Catalan scholar Ramon Lull (c.1235–1316), called for the establishment of chairs of Hebrew, Aramaic (i.e. Syriac), and Arabic, aimed primarily at mission.⁹³ Scarcely anything was done.⁹⁴ It does appear that a converted Jew was teaching Hebrew in Oxford in 1321, as a tax on ecclesiastical goods was levied on the Province of

91 D.C. Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and the Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 2007), pp. 5–6.

92 Op. cit., pp. 109–133.

93 Lull had been profoundly influenced by the Neoplatonic John Scotus Erigena (c.815–c.877), himself a follower of pseudo-Dionysius. A formative vision around 1272 showed him the whole creation infused with the names of God, and he conceived of these attributes or *dignitates dei* as primordial causes, and upon these he built his great system in the *Ars Magna* (1305–1308)—the system he hoped would facilitate the conversion of both Jews and Moslems as their languages, too, were based on the names of God. But in this respect the system was for him fatally flawed. Lull's *Ars* was considered likely to have a Kabbalistic core by Frances Yates. He designated each divine name with a letter and practised different combinations of those letters. Pico, less hesitantly, found this *Ars Raymundi* unquestionably kabbalistic. F.A. Yates, *Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966), pp. 188 and 189, for Pico; idem, "Ramon Lull and John Scotus Erigena," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23 (1960), 1–44; idem, "Medieval Christian Cabala: The Art of Ramon Lull," in idem, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age* (London, 1979), pp. 9–16. But see now: H.J. Hames, *The Art of Conversation: Christianity and Kabbalah in the Thirteenth Century* (Leiden, 2000), which gives a clear account of Lull in the light of Kabbalah and finds in Lull clear evidence of Christian interest in Kabbalah before the Renaissance. Also: Idel, "Ramon Lull and Ecstatic Kabbalah," pp. 170–174.

94 For the Council, with bibliography: Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, pp. 108–109. To which add the documents in Grayzel, *Church and the Jews*, vol. 2, pp. 225–229. Also Emil Göller, "Die Gravamina auf dem Konzil von Vienne und ihre literarische Überlieferung," in *Festschrift für Heinrich Finke* (Münster, 1904). The canons were renewed at the nineteenth session of the Council of Basel in 1453. For this latter as a possible stimulus for a chair of Hebrew in Paris set up in 1455, see Charles Jourdain, *L'Enseignement de l'Hébreu dans l'Université de Paris au Quinzième Siècle* (Paris, 1863), pp. 12–14. Instruction in Hebrew appears to have been broken off at the end of the Fifteenth Century until François I and the *Collège royal*.

Canterbury to pay for him.⁹⁵ Johannes Salvati de Villanova, another convert, was appointed in Paris in 1319 to teach Hebrew there. In 1326 Hugo, Bishop of Paris, was ordered by Pope John XXII to investigate the teaching of Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Chaldee in Paris.⁹⁶ After the middle of the 14th century, however, there appears to be no trace of such tuition in Paris. Very little is known of a converted Jew, Paul de Bonnefoy, apparently the sole *maistre en Ebreu et Chaldée* at the University of Paris—indeed, the only one in France—and the subject of a letter of commendation from the University to Besançon in 1421. He apparently was not being paid and, in spite of a University petition to Henry V of England at Rouen, remained unremunerated. He apparently left Paris in 1423. It is thought he may have influenced the reformist preacher Jacques Legrand.⁹⁷ That, it seems, was the extent of the response (if, indeed, such it was) to the Council of Vienne.

Dominicans and Franciscans

Before then, but after the Victorines, Peter Comestor (d. c.1178), Peter the Chanter, and Stephen Langton in 12th-century Paris made use of Jewish exegesis. The first two apparently consulted Jews (*Hebraei*) themselves, supplementing what they found in Andrew of St Victor.⁹⁸ Ralf Niger (c.1150–1200), an English biblical scholar and chronicler in exile on the Continent, and Alexander

For a modern survey beginning at this period S. Kessler-Mesguich “Aspect et Tendence de l’Enseignement de l’hébreu en France du moyen-âge à la fin du dix-septième siècle” *Pardès* XIII (1990) p. 110ff.

- 95 (Ed.) F.J. Baigent, *The Registers of John de Sandale and Rigaud de Asserio, Bishops of Winchester* (London, 1897) p. 389. Similarly from Worcester in 1321, to support Hebrew, Aramaic and Chaldee at Oxford (Westminster Abbey Monuments no 29465).
- 96 H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1891) II pp. 293–294.
- 97 Charles Jourdain, “De l’Enseignement de l’Hébreu dans l’Université de Paris au XVe siècle,” in idem, *Excursions historiques et philosophiques à travers le Moyen Âge* (Paris. 1888), pp. 237–245; d’E. Beltran and G. Dahan, “Un Hébraïsant à Paris vers 1400: Jacques Legrand,” *Archives juives* 17 (1981), 41–49; d’E. Beltran, “Jacques Legrand: sa vie et sa oeuvre,” *Analecta Augustiniana* 24 (1974), 132–166 and 387–414.
- 98 Peter Comestor (PL XXIII 1097d) also repeats Jerome’s comments that God added a *he* to Abram’s name to make him a father of a multitude. Peter’s work in his *Historia Scholastica* was widely distributed in the High Middle Ages. For his exegesis, see S.R. Karp, *Peter Comestor’s Historia Scholastica: A Study in the Development of Literal Scriptural Exegesis* (Ann Arbor, 1983), concentrating mainly on Exodus, and I.H. Feldman, “The Jewish Sources of Peter Comestor’s Commentary on Genesis in his *Historia Scholastica*,” in idem, *Studies in Hellenistic Judaism* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 317–376.

Neckam (1157–1217), the Abbot of Circencester who taught in both Paris and Oxford, also introduced Hebrew into their work and consulted Jews on the literal meaning of the text.⁹⁹ Ralf's work on the interpretation of Hebrew names shows familiarity with the 10th-century Hebrew lexicographer Menachem ben Saruq, no doubt through the assistance of a convert.¹⁰⁰

Dominican friars under the leadership of Raymond of Peñaforte (1180?–1275) saw post-biblical Jewish material as useful for the conversion of the Jews, and they established language schools in the Iberian Peninsula to teach Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic.¹⁰¹ The two most famous pupils of the schools were Paul Christian, a Jewish convert, and Raymund Martin. It was Paul who disputed with Nahmanides in Barcelona, and Martin who subsequently wrote *Capistrum Iudaeorum* in 1267 and *Pugio Fidei contra Mauros et Iudaeos* in 1278, which we have already mentioned. Martin's evident mastery of Hebrew and Aramaic is the most thoroughgoing of all the mediaeval Christian Hebraists, and he makes a full and capable use of post-biblical Jewish material, though it may be doubted that his contempt for rabbinics much encouraged their further use by Christian scholars.¹⁰² No doubt for polemical reasons these scholars tended to concentrate on the discovery of threes in the Tetragrammaton and other ways of linking Jesus and the Trinity into the Hebrew names. Their material was subsequently disseminated by both Galatino and Giustiniano.¹⁰³ This explains the tedious repetition of triple banalities proffered as mysteries in very many discussions of the Tetragrammaton.

The Franciscans, on the other hand, particularly in England, appear to have been interested in Hebrew for exegesis rather than mission.¹⁰⁴ They displayed

99 Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 298–300. For Ralph Niger, G.B. Flahiff, "Ralf Niger: An Introduction to His Life and Works," *Mediaeval Studies* 2 (1940), 12. Alexander of Neckam evidently knew of the interpretation of the first two Hebrew letters of Genesis, *br'*, as the Son. Idel, *Ben*, p. 321, with note.

100 Raphael Loewe, "Alexander Neckam's Knowledge of Hebrew," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958), 22. Reprinted in William Horbury, ed., *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 207–223.

101 Jeremy Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism* (Ithaca, 1984), pp. 103–169.

102 A.K. Echeverría, "Fluentes para El Estudio de la Apologética Antijudía (Siglos XIII–XVI)," *Davar Logos* 9.2 (2010), 187–193, p. 192 illustrates the influence of the *Pugio Fidei* on subsequent anti-Judaic apologies.

103 F. Secret, "Notes pour une Histoire du *Pugio Fidei* à la Renaissance," *Revista di Sefarad* 20 (1960), 401–407.

104 For England: A. Sapir-Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (London, 1995); S. Kraus and W. Horbury, *The Jewish-Christian Controversy*, vol. 1 (Tübingen, 1996), pp. 71–80, 88.

an emphasis on the letter and history, and under the influence of Joachim of Fiore many read contemporary historical events apocalyptically. Robert Grosseteste (1175–1253) was lecturer to the Franciscans in Oxford from 1230 until his appointment as Bishop of Lincoln in 1235.¹⁰⁵ He had lasting influence upon the work of William de la Mare and Roger Bacon. He taught theology from the Bible rather than the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and apparently sponsored an interlinear translation of the Psalms from Hebrew.¹⁰⁶ Roger Bacon (c.1214–1294) cautioned against the use of translations and the dangers of corrupt texts. Bacon knew Greek and some Hebrew.¹⁰⁷ He supposedly composed a Hebrew grammar, but this has left no trace. Samuel A. Hirsch, however, identified a fragment of a Hebrew grammar in a Cambridge manuscript as philological notes prepared for Bacon's *Opus Maius*.¹⁰⁸ Bacon's broader linguistic interests were also of considerable influence.¹⁰⁹ William de la Mare, another Franciscan, apparently followed Bacon's strictures in his *correctoria* of the Vulgate text and showed a good understanding of Hebrew grammar in his *De Hebraeis et Graecis vocabulis glossarum bibliae*. Gerard de Huy (O.F.M.) also made use of Hebrew sources in correcting the Vulgate and composed a *Liber triglossos*, a glossary of biblical words in the three languages.¹¹⁰ The text is found in Ms 904 Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal. A note on the names of God is found f27v:

105 Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers*, pp. 18–29.

106 Smalley, *Hebrew Scholarship*, pp. 1–18; Raphael Loewe, "The Medieval Hebraists of England: The *Superscriptio Lincolnensis*," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 28 (1957), 205–252, and idem, "The Latin *Superscriptio* Manuscripts on Portions of the Hebrew Bible Other Than the Psalter," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 9 (1958), 63–71; G. Dahan, "L'Enseignement de l'Hébreu en Occident médiéval (XIIe–XIVe s.)," *Histoire de l'Éducation* 57 (1993), 3–22; B. Grévin, "L'Hébreu des Franciscains. Nouveaux Éléments sur la Connaissance de l'Hébreu en milieu chrétien au XIIIe siècle," *Médiévales* 41 (2001), 65–82. See now for English Hebrew manuscripts, Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, *Les Manuscrits hébreux dans l'Angleterre médiévale: étude historique et paléographique* (Paris, 2003).

107 Singer, "Hebrew Scholarship," pp. 283–314, 299–306.

108 E. Nolan and S.A. Hirsch, eds., *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon and a Fragment of his Hebrew Grammar* (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 199–201.

109 B. Grévin, "Systèmes d'Écriture, Sémiologie et Langage chez Roger Bacon," *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* 24.11 (2002), 75–111. More generally on the problems of mediaeval descriptive grammars of Hebrew (and Provençal), Cyril Aslanoff, "La Réflexion linguistique hébraïque dans l'horizon intellectuel de l'Occident médiéval," *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* 18.1 (1996), 63–86.

110 For the work on correcting the Vulgate from Hebrew, see Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 272–285. The Hebrew French Glossary of 1240—which is Bn Fonds Hébreu 302, M. Lambert and L. Brandin, eds., *Glossaire Hébreu-Français du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1905)—is a Jewish work.

Adonai: Dominus communiter est ita dictus, Sive *Deus* vel *homo*. Tetragrammaton distat ab ipso; Quod nomen sanctum Domini dicatur *areton*, Sic scribas: *jod, he, vaf, he* simul adde. Non legit ut scribit hoc sanctum nomen Hebraeus, Sed legit *Adonai*, sicut commune legebat. Sic duo verba bene dicta *Adonai* resonare Nomen commune nomenque Dei speciale. Si bis ponatur nomen Domini, Tetragrammaton, Scribatur primo, nomen commune secundo.¹¹¹

Here at least is an author sufficiently well informed not to read “Jehova.”

Franciscan scholarship migrated to the Continent and marks a significant accomplishment in the period before Nicholas of Lyra.

Nicholas of Lyra

Nicholas was born around 1270 in Lire, near Évreux, in Normandy and entered the Franciscans at Verneuil sometime about 1300.¹¹² He was sent to the University in Paris and became a Master in 1308. He became Franciscan Provincial Minister of France, and subsequently of Burgundy. He helped establish the college of Burgundy in Paris with money left by Philip V's wife, Jeanne of Burgundy. He died in 1349.

It is not known how Nicholas acquired his knowledge of Hebrew—whether from schooling, a helpful Jewish convert, or another Christian Hebraist—but he shows an early and extensive knowledge of Hebrew biblical and rabbinic texts. His quodlibetal question of 1309 asking whether it was possible to prove the advent of Christ from Scriptures received by Jews,¹¹³ his monumental *Postilla litteralis super Bibliam* (1322–1332), an abbreviation of the *Postilla*

¹¹¹ Quoted in Berger, *Quam notitiam*, p. 47.

¹¹² C.V. Langlois, *Nicolas de Lyre, Frère Mineur* (Paris 1927), Lesley Smith, “Nicholas of Lyra and Old Testament Interpretation,” in *Hebrew Bible Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*, vol. 2, ed. Magne Saebø (Göttingen, 2008), pp. 49–63.

¹¹³ Ms. Vat. lat. 869 f30r. See extensively Klepper, *The Insight of Unbelievers*, pp. 82–108 and 136–142, for mss. For borrowing from Raymond Martin's *Pugio Fidei*, see Cohen, *The Friars and the Jews*, p. 265. For a comparison of Nicholas's treatment of Exodus 3:14 with that of the rather more philosophical Meister Eckhart, see: Görge K. Hasselhoff, “Self-definition, Apology and the Jew Maimonides: Thomas Aquinas, Raymundus Martini, Meister Eckhart and Nicholas of Lyra,” in *Religious Apologetics—Philosophical Argumentation*, eds. Y. Schwartz and V. Krech (Tübingen, 2004), pp. 285–316.

called *De Differentia Nostrae Translationis ab Hebraica Littera Veteris Testamentis* (1333), and the *Responsio ad quendam Judaeum ex verbis Evangelii secundum Matthaëum contra Christum nequitur arguentem* (1334) all draw on extensive Hebrew knowledge.¹¹⁴ Nicholas used Rashi extensively and textually both to establish the literal sense of the text and also to test traditional Christian interpretations.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, there remained for Nicholas a tension between the value of Jewish Hebrew scholarship and persistent Jewish unbelief. However, Nicholas's thorough exploitation of Jewish sources relieved his successors from the dangers of consulting the Hebrew biblical text or the rabbis themselves. They could turn to Nicholas. The Christians had fairly comprehensively taken over ownership and control of the legacy of Jewish exegesis.¹¹⁶

Nicholas represents the climax of a Franciscan learning which was not to last.¹¹⁷ In 1502 a solitary Franciscan name in England, that of Richard Brinkley the Provincial, is linked to Hebrew. He borrowed a Hebrew Psalter from the library of the abbey at Bury St Edmunds and wrote in the margin of the manuscript a note on the Hebrew names of God.¹¹⁸ There was no real continuity between the Franciscans' studies and the revival of Hebrew studies at the Reformation.¹¹⁹

114 The *ad quendam Judaeum* was aimed at Jacob ben Ruben's *Milhamot ha-Shem*. For Nicholas's passing reference to "a certain little Hebrew book," Charles-Victor Langlois, "Quidam libellus hebraïce scriptus," *Comptes-rendus des Séances de l'Année... Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* 69 (1925), 71–79.

115 A preference for literal rather than Christological interpretation is found in the illustrations of the early 14th-century Ramsey Abbey Psalter, L. Freeman Sandler, "Christian Hebraism and the Ramsey Abbey Psalter," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972), 123–124.

116 For Wyclif's dependence upon Nicholas, Mary Dove, *The First English Bible: The Text and Context of the Wycliffite Version* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 25–28.

117 For a continuation of the French Franciscans' work in Germany, Frank Rosenthal, "Heinrich von Oyta and Biblical Criticism in the Fourteenth Century," *Speculum* 25.2 (1950), 178–183.

118 M.R. James, *On the Abbey of St. Edmunds at Bury* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 87–88. The manuscript is in Bodley, the marginalia at f62.

119 We should note from Germany, however, Henricus de Hassia (c.1340–1397), professor of philosophy and theology in Paris before subsequently being called to Vienna. His work on the Hebrew alphabet is described with extensive manuscript quotation in B. Walde, *Christliche Hebraïsten Deutschlands am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Münster, 1916), pp. 8–28. Also *ibid.*, pp. 30–64, for Stephen Brodeker (1384–1459).

The Tetragrammaton in the Mediaeval Latin West

Peter Alphonsi

Peter Alphonsi was baptized in 1106 at the age of forty-four. His *Dialogue*, which we mentioned above, comprises a debate with a Jew called Moses (Peter's own name before his baptism).¹²⁰ In a section on the Trinity he underlines the plurality of *'elohim* and undertakes to prove from the Tetragrammaton itself that there are three persons in the Trinity.

...*yhwh*...is a four letter word using only three different characters one of which is doubled and written twice. If you examine this, I maintain, you will see that this one name is both one and three. In as much as it is one it refers to unity of substance, but in as much as it is three it refers to a trinity of persons. It is agreed that if you join together the first two letters (*yh*) of this four letter name, it will give one name. If you join together the second and the third (*hw*) you will have yet another name. Similarly if you just join the third and fourth (*wh*) you will have yet a third name as well. Now if you join all these names back together in order, it will be but the one name, as this diagram makes clear.¹²¹

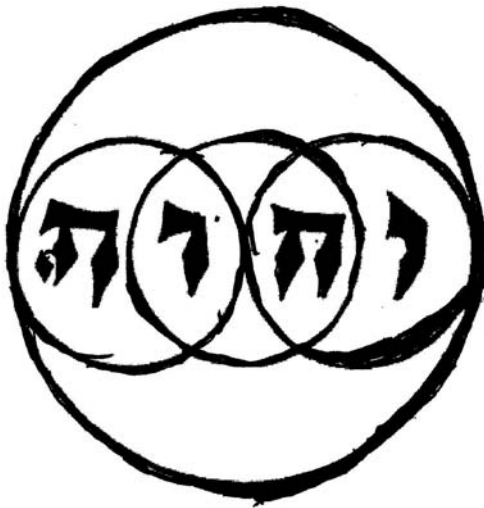


ILLUSTRATION 10

Diagram from Petrus Alphonsi's Dialogus contra Judaeos (Migne P.L. 157). One of many presentations of the Tetragrammaton within three circles for persons of the Trinity

120 Migne PL CLVII 535–672. For the section on the Trinity, 606ff. I.M. Resnick has translated the dialogue in the series *The Fathers of the Church Medieval Continuation* (Washington, D.C., 2006).

121 *Trinitas quidem subtile quid est ineffabile, et ad explicandum difficile, de qua prophetae non nisi occulte locuti sunt et sub velamine, quoadusque venit Christus, qui de tribus*

There then follows a diagram (Illustration 10).

The diagram which follows presents the letters of the Tetragrammaton in a row, with circles around the pairs of letters which make up the three names and one circle around the whole, embracing all the others.¹²² Peter Alphonsi claims his dependence upon a Jewish work, *Secreta Secretorum*, for these manipulations of the letters of *yhw̄h*.¹²³ If Peter Alphonsi perhaps introduces us here to ideas similar to the teaching of Jewish Kabbalists we shall shortly find similar resonances suggested, though again really quite uncertain, in the work of Arnaldo di Villanova. But otherwise it is necessary to wait until the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century to observe a far fuller penetration of Kabbalistic ideas into Christian texts.¹²⁴

Raymund Martin

Raymund Martin in his *Pugio Fidei* (fol. 540 ed. Voisin) makes use of Petrus Alphonsi's somewhat trite play on the letters of the Tetragrammaton to introduce the person of the Son and the Holy Spirit:

una personis, fidelium illam mentibus pro eorum revelavit capacitate. Si tamen attendas subtilius, et illud Dei nomen, quod in Secretis Secretorum explanatum invenitur, inspicias, yhw̄h, nomen inquam trium litterarum, quamvis quatuor figuris, una namque de illis geminata bis sacribitur, si inquam illud inspicias, videbis quia idem nomen et unum sit et tria. Sed quod unum est, ad unitatem substantiae, quod vero tria, ad trinitatem respicit personarum. Constat autem illud his quatuor figuris, y et h et w et h, quarum si primam tantum conjunxeris, et secundam, y scilicet et h, erit sane nomen unum. Item si secundam et tertiam, h scilicet et w, jam habebis alterum. Similiter, si tertiam tantum copularis atque quartam, scilicet w et h, invenies et tertium. rursus si omnes simul in ordine connexueris, non erit nisi unum, sicut in ista patet geometrali figura: [Diagram follows].

122 There seem in fact to be two sorts of diagrammatic representations here. One is found in PL CLVII. 61c and the other in a 12th-century manuscript in St John's Cambridge E.4 (James 107) fol. 153b. See Resnick, op. cit., p. 173.

123 Alfred Büchler "A Twelfth-Century Physician's Desk Book: The *Secreta Secretorum* of Petrus Alphonsi quondam Moses Sephardi," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 37.2 (1986), 206–212. The *Secreta*, he suggests, refers to *Sepher ha-Razim*, *Sepher Yetsirah*, and an unknown alchemical text.

124 See Resnick, op. cit., p. 175, for a discussion Alphonsi's claim of Jewish blessing with three fingers as a sign of the Trinity, which we shall meet later on. There is an illustration of a hand raised in priestly blessing in the mystical *Shefatal* by Shabbatai Sheftal ben Akiva Horowitz c.1561–1619 in *Encyc. Jud* X.514. The fingers are, of course, not in the position required by Alfonsi.

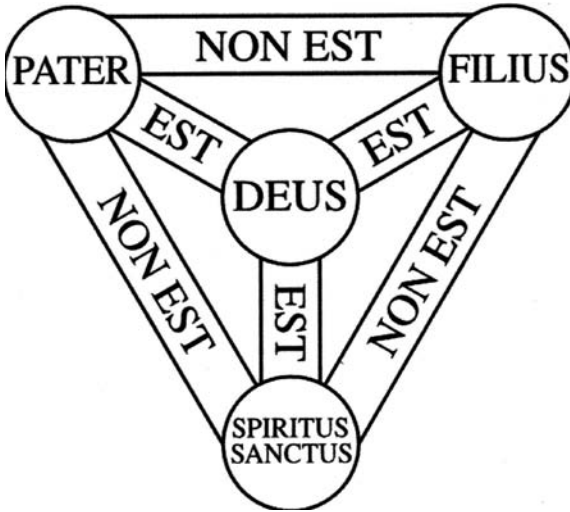


ILLUSTRATION 11 *Petrus Alphonsi. Early 12th-century Trinitarian Diagram of the Tetragrammaton in form of Scutum Fidei*

Now when we speak simply of God, as Master Peter Alphonsi who was an important Jewish Rabbi in Spain says, the first three letters of his name (*yhw*) indicate that in God, invoked by this name, are three *mdwt* (*mid-doth*) or attributes different in their diversity from each other both in figure and as has been said in the name, But one of [the letters] which is repeated and placed at the end of the name—*h*—is the first in the word *hwyh* or Essence and indicates that there are three *mdwt* or proprieties or persons but a unity of essence.¹²⁵

Similarly, in the same place we learn that the Messiah also has three substances, body and soul joined together by the third, the Wisdom of God, in such a way that God and man are not two persons but one. The is also much rabbinic “evidence” adduced by Raymund in support of his assertions that

125 *Quando vero dicitur de Deo simpliciter, tunc, ut ait Magister Petrus Alphonsi, qui fuit in Hispania, priusquam fieret Christianus, magnus Rabinus apud Judaeos, tres literae priores huius nominis, scilicet yhw, indicant in Deo hoc nomine vocato tres esse mdwt, id est, proprietates a seipsis invicem differentes ex sua diversitate, quam habent tam in figura quam in nomine, ut praedictum est. Una vero earum quae repetitur in fine nominis ponitur, quae est h, et est in prima in hoc nomine hwyh Essentia, indicat trium mdwt, id est, proprietatum vel personarum, unitatem Essentiae; Joseph de Voisin, ed., *Pugio Fidei... Raymundi Martini* (M&J Henault, Paris, 1651).*

yhwh is the proper name of God, given to no creature but to the Son (f513–514).¹²⁶ A long discussion follows of the Tetragrammaton (f540–545) from the Talmud and Maimonides, in which Raymund treats the twelve-letter and forty-two-letter names, their composition, their sanctity, and which pupils were taught them and when. The twelve-letter name is to be read as: *Father, Son and Holy Ghost*. The forty-two-letter name is decrypted as: *the Father is God, the son is God and the Holy Ghost is God, but they are not three Gods but rather one God*—which can be expressed in forty-two Hebrew letters. We shall meet this material borrowed wholesale and repeatedly.¹²⁷ So, for example, we may cite the *Victoria Porcheti adversus impios Hebr[a]eos* of Porchetus Salvaticus from the beginning of the 14th century.¹²⁸ Dependence on both Peter Alphonsi and Raymund Martin is acknowledged. The divine name is generally written out *yod, he, vau, he*, though it is also glossed as both *Jehouah* and *Jhoua*. The four-letter name is called the *Sem hameforas, nomen Dei explanatum sive expositum* and belongs to God alone—and to the Messiah. The latter point is demonstrated by Targum Jonathan's interpretation of Jeremiah 33:16, "Yhwh, our Righteousness" as a reference to the Messiah. The Jews slanderously accuse Jesus of using the name to work his miracles. Chapter 8 of part II explains that the Tetragrammaton indicates three persons in a unity of essence; that the repeated *he* indicates *hwyh* or "existence"; and that when used of the Messiah it indicates three substances in one Messiah. From *Kiddushin* we learn again who taught the names to their disciples and how often. The meaning of *leolam* in Exodus 3:14 ("my name for ever") is interpreted as "to be hidden," although R. Abina thought it meant "not read as it is written." The twelve-letter name and the forty-two-letter names are interpreted as in Raymund Martin. Used of the

126 Raymund quotes Maimonides's *Guide* cap. 61, part 1, in *Pugio* III cap II.9: *Omnia nomina creatoris benedicti inventa in libris omnibus derivata sunt ab operibus, et hoc minime latet, praeter unum, quod est ihvh, et est nomen appropriatum creatori altissimo..., ipsum significat substantiam Creatoris, et quidditatem eius significatione perfecta et manifesta.*

127 M. Idel, *Messianic Mystics* (New Haven, 1998), pp. 85–87, discusses an extraordinary mediaeval Jewish mystical work in which Enoch is Metatron and the first of the 70 names of Metatron is *Yaho'el*, whose secret is the Son (*bn*). Idel understandably finds it hard to believe any Jewish mystic would allow himself to produce such a dangerously Christian-sounding text and therefore takes it for a mythologoumenon from a time when Judaism and Christianity were not yet distinct entities and when Jews might call the Second God "Son." He is uncertain whether to consider this a pre-Christian Jewish notion of an angelic son who possesses or constitutes the divine name or a later reflection of such a text. Idel has now revisited this whole area in *Ben*.

128 (Francois Renault, Paris, 1520). The copy in the online digital collection of the Badische Landsbibliothek is Luther's own annotated copy.

Messiah the twelve-letter name may also mean *gwp nshmah wbn* 'l: "body, soul, and Son of God."

Joachim of Fiore

Abbot Joachim of Fiore was exceptionally influential in the Middle Ages and subsequently popular among Franciscans in southern Italy and Sicily, where the Jewish Kabbalist Abraham Abulafia (1294-c.1291) was active. H.J. Hames draws attention to the influence of Abraham on Joachimite ideas, and also the attractiveness to Christians of his focus upon the Tetragrammaton.¹²⁹ Conversely, M. Idel believes Abulafia was able to understand the Christian Trinity by resorting to the Aristoleialian triad of intellect, intellection, and intelligibilia.¹³⁰

Abulafia has a discussion of the three aspects of the Holy Trinity, understood by the manipulation of the numerical values of the letters that constitute some of the names of the divine persons, rather than concentration upon the Son as intellect or angelic. Thus, in his *'Otzar Eden Ganuz* Abulafia named the first *Sephirah*, which *Sepher Yetzirah* calls *Ruach ha-Qodesh* as follows:¹³¹

The first which is one [*'aleph*] is the Holy Spirit, and was called one *sephirah*, and together with the second [the letter *beth*] one, their meaning will be *'AV* [*'AB* = father], and from the third [figure] up to the tenth [figure = *sephirah*], [when all of them are added] mean *Ben* [*Son* = 42], and their meaning altogether is *'Adonai* [= 65], and whosoever thinks otherwise is cutting the branches and he will be accounted for...and the secret of *ha-'AV*, *ha-Ben* [65 = the Father, the Son] amount to *Ben David Ba'* [69 = the Son of David comes] and 'he brings the prophecy [*ha-nevu'ah* = 69] in his hand'. And indeed 'he is the Son' [*hu' ha-ben* = 69] and 'behold he is the Father' [*ha-'av hino* = 69].

The first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, *sephirah 'ahat* in the *Book of Yetzirah*, is understood as number one. When the second letter is added, *'AB*, *Father* results. Then, when the letters for the numerals 3–10 are added, the result is 52 = *Ben*, *Son*. Thus, among the *sephiroth* the Trinity is found in the first three letters/numerals. The numerical value of *ha-'Av* and *ha-Ben* together is 65, the

129 H.J. Hames, *Jacob's Ladder* (Albany, 2007).

130 Idel, *Ben*, pp. 315–317.

131 Cited from Idel, *Ben*, p. 361. See p. 361 for details.

value of *ʾadonai* spelt defectively without the *waw*. Idel himself detects the influence of Christianity in this passage, though subordinating both the Father and the Son to the Spirit is highly unorthodox.

Abbot Joachim of Fiore himself in his great *Expositio...in Apocalypsim*, published in Paris in 1257, has a long discussion on the Tetragrammaton in his commentary on chapter 1.8.¹³² He combines the “A and O” of his text with Exodus 3:14ff. and 6:3 in his exposition, and he consistently writes the Tetragrammaton as *ieve*. This form is explicable in the light of the speculations of Peter Alphonsi we have just been examining. Joachim believes the name *ieve* hides the mystery of the Trinity.¹³³ Indeed, it is fairly clearly merely a transcription of *yhw* and the three names contained therein—*yh*, *hw*, and *wh*—from Hebrew letters into Latin, with *e* standing for the Hebrew *he*. Whether Joachim pronounced this as it is written in Latin is not certain but is hardly impossible.

Joachim makes explicit the presence of three names within the one Tetragrammaton, representing the three persons in the unity of the Trinity after the fashion of Peter Alphonsi (Illustration 12).¹³⁴ He finds significance in the repetition of

132 *Expositio...in Apocalypsim* (Francisci Bindoni ac Maphei Pasini, Venice, 1527) 33b–38.

133 (35a): *Populo autem Iudaeorum, etsi tribus superscriptis modis in deo omnipotente apparuit, docens se esse trinum et unum deum, nomen tamen suum IEVE, quod Hebrei legunt Adonay, non indicavit eis, quia esse se trium et unum deum non illis per specialem intellectum aperuit quousque verus ille Moyses, mediator dei et hominum Christus Iesus: qui cum instaret hora passionis sue ut transiret ex hoc mundo ad patrem, post multa que locutus est discipulis suis, adiecit et ait: Jam non dicam vos servos quia servus nescit quid faciat dominus eius; vos autem dixi amicos, quod omnia quecumque audivi a patre meo nota feci vobis. Quando autem dixit hoc verbum, nisi cum nomen ineffabile, quod est IEVE, notum fecit illis, loquens eis manifeste de spiritu sancto et de patre, et de gloria maiestatis sue, dicens: Ego in patre et pater in me est? etc. [John 14:13, 16.]... Et quia tam aperte docuit esse tres personas coeternas sibi et coequales, unum scilicet et trium deum, quod est dicere IEVE, oportet nihilominus eum docere, que istarum personarum ingenita esset, que autem genita et que procedens, quod in subsequentibus luce clarius manifestat cum dicit: cum venerit paraclitus, quem ego mittam vobis a patre, spiritum veritatis, qui a patre procedit, ille testimonium perhibebit de me.*

134 (35b): *Secundum est igitur, quod nomen illud venerabile, quod congrue satis ineffabile dicitur tam ab Hebris quam a Latinis pronuntiatur Adonay: et tamen in Hebreo non eisdem characteribus quibus scriptum est pronuntiatur, sed aliis. Sscribitur enim quatuor literis, propter quod et apud Grecos thetragrammaton nominatur, cuius inscriptio ista est, IEVE. Est autem nomen istud, ut tradunt peritissimi hebraeorum, tante virtutis ut si distinguatur in tribus dictionibus ad hoc ut sigillatim proferatur, IE sigillatim, EV sigillatim, VE, singula distinctio integritatem sui nominis habeat, et si proferatur simul IEVE unitatem demonstret. The manuscript of Peter Alphonsi's *Adversus Iudaeos* in St John's Cambridge (Ms E4 f153v) c.1109 (mentioned above) shows a diagram of the Tetragrammaton as the Trinity (Illustration 11). This*

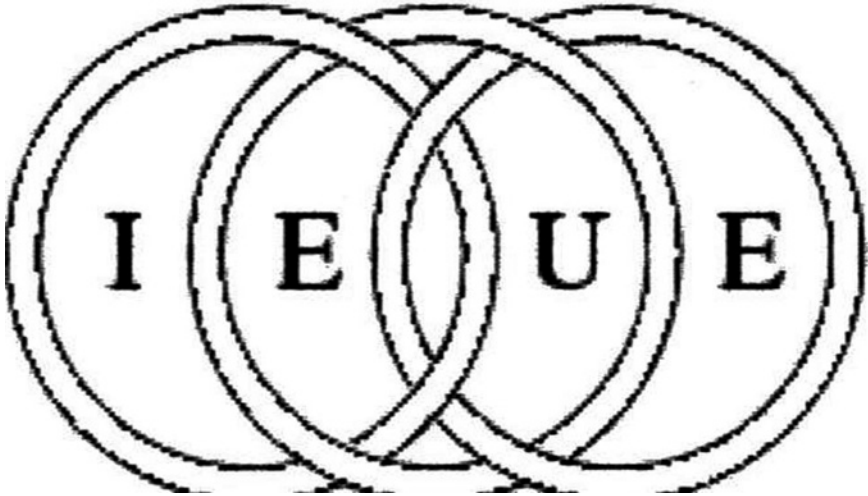


ILLUSTRATION 12 *Reproduction of Joachim of Fiore's Trinitarian circles*

the *e* (Hebrew *he*).¹³⁵ Joachim goes on to say that if these three names are written in a triangle [A], each will have its own perfection and the attribute of one of the persons. Moreover, each name arises (*propagatur*) from the one before in such a way that one cannot be pronounced without the other. The articulation of their pronunciation therefore is not divided but blends with the preceding name and with the following one to make a unit.¹³⁶ This blending serves much as the circles within a circle in Peter Alphonsi's exposition. Returning, then, to his text in Revelation 1:8, Joachim notes that if the three letters are

seems to have been the model, perhaps together with Joachim's own diagrams, for the *Scutum Fidei*, a diagram of the relations between the Persons of the Trinity and later a heraldic device, first apparently found in an early 13th-century manuscript of Peter of Poitiers (Cotton Faustina BVII -f42v) (Illustration 13).

135 37a.

136 35b-36a: *Scribendum est enim simpliciter quatuor literis istis, IEVE, et tamen legendum primo IE, EV, VE, deinde IEVE; quod ut diligenter ostendi queat, literis quidem formatis nomen ipsum scribendum est, pronuntiationes vero ipsius clausulis minutissimis designande, verbi gratia. ...Et quid magis hoc mysterio veritati vicinum? Certe vides scriptum quatuor literis ineffabile nomen; certe vides—immo nondum in toto vides—quanta profunditas sacramenti contegatur in eo. Unde et non immerito ab hebreis scribitur quidem sed non profertur, quod si temptas in eo quod mente distinguitur lingua preferre, desinuit esse tetra grammaton; ideoque melius mente percipitur quam lingua ministerio personatur.*



ILLUSTRATION 13 *Petrus Pictaviensis* (Peter of Poitiers), *Scutum Fidei*.
Early 13th century (Cotton Faustina BVII f42v)

written in a triangle as separate persons, one has A or *alpha*; if they are enclosed within the circle of an *omega*, one has unity of essence.¹³⁷

In *Adversus Judaeos* Joachim uses Hebrew to demonstrate the Trinity: the Word (*dibur*) is the Son, and the breath of God (*rua*) is the Holy Spirit. The Church adores the same God as Abraham with his Word and Spirit. The names themselves teach the same. Deuteronomy 4:39—“Know therefore this day and believe in your heart that the Lord he is God...” (*Ky 'adonay hu' ha 'elohim*)—displays the equivalence between the Tetragrammaton in the singular and *'elohim* in the plural, indicating unity of essence and plurality of persons.¹³⁸ This in spite of the fact that the plural *'adonai* has been substituted for the singular *yhwh*! Joachim understood the convention. Joachim is aware of Jewish

137 Joachim's splendid *Liber Figurarum* is in Bodley: MS CCC 255a f7v. Augustine had found the Mystery of the Trinity in three gold rings (of one substance) *De Trin.* IX 5–7. Joachim was condemned at the Fourth Lateran Council 1215; nevertheless, it has been suggested that Dante (1265–1321) is thinking of his rings in the following lines, which exploit the three colours of the rainbow (red, green, and blue in the Middle Ages) in *Paradiso* 33 115–120: *Ne la profunda e chiara sussistenza / de l'alto lune parvermi tre giri / i tre colori e d'una contenenza / e l'un da altro come iri da iri / pareo reflesso, e'l terzo pareo foco / che quinci e quindi igualmente si spiri*. M. Reeves and B. Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore* (Oxford, 1972).

138 Bartholemew of Exeter (d. 1184) offers the same argument in Bodleian manuscript Bodl. 482 f6r, cited by Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, p. 490.

inhibitions in articulating the Tetragrammaton. In *Adversus* he remarks: "If perchance on hearing the name of God, you are scandalised because the actual word has been pronounced..." Not only is the word itself quite forbidden, but caution attaches to its substitutes.¹³⁹

Earlier scholars had considered the singulars and plurals in the Hebrew names of God to be indicative of the divine unity of essence and the distinction of the persons of the Trinity. Thus, the *Ysagoge in Theologiam* written around 1140, apparently by an ecclesiastic, is a theological treatise influenced by Abelard and the Victorines, the second part of which constitutes a collection of *testimonia* in the service of anti-Judaic polemic. Like much controversial literature it is rich in transcriptions from Hebrew and has a prologue explaining the system of transcription.¹⁴⁰ It also contains biblical citations in Hebrew.¹⁴¹ These are defended in the prologue to the section on the grounds that among the Jews quotations in Hebrew are more persuasive than reasoning.¹⁴² The first text is given in Hebrew and Latin:¹⁴³

qui tuus deus dominus ego Egipti terra de te traxi
asser eloheha adonai anohi mithraim me herez hocehiha
servitutis domo de
auazim mi beth

A citation of Deuteronomy 18:15 arouses interest, where the Vulgate *Prophetam suscitant Dominus deus vester de fratribus vestris, tamquam me ipsum audite* is an abridgement to match the Hebrew, which may be transcribed as *navi' yaqum yhw' 'eloheka me-'aheykha kamoni 'elaw tishma'un*. These texts are due to a Jew, as the quality of the writing indicates, but the presence here of a vocalized Tetragrammaton may indicate that the Jew was again a convert.¹⁴⁴ For the author the three ways of writing 'adonai, the substitute for the Tetragrammaton, indicate the Trinity. One may write the Tetragrammaton itself (but say 'adonai); one may write an abbreviation comprising three *yods*; or one may write the word 'adonai, *idem quod Dominus*.

139 A. Frugoni, ed. (Rome 1957), p. 25.

140 A. Landgraf, ed., *Écrits théologiques de l'école d'Abélard* (Louvain, 1934). For a global account of the standard of these transcriptions, Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 251–257.

141 J. Fischer, "Die hebräischen Bibelzitate des Scholastikers Odo," *Biblica* 15 (1934), 53–56.

142 Landgraf, ed., *Écrits théologiques*, p. 127.

143 Landgraf, *Écrits théologiques*, pp. 132–133.

144 So, Fischer, "Die hebräischen Bibelzitate."

Recourse to Hebrew is also found in Peter du Blois (c.1135–c.1203). Peter is aware that for Jews the Tetragrammaton is *ineffable* and among those things held most secret.¹⁴⁵ He discusses the names of God again with respect to the Trinity and to prove the plurality of persons:

Know that in Hebrew God is called 'El and 'Adon. Each one of these words means God or lord by virtue of the divine unity of substance. But sometimes one finds in the plural 'Eloi and 'Adonai, and that indicates the plurality of persons... In Genesis 35.7 'He built there an altar and called the place El-beth-el: because there God appeared to him...,' the words 'God' and 'appeared' are in the plural 'Elohim and *niglu* in the plural 'they appeared'.¹⁴⁶

A manuscript question of the English Carmelite John Baconthorp (1290–1347), dependent upon Nicholas of Lyra, contains a more interesting discussion of the biblical use of the Tetragrammaton.¹⁴⁷ Jeremiah 23:5–6 there is said to indicate the double nature of Christ—human because he was a descendant of David, but divine because he is also designated by the Tetragrammaton, which is reserved for God alone. To Jews who replied that it is not the case that the Tetragrammaton is used only of God in the Hebrew Bible (and cited Ezek. 48:35; Gen. 22:35; Judg. 6:24; Exod. 17:15) Baconthorp shows that the Targum—*translatio caldaica*—applies the term unambiguously to God in all these passages. For him this is clear evidence that Jews have falsified the text of the Hebrew Bible to deny the divinity of Christ. The true, uncorrupted sense of the pages is now only preserved in the ancient Jewish translation, the Targum, which catches them out.

Baconthorp's teacher in Paris, the canon lawyer Guido Terra (c.1270–1342), in a *quaestio* on the Trinity earlier raised the question of whether it was possible for the Jews to know the mysteries of the Christian faith from the scriptures revealed to them. He drew attention to the use of the apparently plural word 'elohim with singular verbs or adjectives. The arguments are now familiar to us, but quoting Psalm 49:1 (KJV Psalm 50), *Deus deorum dominus locutus est*, he notes that the Hebrew gives three names of God—'el, 'elohim, and the

145 PL 207, 833: *Illud nomen Dei, quod in secretis secretorum apud Iudaeos est, et tetragrammaton dicitur, licet IV figuram, trium tantummodo elementorum...*

146 PL 207, 832.

147 See Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 453–455. The question is: *Utrum per scripturam receptam a Iudeis possit probari quod natura humana est unita cum divina?* from Ms. Paris, BN lat 16 523 f76–79v.

Tetragrammaton. He tells us that “ancient Jewish doctors” had explained this was because God created the world in three *proprietates*. Modern Jews, he says, consider these to be *sapientia*, *bonitas*, and *potentia* (familiar to us as emanations of God represented by the Kabbalistic *sephiroth*), but Guido insists they are *paternitas*, *filiatio*, and *spiratio*, for obvious reasons.¹⁴⁸

Raymund Martin, who, as we have seen, was a pupil of Raymond of Peñaforte, realized some of his teacher’s wishes for more formal teaching of Hebrew when he was appointed lector of the *studium hebraicum* created in Barcelona by the provincial Council of Estella in 1281. Raymund was a capable and learned teacher who earned the praises of his pupil Arnaldo de Villanova, a layman who followed his *studium* at Barcelona from 1281 to 1282/1283.¹⁴⁹ Arnaldo wrote an *Allocutio super Tetragrammaton* at Meußillon in 1292, to which we shall now turn.¹⁵⁰ The work owes much to Raymund Martin and the debt is acknowledged. We have considered Raymund’s work in the *Pugio Fidei* above, and his influence upon Arnaldo is evident.

Arnaldo de Villanova

It may, however, be helpful to preface our consideration of the *Allocutio super Significatione Nominis Tetragrammaton* with some remarks about an earlier work of Arnaldo, the *Introductio in Librum de Semine Scripturarum*. In this introduction Arnald believed, most probably erroneously, that the book to which he was writing an introduction was by Joachim of Fiore. It was more probably the work of an anonymous monk from Michelsberg c.1204–1205.¹⁵¹ Nevertheless, the *Introductio* provides some context for Arnaldo’s work in *Allocutio*. The work itself, the *Librum de Semine Scripturarum* (rather than Arnaldo’s *Introductio*), claims God has placed in the “elements of things” signs which permit man to contemplate the future.¹⁵² This principle holds equally

148 Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 491–492, 493–494, further considers the three attributes named by the “modern Jews” in the polemical literature.

149 Dahan, *Intellectuels chrétiens*, pp. 259–261, for Raymond’s *studium*.

150 Edition in J. Carreras Artau “La *Allocutio super Tetragrammaton* de Arnaldo de Villanova,” *Sefarad* 9 (1949), 75–105. Also his “Arnaldo de Villanova, apologista antijudaico” *Sefarad* 7 (1947), 49–61, updated in J.M. Millás Vallicrosa, “Nota bibliographica acerca de las relaciones entre Arnaldo di Villanova y la cultura Judaica,” *Sefarad* 16 (1956), 149–153. The edition I have followed, however, is that of Josef Perarnau, *Arnaldi de Villanova Opera Theologica Omnia III* (Barcelona, 2004). This volume also contains an edition of the *Introductio*.

151 Perarnau, *Arnaldi de Villanova*, p. 12.

152 For the following, Perarnau, *Arnaldi de Villanova*, pp. 13–16.

for the elements of writing, and particularly of Holy Scripture. It may be applied to the three languages found on the *titulus* of the Cross. The alphabets of these three languages are specifically designed by God to signify the future in relation to the will of God: hence Jesus' statement that "not one jot or tittle will pass away until all be fulfilled" (Matt. 5:18). The "elements" of a language are the letters, each of which has three *proprietas*—the graphic shape of the written letter, the sound, and its *collocatio*, which is apparently often its position in the alphabet.¹⁵³ Though Hebrew may be the favoured language of revelation, such considerations also hold good for Latin, and the predictions of the Sibyls may be links to the first seven letters of the Latin alphabet, even to the extent of foretelling not merely the First but also the Second Coming: *Videndum quoque si et Latinorum littere non solum primum sed et secundum adventum eius prophetare queant.*

The central section of the work is given over to the meaning of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, particularly *z*, which has the numerical value seven, and the letter *h*, of which he says that, because it does not count in metre, it symbolizes the new man in Christ free of the power of sin. The aspirate indicates the divine breath rather than carnal flesh.¹⁵⁴ Not all letters get the same attention, but *i* and *x*, the initial letters of *Iesus* and *Christus*, are expounded, as is the last letter of the Latin alphabet *u*, connected—inevitably—with matters eschatological. The initial letters of *Christus* and *Iesus* give rise to the following rather moving meditation, contrasting characteristics and dispositions of God placed under each of the two letters:

Nolo, Domine, ut per X iudex vivorum atque mortuorum venias, nisi prius per suavissimum nomen tuum Ihesus venias ad salvationem. X nomen potentie est, I nomen humilitatis, X nomen est divinitatis, I est nomen humanitatis, per I, Domine, miserias nostras induisti, famem, sitim, opprobria et crucem sustinuisti, per X miracula fecisti, resurrexisti, celos

153 So the Grammatici: A. Krehl, ed., *Priscani Caesariensis Grammatici Opera* (Leipzig, 1819) 12/2, 14/8. For number symbolism, see the works edited in Hanne Lange, ed., *Traité des XIIe siècle sur la symbolique des nombres* (Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen Âge Grec et Latin) 29 and 40 (Copenhagen, 1979, 1981).

154 *Cur autem Dominus sub huius littere centenario venire dignatus est, libet michi intueri. Cum omnes littere aliquam vim habeant in metro, H sola prorsus nullam vim habet, sed sic est quasi non sit...igitur, per hanc litteram H, que nullam vim habet in metro, non vetus homo..., sed novus homo in Christo, qui nullam vim peccati cum ceteris mortalibus habet, occurrit... Hec littera...aspiratio est, proprietatem tamen littere retinens. Vis ut probem tibi ex scripturis quia Christus aspiratio fieri dignatus est...? Per H litteram, non carnalis seminis, sed divine aspirationis notam accepit...*

ascendisti. Non me salvabis, Domine, nisi per minimam litteram I propter [me] minimus fias; ego in stercore peccatorum iaceo et surgere nescio, nisi tu inclinatus formam servilem suscipias. Suavior mihi nempe est humilitas tua per I quam potentia tua per X.

Arnaldo's own work, the *Introductio*, makes use of this doctrine of elements (lines 105–113), and specifically the linguistic elements, *figura*, *potestas*, *ordo* (223–226). Equipped with these tools he follows the steps of his author and can discover the Second Coming of the Son of God Incarnate in the Decalogue, the time periods of Daniel, and in the twenty-three letters of the Latin alphabet. Other time periods are found in names, and so on. The Trinity and eschatological schemas predominate.

Turning to the *Allocutio*, this begins with praise of Raymund Martin, and we shall discover the author depends heavily on the *Pugio Fidei*. It also helpful, I believe, to consider the work in the perspective of the *Introductio*. A point of some controversy has been the influence of Kabbalah upon Arnaldo. Joaquim Carreras Arta, discussing the treatment of both Hebrew and Latin letters in the exposition of the Trinity, believes these lack Christian antecedents and point to some Kabbalistic influence, and he specifically suggests the Aragonese scholar Abraham Abulafia.¹⁵⁵ This was not the view of Harold Lee, who felt such influence was greatly overstated and did not find the manipulation of Arnaldo of Latin and Hebrew letters demanded this explanation.¹⁵⁶ Eusebi Colomer, contributing to this debate, seems to accept only a reduced influence but does not deny entirely the influence of Kabbalah.¹⁵⁷ Others are far more dismissive.¹⁵⁸ Our consideration of the *Introductio* may provide us with an appreciation of what might reasonably be considered some form of Christian antecedent to Arnaldo's work, and certainly comparing his work with that of Pico della Mirandola, who apparently did know of Abulafia, enables us to see how little that influence need be evoked here.

155 Carreras Artau, "Arnaldo de Villanova," pp. 54, 59, 66.

156 Harold Lee, "Scrutamini Scripturas. Joachimist Themes and Figurae in the Early Religious Writings of Arnald of Vilanova," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 37 (1974), 33–56.

157 Eusebi Colomer, "La Interpretación del Tetragrama bíblico en Ramón Martí i Arnau de Vilanova," *Miscellanea Mediaevalia* 13 (1981), 937–945.

158 So Sholem, "The Beginnings of Christian Kabbalah," pp. 17–51 at pp. 25–26. J.A. Daly, "Arnald of Villanova: Physician and Prophet," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 4 (1997), 34; Norman Roth, *Conversos, Inquisition and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain* (Madison, 2002), p. 20.

The *incipit* makes Arnaldo's purpose clear: it is to explain the meaning of the Tetragrammaton in both Hebrew and Latin and to show to the Jews that the truth of Christianity—specifically the mystery of the Trinity—was long ago displayed in the Tetragrammaton itself. He announces a permissive hermeneutic similar to that of the *Introductio* which, whatever the language of Scripture, works.¹⁵⁹

The Hebrew *'adonai* hides the proper name of God—four letters in Hebrew or Latin, though of course the two scripts run in opposite directions (which is symptomatic of Jewish blindness in these matters). Nevertheless, Isaiah does prophesy that the Lord's people shall know his name (52:6), for the Lord will be present with them in the Incarnation.

The first letter of the Tetragrammaton is *yod*, always apparently a vowel, and the tenth letter in the Hebrew alphabet. From its initial position, its sound, and its alphabetic position, Arnaldo can tell that in the tenth century of the Israelites' history will be revealed the spiritual reality of which the letter speaks—that is, in *Deo esse principium sine principio principans et per se sonans, et primum conceptibile a se ipso*. (275–277). The [second] letter, *he*, from its shape shows that there is in God an angle which joins indissolubly two equal sides, having under the end of one side a beginning without beginning and proceeding from it by the simple act of aspiration (278–292).¹⁶⁰ *Vau* is graphically similar to *yod* and together with that letter forms the basis of all Hebrew letters. It is sometimes a vowel and sometimes a consonant. From all this we may apparently learn that there is no before or after in God, but that He is above time. If in God, as we have seen, there is a beginning without beginning, *necessario oportet concedere quod sit in eo principium ex principio coeternum et coequale illi* (303–308). He summarizes the whole:

In Deo est principium sine principio principans et per se sonans et seipsum primo et semper concipiens et spirans angulum nodantem sive indissolubiliter colligantem duo latera equalia, et in eo, inquam, est principium ex principio coeternum et, vel semper concomitans ipsum et spirans eundem angulum quem et ipsum (385–390).

159 *Ita quod minimum eorum que apparent in ea, sive in figuris litterarum sive in ordine sive distinctione vel quantitate vel situ vel numero, totum inquam aliquid spirituale significat* (58–69).

160 *Cum ergo predicta recolliguntur, emergit quod he significat in Deo esse angulum nodantem vel indissolubiliter colligantem duo latera equalia et habentem sub extremitate unius lateris principium sine principio et procedentem ab eo per simplicem actum spirandi.*

A similar but naturally not identical procedure can be performed on the letters of the Latin Tetragrammaton, *i*, *h*, *u*, and *h* (399–530), and again a detailed exposition of the Trinity emerges (596–605). Likewise, the dominical proclamation *Ego sum Alpha et Omega* is also susceptible to such spiritualizing analysis of the constituent letters (655–726)—triangles and circles being eloquent signs of the inner constitution of divinity.

If one asks why the Tetragrammaton was given in Scripture to the Hebrews and not the Latins, when the Hebrews failed to perceive its spiritual import whereas the Latins grasped the message of the Incarnate Son, one might wish to consider the two special Latin names *Ihesus* and *Christus*, the treatment of which occupies Arnaldo to the end of his work (809ff.). Though the Jews failed to understand the Hebrew Tetragrammaton, it and its Latin letters together with the two distinctly Christian names proclaim the mystery of the Trinity with doctrinal niceness and considerable linguistic creativity.

The Tetragrammaton in St. Thomas Aquinas¹⁶¹

We have already considered some of the interpretations placed upon the Tetragrammaton by the Church Fathers.¹⁶² No doubt, the most influential Father philosophically was Augustine. Though not by any means the first to press the ontological aspects of the Name, such an emphasis, though tempered by connection with the Trinity and Incarnation, is common throughout his works.¹⁶³ He was the first Western Father to link the “I am” of Exodus 3:14 with the “I am” of John 8, just as John Chrysostom was the first to do so among the Greeks.¹⁶⁴ Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* XI.9ff.) had argued at length that Plato had borrowed his doctrine of being from Moses. Augustine further developed an understanding of God as the only unchangeable essence. “Other things that

161 For introductory orientation: D.C. Williams, “Disposing with Existence,” *Journal of Philosophy* 59.23 (1962), 763–783; T. Carlson, *Indiscretion: Finitude and the Name of God* (Chicago, 1999); M. Sells, *Mystical Language of Unsayings* (Chicago, 1994); W. Alstan, *Divine Nature and Human Language: Essays in Philosophical Theology* (Ithaca, 1989); V. Boland, *Ideas in God according to St Thomas Aquinas* (Leiden, 1996); D. Burrell, *Knowing the Unknowable God: Ibn-Sina, Maimonides and Aquinas* (South Bend, Ind., 1986).

162 Some indication of the number of treatises on Exodus Chapter 3 may be obtained from Cornelius à Lapide, *Commentarius in Exodum*, and E. Gilson, *The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy*, pp. 42ff. and 433ff.

163 Among the pagans, we have seen, Plutarch argued that “You are” is the most appropriate name for deity: *De E apud Delphos* 18.9.

164 Zum Brunn, “L’Exégèse augustinienne,” pp. 141–164.

are called essences or substances admit of accidents. But there can be no accidents of this kind in respect to God...who is the only unchangeable essence to whom certainly Being itself belongs" (*de Trin.* 5.2). His lead was followed by Thomas Aquinas, being very much now the autonomous Latin tradition of understanding Exodus 3:14—though of course the question is handled far more systematically.¹⁶⁵

By the end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th century, the golden age of Latin Scholasticism, the self-affirmation of God as Being in Exodus 3:14 had been promoted to the level of *doctrina sacra*, elevated to the level of theological science, and thus removed both from speculative theology dominated by the *quaestio* and its logic, and also from biblical hermeneutics dominated by *lectio divina* and the impositions of the text itself.¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, ontological speculation was determined, quite understandably, by a Christian interest in the personal *Qui est* rather than *Quid est*. No less formative was the necessity of reconciling the one God with Trinitarian discourse: Is *Qui est* said of the essence of God, of a single person of the Trinity, or of all three? Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus, and Duns Scotus, as well as Thomas, wrote on these matters. Anselm of Canterbury offered his definition of God: *something than which nothing greater or better may be conceived*. He also developed his argument that existence is necessarily contained in essence.¹⁶⁷

Thomas was a reader and commentator upon pseudo-Dionysius, as were many of the great Scholastics.¹⁶⁸ They continued the Patristic dialectic of assertive ontology (God is Being) and apophatism (God is ineffable).¹⁶⁹ Thomas's *via negativa* is not, as appears in Dionysius, a step beyond the boundaries of rational theology but a corrective within it of the oversights and deficiencies of affirmative theology, constructing a negative theology of the One who cannot be known essentially. God is placed beyond Being (*ens*) but also defers to Aquinas's conviction that God is substantial Being (*esse*) itself.¹⁷⁰ Like

165 In respect of the angel in the Bush, Thomas follows Augustine.

166 Cl. Geffré, "Thomas d'Aquin ou la Christianisation de l'Hellénisme," in *L'Être et Dieu*, eds. D. Bourq et al. (Paris, 1986), pp. 23–42.

167 LaCocque and Ricoeur, *Penser la Bible*, pp. 369–370.

168 H.J.M. Schoot, *Christ the 'Name' of God: Thomas Aquinas on Naming Christ* (Utrecht, 1993), pp. 95–104, for Thomas's dependence on pseudo-Dionysius.

169 É. Weber, "L'Herméneutique christologique d'Exode 3.14 chez quelques Maîtres parisiens du XIIIe siècle," in De Libera and Zum Brunn, eds., *Celui Qui Est*, pp. 47–101.

170 Rocca, *Speaking the Incomprehensible God*, comparing pseudo-Dionysius and Thomas pp. 72–73. Thomas's negative theology is discussed pp. 27–74: no created intellect naturally possesses the quidditative knowledge of God's essence, and in principle no created intellect can ever possess a comprehensive knowledge of God's essence. For Thomas's positive

Augustine, Thomas spoke of the way of analogy: so far as the perfections specified are concerned, the words are used literally of God...but so far as the way of signifying these perfections is concerned, the words are used inappropriately (*Summa Theologica* 1a,13,3). Such words do say what God is, but they fail to represent adequately what he is.

Aquinas, like Maimonides, interprets metaphysical principles as names of God.¹⁷¹ When beginning his exposition of the philosophical foundations of Jewish life in his *Book of Knowledge* (*Sepher ha-Madda* 1.1), Maimonides insists that the foundation and pillar of wisdom consists in knowing that the name exists and that it is the primary being. The name of God would always be a proper name in Hebrew, a consequence of the monotheism in which there does not exist a divine species or generic name designating the species.¹⁷² Aquinas certainly agreed God could not be placed in a genus (*C. Gent* 1.25; *De Pot.* q7 a.3 and a.5). Not only is He His Essence, He is also His Being (*esse*) (Ia q3 a.4.c).

Thomas considers various problems with naming God in *Summa Theologica* I, Question 13, to which we have already referred.¹⁷³ Thomas was inclined initially to see the Vulgate's *Qui est* as the most appropriate (*maxime proprium*) name for God on account of its universality and manner of signifying. All other names are "less common" (in the philosophical sense) than Being or restrict it

theology of proper names, pp. 297–318. T.-D. Humbrecht, *Théologie négative et Noms divins chez Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris, 2005); Carlos Arthur R. do Nascimento "S. Tomás de Aquino e o Cohecimento Negativo de Deus," *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 64,1 (2008), 397–408.

171 Guttman, *Der Einfluss*; Hasselhoff, *Dicit rabbi Moyses*, on the history of Christian use of Maimonides pp. 163–187.

172 Cited by Emmanuel Levinas, "Le Nom de Dieu d'après quelques textes talmudiques," in *L'Analyse du Langage théologique. Le Nom de Dieu*, ed. E. Castelli (Paris, 1969), pp. 158–159.

173 L.J. Elders, *The Philosophical Theology of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Leiden, 1990), pp. 195–221; John F. Wippel, *The Metaphysical Thought of Thomas Aquinas From Finite Being to Uncreated Being* (Washington, D.C., 2000); Rocca, *Speaking the Incomprehensible God*; A. Maurer, "St. Thomas on the Sacred Name Tetragrammaton," *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972), 275–286; idem, "The Sacred Tetragrammaton in Medieval Thought," in *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Filosofía Medieval*, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1979), pp. 975–983; Émilie Zum Brunn "La 'Métaphysique de l'Exode' selon Thomas Aquin," in Vignaux et al., eds., *Dieu et l'Être: Exégèses*, pp. 245–269; Luis Cavell, *El nombre proprio de Dios segun Santo Tomas de Aquino* (Pamplona, 1980), pp. 19–37, for Exodus 3:14, and pp. 42–52 for *Qui est* as implicating eternity; A. Guggenheim, "The Five Ways and Aquinas' *De Deo Uno*," *Analecta Hermeneutica* 2 (2010), 1–13; Bader, *Die Emergenz des Namens*, pp. 44–65. For a parallel Latin and English edition produced by the English Dominicans in the 1960s and 1970s, H. McCabe, *St Thomas Aquinas Summa Theologiae III (1a 12–13) Knowing and Naming God* (Cambridge, 2006).

in ideas.¹⁷⁴ This name is less restricted, more common, and more absolute. Like John Damascene he imagines God as an infinite and indeterminate sea of Essence. Nonetheless, he observes in the *Summa Theologica* that “if any name were given to signify God not as to his nature, but as to his *suppositum* as he is considered as this something, that name would be absolutely incommunicable as, for instance, perhaps the Tetragrammaton among the Hebrews” (1.3.11).¹⁷⁵ This adjustment is probably due to a reading of Maimonides (*Guide* 1.60–62), who distinguished *Qui est* and the Tetragrammaton as two quite separate names. This refinement is not found in the *Summa contra Gentiles*: perhaps Aquinas came to prefer the name revealed to believers over the name arrived at by the philosopher?¹⁷⁶ Commentators sympathetic to Thomas are eager to defend him as religious: to the extent that he describes a God that one might worship, this is the God of theology whom he worshipped.

Aquinas dominates the following centuries both theologically and philosophically.¹⁷⁷ He also guided thinking on names and analogical language. In this respect his first commentator was Thomas Cajetan (1469–1534), the Italian Cardinal and opponent of Luther, with his *Nominum Analogia* of 1498.¹⁷⁸

This may be a convenient place to consider more broadly this Latin ontological tradition with its apophatic correctives, and to ask whether it represents the intellectual aberration many philosophers and theologians today

174 In some places Thomas also justifies pseudo-Dionysius’s view that God (*Deus*) is God’s most proper name, although he realizes this follows Plato in subordinating Being to Goodness (DDN 3.1.225–228; 13.3.994 but S.T. 1.13.11 ad2). The name *Qui est* is a more proper name for God than the name *Deus* with respect to that from which it is derived, namely, from being, and with respect to the mode of signifying and co-signifying. But with respect to what it is meant to signify, *Deus* is more proper, since it is used to signify the divine nature.

175 “Perhaps” may mark the transition: Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas Spiritual Master*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 2003), p. 46. For the Exodus text, Fergus Kerr, *After Aquinas Versions of Thomism* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 76–96.

176 Matthew Levering, “Contemplating God: YHWH and Being in the Theology of St. Thomas Aquinas,” *Irish Theological Quarterly* 67.1 (2002), 17–31, argues that Aquinas manages to integrate philosophy into a rich account of Yhwh, Moses, and Christian engagement in the contemplative life enjoyed by Moses. Also Robert A Herrera, “Saint Thomas and Maimonides on the Tetragrammaton: the ‘Exodus’ of Philosophy?” *The Modern Schoolman* 59 (1982/1983), 179–193.

177 P.O. Kristeller, “Thomism and the Italian Thought of the Renaissance,” in idem, *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning* (New York, 1992), pp. 29–94.

178 I.U. Dalferth and P. Stoellger, eds., *Gott nennen: Gottes Namen und Gott als Namen* (Tübingen, 2008); Michael Durrant, *The Logical Status of ‘God’* (London, 1973). M. Romka, “Univocité, Equivocité et Analogie,” *Folklaw* 15 (2000), pp. 60–77.

consider it does. The historic champion of the tradition was the great French scholar of mediaeval philosophy Étienne Gilson, who coined the contentious phrase “the metaphysics of Exodus” in his Gifford Lectures for 1931.¹⁷⁹ He was not suggesting that there was a metaphysic *in* the text of Exodus, but rather a metaphysic *of* Exodus which was formed early among the Fathers and pursued by the great philosophers of the Middle Ages. Nothing in the pagan philosophical tradition anticipated a monotheism of the one true God, Creator of all that is. It is Exodus which supplied the notion that Being is the proper name of God and that this name designates his very essence. It is thus Exodus which provides the principle from which all Christian philosophy is suspended. The cornerstone of Christian philosophy is that there is one God who is Being, and this stone was laid neither by Plato nor by Aristotle, but by Moses.¹⁸⁰

This continues the conviction of Augustine and the Greek Fathers that Christian Faith and Neoplatonic philosophy were in natural accord and their confidence in the convergence of the faith and the quest for intelligibility. Gilson returned to the question in a work of 1977, the year before he died, but after the German philosopher Martin Heidegger had attacked what he considered to be the confusion between God and Being.¹⁸¹ Gilson here does appear to concede that the rapprochement between the God of the Scriptures and the “Being” of the philosophers is historically contingent—for nothing in Greek thought made for the fusion of God and Being—and speculatively fragile (for the difference between the God of the Bible and the God of the philosophers is insurmountable). It is therefore legitimate to ask, he says, how God came to fall into the Being of Metaphysics and how Being entered Theology.¹⁸² The period of confidence in the ontology of the Septuagint translation *ho ôn* had apparently come to an end. What for Augustine and Aquinas was a natural consensus between God and Being is increasingly seen today as a rather improbable conjunction.

The man most directly responsible for modern suspicion of the “metaphysics of Exodus” was Martin Heidegger, who considered real thought about Being as incompatible with Christianity, as that led not to Being but to a God who was a being, albeit the supreme being. Theology might choose to concern itself with the supreme being, but philosophy needed to return to the Greeks and press on with the question of Being, which is different from any or all beings and has nothing to do with the God of faith. The equation of God and Being was to be ruptured.¹⁸³

179 Published as *L'Esprit de la Philosophie médiévale*, Ch. 3, “L'Être et sa nécessité,” pp. 39–62.

180 Op. cit., pp. 50–51.

181 J.-F. Courtine, ed., *Étienne Gilson, Constantes philosophique de l'Être* (Paris, 1983).

182 Op. cit., pp. 178–179.

183 Dominique Bourg, “La critique de la Métaphysique de l'Exode par Heidegger et l'exégèse moderne,” in Bourg et al., eds., *L'Être et Dieu*, pp. 215–244.

Heidegger's criticisms have been most influential, and regardless of their ultimate merit, there is little doubt of their effect—God and Being are no longer an obvious conjunction. Paul Ricoeur has discussed what he sees as some of the unfairnesses of Heidegger's criticism of the tradition—that it deals only with late Scholasticism, that it ignores thought of the One beyond Being and apophatism and several other points of substance.¹⁸⁴ Skirting philosophical technicalities, I would point out that Heidegger's attempt to rid philosophy of its Judaeo-Christian baggage—indeed, his wider attempt to marginalize that heritage and strip it of the universality born of the marriage of Hellenism with Judaism and early Christianity—was an integral part of his National Socialist convictions.¹⁸⁵ He sought a new sense of the divine, inspired perhaps by the poetry of Hölderlin, secular and neo-pagan. It would be quite wrong to suspect all those hesitant before the classical ontological position of being Nazis. This is not true of Emmanuel Levinas, who makes little concession to thought about Being, or similarly many other Jewish scholars. I only make the point that Heidegger's work is to be considered in the whole context of his life.

Meister Eckhardt

The Dominican Meister Eckhardt (c.1260–1327) deployed the ontological language of Bonaventura and Thomas in rendering Exodus 3:14 and pushing the metaphysical language to its limits, if not beyond.¹⁸⁶

First, the three words, 'I', 'am', 'who' belong, in the most strict and proper sense, to God. The pronoun 'I' is of the first person. This pronoun, a *separator discretium* signifies pure substance: 'pure I say, without anything accidental or alien, substance without quality, without this form or that, without any addition of this or that. Now all this pertains to God and to Him only who is beyond accidents, kinds and genus...similarly the 'who' is an infinite (or indefinite) name. Such infinite and immense being can belong only to God.¹⁸⁷ And likewise the verb 'am' (*sum*) is of the order of

184 *Penser La Bible*, pp. 377–382. Also his "D'un Testament à l'autre: essai herméneutique biblique (de 'Je suis celui qui suis' à 'Dieu est amour,'" in *Lectures III: Aux Frontières de la Philosophie* (Paris, 1994), pp. 355–366.

185 Victor Farias, *Heidegger et le Nazisme* (Paris, 1987), pp. 72–76, 134–135, 173–174.

186 Vladimir Lossky, *Théologie Négative et Connaissance de Dieu chez Maître Eckart* (Paris, 1998).

187 Yossef Schwartz, "Zwischen Einheitsmetaphysik und Einheitshermeneutik Eckharts Maimonides-Lektüre und das Datierungsproblem des 'Opus Tripartitus,'" in *Meister Eckhart in Erfurt*, eds. A. Speer et al. (Berlin, 2005), pp. 259–282.

pure substance. It is a word: 'and the Word is God': a substantive verb: 'carrying all things by virtue of his word', as is written in the first chapter of the Letter to the Hebrews.

Yet Eckhard is not heedless of the magical powers of the Tetragrammaton, as is apparent in his remarks upon Maimonides's discussion of the forty-two-letter name in his *Expositio Libri Exodi* (II.151–154): the name is not just a name, but has also a numerical value representing the perfections of God. The shapes, order, and other features of the name signify higher things and are not to be taken at face value but rather understood to conceal secret matters. It would appear that Eckhart managed to combine both Maimonides and the Hermetic approach.¹⁸⁸

The *Mysterium Magnum* speaks rather obscurely of an original language of nature which after Babel (6&7) appears as seventy-two "tongues of wonders" and five other "holy divine manifestations through the formed Word," which underlie the seventy-two and take their origin from JOTH (*yod*), the One, which is the eye of eternity without ground and number (16).¹⁸⁹ We appear to have here a rather complicated mythology of the Tower of Babel and commentary on the holy name of Jesus.

The five speeches belong to the Spirit of God, but the seventy-two belong to man's selfness and must pass through judgement and be purified (18). The spirits of the letters in the alphabet are the form of the One Spirit in the Language of Nature. The five vowels bear forth the five holy languages out of the name Jehovah, which comprises the five vowels A, E, I, O, V. "The other letters signify and express the nature, even what the name of God is in the formed word, in darkness and light nature, both in love and anger"(49). Ancient wise men interposed an H to make Jehovah, which shows the divine name reaching out from itself (50). The name is then explained as *I* for Jesus, *E* for *Engel*, *O* for the Wisdom of Jesus proceeding from *I* and the Heart of God, and *V* for the Spirit (the *-SUS* in "Jesus"). *A* marks "the Beginning and the End" which is the Father (51). These letters also contain witness to the Trinity (53). On the other hand, all the other letters proceed from the word "Tetragrammaton" (54).

A more mystical gloss upon Exodus 3:14 appears in *Von der Abgeschlossenheit* (*On Disinterest*). He begins: We might say [in reading Exodus 3:14]: 'the

188 Yossef Schwartz, "Meister Eckhart and Moses Maimonides: From Judaeo-Arabic Rationalism to Christian Mysticism," in *A Companion to Meister Eckhart*, ed. J.M. Hackett (Leiden, 2013), pp. 389–414, 407.

189 Translation from J. Rasula and S. McCaffery, eds., *Imagining Language, an Anthology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 343.

Unchanging One hath sent me'. This refers to a privileged self-manifestation of God as unmoved disinterest (characteristic of Christ in his Passion or Mary at the foot of the Cross, in spite of their lamentations). This disinterest can extend to humans who can partake of eternity through this disinterest characteristic of their inner man.¹⁹⁰ Though God seems identical with himself as He who is, this does not rule out humans identifying with God by attaining to the same inner point of silent still disinterest—indeed this secures it. God became man, suggests Eckhart '*so that I might be born to be God—yes, identically God*'. For between the Son and the soul there is no distinction. The eye by which Eckhart sees God and the eye by which God sees Eckhardt are one and the same.¹⁹¹ Clearly then Eckhardt does not read Exodus 3.14 as a passage stressing separateness between the transcendent *a se esse* and transient humans eager to grasp after a name; rather he proposes a radical identity between the two 'When both God and you have forgotten self, what remains between you is an invisible union. It is in this unity that the Father begets his Son in the silent spring of your nature'.¹⁹²

Paul of Burgos

It was the work of Aquinas which led to the conversion of Solomon ha-Levi, the wealthy and distinguished Talmud scholar of Burgos (c.1351–1435), or so he claimed, though naturally less purely intellectual reasons have been suggested.¹⁹³ He was baptized together with his brothers and children (but not his wife) on 21 July 1391 and took the name Pablo de Santa Maria (often he is called Paul of Burgos).

Paul was at the University of Paris and also visited England.¹⁹⁴ A distinguished churchman, he became Archbishop of Burgos in 1415 and the King's Lord Chancellor in 1416. A year before he died he wrote an influential assault upon Talmudic learning, the *Dialogus Pauli et Sauli Contra Judaeos sive*

190 R. Blakney, ed. and trans., *Meister Eckhardt, About Disinterest* (New York, 1941), pp. 86–87.

191 *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 213, 206.

192 *Ibid.*, p. 127. Helpful here are both Markus Enders, "Meister Eckhart's Understanding of God," in Hackett, ed., *A Companion to Meister Eckhart*, pp. 359–388, 366, on *Ego Sum Qui Sum*, and Elisa Rubino, "Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Eckhart," in Hackett, ed., *A Companion to Meister Eckhart*, pp. 299–312.

193 Leon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 160–161, suggests the pressure of the massacres of Jews which began in June 1391.

194 Israel Abrahams, "Paul of Burgos in London," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 12 (1899), 255f.

Scrutinum Scripturarum (Mantua 1475, Burgos 1591, et al.). Martin Luther made use of the work in his *On the Jews and their Lies*.

The work which particularly interests us is his *Additiones* to the *Postilla* of Nicholas of Lyra (Nuremberg 1481 et al., Venice 1481 et al.). These were originally his marginal notes in a copy of the *Postilla* which he sent to his son Alphonso, who succeeded him as Archbishop in Burgos. From these Joh. Drusius extracted those relevant to Exodus 3 and presented them in his 1604 work *Tetragrammaton*, printed by Aegidius Radaeus in Franeker together with his own scholia.¹⁹⁵ In these Drusius is concerned with defending Paul against Matthias Döring (c.1390–1469), Provincial of the Saxony Franciscans, author of the *Defensorium Postillae Nicolai Lyrani* often printed with the *Postilla* after 1481, and very critical of Paul's annotations.

Philologically Paul describes the letters of the Tetragrammaton and their Jewish pronunciation. He offers as a transcription *yhbh*, which is similar, Drusius points out, to the New Testament Greek rendering of *vau* as *beta* in e.g. *david* (David) or *lebi* (Levi). In *Quaestio* 5 Paul addresses the question of whether the Tetragrammaton signifies *naturaliter* or by convention *ex institutione humana*, and decides that the name is not a product of human convention, and unlike most other names is not transparent to those who know Hebrew. Maimonides had suggested as much, as we saw in the Introduction. It is as it is because of divine choice, *ex institutione divina*, like the original words for “day” and “night” in Genesis. This is a point which caught Luther's eye. From the absence of a Hebrew etymology he similarly stresses the dependence of the name upon the unfettered Divine will to permit essentially Trinitarian explanations. In *Quaestio* 6 Paul considers all the letters of the Tetragrammaton to be vowels, but Drusius puts him right and explains how Jerome may have been misunderstood to this effect. He also discusses Jewish use in the First Temple period and questions of its use in prayer and sacrifice. More philosophically he is concerned with asserting the name as God's—not only *proprium* but also *maxime proprium*, as Aquinas says. *Qui est* articulates God's nature. Drusius intervenes to explain that *'ehyeh* is not future tense (no more, he says, than names with prefixed *yods*, like Isaac, are) but denotes rather past, present, and future. But Drusius, as we shall later see, was sympathetic to the notion that the Tetragrammaton drew attention to the specific immutable, eternal, and fundamental Being of God.

195 There is also an edition in notes from Amsterdam (1634): *J. Drusii Tetragrammaton sive de nomine Dei proprio quod Tetragrammaton vocant. Item Pauli Burgensis episcopi de nomine Tetragrammato quaestiones duodecim et J. Drusii in easdem scholia* (J. Janssonius, Amsterdam, 1634).

In anticipation of what follows we may note two aspects of the reaction of the later scholia of Drusius to Paul's original. In answer to the question of whether it principally pertains to God to work miracles by the meaning of the Tetragrammaton, Paul says not much more than: yes, given the Omnipotence of God. Drusius from his later 17th-century perspective notes that there are those who assert that it was by the power of this name that Christ did his miracles (*Sunt qui Christum virtute huius nominis omnia miracula fecisse adseverant*¹⁹⁶). We recognize the charges of Celsus, some Talmudic scholars, and the *Toledoth Jesu* we have surveyed to date. We shall also turn now to see the continuity in this respect displayed in the mediaeval magical texts. Of all this Drusius concludes decisively: "fairy tales" (*fabulae*)! He knows that distinguished exorcists work by repeating 'Adonai, Agla, Tetragrammaton, and we shall look below at the evidence for this. All of this he avers bluntly is copied from superstitious Jews (*sumptum superstitiosis Judaeis*).

If Drusius dismissed the role of the name in magic in the Middle Ages almost before we have turned to examine it, we find him (again from his later perspective) equally dismissive of the arithmetic mysteries which we have seen used repeatedly to discover the Trinity hidden in the Tetragrammaton. Drusius offers us a passage in *vocem yhwh* from Marcus Marinus, the author of *Hortus Eden Grammatica Linguae Sanctae* (1585) and *Arca Noe Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae Novus* (1593).¹⁹⁷ Of this Kabbalistic evocation of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in this passage Drusius soon tires. *Satis nugarum! Somnia haec sunt hominum otio abutentium*; "Enough of these trifles! These are the dreams of men with leisure to waste!"

196 p. 139.

197 *Alia etiam de causa quatuor literas hoc nomen habet. Nam unitatem dicimus esse principium & finem, nempe dualitatem. Quod si colligas unum, duo, & copulam, quatuor efficere statim comperies: qua seposita, rursusque unum, duo & ter computes (tres enim literas tantum vere huic nomini inesse dicimus) sex reperies, quae superibus quatuor additis, denarium numerum omnium absolutissimum conficiunt, qui totam Deitatis naturam optime exprimit, ut a Cabbalistic logo sermone in decem Sephiroth i. divinorum attributorum, dicitur. Vides, quam belle hoc totum exprimat litera Jod, quae proprie denarium numerum significat? sed, inquires, tantumne Patri competunt haec attributa in Jod designata? Imo & Filio & Spiritui Sancto. Nam He, quod Filium indicat, est quinque in scientia Arithmetica, quod repetitum decem efficit, ipsi Jod correspondentia: & Vau sex, He ultimo super appposito, undecim referunt, decem correspondentia Jod, uno superaute, ut, omnium unitatem demonstrat. Ast, cur alterum he in ultimo nominis ponitur, & cum Vau etiam connumeratur? Quia Filius carnem humanam Spiritu S. adumbrante (ut Divinis utar verbis) assumere debebat, & hac de cause He est litera composita ex Dalth & Vau, quae decem sunt: et Vau nominis sex cum Daleth ultimi He, quod quatuor refert, decem sunt, superestque Vau Messiam indicans, sex in numero, ut quinque ad Divinitatem, unum ad humanitatem referantur, op. cit., pp. 137–138.*

The Tetragrammaton in Private Devotion and Magic in the Middle Ages

A delightful mediaeval silver priest's ring was found recently at Hinton Blewett in fields some way behind my own house in Somerset, where much of this chapter was written. The ring has a rectangular section, on the outside of which are the letters AGLA, with each letter divided by a cross pattée.¹ The charm is an acronym of the Hebrew *'ata gibor le'olam 'adonai* (Thou art mighty forever, O Lord), four words from the Second Blessing of the Jewish *Shemoneh 'Esreh*, and was used to prevent fever.² (Joachim, as we have seen, observed that *Adonai* was used as much by Christians as by "Hebrews."³) The British Museum has a more famous ring found much earlier in Coventry Park in 1802, which has inscribed within the shank *'Vulnera quinqu' dei sunt medicina mei, pia crux et passio XPI sint medicina michi. Iasper Melchior Baltasar ananyzapta tetragrammaton.*⁴ Here we have mention of "Tetragrammaton." A similar but fuller formula appears in a 15th-century "Charme for wyked Wych": *in nomine Patris et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti Amen... + a + g + l + a + Tetragrammaton + Alpha + Ω...*⁵ There are many such items attesting to little more than the place of

- 1 The acrostic had a long history. Yates, *Occult Philosophy*, p. 187, points out that AGLA occurs in retrograde in an undated etching by Rembrandt, "The Inspired Scholar" (?1651–1653). See H. van de Waal, "Rembrandt's Faust Etching, a Socinian Document, and the Iconography of the Inspired Scholar," *Oud-Holland* 79 (1964), 7–48.
- 2 *Chew Valley Gazette* (November 2011), p. 13. For *Agla*, E. Hoffmann-Kryer, ed., *HandworteBuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens Aal-Butzemann* (Berlin, 1927), cols. 213–14; Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, pp. 260–264; T. Schrire, *Hebrew Amulets: Their Decipherment and Interpretation* (London, 1964), pp. 91–135, esp. p. 121. For Christian amulets with Hebrew letters, *ibid.*, pp. 71, 165, plates 42–43. Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Daemonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2003), for the "terrible name of God, *Agla*" in exorcisms pp. 246, 248, 266. L. Balletto, *Medici e Farmaci, scongiuri ed incantesimi, dieta et gastronomia nel medioevo genovese* (Genoa, 1986), p. 360. Also, *ibid.*, pp. 152–155 for "*Agla*."
- 3 *Expositio...in Apocalysim* (Francisci Bindoni ac Maphei Pasini, Venice, 1527), 35b.
- 4 *Ananyzapta* is an anacronym of *Antidotum Nazareni Auferat Necem Intoxiationis Sanctificet Alimenta Pocula Trinitas Alma* ("May the antidote of Jesus avert death by poisoning and the Holy Trinity sanctify my food and drink"). On the Coventry ring, Peter Murray-Jones, "Visualising Medieval Medicine and Natural History (1200–1550)," in *Image, Word and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, eds. J.A. Givens et al. (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 20–21.
- 5 Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (New York, 1976), pp. 127–128.

“Tetragrammaton” within the group of religiously or magically powerful words.⁶ Another 15th-century charm in the East Midlands dialect evokes, amid some 100 names, “... *Tetragrammaton...alpha et oo...ego sum qui sum....*”⁷ In this material, evidently, the word “Tetragrammaton” itself is in question: it has lost all connection with *yhw*.

The use of divine names (or vestiges thereof) in exorcism was not uncommon in mediaeval medicine. One example calls for “Tetragrammaton” (not *the* Tetragrammaton) to be written upon the hands of the possessed, “Emanuel” on the back of his neck, “Saba’oth” on his chest, and “Agla” on his forehead: *item ad eiciendum daemonum de corpora hominis scribe in manu dextra et in manu sinistra Tetragrammaton; in collo in parte posteriori Emanuel, in pectore suo a parte anteriori Sabaoth, et in fronte Agla.*⁸ A charm for fever is written: *te + tra + gra + ma + ton*. Other names of signs of the zodiac are punctuated by *+ on +*⁹ The 13th-century Inglesby Arncliffe Crucifix from Hambleton in North Yorkshire contained a parchment with an exorcism formula beginning “Agla, In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.” The four Evangelists are then evoked: “Agla, Matthew, Agla Mark, Agla, Luke... etc.” Then: “Agla, the virtue of our Lord Jesus Christ and the great names of God, + a + g + l + a + on + tetra + gramaton + sabaoth + adonai + and all names.” *Agla* occurs again several times subsequently.¹⁰ One notices here the interesting use of the Greek *on* (The Existing One) from Exodus 3, used as a divine name here as it commonly is in Byzantine art. There are also some traces of the use of “Tetragrammaton” in runic texts.¹¹

6 D.C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (State College, Pa., 2006), discusses amulets, particularly in the 13th to 15th centuries, stressing continuities with what went before. He describes a printed amuletic text, similar to that quoted above, but enhanced with a graphic configuration on p. 167.

7 W.W. Skeat, “A Fifteenth Century Charm,” *The Modern Language Quarterly* 4.1 (1901), 6–7.

8 T. Hunt and D.S. Brewer, eds., *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England: Introduction and Texts* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 360.

9 Ms. Sloane 962 f 38r.

10 J.W. Ord, *The History and Antiquities of Cleveland* (London, 1846), pp. 136–140; K.R. Sands, *Demon Possession in Elizabethan England* (Westport, 2004), p. 24; Skemer, *Binding Words*, p. 160.

11 H. Macleod and B. Mees, eds., *Runic Amulets and Magic Objects* (Woodbridge, 2006), p. 188ff.; pp. 192–194 for traces of Tetragrammaton. Also in K. Düwer, ed., *Runeninschriften als Quelle interdisziplinärer Forschung* (Berlin, 1998), note Ute Schwab, “Runen der Merowingerzeit als Quelle für den spätantiken christlichen und nichtchristlichen Schriftmagie,” pp. 376–433; J.E. Knirk, “Catalogue of Runic Inscriptions containing Latin in Names,” pp. 476–507.

The Tetragrammaton in Private Devotion

The blank pages of a cheapish Book of Hours produced for the English market in Bruges c.1400 (Cambridge University Library li. 6.2) carry material added by subsequent owners. The Roberts family of Middlesex added varied material, including a charm for banishing the plague by using the sign of the Cross; the titles of Jesus; and an anecdote of Peter headed *Oratio Bona pro Febribus*. This includes among other powerful names the mention of “*Tetragrammaton*.”¹² Another *Horae* prayer, essentially a prayer of exorcism, beginning *Omni-potens + Dominus + Christus...* comprises an extraordinary list of the names of God, including: *Sabaoth, Adonay, Ousion, Ego Sum, Qui Sum, Trinitas, Unitas*, and *Tetragrammaton*, and concluding “May these names protect and defend me from all disaster, and from infirmity of body and soul, may they wholly set me free and come to my help.”¹³

A most interesting and unusual piece from the 14th century, just a page long, which is both an orthodox Christian prayer but becomes a love-magic conjuration, is bound in a codex in the Biblioteka Jagiellonska. Elisabeth prays to God, Christ, and the Holy Trinity to ensure the love of her husband, Theoderic, and prevent anyone or anything coming between them, but the prayer soon becomes a conjuration of her husband that “as a deer comes to the fountains,” so may Theoderic come to Elisabeth that she may do as she will with him. The Latin charm involves several divine names, including: *Ely, Eloy, Yosdy, Sabaoth, Adonay, Tetragrammaton*, etc. It is unusual to find such a document written by a woman; perhaps she had clerical assistance in elaborating this bit of home-spun magic.¹⁴

Another document intended for the use of women is a book of household management from Wolfsthurn Castle in Tyrol, apparently a lay production and written in vernacular German. A cure for toothache tells the story of St Peter, who was troubled by a worm in his tooth. Christ appeared to him and abjured the worm “in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.” This presumably was a model for the housewife’s own procedure, though this is not specified. Instead some useful words are given: *Ayos Ayos Ayos* (the Trisagion), followed

12 Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240–1570* (London, 2006), pp. 91, 94.

13 Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (London, 1992), pp. 266–287 at p. 274.

14 Benedek Láng, *Unlocked Books: Manuscripts of Learned Magic in the Medieval Libraries of Central Europe* (State College, Pa., 2008), pp. 187–188.

by *Tetragrammaton*.¹⁵ No doubt this array of strange words could be confusing even for specialists. A much later handbook for exorcists, from 1614, stresses that an exorcist should not chance to use an unknown name.¹⁶ To set practitioners' minds at rest he indicates as acceptable Jerome's ten Hebrew names of God, including the Tetragrammaton given as *Jehoua*, and some others which are clearly Christian: *Agla*, *Otheos*, *Athanatos*, etc. Confusion had been caused by Paulus Ghirlandus in his *De Sortilegiis*, identifying some of these as names of Satan on the basis of the *Malleus*!

A 14th-century medical recipe book in the Middle English dialect concludes with a selection of charms and a discussion of the *Tetragrammaton*.¹⁷ Later still we have an inscribed circular silver amulet in the British Museum with astrological characters for Venus, the Moon, and Libra on one side, and on the reverse forty-nine small squares filled with Hebrew figures. At the top there is a hole for suspension, on one side of which is engraved 1225, and on the other side, accompanied by the Hebrew name for Venus and other letters, is a Hebrew Tetragrammaton.¹⁸

Echoes of Jewish Magic

William de la Mare, whom we mentioned above as influenced by Grosseteste, produced *correctoria* of the Vulgate, which are followed in ms 402 in the Municipal Library in Toulouse by a collection of linguistic notes on Scripture which appear to be a résumé of a master's correspondence with his pupils and begin *Quoniam quedam glose mencionem faciunt*.¹⁹ Hebrew and Greek letters are used and there are some remarks on Greek grammar. The comments, however, do also seem to be interested in the sense of the passages. The work is of interest here because of its account of the powers of the Tetragrammaton found in a "certain Jewish book written by Solomon called the *liber semamphoras*"—full of wonders and exorcisms which also mentioned the name of seventy-two

15 Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 2.

16 Hieronymus Mengus, *Daemonum Exorcismos Terribiles, Potentissimos et Efficaces* (Sumptibus Peter Landry, Lyon, 1614), pp. 13–14.

17 G. Henslow, *Medical Works of the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1895), p. 294.

18 Ellen Ettinger, "British Amulets in London Museums," *Folklore* 50.2 (1939), 148–175 at pp. 162–163.

19 The text is from Berger, *Quam notitiam*, p. 37ff. William de la Mare was Regent Master in Theology at the Franciscan Convent in Paris (1274–1275).

letters.²⁰ We shall return shortly to later evidence for one *liber semamphoras* which was found in Latin, though the reputation of Solomon will occupy us immediately.

The Testament of Solomon

Long ago, E.M. Butler proposed the *Testament of Solomon* as a transitional document between the world of the magical papyri and the mediaeval world.²¹ The work is a daemonology dressed up as an autobiography of Solomon and tells how the First Temple was built by the aid of the daemons Solomon had subdued for that purpose. The king is visited by the Queen of Sheba, who is explicitly called a witch. Solomon finally falls into idolatry and subsequently loses his power. Solomon gets to interview many spirits in the book. He meets Beelzeboul, the last of the fallen angels, whose specific job is to destroy kings.

20 Prov.XVIII.10. Turris fortitatis nomen Adonay, in ipso currit iustus et fortificabitur, *secundum hebreum. hoc est nomen Domini tetragrammaton, quod scribitur quatuor literis et pronunciat longe aliter quam sonent ille quatuor literae, et est nomen quod habetur in summa reverentia apud hebraeos, in tantum quod si superflueret in scriptura ex vicia scriptoris non radent eum nec perfoderent sed intra circulum concluderent, signato per hoc quod superfluit. Et dicunt hoc nomen esse valde occultum... De hoc nomine puto quod scripsi vobis alias diffusius. Et scitote quod in hebreo habetur liber unus a Salamone quodam compositus de hac nomine et vocatur liber semamphoras, id est liber nominis explanati et est liber multus velatus et occultatur a sapientibus iudeorum nec umquam potui de ipso videre nisi parvam particulam, licet multum laboraverim ut eum totum viderem. Particula autem quam vidi de illo libro erat particula quarta et loquebatur de mirabilis effectibus illius nominis, et ponebantur ibi multa mirabilia quae Salomen fecit, ut ibi dicitur, in virtute illius nominis. Nam et illo nomine proveniebat virtus exorcismorum Salamonis quibus sigillabat demones et abiciebat de ob[s]essis et ligebat eos, ut ibi dicitur, et quibus multa mirabilia faciebat ex quibus unum ibi recitatur inter alia multa quod cum edificaret templum non est auditus in fabricando malleus nec securis et traditur ibi modus quo hoc factum fuerit. In explicatione autem predicti nominis que continetur in tribus primis particulis libri predicti ponitur nomen quoddam 72 litterarum quod sem amphoras, id est nomen explanatum et ex 72 literis illius nominis. Sed de hoc certitudinaliter iudicare non possum, quia, ut predixi, tres primas particulas libri predicti videre non potui, nec puto quod in regionibus istis iudeus qui habeat.*

21 E.M. Butler, *Ritual Magic* (Cambridge, 1949/1979), pp. 29–36; F.C. Conybeare, “The Testament of Solomon,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 11 (1899), 21ff. D.C. Dulling, “Solomon, Exorcism and the Son of David,” *Harvard Theological Review* 68 (1975), 235–252, considers gospel material in this light. In general, S. Page, “Speaking with Spirits in Medieval Magic Texts,” in *Conversations with Angels: Essays towards a History of Spiritual Communication 1100–1700*, ed. J. Raymond (London, 2011), pp. 125–149.

The angel by whom Beelzeboul is frustrated, he tells us, “is the holy and precious name of Almighty God, called by the Hebrews by a row of numbers of which the sum is 644 and amongst the Greeks as *Emmanuel*.²² And if one of the Romans abjure me by the great name of the power *Eleèth*, I disappear at once.” We meet many angels of evil and their adversaries in the *Testament*, including Asmodeus—known from *Tobit*—who prevents marriages and who also inclines to adultery. Interviewing spirits derived from Persian, Greek, Christian, and Jewish sources, Solomon learns of his future downfall, the destruction of the Temple, and, in time, the coming of Christ. In terms of positively managing these spirits for advantage rather than merely protection, Recension C of the *Testament* lists fifty-one fiends from whom boons could be gotten. This is bound up with a copy of the *Key of Solomon*, probably an addition of the 12th or 13th century.²³ The 15th and 16th centuries saw the progressive ritual development of these hierarchies.²⁴

Ritual Magic

Solomon is the worldwide master of ceremonial magic. Josephus mentioned a book of incantations bearing his name by which exorcisms were performed. Psellus in the 11th century mentions a treatise by Solomon on stones and daemons, possibly the *Salomonis libri de gemmis et daemonibus* mentioned by Glycas. Roger Bacon knew of works attributed to Solomon, though he disputed the attribution. The list of notices grows. We shall consider the most common and prestigious text, the *Key of Solomon*, briefly before describing the *Schemhamphoras Salomonis Regis*.²⁵

The *Key of Solomon* appears in many manuscripts perhaps from the 12th century onwards, but printed versions are fewer. As the texts must be copied out by the exorcist himself with a consecrated pen, they may also be of little use. A Hebrew manuscript version was published by Hermann Gollanz, who dated it c.1700.²⁶ One doubts many non-Jewish magicians would be able to read it. A rather

22 McCown, *The Testament of Solomon*, p. 51, suggests that the numbers at VI.8 are Greek letters to the sum of 644, which is the numerical value of *Emmanuel* introduced elsewhere (XI.6).

23 McCown, *The Testament of Solomon*, pp. 15ff., 108.

24 Butler, *Ritual Magic*, p. 36.

25 I have used Butler, *Ritual Magic*, pp. 47–99, for the Solomonian Cycle.

26 H. Gollanz, ed. *Clavicula Salomonis. A Hebrew Manuscript Newly Discovered and Now Described* (London, 1903); idem, *Sepher Maphtheah Shelomo (Book of the Key of Solomon)* (Oxford, 1914). This manuscript uses the Greek word “Tetragrammaton,” transcribed as *trgrmtwn*, for *yhw*. Gollanz considered this the sole practice of Sabbatai Zevi.

different version was published from seven manuscripts in Latin, Italian, and French by Mathers in 1889. He explicitly states he has cut out some of the Black Magic experiments.²⁷ There are some later printed accounts of manuscripts.²⁸

Solomon, given understanding, riches, and honour, was said to have had placed in his own tomb the *Clavicle*, which required the subsequent angelic enlightenment of a worthy “philosopher” to make it comprehensible. It also warns in dire terms against those of evil intent who might misuse the secrets which it reveals. The practical second section has this fearful invocation: “Zazaii, Zamaii, Puidamon Most Powerful, Sedon Most Strong, El, Yod, He Vau, He, Iah, Agla, assist me an unworthy sinner who have had the boldness to pronounce these Holy Names which no man should name and invoke save in very great danger.” The writer seems to be an orthodox Christian, though perhaps a magician first and foremost.²⁹ There follow details of the almost impossible preparations, purification, and making of medals and pentangles for protection. The magic circle which is traced with a knife of the Art is inscribed with names of God. Should the spirits appear reluctant to show, they may be adjured by nine names of God: *Eheieh, Iod, Tetragrammaton, Elohim, Gibor, Eloah va-Daath, El Adonai Tzabaoth, Shaddai (El Chai)*, all connected with the power they had shown when spoken by Old Testament characters. But an even more powerful invocation may yet be required. The *Key of Solomon* envisages the magician making both a black and a white book for conjurations for the summoning of “the animals of darkness” or angels, respectively. The prayer before the white book begins: “Adonai, Elohim, El, Eheieh Asher Eheieh, Prince of Princes, Existence of Existences have mercy upon me and cast Thine eyes upon Thy servant [N], who invokes Thee most devoutly and supplicates Thee by Thy Holy and tremendous Name Tetragrammaton to be propitious, and to order Thine angels and spirits to come and take up their abode in this place....” The entire work is replete with names of God.³⁰

A work, apparently some sort of supplement to the *Key of Solomon*, is the mysteriously entitled *Lemegeton* or *Lesser Key of Solomon*.³¹ This work

27 Liddell MacGregor Mathers, ed., *The Key of Solomon* (London, 1889), p. 6.

28 Butler, *Ritual Magic*, p. 49.

29 McCown, *The Testament of Solomon*, p. 75.

30 A Talmudic spell against the daemon *Shabriri* runs: *shabriri, briri, riri, iri, ri*, which Rashi explains as the daemon shrinking and finally disappearing as his name reduces. A reverse method on a charm from the Hebrew version of *clavicula Salomonis* employs the word “Tetragrammaton” as a mystical name: *ton, ramaton, gramaton, ragramaton, tragramaton*—and finally—*Tetragrammaton*. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic*, pp. 116–117.

31 Op. cit., p. 65ff., with an account of the printed textual evidence and some manuscript sources. Part of the text appeared in J. Weirus, *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum*, 1563

introduces us to a hierarchy of seventy-two daemons which Solomon had prudently captured in a bronze vessel and dropped into a deep lake in Babylonia. Thinking this might contain treasure, Babylonian magicians retrieved it and broke it open. The daemons dispersed to their former dwellings—nonetheless, all can be made to confer benefits upon the magician. The number 72 is obviously inspired by the seventy-two letters of the *Schemhamphoras*. To summon these spirits the magician needs to trace the ceremonial circle and inscribe it with names of God and proceed through the business of the invocation of his chosen named spirit: “I conjure you by him whom all Creatures are obedient; and by this Ineffable Name Tetragrammaton, Jehovah, which being heard the Elements are overturned...”³² A recalcitrant spirit can be compelled by having its seal put on a parchment, which is then placed in a box with stinking asafoetida and held on a sword’s point over a fire:

...as thy name and seal is contained in this box chained and bound up; and shall be choked, in sulphurous and stinking substance and burnt in this material fire, so in the name Jehovah and by the power, and dignity of those three names Tetragrammaton, Anepheneton and Primeumaton, cast into the other disobedient spirit [N] into the lake of fire....

Little would be gained by pursuing in detail the many subsequent Grimoires spawned after the fashion of the Solomonic Clavicles. One may note here the often apparently devout religious protestations of the magicians in their rituals and prayers, even on those occasions where their conjurations strike us as decidedly black. Gollanz found that some of the invocations in his manuscript “read as beautiful and pure as the Hebrew prayers,” though he hesitated over the spirit of the invocations and the formulae.³³ It is not easy to consistently separate black and white magic in their rituals, nor does magic in these texts seek to present itself as the enemy of religion.³⁴ In this last respect, the *Liber sacer sive juratus* is particularly interesting.

(in *Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam, 1660), which was put into English in R. Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, 1584, with third edition 1665). A.E. Waite, *The Book of Black Magic and of Pacts* (London, 1898), p. 20, has much of Sloane 2731. E.M. Butler owned a late 17th- or early 18th-century English manuscript of her own.

32 E.M. Butler’s account of the printed partial versions of the Lesser Key shows these are all sufficiently late for the form *Jehovah* to be no surprise.

33 Gollanz, *Sepher Maphtheah Shelomo*, p. iv.

34 Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London, 1971), pp. 41–61, stressed the importance of Protestant Reformers in formulating the distinction between religion and magic. See also H. Geertz and K. Thomas, “An Anthropology of Religion and Magic,”

Liber sacer sive juratus (The Sworn Book)

The *Liber sacer sive juratus* (*The Sworn Book*) is a mediaeval handbook of ceremonial magic, ostensibly written by one “Honorius of Thebes,” an unashamed, though pseudonymous, professed and practicing magician of the first half of the 13th century who is happy to speak eloquently and systematically about the importance of his magic and commend it to powerful men.³⁵

What we have of the book is mainly a large collection of prayers, often in unintelligible words, with rubrics indicating their ritual use. The book stirred the ire of William of Auvergne, who was Archbishop of Paris from 1228–1249, and one can perhaps see why.³⁶ Its prologue describes a meeting of evil spirits intent upon universal corruption who have successfully persuaded the Pope and Cardinals to vigorously repress magic as allegiance to Satan. But it is *they* who are deceived, for wicked men simply cannot work magic. A council of 811 Masters of Magic commissioned “Honorius” (with angelic help) to write the *Sworn Book*, so called because it contained 100 sacred names of God. God intends this magic to be preserved and secretly handed down.

Most remarkably this claim is given substance by the content of the magical rituals contained in what remains of the book. One describes the construction of a circle to summon an angel, spirit, or daemon.³⁷ This somewhat commonplace material is, however, preceded by an elaborate ritual, some twenty-eight days in length, to obtain nothing less than the Beatific Vision—the vision of God in Glory. The final day of the operation involves writing the 100 names

Journal of Interdisciplinary History 6 (1975), 71–109, developed in a mediaeval context in P.J. Géary, “La Coercition des Saints dans la Pratique religieuse médiévale,” in *La Culture populaire au Moyen Age, Quatrième Colloque de l’Institut d’Études médiévales de l’Univ. de Montréal* (Montréal, 1977), p. 159.

35 Thorndike, *History of Magic*, vol. 2, pp. 279–289. Here is given a clear statement of the purpose of the *Ars Notoria*, which “seeks to gain knowledge of or communion with God by the invocation of angels, mystical figures and magical prayers.” Robert Mathiesen, “A Thirteenth-Century Ritual to Attain the Beatific Vision,” in Fanger, ed., *Conjuring Spirits*, pp. 143–162; Katelyn Mesler, “The *Liber Iuratus Honorii* and the Christian Reception of Angel Magic,” in *Invoking Angels: Theurgic Ideas and Practices The Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Claire Fanger (State College, Pa., 2010), pp. 113–150. Butler, *Ritual Magic*, p. 96, warns against the falsifications in E. Lévi, *History of Magic* (London n.d.).

36 Mathiesen, “Thirteenth-Century Ritual,” p. 146.

37 In the *De Nigromancia* associated with Roger Bacon, magic circles are consecrated by a mass in honour of St Cyprian, famous for being a magician, and are surrounded by a pentangle of Solomon. The Tetragrammaton must be inscribed on all circles, for without it “all conjurations of the spirits will fail and no spirit will answer truth, but falsehood” (iii.1, 28f, 51).

of God in ashes: *Aglā + Monhom*³⁸ + *Tetragrammaton* + etc. We may perhaps be allowed to spare ourselves the enumeration. Here is magic that has an undeniably Christian goal but is anathema to the mediaeval Catholic Church. One may see why William was outraged; this was powerful and articulate opposition.

Apart from the use of “Tetragrammaton” in the ritual we may note the significance of the Council of 811, which is central to Honorius’s claim that the magicians act in the name of God. 811 is the numerical value of $I = 10$, $A = 1$, $\Omega = 800$, i.e. *IAΩ* for the Tetragrammaton. Just as the Fathers at the Council of Nicaea numbered 318, indicating that they met in the name of Jesus and his Cross ($300 = T$ [the Cross], $18 = IH$ [an abbreviation for Jesus]), so the magicians met in the name of God, *IAΩ*.

Another ritual magic text of some interest is John the Monk’s *Liber visionum beate et intemerate Dei genetricis virginis Maria* (*Liber visionum*), which describes visions of John, *monachus de Marginato* (Morigny), between 1304 and 1307 in which the Virgin Mary attempts to persuade John to abandon the magic arts by teaching him a new holy art instead. The book contains this art in prayers which may be used to obtain knowledge of the arts—liberal, mechanical...and also magical. The ritual prayers include repeated invocations of the Tetragrammaton (e.g. prayer 30).³⁹

Richard Kieckhefer reflects upon the Jewish precedents for the fundamental concepts of spiritual power, ultimately alien to Western Christendom, in these two texts.⁴⁰ The *Liber Iuratus* he finds dependent upon Jewish Merkabah traditions rather than more normal Christian views of the Beatific Vision. The invocation of non-biblical angelic names is more characteristic of Judaism, and the use of the divine name in embellished form as the sole source of

38 For *mon[os] ho on ? Ho on* “Existing One” is, we know, quite common.

39 Nicholas Watson, “John the Monk’s Book of the Visions of the Blessed and Undeified Virgin Mary, Mother of God...” in Fanger, ed., *Conjuring Spirits*, pp. 163–215; C. Fanger, “Plundering the Egyptian Treasure: John the Monk’s Book of Visions and its Relation to the *Ars Notoria* of Solomon,” in idem, ed., *Conjuring Spirits*, pp. 216–249.

40 Richard Kieckhefer, “The Devil’s Contemplatives: The *Liber Iuratus*, the *Liber Visionum* and the Christian Appropriation of Jewish Occultism,” in Fanger, ed., *Conjuring Spirits*, pp. 250–265. Kieckhefer also discusses possible Jewish material in Munich Clm 849, which features Tetragrammata and an uncertain presentation of the Shemhamphoras which is said to have been written on the plaque on Aaron’s forehead. Richard Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: A Necromancer’s Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 115–116. The divine name is often spelt “Tetragrammaton” and also pronounced Y-V-E; HX-V-V-HV; and Y-V-E-X p. 138. (There is also an evocation “by the name of the Lord Tetragrammaton.”)

magical power appears to be derived from Kabbalah. In Book One of his book, “Honorius” identifies the name of God as the *Shemhamphoras*. The magician makes a seal about a pentagram which uses the name of seventy-two letters. Though this is clearly Jewish material, the magician insists that even though Jewish magicians may conjure daemons by the name, they cannot themselves attain to the Beatific Vision because they do not sign themselves with the Cross.

Frances Yates traced the origins of Christian Kabbalah to Ramon Lull, who was living in Spain in the 13th century about the time when the *Zohar* was written. He shares with that work an interest in the combination of letters, the *dignitates Dei*, and speculations about divine names. We have also briefly considered earlier the contribution made to Christian knowledge of Jewish speculations by anti-Talmudic converts of the period. Here in Honorius, however, is a different type of borrowing from Jewish occultism. Chronologically, Honorius bridges the gap between Lull and Pico della Mirandola and marks perhaps another stage in the pre-history of Christian Kabbalah.⁴¹

Semphoras et Schemhamporas Salomonis Regis

Finally we may turn to the texts of the *Semphoras et Schemhamporas Salomonis Regis*, a work apparently important in the rituals of the later Faustian school of magicians.⁴² Johannes Hartlieb mentions it in 1456, as does Trithemius c.1500 as a source for his *Steganographia*. It appeared in German in Basel in 1686, translated by Andreas Luppius, and was reprinted by J. Scheible in 1846, the latter version acknowledging a dependency upon Cornelius Agrippa's (1486–1535) *Third Book of Occult Philosophy*, ch. XXV, particularly on the subject of the *Sephiroth*.⁴³ Use is also made of the *Sefer ha-Razim* in a Latin version: *Liber Sepher Razielis id est Liber Secretorum seu Liber Salomonis*.⁴⁴ The text of Luppius is not traceable earlier, in spite of the apparent notices given

41 Yates, *Occult Philosophy*, Chapters 1 and 2.

42 To be distinguished from Luther's 1543 *Schem Hamphorasch*.

43 J. Scheible, *Das Kloster*, 12 vols. (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1846), vol. 3, p. 1128ff. Previously, J.C. Horst, *Zauberbibliothek*, 6 vols. (Mainz, 1821–1826), vols. 3 and 4. For Agrippa, names which express the real essence of things are most effective in magic. The name *yhw* and its new form *Jesus* express the essence of God, and from these angel names can be derived. Agrippa uses Kabbalistic methods and *notarikon*, and gives tables of the 72 good angels and the 72 bad ones of the Schemhamphoras. *De Occulta Philosophia* III 25, pp. cclvi–cclxv.

44 BAV Ms Regina lat 1300; BL Mss Sloane 3847–3853, Add 15299.

above; nonetheless, the work may possibly be mediaeval. It is subsequently included in the *Sixth and Seventh Books of Moses*.

The work tells us how the wonder-working names of God were extracted by the Kabbalists from the Old Testament. The *Semiphoras* is the sevenfold name found in utterances of the Lord himself, Adam, and Moses. On the other hand, the *Schemphoras* is the 72-fold name with which we are now familiar. Like Agrippa (and “Honorius”), the author (“Solomon”) explains to us that these powerful Hebrew names now need to be supplemented by the evocation of the name of Jesus if further progress is to be made. The *sephiroth* or emanations of God described by the Jewish Kabbalists are also mentioned, and the complicated angelic hierarchy depends upon Pseudo-Dionysus the Areopagite. Here, then, is an important ritual, dependent upon Jewish speculations, which will maintain its influence into the early modern period.

We may finish with a warning, timely for magicians but also for the Christian Kabbalists of the Renaissance, whom we shall consider shortly. It comes from Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464).⁴⁵ It may perhaps have had somewhat of a dampening effect upon the Kabbalistic speculations (or at least their publication) of his editor Lefèvre d’Étaples, whose *De magia naturali* (1492–1494) we shall consider below. Cusanus stands in the mystical tradition of negative theology derived from pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, yet this is not thought to preclude some names for God. Cusanus offered a lengthy analysis of the Tetragrammaton in his sermons, combining negative theology and the naming of Jesus.⁴⁶ His sermon in Koblenz on 1 January 1440, *His Name is Jesus*—the text is Luke 2:24, around which the Feast of the Presentation revolves—was delivered in the same year as his work *On Learned Ignorance* (12 February 1440).⁴⁷ In this work he describes the divine name as a *maximum mysterium* and yet is able to give an account of the relationship of the Tetragrammaton and the name of Jesus who has been given “the name above every name” (Phil. 2:9).⁴⁸

45 See in general C.M. Bellito et al., eds., *Introducing Nicholas of Cusa: A Guide to a Renaissance Man* (Mahwah, 2004); Dermot Moran, “Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464): Platonism at the Dawn of Modernity,” in *Platonism at the Origins of Modernity: Studies on Platonism and Early Modern Philosophy*, eds. D. Hedley and S. Hutton (Dordrecht, 2008), pp. 9–30. On Cusanus’s own attitude to the Jews, T. Izbicki, “Nicholas of Cusa and the Jews,” in *Conflict and Resolution: Perspectives on Nicholas of Cusa*, ed. K.M. Bocker (Leiden, 2002), pp. 119–130.

46 He had a copy of Arnaldo’s *Allocutio*. F. Secret, *Les Kabbalists chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1964), p. 13.

47 Nicolai de Cusa, *Opera Omnia Vol XVI Sermones I* (1430–1441) (Hamburg, 1991), p. 4.

48 “Therefore in learned ignorance we attain to the following: although ‘oneness’ seems to be a quite close name for the maximum, it is nevertheless still infinitely distant from the true

Cusanus in this respect fulfils a pivotal role in devotion to the name of Jesus, perhaps in some dependence upon Bernardino da Sienna (1380–1444), whom we shall also subsequently consider.⁴⁹ Yet the transcendence of God's being is maintained, and though emphasis falls upon the Tetragrammaton, God's being is not really adequately translated, even by *Jehovah*. The word itself is not just one part of speech (noun, verb, pronoun, or participle) but “everything at once.” Following Maimonides, Cusanus sees the Tetragrammaton as standing for the divine being with its own inner characteristics which cannot be grasped by human intellect. This, however, does not stop him from moving on to the Trinity and Incarnation.

His Sermon on John 1:1, *In Principio erat Verbum*, usually dated to 1430, was preached somewhat earlier, when Cusanus was a deacon.⁵⁰ Here again the name of God was said to be inexpressible. Cusanus considered the names of God among many nations but focused upon the Tetragrammaton expressed by the Jews as Lord. In the names *'el*, *'elohim*, and the Tetragrammaton Cusanus finds the Trinity.

The sermon on the *Dies Sanctificatis* envisions a light-filled hierarchy of angels whose names speak of God as light crowned by a *Deus Lux* whose name cannot be spoken:⁵¹ “because it encloses every vowel sound within itself... It is, then, the form of words whence comes the form without which a word cannot be vocalised, for there is no word without a vowel. And so it is the Word of God, that Word through which and in which every word is. But in Hebrew the name Ihesus is Iesua and is the Word of God with the added letter /s/ which is called sin. And sin means utterance”—the Word of God spoke, so to speak, and so *Iesua* or *Iesus* is the spoken word of God. We have met /s/ inserted into the divine name to give us *Jesus* in Evagrius's little fragment in the 4th century, and in a similar comment of St Jerome in *Ep. 30 ad Paulam*.

name of the maximum—which is the maximum” (DDI 1.24). Thus, saying God is God says that no name befits Him. P.C. Casarella, “His name is Jesus: Negative Theology and Christology in Two Writings of Nicholas of Cusa from 1440,” in *Nicholas of Cusa on Christ and the Church*, eds. G. Christianson and T.M. Izbicki (Leiden, 1996), pp. 281–308.

49 Iréneé Hausherr, *The Name of Jesus* (Kalamazoo, 1978), p. 53.

50 Nicolai de Cusa, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 16, pp. 1301–1317.

51 Lefèvre, ed., *Haec accurata recognitio trium voluminum operum Clariss. P. Nicolai Cusae Card. ex officina Ascensiana recente emissa est* (Badius, Paris, 1514) II f 52–55. *ineffabile igitur est hoc nomen quod omnem vocalitatem in se complicat... Est igitur forma verborum, unde est forma sine qua non potest verbum vocale fieri; sine enim vocali non sit verbum. unde est verbum dei, scilicet, verbum per quod omne verbum et in quo omne verbum. ihesus autem vocatus hebraice Iesua et est verbum dei cum 's' litera quae dicitur 'sin', et interpretatio sui elocutio, quasi verbum dei elocutum. Est igitur Iesua seu Iesus verbum dei elocutum.*

But it is from *the Sermon on the Magi* that we take the Cardinal's warning where he turns to attack both verbal and daemonic magic in their use of divine names: "It must not be believed that there is any power in these words which God has not placed there...and the mixing of sacred words with anything false is also to be shunned."⁵² This hardly tempered the bolder claims of the more daring Renaissance Kabbalists.

52 F29-30. *Nec credendum est verbis illis aliquam virtutem inesse quam Deus non dedit... Cavendum etiam ne sacris verbis aliqua vana sint commixta....*

PART 3

The Rediscovery of the Name



The Origins of Printing, Hebrew Printing, and the Growth of Christian Hebraism

In this chapter we shall depart from strict consideration of the Tetragrammaton to describe two fundamental conditions of the Christian discovery (or rediscovery) of the Tetragrammaton as the personal name of God. The first is the revolutionary arrival of printing with moveable type, and the second, consequential upon the first, is the spread of increasingly independent and confident Christian expertise in the Hebrew language and biblical and post-biblical Jewish literature. In the subsequent chapters in this section of the book, we shall consider the consequences of these developments among Christian Kabbalists, Reformers, and those in less educated circles where vulgar knowledge of the Tetragrammaton, often as *Jehovah*, became progressively widespread.

Printing with moveable type was the invention in the 1450s of Johannes Gutenberg, a merchant-speculator from Mainz.¹ His remarkable 42-line bible, of which 180 copies were printed, still survives in 50 copies today, suggesting that even at the time the volume was treated with awe.² It was, of course, stunningly expensive, with a paper copy costing about 20 gulden, approaching the annual salary of a master craftsman. Gutenberg was unable to make a profit and died bankrupt. Several more factors were needed before the print industry would be able to establish itself and in time quite transform European culture. Beyond the technical questions of paper supply and so forth, some painful experience in financing, production, and distribution management was needed to properly establish the industry. Aristocratic consumers had to be weaned away from the personal and intimate luxury of a commissioned manuscript and reading habits themselves needed to be adjusted to the new supply and new format.³ Printers needed to learn quickly what they could sell.

1 I rely on Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (London, 2010), pp. 21–90, for the data in this section.

2 For the size of the edition calculated at 180 from the paper supply, Paul Needham, “The Paper Supply of the Gutenberg Bible,” *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 79 (1985), 303–374. The book itself may be conveniently viewed in the British Library online edition at: <http://www.bl.uk>.

3 For the impact of the developing format of the printed page on Bible reading, P. Saenger, “The Impact of the Early Printed Page on the Reading of the Bible,” in *The Bible as Book: The First Printed Editions*, eds. K. van Kampen and P. Saenger (London, 1999), pp. 31–51.

Gutenberg's successors—his erstwhile partner the financier Johann Fust and the calligrapher Peter Schoeffer, their former print shop foreman—made a better fist of things commercially and also managed to produce the technical masterpiece of the Mainz Psalter in 1457, as well as another lavish Bible in 1462. The new partnership was sensible enough also to print more commercially remunerative material, like letters of indulgence, which were easy to produce and would bring prompt returns.

The new technology spread beyond Mainz to Bamberg around 1460 and was further dispersed after the sack of Mainz in 1462. There were presses in Cologne in 1464, in Basel and Augsburg in 1468, and in Nuremberg in 1470—towns which, together with Strasbourg and Leipzig, would become dominant in German book production. Print spread throughout the German Empire and beyond, reaching Buda in 1473, Kraków in 1474, and Breslau in 1475. A press was established in Paris in 1470, inaugurating the history of one of the three main French centres of production of early modern books. Lyon, Toulouse, and Poitiers had presses by the end of the decade; Caen, Troyes, and Rouen, ten years later. By the end of the century, the French-speaking world had presses in more than forty towns and cities. In the Low Countries presses were established in Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges. The first printing in Italy took place in the Benedictine house at Subiaco, probably under the influence of the monastery's patron, Nicholas of Cusa. Two northerners, Sweynheim from the Rhineland and Pannartz from Prague, produced four books between 1465 and 1467, before moving to Rome. Within only two years, however, there were presses in Ferrara, Florence, Milan, Bologna, Naples, Padua, Parma, and Verona. When William Caxton opened his press in Westminster in 1476 there were forty cities with presses in Italy: by the end of the century there were eighty. Italy produced about a third of printed books in the 15th century. In particular Venice, a city with a leading role in the production of paper, enjoyed a rapid and extensive growth in printing. Outstandingly, between 1494 and 1515 Aldus Manutius produced no fewer than ninety-four editions of Classical and post-Classical authors, including thirty-one Greek first editions.⁴ His five-volume Aristotle was perhaps the most breathtaking, and, taken altogether, his work constitutes one of the undisputed milestones of typography and scholarship.

Aldus Manutius also printed in Hebrew. In 1501 he brought out his *Introductio per brevis ad Linguam Hebraicam* (known also under another title as *Introductio utilissimima hebraice Discere Cupientibus*).⁵ He claimed to have studied Hebrew

4 Martin Davis, *Aldus Manutius: Printer and Publisher of Renaissance Venice* (London, 1999), pp. 52–53, for Aldus's Hebrew ambitions.

5 Santiago García-Jalón de la Lama, *La Gramática hebrea en Europa en el siglo XVI Guía de lectura de las obras impresas* (Salamanca, 1998), pp. 16–18.

from the *Doctrinale Alexandri de Villa Dei*, a Latin verse composition in leonine hexameters of 1210 teaching the basics of Latin; the *Doctrinale* enjoyed subsequent popularity and was found in several printed editions. He found it useless, and so he produced his own: it was the first printed grammar of Hebrew and intended for Christian students. The type was cut by Francesco of Bologna, who also worked for Gershon Soncino, explaining no doubt the similarity of their type. With the Scriptures themselves, Aldus was less successful, and he gave up an attempt at a Bible in three languages, including Hebrew, before even printing a sheet. Girolamo Aleandro who worked as a corrector for Aldus, moved to Paris in 1508, taking some this experience with him.

The initial spectacular successes of the new technology cannot disguise the insecurities of the market, and printing went through something of a crisis towards the end of the 15th century. In many towns the market proved simply too small to maintain the number of presses. Buyers were too dispersed and returns too slow for the local producer. The print industry of necessity consolidated its forces into far fewer major centres of production, metropolitan or trading cities, where it could survive. By the third decade of the 16th century the major printing centres in Italy were Venice, Rome, Florence, and Milan; in Germany they were Augsburg, Basel, Cologne, Leipzig, Nuremberg, and Strasbourg; and in France they were Paris and Lyon. In time there would be added to these Antwerp, the new trade centre of the Netherlands; London, the centre for English printing; and Wittenberg. The case of Wittenberg was quite exceptional.⁶

The earliest press in Wittenberg was established in 1502, just after the inauguration of the new University, but work was unprofitable and the University's needs were better supplied by nearby Leipzig. In 1508 Johann Rhau-Grunenberg arrived and set up a press, which for a time was housed in the Augustinian house where Luther lived, and enjoyed some success. An early work of Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt even had some Hebrew type. In 1516 Rhau-Grunenberg first published the sermons of the mystic Johann Tauler in German and at the behest of the local professor and minister of the town church, Martin Luther. The following year Luther was publicly to display his ninety-five theses, and thereafter, as a rising public figure and a prolific writer, he continued to supply Rhau-Grunenberg with saleable material, particularly in German. Luther was not always happy with Rhau-Grunenberg's work, but although he was sensible enough at times to use other printers, he nevertheless kept him supplied with works until the printer's death in 1527. The Luther business attracted more printers to Wittenberg, and a flourishing industry developed

6 For this account of Wittenberg I rely again upon Andrew Pettegree's masterly sketch *The Book in the Renaissance*, pp. 91–106.

producing Reformation material and Luther Bibles. Lucas Cranach had a workshop in the city from 1505 and was able to produce profitably the woodcuts which adorn Luther's Bibles and provide an iconic memorial of the Reformation. The stimulus the Luther business provided was not, however, confined to Wittenberg, and between 1520 and 1525 the printing industry in Germany increased its output to 340 per cent of that of the previous ten years. The Luther Bibles and the Reformation controversies made for excellent business; 100,000 copies of Luther's New Testament were produced in Wittenberg alone during his lifetime. An unprecedented quantity of cheap controversial pamphlets in German further swelled the industry.⁷ It may be that the laity who read them had just bought their first book ever. Literacy would develop as a result of all this, but so would the enormous and multi-faceted phenomenon we know as the Reformation. One of the political and ecclesiastical consequences of rising literacy was a growing suspicion of increasingly literate "people power."⁸

The reprinting of two Luther sermons by Christopher Froschauer in Zurich marked the recruitment of his press to the service of the Reform. It was this year, 1519, that Ulrich Zwingli was appointed people's priest and the two men became collaborators in the Reform. Froschauer brought out a reprint of Luther's New Testament in 1524, but in 1529 he managed to produce a complete Bible with Apocrypha in advance of Luther's. In the end his firm would produce some 1300 editions and 28 editions of the Bible as well as a huge number of vernacular broadsheets.

*Origins of Hebrew Printing*⁹

It was, relatively speaking, quite some time after Gutenberg's first edition before a printed Hebrew Bible appeared. It was, however, of the very first importance for our subject, and subsequent editions made the Hebrew Bible—all of it—immediately and conveniently available to Christian scholars. It brought with it the Targum and the classical mediaeval Jewish commentaries, and the biblical text was consistently and fully vocalized.

7 M.U. Edwards Jr., *Printing, Propaganda and Martin Luther* (Berkeley, 1994).

8 M. Wheare, *'The mean poeples capacitie': Writing Readers in Early Print* (unpublished PhD dissertation, London), considers views of common readers evident in texts, particularly Erasmus.

9 For Hebrew Bibles: Ginsburg, *Massoretico-Critical Edition*; L. Goldschmidt, *The Earliest Editions of the Hebrew Bible* (New York, 1950); H.C. Zafren, "Bible Editions, Bible Study and the Early History of Hebrew Printing," *Eretz-Israel* 16 (1982), 140–251.

The most distinguished printers of Hebrew books in Italy at this time were the Soncino family, originally from Speyer. Joshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan published the Prophets with a commentary in 1485, and the first complete vocalized Hebrew Bible in 1488. Joshua Solomon ultimately fled to Naples, presumably because of ecclesiastical pressure. Joseph ben Jacob Ashkenazi Gunzenhauser produced a Hagiographer there.

The first experiment in “artificial writing” in Hebrew apparently appears in a notarial deed registered before Maître Jacques de Briende in Avignon 10 March 1446.¹⁰ It refers to a previous 1466 contract under which Davin de Calderousse, a Jew of Avignon, had received from Procopius Waldfoghel, a goldsmith from Prague, the matrices of twenty-seven Hebrew characters, tools to make them, and the relevant instructions, in exchange for his recipes for dyeing fabrics. There appears to be no trace of an early Hebrew print shop in Avignon at this time, but the deed does give tantalizing evidence that at the same time Gutenberg was experimenting with moveable type, the same thing was being tried in Hebrew. The twenty-seven characters would have been the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet and the five terminal characters. It may be significant to note that there is nothing here with which one could vocalize a Hebrew text.

The first complete printed Hebrew Bible was produced 22 April 1488 at Soncino. The comparative lateness of its appearance has been blamed on excessive reverence or commercial anxieties, but it may have been caused by the not inconsiderable technical problems of printing vocalized Hebrew. The vowels and accents fall both above and below the line and are essential for liturgical recitation, and the system of open and closed sections needs to be marked, as it has halakhic significance and is part of Massoretic counting. Once they appeared, however, printed Hebrew Bibles sold well and editions were soon out of print. Luther used a Soncino Hebrew Bible published in 1494, and his copy is extant in the Berlin State Library. In fact, an earlier printed Hebrew biblical text of the Psalter with commentary (Heb-28) had appeared in northern Italy 29 August 1477, though forceful arguments have been made for the ultimate priority of a very rare Psalter (Hain 13446/7), again from northern Italy.¹¹

10 L. Fuks and R.G. Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography in Northern Netherlands 1585–1815: Historical Evaluation and Descriptive Biography*, part 1 (Leiden, 1984), pp. 1–2.

11 A.K. Offenber, “Hebrew Printing of the Bible in the XVth Century,” in Van Kampen and Saenger, eds., *The Bible as Book*, pp. 71–77. I rely on this article for up-to-date information on Hebrew incunabula. Also among older works, J.B. de Rossi, *De Ebraice typographiae Origine... Disquisitio* (Parma, 1776); *idem*, *Annales hebraeo-Typographi sec. XV* (Royal Printer, Parma, 1795); A. Freimann, *Ueber hebräische Inkunablen* (Leipzig, 1902);

About 140 editions of Hebrew Incunabula (15th-century imprints) from some 40 presses are known from Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and there is one from Constantinople. Today about 2000 are preserved around the world. They embrace about seventy different Hebrew texts, the most popular being editions of the Pentateuch and Jacob ben Asher's *Arba'ah Turim* or *Four Orders of the Code of Law*.¹² Of thirty-six different biblical editions printed before 1500, twenty-four came from Italy and twelve from the Iberian Peninsula. The first Hebrew printed books in Italy were the work of the same two northerners, Sweynheim from the Rhineland and Pannartz from Prague, who established the early press at Subiaco and then in 1467 moved it to Rome.¹³ Six undated books in square-letter type were produced in Rome between 1469 and 1473, including three biblical commentaries (Heb-86, 92, 71¹⁴). In 1475 a dated edition of Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch appeared in Reggio Calabria, and an edition of Jacob ben Asher's *Arba'ah Turim* (Heb-47) appeared in Piove di Sacco, near Padua. A press in Mantua belonging to Abraham Conat produced seven books in cursive font between 1474 and 1477, including a commentary on the Pentateuch. In Bologna Abraham ben Hayyim printed the first vocalized Pentateuch with the Targum and Rashi. Joshua Solomon brought out a fine second edition of his Hebrew bible (Heb-9, 34, 26). War with France apparently brought Hebrew printing in Naples to an end around 1492. Twenty works had been published there. However, Joshua Solomon's nephew, Gershon Soncino, established presses at Brescia and Barco, and in the 16th century at Fano, Pesaro, Rimini Ancona, Cesena, Salonika, and Constantinople.

The expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and subsequent troubles in Portugal in 1496 destroyed much of the evidence of Hebrew book production in the peninsula. (These expulsions had the consequence of bringing many Jewish exiles to Italy, where they would make a significant cultural impact.)

U. Cassuto, *Incunaboli Ebraici a Firenze* (Florence, 1912); A. Marx, "Hebrew Incunabula," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 11.1 (1920), 98–119.

- 12 A. Marx, "The Choice of Books by the Printers of Hebrew Incunabula," in *To Doctor R: Essays Here Collected and Presented in Honor of the Seventieth Birthday of Dr. A.S.W. Rosenbach July 22 1946* (n.p. Philadelphia, 1946), pp. 155–157.
- 13 For Italy: D.W. Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy* (London, 1963); J. Block, *Venetian Printers of Hebrew Books* (New York, 1932); idem, *Hebrew Printing in Riva di Trento* (New York, 1933), pp. 1558–1562; Anon, *Storia della tipografia Ebraica in Livorno* (Turin, 1912); A. Freimann, "Die hebräischer Drucke in Rom in 16 Jahrhundert," from *Festschrift Jacob Freimann* (Berlin, 1937).
- 14 References here are to Ludwig Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum in quo libri omnes ab arte typographica inventa usque ad annum MD...ennumerantur etc.* (Paris and Stuttgart, 1826–1838; repr. Milan, 1948).

The earliest Hebrew book from Spain seems to be an edition of Rashi on the Pentateuch, from Solomon ben Moses Alkabiz Halevi at Guadalajara in 1476 (Heb-94), and the earliest from Portugal—in fact, the first printed book from Portugal—is an edition of the Pentateuch from Simon Giacon in Faro in 1487. The first Hebrew press in the Ottoman Empire was at Constantinople, where in 1493 two brothers, Samuel and David Ibn Nahmias, who had escaped from Spain, produced an edition of Jacob ben Asher's *Turim* (Heb-49).

The Bomberg Bible

A 16th-century scion of a wealthy merchant family from Antwerp, Daniel van Bombergen (1483–1549/1550?), arrived in Italy sometime before 1515, in all probability to further the interests of his family's import and export business.¹⁵ Shortly after his arrival, however, he set up a printing house, with the intention of producing Hebrew books in a partnership with an Augustinian Monk, Fra Felice de Prato (Felix Pratensis). Felix was a Jewish convert who had been baptized around 1506; he was an able Hebrew textual scholar who appeared very much the Renaissance *vir trilinguis*.¹⁶ In Rome he had previously been Hebrew tutor to Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, an enthusiastic Christian Kabbalist for whom Felix had made a copy of Targum Neofiti, and Felix came to the partnership already enjoying a ten-year *approbatio* and accompanying privilege for printing in Rome from Leo X.¹⁷

The partners produced Pratensis's *Psalterium* from the press of Piero Lichtenstein in September 1515; the work was dedicated to the pope and proudly advertised Felix's *approbatio*. The work may be the first recognition in Italy of weaknesses in Jerome's Vulgate. It shows considerable interest in Christian Kabbalah, and Felix there announced his intention of writing about the divine names. He discusses the Kabbalists on the divine name in his note at the end of Psalm 22, which he predictably finds full of Christ's passion and

15 Amram, *Hebrew Books*, pp. 146–224; B. Nielsen, “Daniel van Bombergen, a Bookman of Two Worlds,” in *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*, eds. J. Hacker and A. Shear (Philadelphia, 2011), pp. 56–75.

16 The importance of Jewish converts for the Christian reception of Judaism remained important in the Renaissance: S. Simonsohn, “Some Well-Known Jewish Converts during the Renaissance,” *Revue des Études juives* 148 (1989), 17–52.

17 I have discussed Egidio's Kabbalistic interests at length in Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, pp. 29–62. I discuss his relationship with Pratensis on p. 29. For the privilege, see: C.L.C.E. Witcombe, *Copyright in Renaissance Prints and the Privilegio in Sixteenth-Century Venice and Rome* (Leiden, 2004), pp. 43–45.

the *Descensus ad infernos*. He speaks of *'aleph* as the “number” of the Tetragrammaton, marking its unity; the first letter, *yod*, contains the virtue of the whole name and indicates the Father. In Psalm 89:9 he inserts *Jah* into his version (Vulgate: *Potens es*) and explains it as a name of God. Commenting on a puzzling phrase in the heading of Psalm 88 (Vulgate 87) he tells us his preferred understanding is that this is a name of our Redeemer. The Kabbalists find in the word *Eman* here two letters of the Tetragrammaton: *he*, followed by *yod*, representing first the corporality of the Messiah and then his divinity. The end of the word, *-man*, asks *who is this Messiah whose divinity is concealed within his humanity?*

The next month the three men applied for a licence to print three Latin translations of Hebrew books, a grammar, two Kabbalistic treatises, and a Hebrew Bible with Hebrew letters both with and without Aramaic Targums and Hebrew commentaries. The latter items seem to refer to the two editions of the Bible subsequently produced from Bomberg's house (Lichtenstein seems to have dropped out from the partnership somewhere along the way). After receiving the licence, Bomberg further sought an exclusive patent for the use his Hebrew type—*letere cuneate*—on the grounds of the expense of procuring it. This was granted to him and effectively ensured a monopoly on Hebrew printing in Venice. This was not so easy to renew, but after four attempts in 1525 a payment of 500 ducats facilitated its reinstatement. Bomberg was a Christian and a wealthy businessman with money to spend.

The first edition of 1517 was produced in two versions: one for Christians and the other for Jews. In both, verse divisions were imported for the first time from the Vulgate into a Hebrew Bible.¹⁸ The Jewish version presented within an architectural frame on its opening page—again, it was the first Jewish book to use this device—a comprehensive list of its contents. The Christian edition alone enjoyed a Latin dedication to Leo X which noted the inclusion of the Aramaic Targums, which contain many obscure and recondite mysteries—*alta arcana et recondita mysteria*—not only useful but necessary to devout Christians. (One recalls Felix's interests in the *Psalterium* mentioned above, though a Targum is not an obvious place to look for Kabbalistic *arcana*!¹⁹) The Christian edition also included the Pope's Latin *approbatio* at the end of Chronicles. The edition was marred by the poor text it offered. The text was eclectic, and though Felix praised his partner for the manuscripts, we need not take this too seriously. It was probably made from a mixture of both Sephardi and Ashkenazi manuscripts abundant in Italy because of the influx of Jewish

18 Goshen-Gottstein, “Editions of the Hebrew Bible,” pp. 221–242.

19 Though it may, of course, provide material for messianic interpretations of verses.

refugees from Spain and Germany. The edition is troubled by problems with *plene* and defective spellings, and the vowel points are often in the wrong place.

The second edition of 1525–1526 was edited by the Jewish scholar Jacob ben Hayim ibn Adonijah, from Tunis, in four folio volumes. Having a Jewish editor apparently made the work acceptable to Jewish readers (though he apparently converted sometime after 1527, for which Elias Levita upbraided him), and it is this edition which was accepted by both Jews and Christians as the first acceptable printed edition of the Massoretic Bible. Among Jews it would become known as the *Mikraot Gedolot*. Compared with the first edition the second had more commentaries; it had for the first time the whole apparatus of the Massoretic annotation—the *Massora Parva*, the *Massora Magna*, and the *Massorah Finalis*—and it enjoyed a text re-edited anew from manuscripts. Though once again, we do not know which manuscripts, nor in fact do we know whether they were different from those of the first edition. The improvement may have been the product of better Massoretic judgement on the part of Adonijah. Hence there are differences between the two editions, but, as we have seen, the second edition does not represent the text of any one manuscript. Thereafter the text was corrected against manuscripts in minor particulars by R. Menahem de Llonzano, and these corrections were put into a Massoretic commentary by R. Solomon Yedidya Norzi in the early 17th century. Essentially all printed editions of the rabbinic Bible come from this source.²⁰

The rabbinic Bible marked a milestone in Jewish book history. Before the 16th century a Jewish book was essentially a text by a Jewish author in one of several languages used by Jews (but generally in Hebrew script) and produced for Jewish readers (who else?). With the rabbinic Bible the producers were not exclusively Jewish, nor were the readers. Christian Hebraists, too, were to become avid readers of Jewish books.²¹ Christians were learning to read Hebrew. In this context discussions of the Tetragrammaton would be informed

20 Among subsequent editions: Bomberg III (Venice) 1546–1548, edited by Cornelius Adelkind; Bomberg IV, edited by Isaac ben Joseph Salam and Isaac ben Gershon; and Bomberg V (Venice 1617). Thereafter the 1546–1548 edition was reprinted by Buxtorf in Basel in 1618–1619. Walton's *Biblia Polyglotta* (London, 1654) had Targums but no Jewish commentary.

21 D. Stern, "The Rabbinic Bible in Sixteenth Century Context," in Hacker and Shear, eds., *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*, pp. 76–108. An important and nuanced account is now S.G. Burnett, "The Strange Career of the *Biblia Rabbinica* amongst Christian Hebraists (1517–1620)," in *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and their Readers*, eds. Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean (Leiden, 2012), pp. 63–84. Also S.G. Burnett, "The Christian Hebraist Book Market Printers and Booksellers" in idem, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era 1500–1660: Authors, Books and the Transmission of Jewish Learning* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 189–222.

by access to printed Hebrew Bibles on the part of a growing number of Hebrew readers among Christians. Decent printed and vocalized texts of the Hebrew Bible and other works facilitated the development of Christian Hebraism.

Alcalá²²

At much the same time, in Spain, in Alcalá, Cardinal Cisneros had established a University to promote Hebrew as envisaged by the Council of Vienne before suspicion of Lutheranism rather closed down Spanish scholarship in this area.²³ He was producing his *Biblia Complutensis* (1514–1517), a revolutionary polyglot bible which offered another printed and vocalized Hebrew text.²⁴ The Hebrew text appeared with an interlinear gloss; there are numbered links between the text and the glosses; and Hebrew “roots” are isolated. This elaborate procedure, together with the apparatus in the last volume, provided a very good way for Christian scholars to work through the text and at the same time improve their Hebrew. The Hebrew text was the product of collaboration between two recent Jewish converts: Alfonso de Zamora, first professor of Hebrew at the College of San Idelfonso, near Madrid, in 1508, who taught at Alcalá, and Pablo Coronel, from the University of Salamanca.²⁵ The text was in square letters only and was not the full Massoretic text, as it lagged behind somewhat in the technology of setting the vowels and accents above and below the line.

The fate of the Bible was unfortunate, as Cisneros died just after its printing. Delayed papal approval, economic and testamentary difficulties, and losses in transport soon made the volume impossible to buy. It found a successor in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, another major printing venture, this time from Christopher Plantin in Antwerp. Again, the extensive philological

22 I discuss the Polyglot with bibliography in Wilkinson, *Kabbalistic Scholars*, pp. 4–12.

23 A. Alvar Ezquerro, “Le modèle universitaire d’Alcalá de Henares dans le première moitié du XVIe siècle,” in *Les Origines du Collège de France (1500–1560)*, ed. M. Fumaroli (Paris, 1998), pp. 209–256.

24 E. Fernández Tejero, “El Texto hebreo de la Biblia Poliglota Complutense,” in N. Fernández Marcos and E. Fernández Tejero, *Biblia y humanismo Textos, talentos y controversias del siglo XVI español* (Madrid, 1997), pp. 209–218, summarizing earlier work. A. Schenker, “From the First Printed Hebrew, Greek, and Latin Bibles to the First Polyglot Bible, the Complutensian Polyglot 1477–1577” in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, vol. 3, ed. M. Sæbø (Göttingen, 2008), pp. 276–294, for an excellent summary of printed Bibles up to the Complutensian Polyglot.

25 De la Lama, *Gramática hebrea*, pp. 30–32.

tools provided helped scholars improve their Hebrew as they worked with the Bible.²⁶

We shall not further pursue the history of Hebrew printing in the 16th century beyond two further observations. First, we may note that production became more difficult in Catholic areas after the papal campaign of 1553 to suppress the Talmud.²⁷ In Protestant areas of the Holy Roman Empire, such limitations were not in place, but over a series of Diets the Empire refined a legal framework to control all books by censorship, which inhibited production and tended to concentrate it in areas which were prepared to grant licences, like Hagenau.²⁸ Second, we may note the practice of collaboration in the production of Hebrew books by both Jews and Christians.²⁹ We have seen such collaboration in the case of Bomberg's Bibles. Between December 1540 and November 1541 the Jewish scholar Elias Levita worked with Paul Fagius in

26 Wilkinson, *Kabbalistic Scholars*.

27 Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, pp. 91–94, for the edict. A. Berliner, *Censur und Confiscation Hebr. Bücher* (Frankfurt-a-Main, 1891); W. Popper, *The Censorship of Hebrew Books* (New York, 1899); A. Raz-Krakotzkin, "Censorship Editing and the Reshaping of Jewish Identity: The Catholic Church and Hebrew Literature in the Sixteenth Century," in Coudert and Shoulson, eds., *Hebraica Veritas*, pp. 125 ff., and now his *The Censor, the Editor and the Text: The Catholic Church and the Shaping of the Jewish Canon in the Sixteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 2007), pp. 32–56, on the ban on the Talmud. Also M.T. Walton and P.J. Walton, "In Defense of the Church Militant: The Censorship of the Rashi Commentary in the *Magna Biblia Rabbinica*," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 21.3 (1990), 385–400.

28 For the German Empire: S.G. Burnett, "German Jewish Printing in the Reformation Era (1530–1633)," in *Jews, Judaism and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*, eds. D.P. Bell and S.G. Burnett (Leiden, 2006), pp. 503–527. For Basel: J. Prijs, *Die Basler Hebräische Drucke (1492–1866)* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1964). For Poland: Krzysztof Pilarczyk, "Hebrew Printing Houses in Poland against the Background of Their History in the World," *Studia Judaica* 7.2(14) (2004), 201–221; M. Taler and E. Fram "Apostasy, Fraud and the Beginnings of Hebrew Printing in Cracow," *AJS Review* 30.1 (2006), 31–66. Outside the Empire, for France there is Lyse Schwarzfuchs, *Le Livre hébreu à Paris au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 2004); idem, *L'Hébreu dans le Livre lyonnais au XVI siècle* (Paris, 2008); and her *L'Hébreu dans le Livre à Genève au XVI siècle* (Geneva, 2011). G. Weil, "Histoire de l'Imprimerie hébraïque en Alsace," *Bulletin des nos Communautés* 13.12,13 (1957). For the Low Countries: Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, *Hebrew Typography*. For the later period, M. Schmelzer, "Hebrew Printing and Publishing in Germany 1650–1750: On Jewish Book Culture and the Emergence of Modern Jewry," *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 33.1 (1989), 369–383. For controls on the press, S.G. Burnett, "Press Control and the Hebraist Discourse in Reformation Europe," in idem, *Christian Hebraism*, pp. 223–270.

29 Erich Zimmer, "Jewish and Christian Hebraist Collaboration in Sixteenth Century Germany," *Jewish Quarterly Review* n.s. 71 (1980), 69–88.

a common venture.³⁰ It made commercial sense and may have reduced suspicion in the face of censorship. The negotiation of Sabbath working in the print shop could be a problem, and Jewish printers blamed disfiguring typographic errors on their Christian colleagues. Both Ambrosius Froben (between 1578 and 1584) and Conrad Waldkirch (between 1593?/1598 and 1612) were Christians but involved in Hebrew printing. Christian printing of Hebrew was becoming common and Christian knowledge of Hebrew more widespread.³¹

The Growth of Christian Hebraism³²

Christian knowledge of Hebrew was not extensive in the Middle Ages, as we have seen. Nor did the language necessarily appeal to the early humanists. Erasmus was not attracted to it.³³ Nevertheless, knowledge of the language spread rapidly among Christians in the 16th century, and certainly by the end of the century competence in Hebrew, and subsequently Syriac, might have been reasonably expected of a scholar.³⁴ This growth was facilitated by the

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- 30 Deena Aranoff, "Elijah Levita: A Jewish Hebraist," *Jewish History* 23 (2009), 17–40, emphasizes the extent to which Levita's work was contingent upon a broader audience than Jewish reception alone and how he availed himself of an increasingly sustained and sophisticated non-Jewish discourse on Hebrew.
- 31 Useful statistics in S.G. Burnett, "Christian Hebrew Printing in the Sixteenth Century: Printers, Humanism and the Impact of the Reformation," *Helmantica: Revista de Filología Clásica y Hebrea* 51.154 (2000), 13–42.
- 32 Burnett, *Christian Hebraism*, includes "Christian Hebrew Printers and Publishers 1501–1600," pp. 298–301; "Birth of a Christian Hebrew Reading Public," pp. 11–48. Abraham Melamed, "The Revival of Christian Hebraism in Early Modern Europe," in Karp and Sutcliffe, eds., *Philosemitism in History*, pp. 49–66.
- 33 *coeperam et hebraicas attingere, verum peregrinitate sermonis deterritus, simul quod nec aetas nec ingenium hominibus pluribus sufficit, desisti* (to John Colet, 1504; P.S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum...* vol. 6 (Oxford, 1906–1926), p. 181). *de Hebraicis literis nihil arrego mihi, quas primoribus dumtaxat gustavi labris* (to Reuchlin, 1510, in L. Geiger, ed., *Joh. Reuchlins Briefwechsel* (Tübingen, 1875), p. 121).
- 34 A. Vanderjagt, "The Early Humanist Concern for the *Hebraica Veritas*," in Saebø, ed., *Hebrew Bible*, pp. 154–189. Also in that volume, Sophie Kessler-Mesguich, "Early Christian Hebraists," pp. 254–275, and S.G. Burnett, "Later Christian Hebraists," pp. 785–801. Rudolf Hallo, "Christian Hebraists," *Modern Judaism* 3.1 (1983), 95–116, is another earlier overview. Also F.L. Hoffmann, "Hebräische Grammatiken Christlicher Autoren bis Ende des XVI Jahrh. in der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek," *Jeschurun* 6 (1868), 33–48, 145–152; Max Steinschneider, *Christlichen Hebraisten: Nachrichten über mehr als 400 Gelehrte, welche über nachbiblisches hebraisch geschrieben haben* (Hildesheim, 1973; original 1896–1901).

spread of printing, particularly Hebrew printing, and the changes in education and scholarship it brought.³⁵ François I of France established a *lector royau* in Hebrew at his new Collège de France in Paris. The highly successful Collegium Trilingue at Louvain, founded in 1520 with the support of Erasmus and Jerome Busleyden,³⁶ brought the challenge of the new study of biblical languages to that bastion of Scholasticism. Hebrew was taught in Zurich and Geneva. Regius Chairs in Hebrew were established in Cambridge in 1540 and in Oxford in 1546. In Wittenberg and Marburg Luther's disciple Philip Melancthon taught a curriculum which laid emphasis on Hebrew. Although the Reformation considerably disrupted educational provision—particularly in Germany between 1520 and 1550 and in England between 1530 and 1550—nevertheless, by the end of the century there have been estimated to have been about 146 published editions of individual Hebrew grammars.

Hebrew Grammars

Hebrew grammars themselves also offer us insight in their treatment of the Tetragrammaton.³⁷ There was a general prejudice in favour of the ultimate antiquity of Hebrew, the language spoken by God to Adam, the patriarchs, and

35 Petegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, pp. 177–199.

36 F. Nève, *Mémoire historique et littéraire sur le Collège des Trois Langues à l'Université de Louvain* (Brussels, 1856); H. de Vocht, *Jerome Busleyden, Founder of the Louvain Collegium Trilingue: His Life and Writings* (Turnhout, 1950); J.-C. Margolin, "Erasmus et le Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense," in Fumaroli, ed., *Les Origines du Collège de France (1500–1560)*, pp. 257–278.

37 Helpfully surveyed by M. Soulié, "A propos du Tétragramme L'Interpretation qu'en donnent quelques grammaires Hébraïques au XVIe siècle," in *Colloque international sur l'Histoire de Exégèse biblique au XVIe siècle*, ed. I. Backus (Geneva, 1990), pp. 199–210, whom I follow. Santiago García-Jalón de la Lama offers a convenient but comprehensive survey of 16th-century Hebrew grammars in his *La Gramática hebrea*. His earlier *Inventario de las gramáticas Hebreas del siglo XVI de la biblioteca General de la Universidad de Salamanca* (Salamanca, 1996), contains useful bibliographic data on the books in that collection. For Portugal, Manuel Augusto Rodrigues, "Les Études hébraïques à l'Université de Coïbre (XVIe siècle)," in *L'Humanisme portugais et l'Europe XIIe Colloque International d'Études Humanistes Tours 3-13 juillet 1978* (Paris, 1984), pp. 111–160. A.J. Klijnsmit, "Some Seventeenth-Century Grammatical Descriptions of Hebrew," *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* 12.1 (1990), 77–101, for the influence of Latin and Greek grammars though noting continued dependence on older Jewish grammars. Earlier, L. Kukenheim, *Contributions à l'Histoire de la Grammaire grecque, latine et hébraïque à l'Époque de la Renaissance* (Leiden, 1951), pp. 88–129, for Hebrew grammar.

the prophets—and often seen as escaping the confusion of the Tower of Babel.³⁸ Such a creative language was readily seen, after the fashion of Plato's *Cratylus*, as offering a particular access to the divine reality. Conversely, this was a period when some were anxious to replace allegory with grammar and discover the true and natural sense of the letter. Luther notoriously remarked that the four-fold sense of mediaeval hermeneutics “tears the robe of Christ.”³⁹ Grammarians in these circumstances chose to understand the divine name according to traditional Jewish grammatical exegesis, according to the work of the Kabbalists, or in terms of the Platonic philosophy of Being. Marguerite Soulié illustrated the first of these options by reference to Sebastian Münster's *Epistola Nuncupatoria*, where he states that the Jews consider it sacrilegious to change a single letter in any of the twenty-four biblical books except in the case of the Tetragrammaton, which they often write as *yhw* to avoid sacrilege. She chose Angelus Caninius's *Institutiones Linguae Syriacae Assyriacae* (Carolus Stephanus, Paris, 1554) as an example of reaction against Christian Kabbalistic exegesis, particularly aimed at Osiander, whom we shall discuss later and whom Caninius considered more tempted by Kabbalistic trifles (*'nugae'*) than interested in Oriental languages. Specifically, in a final section, *De nomine Iesu et Iova*, designed to combat such speculation, Caninius insists that the power of Almighty God is not expressed by any combination of letters hiding deep mysteries. He observes that Jesus and the Apostles in Acts followed Jewish practice since Moses in neither articulating the Tetragrammaton nor writing it outside Scripture, but rather using “Lord.” The name itself indicates the sublime essence of God and is thus ineffable, not because it is unpronounceable but to keep it from the profanation of everyday language. Fosterus, continues Marguerite Soulié, similarly traced the Tetragrammaton from *haya* and considered it to denote the divine essence. He, however, held it had been frequently articulated in antiquity—and proof of that was that the Roman *Jovis* was derived from it, which would not have been possible if the pronunciation was not widely known. For Caninius, however, the reason why pagan oracles and non-Jews evidently knew of the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton—he was, of course, familiar with much of the pagan and Patristic evidence we have examined—was that they were informed by evil daemons who revealed to the Greek oracles the true name of the supreme God.

The Platonic interpretation of the Tetragrammaton may be illustrated by Io. Boulaese's *Hebraicum Alphabetum* (Martin Juvenis, Paris, 1576), where on page 31 he offers a word-for-word translation of the Decalogue from Hebrew to Latin.

38 Du Jon, *Eloge de la Lange hébraïque* (1580).

39 Cited by S. Berger, *La Bible au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1879), p. 74.

The Tetragrammaton is followed on the same line by ENS and an explanation follows. Cardinal Robert Bellamine (1542–1621) managed a harmonious mixture of tradition and grammar, noting that though some Fathers thought the Tetragrammaton was pronounced *iaho*, *iave*, or *yah*, the vast majority—Origen, Eusebius, Gregory of Nazianzus et al.—felt it should not be pronounced.⁴⁰ Grammatically, he suggested (but did not impose) the view that the Tetragrammaton was a third-person future *jihye* or *jiheye*—embracing, however, all the tenses, and according to Exodus Chapter 3 only belonging to God. Georgius Mayer dedicated his 1622 *Institutiones Linguae Hebraicae* to Bellamine and reproduced his teaching. Finally, mention may be made of Joshua le Vasseur, professor of Hebrew at Sedan, who in his *Grammatica Ebraea breviter et methodice Composita* was able to explain the Massoretic *qere* and *kethib* and prove the proper legitimate pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton. Pronunciation had been reserved historically to the high priest on Yom Kippur using the blessing of Numbers Chapter 6. This was forgotten after the destruction of the temple in 70 A.D., and certainly by the time of the Massorettes. Disliking *iahvo* or *iova*, he considered the Tetragrammaton to be the third-person singular future of *hayah*—*iihie*—and asserted on the basis of Revelation 1:4 that it expressed all tenses.

These notices are perhaps not entirely innocent. Though the examples examined do not stress Jewish “superstition” in the reluctance to articulate the Tetragrammaton, but rather have the name forgotten, one does notice Christians here correcting Jews on basis of their learning of Hebrew. They tend to privilege traditions external to Judaism in the Church Fathers and pagan testimony to pronunciation of the name. Recourse to the Christian New Testament and Patristics was reinforced by an awareness that the Massorettes came along a long time after the Fathers.

Christian Hebraists in Germany⁴¹

Early Hebrew studies in Germany followed in the conversionist tradition of the Council of Vienne in 1311. Petrus Nigri (Peter Georg Schwarz) (1435–1483),

40 *Inst. Linguae Hebrae.* (Rome 1580 and many times thereafter).

41 J. Perles, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der hebräischen und aramaischen Studien* (Munich, 1884); W. Bacher, *Die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft von 10 bis 16 Jahrhundert* (Trier, 1894); Walte, *Christliche Hebraisten Deutschlands*; Otto Kluge, “Die hebraische Sprachwissenschaft in Deutschland in Zeitalter des Humanismus,” *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 3 (1931), 81–97, 180–193; Zimmer, “Jewish and Christian Hebraist Collaboration,”

born in Bohemia, was a Dominican, possibly a Jewish convert, who apparently developed his views on Judaism in Salamanca in Spain.⁴² Returning to Germany, he taught Hebrew in Ingolstadt in 1470 and held a dispute in Regensburg with the Jews in 1474. The following year he wrote his *Tractatus contra Perfidos Judaeos de conditionibus Veri Messiae* (Esslingen 1475), which appears to be the first incunabulum with Hebrew characters. In 1477 he wrote *Stella Meschiah* (also printed in Esslingen). Nigri was both anti-Judaic and anti-Talmudic, though he was somewhat attracted to Kabbalistic manipulations. He explained the second word of Genesis, *br'* (he created), in Trinitarian terms as made up of the initial letters of the Hebrew words for the Son (*ben*), the Spirit (*ruach*), and the Father (*'ab*). A Thomist and a professor of scholastic philosophy at Ingolstadt, he defended the Master in his *Clipeus Thomistarum: liber questionum super arte veteri Aristotelis* (1504) and also produced a commentary on the Psalter. He preached missionary sermons in Worms.⁴³

Konrad Pellicanus (1470/1478?–1556), an Alsatian Franciscan converted to the Reformation, was also of a mind to tempt Jews to baptism. His *de modo legendi et intellegendi Hebraeum* first appeared as an addition to G. Reich's compendious textbook *Margarita Philosophica*, mainly, one suspects, to justify the transgression by the printer J. Grüniger on the privilege of J. Schott, who had printed the first edition of the *Margarita* in Strasbourg in 1503. The little grammar contains an appendix on the name of God.⁴⁴ Matthaëus Adrianus was a Jew of Spanish descent converted in Germany.⁴⁵ He was a pupil of Pellicanus and worked with the printer Johann Amerbach in Basel. Subsequently he was given the Chair of Hebrew in Heidelberg, where he taught the scholar and pastor Johann Brenz (1499–1570).

pp. 69–88. For Poland, Rajmund Pietkiewicz, "Reception of Christian Hebrew Studies in Renaissance Poland," which may be found at <http://www.academia.edu> (accessed 17 January 2013).

42 Walte, *Christliche Hebraisten Deutschlands*, pp. 70–151.

43 Nils H. Roemer, *German City, Jewish Memory: The Story of Worms* (Lebanon, N.H., 2010), pp. 28–29.

44 E. Silberstein, *Conrad Pellicanus Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Studiums der hebräischer Sprache in der ersten Hälfte des XVI Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1900), has a list of Pellicanus's manuscripts in the Kantonsbibliothek in Zurich, pp. 102–104. B. Ego [and D. Betz], "Konrad Pellicanus und die Anfänge der wissenschaftliche christlichen Hebraistik im Zeitalter von Humanismus und Reformation," in *Humanismus und Reformation: historische, theologische und pädagogische Beiträge zu dem Wechsehwirkung*, eds. R. Mokrosch and H. Merkel (Münster, 2001), pp. 73–84. For a more recent facsimile edition, Eberhard Nestle, *Conradi Pellicani de modo... Hebraeum, erster Lehr- Lese- und Wörterbuch der hebräische Sprache...* (Tübingen, 1877).

45 L. Geiger, op. cit., pp. 41–48, 134.

We shall have cause subsequently to consider one of the most significant Renaissance Hebraists, Johannes Reuchlin, in the context of his defence of the utility of post-biblical Jewish literature (in the face of the aggressive attitudes of the Cologne Dominicans) and on account of his speculations on the Tetragrammaton. We may merely note here his specific contributions to Hebrew grammar with the *De Rudimentis hebraicis*, which makes good use of the Jewish commentator and grammarian Kimhi and which he brought out in Pforzheim with T. Anshelm in 1506. A subsequent *De Accentibus et Orthographia, linguae Hebraicae*... appeared in Hagenau in 1518 from the same printer. The work of Christian Hebraists did not immediately excite the market. Reuchlin had had to put up a lot of money himself for the *De Rudimentis hebraicis*, and the book turned out to be unsellable. Reuchlin wrote to the exceptionally successful publisher Johann Amerbach in Basel looking for help, but even he was unable to shift the book at the Frankfurt book fair. A new book in an obscure language was clearly a good way to lose money.⁴⁶

The financial and career instability of early Christian Hebraists may be illustrated by the case of Reuchlin's pupil Johannes Böschenstein (1472–1540).⁴⁷ Philip Melanchthon, wishing to ally Hebrew learning to the understanding of the Scriptures, was eager to employ him in Wittenberg, but financial pressure seems to account for his subsequent wanderings, and in 1522 we find him teaching Hebrew to Zwingli in Zürich. He published an *Elementale Introductorium in Hebraeas Litteras Teutonice et Hebraice Legendas* in 1514 with the printer E. Oeglin in Augsburg; later from that city he published an *Introductio utilissima hebraice discere cupientibus* (1520), and in the same year a *Rudimenta Hebraica*, which made Kimhi yet more widely available. From Wittenberg we have his *Hebraicae Grammaticae Institutiones*, printed by J. Grunenbergius in 1518. Grunenberg clearly did not have the necessary type and the Hebrew was written into the printed book by hand, making copies of the book something of a mess.

A single broadsheet of Böschenstein, printed in Augsburg perhaps in 1518 and also bearing Melanchthon's name upon it, offers an exposition of the Tetragrammaton (Illustration 14).⁴⁸ It is dedicated to the Elector of Saxony, Frederick III,

46 Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p. 75, citing B.C. Halporn, *The Correspondence of John Amerbach: Early Printing in Its Social Context* (Ann Arbor, 2000), no. 241. Also: J.-C. Saladin, "Lire Reuchlin, Lire la Bible Sur la Préface des *Rudimenta Hebraica* 1506," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 3 (2005), 287–320.

47 L. Geiger, *Studium der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland* (Breslau, 1870), pp. 45–55, 89 f., 135.

48 Dan, ed., *The Christian Kabbalah*, p. 209, for an illustration.

who was Luther's protector. Again, the unidentified printer lacked type, and the necessary Hebrew letters, large and small, were written in by hand after the printing. The *shem hamphorash* (we are told) hides the mystery of the Trinity in its three different letters—the *yod*, the numerical value of which is ten, indicates the perfection of the Father; the *he*, the fifth letter of the alphabet, evokes the creative role of the Word, the Son. (Ps. 32:6—Ps. 33 in the English Bible—is copied in by hand in Hebrew.) It is a letter of great mystery both in Scripture and the Kabbalistic art. The *vaw* stands for the Spirit. It is the sixth letter of the alphabet (Gen. 1:31 is cited, again copied in Hebrew). The feminine ending marked by the second *he* evokes the Virgin Birth and also, as the fifth letter, the Five Wounds of Christ (Zech. 13:6 in Hebrew is copied in). This interpretation of the name is concluded by Psalm 96:11 in Hebrew, again handwritten. Outside of Scripture, we are told, the Jews only write the name as three *yods* in a circle—designating the unity of the Trinity in the divine essence. Perhaps this work has the distinction of being the first work of a Protestant Christian Kabbalist.

However, the most heroic tale of scholarly determination in the face of the difficulties of learning Hebrew in the early 16th century is surely that of Thomas Platter the Elder (1499–1582) from Switzerland, whose longevity through a century of plague seems no less remarkable than his *curriculum vitae*. He began life as a goatherd in the Valais, and in poverty he travelled through Germany, working as a rope maker and slowly advancing his education with initial studies at Sélestat. He worked under Zwingli in Zürich until the Battle of Kappel (to which he was an eyewitness and in which Zwingli was killed). Thereafter he moved to Basel, where he taught both Greek and Hebrew and worked on Classical editions with Oporinus in his print shop. His autobiography shows the educational Renaissance not merely as a matter of books and printing, but also as a personal struggle.⁴⁹

Hebrew studies were lifted to a far higher plane by the work of the Jewish scholar Elias Levita (1468–1549) and his cooperation first with the Christian Kabbalist Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1469–1532), in whose house he lived from 1515, and then from 1541 working over the Alps in Isny on the Danube (and later in Constance), where his former student Paul Fagius had invited him to oversee his press.⁵⁰ While working in Egidio's house, Levita undertook a five-year

49 E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Le Siècle des Platter (1499–1628) Tome premier: Le Mendicant et le Professeur* (Paris, 1995).

50 Fundamental for Levita is G.E. Weil, *Élie Lévitá: Humaniste et Massorète (1469–1549)*, a quite outstanding work of scholarship. I have discussed Elias's cooperation with Egidio in *Orientalism*, pp. 48–53, with details of works and bibliography. More generally, S. Brisman,

Illustriſſimo Principi ac Dño D. Fridericò Duci Saxoniae Marchioni Aſyſie
Lanegravio Turinge Sa. Ro. Imp. Electori Archimarf. et. Johann. Bſchenſtein. Jo. De.
Caef. Maximil. Humiliter ſe commendat.



¶ Sunt autē hec quattuor Elementa quae apud grecos Tetragrammaton/apud hebreos Arba offios/apud Chriſtianos nomi Dei opt. Mar. effentiale demonſtrant / dicitur autē hoc nomen ſecundū omnes docto. theolo. nomen ineffabile et ſanctiſſimū diciturqz **יהוה** ſc̄m hampho: aſch/ hoc eſt nomen ſolutionis vel expoſitionis per contrariū **Edonai** quod ſonat latine dñe vel deus **Et** ergo ſequitur qz hec elementa quattuor: nec legi nec expoſiti poſſint/ ſed denotant totū eſſe et verā eſſentia dei et potentis In hoc nomine diviniſſimo quatuor ſunt littere tm̄ numero diſſerentes miſtano occultiſſimo/ ſunt enī tantū tres littere no mine et figura diſtantes in myſterū ſanctiſſime Trinitatis a qua illud nomen ineffabile datum eſt ſc̄z **Jod** hoc Van-



¶ Prima littera ſc̄z **Jod** designat patrem in diviniſſo/ quia eſt littera decima alphabeti hebraic/ decimus autē numerus eſt perfectiſſimus/ quod neminē doctoū later/ hiñc deus pater perfectiſſimus in numero denario ſua inſtituit p̄cepta/ et perfectos faceret nos filios legis/ et filios adoptionis ut Deum. decimo/ ſcripſitqz in tabulis verba decem. **Et** Erud viceſimo **ic**

¶ Secunda littera eſt hoc/ littera gutturalis/ in gutture aſte ſormatur verbi et eſt quinta littera Alphabeti/ quia deus pater (per verbum ſuū unicū filiū **יהושע** id eſt Chriſtum noſtrum) in principio quinqz creavit/

quattuor elementa, et quinta eſſentia eſt om̄i ornata ſuo ut **Psal. 32. ברוך מוֹכֵחַ בְּכִסֵּף** hoc eſt verbo diſi celi ſaci ſunt et ſpiritu eius om̄is exercitus eorū. **Et** autē illa littera quinta Alphabeti ſc̄z hoc magni myſterij in ſacra pagina et in arte cabaliſtica

¶ Tercia littera eſt Van littera labiorum que ſunt oſciū et inſtrumentū ſpiritus/ et eſt ſexta littera Alphabeti/ quia ſpiritus quōs Dei aliſſimi in ſex diebus cuncta creavit et ornauit **Psalmo** predicto **ic. Et** Benefic puimo. **וְיִי עֲבַד וְיִי בָרַךְ יוֹם יִשְׂרָאֵל**

¶ Quarta littera ſc̄z hoepoſita in fine dictionū hebraicarū marime designat genus femininū et ſepiſſime relatio feminina nota/ tur per litteram hoc. **Voluit autē omnipotens creator quattuor litteras ſui ineffabilis nominis accipere ſimilem p̄ime/ aut t̄cie/ ſed ſecunde/ quia filius Dei **יהושיע** ſaluator mundi erat incarnandus. Ton pater non ſpiritus/ ſed filius et muliere Virgine deo et homo natiſcens/ et in humana natura per quinqz maiora vulnera designata per litteram hoc hominē de patre redimeret **Zacharia 12. וְיִי עֲבַד וְיִי בָרַךְ יוֹם יִשְׂרָאֵל****

Latine ſic et dicit ad eum quid plage vel percuffiones iſte inter manus tuas/ et dicit hiſ percuffus ſum de dōno amicōſ meorū/ et ſequitur framea ſuſcitare ſuper paſſionem meā et ſuper vitm̄ coherentem mihi dicit diſ exercitūſ percutere paſſionem et diſpergen tur oves. **Et** ſic habetis interpretationem litterarū nominis Tetragrammaton quod nomi comprehenditur ſymbolice **Psal. 96. in** hiſ verbis ſequentibus **יהוה יְהוָה וְיִי עֲבַד וְיִי בָרַךְ יוֹם יִשְׂרָאֵל**

Latine Letentur celi et exultet terra **ic.**

hoc nomen **יהוה** non ſcribitur extra Bibliam apud hebreos aut ſuper papyrum ne etiam ad parietes/ neqz deletur manūſ bus ob reuerentia Dei omnipotentis. Sed loco huius in locis extra Bibliam depinguntur tria puncta cū circulo ſic **☉** ubi notatur Trinitas ſancta incluſa circulo unitatio eſſentiae diuine.

Arba. Regius

Perſpice quid poſſint ſummum ſignancia patrem Nomina. Cum linguam queſo verere ſacram.

Dñil. Melan.

Mirifico quae ſit virtus e nomine diſce. Qui Solyas pura mente requirit opes.

¶ **Cecum Angſtae** Vin delicioſū vbe vere Chriſtianiſſima.

ILLUSTRATION 14 Johannes Böschenstein. Broadsheet on the Tetragrammaton addressed to Frederick III, Elector of Saxony (Augsburg, 1518?). The lack of Hebrew type has required the Hebrew letters to be written in by hand

project working through 167 previous Massoretic lists and producing a Massoretic concordance. It was this work which justified his contention that the Massoretic vocalization of the Hebrew Bible was not as old as the consonantal text but was the product of the Massoretes well into the Common Era. This started a long-running dispute over the authority of Massoretic vocalization which exercised both Jews and Christians. Azariah de' Rossi was the first Jewish scholar to dispute Elias's evidence, nearly forty years later in his *Me'or 'Einayim* (1574–1575) (part III, ch. 59). We shall consider the Christian discussion of the vocalization debate and its significance in discussions of the Tetragrammaton subsequently. Elias Levita was the most important Hebrew grammarian of his time, and one may note that he, at least, did not convert.

Paul Fagius, Levita's student and later employer, as both author and publisher showed a determined attempt to master the technical aspects of both Classical Hebrew and post-biblical Hebrew.⁵¹ Believing that Christ and the disciples spoke Aramaic, he also attended to that language, the better to understand their environment. In the early 1540s he published Latin versions of works by Levita with the *Tishbi* in 1541: thereafter a translation of the tractate *Pirke Avot* from the Mishnah, and also a translation of Kimhi on the Psalms (1547). In 1546 in Strasbourg he brought out an edition of *Targum Onkelos*. He produced a Hebrew grammar in 1543. He was subsequently a professor of Hebrew at Strasbourg 1544–1546, and then went to Heidelberg (1546–1549) at the invitation of the Elector Palatine Frederick II; however, rejecting the Interim Agreement, he fled with Bucer to Thomas Cranmer and was given a post at Cambridge in 1549, but he died shortly thereafter and was buried in Great St Mary's. But even this did not bring him peace from the upheavals of the Reformation. Mary Tudor had his bones disinterred and burnt. It remained for Queen Elizabeth to "rebury" him.

Finally, we may mention the German Sebastian Münster (1489–1552) who, like his teacher Konrad Pellikan (Pellicanus), was another Franciscan who became a Protestant c.1526.⁵² Known as "the German Ezra," he taught Hebrew to Calvin. He appreciated the value of Hebrew for elucidating the Old

"Elijah Levita and the Christian Hebraists," in idem, *History and Guide to Judaic Dictionaries and Concordances* (Jerusalem, 2000), pp. 49–62.

51 R. Raubenheimer, *Paul Fagius aus Rheinabern* (Grunstadt, 1957), which lists all his publications; Weil, *Élie Lévi*, pp. 238–243. J. Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens, 1983), pp. 99–119, offers an interesting characterization of Fagius as a "Christian Pharisee."

52 K.H. Burmeister, *Sebastian Münster: Versuch eines biographischen Gesamtbildes* (Basel and Stuttgart, 1963); idem, *Sebastian Münster Eine Bibliographie mit 22 Abbildungen* (Wiesbaden, 1964).

Testament, but also, like Pellikan, was much concerned with the conversion of the Jews.⁵³ Three works with specific missionary intent are first a dialogue between a Christian and a Jew of 1529 that is written in Hebrew which is rather eirenic, except for one outburst over Jewish obstinacy in rejecting Jesus as the Messiah. The second was a Hebrew version of Matthew from 1537 which we shall mention again later, where the Hebrew text was preceded by an introduction, possibly itself sufficient to deter a Jewish reader from proceeding to the Gospel text. The third, from 1539, was a revision of the first but with a more virulent anti-Judaic introduction.

About half of Münster's huge output of seventy-five works between 1527 and 1552 concerned the study of Semitic languages. He was a significant author in transmitting Jewish exegesis to Christian scholars, providing an annotated Latin Compendium of Mosaic Law (*Catalogus omnium praeceptorum legi mosaicae*, 1533) and a Latin *Yosippon* (1541). It is perhaps doubtful that Münster would have made the progress he did in sound grammar and the use of rabbinic literature merely on the basis of Pellicanus's instruction, without the help of Kimhi's works, and more particularly without the tuition of Elias Levita.⁵⁴ His achievement bore most noble fruit in his Latin version of the Old Testament printed alongside the Hebrew text and published in Basel in 1535, which was dedicated to the "invincible" King Henry VIII of England. Jewish authorities are acknowledged in the lengthy introduction and are evident in the translation and copious marginal notes. This is unlike Luther, who thought that Christians should learn grammar from the rabbis but their interpretations of the Hebrew text from the Church.

Italy⁵⁵

We have already briefly considered Soncino and Bomberg's printing and Elias Levita's scholarship. Pico della Mirandola's influence over Reuchlin, who met him in Florence in 1490, will concern us shortly. Here we may merely note the increase in conversionary activity that culminated in the 1553 papal order against the Talmud, which we have already mentioned. This marked an active

53 J. Freidman, "Sebastian Muenster, the Jewish Mission, and Protestant Antisemitism," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 70 (1979), 238 ff.

54 E.I.J. Rosenthal, "Sebastian Muenster's Knowledge and use of Jewish Exegesis," in idem, *Studia Semitica*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 127–146.

55 F. Rosenthal "The Study of the Hebrew Bible in Sixteenth Century Italy," *Studies in the Renaissance* 1 (1954), 81–91.

pursuit of large-scale conversion, previously spoken of rather passively as something expected at the end of time. There is a change in the terminology of 16th-century papal bulls, and the establishment of a conversionary programme indicates that this was a new policy.⁵⁶

France⁵⁷

The first Hebrew grammar published in France was François Tisserant's *Tabula Elementorum Hebraicorum...* (Giles de Gourmont, Paris, 1508). Tisserant was a member of the University of Paris, where Hebrew teaching had dried up at the end of the 15th century.⁵⁸ Crucial to the development of Hebrew in Paris was the king, François I, who ordered the collection of manuscripts, attempted to get Elias Levita to Paris, and then successfully managed to attract Agostino Giustiniani, author of the 1516 Polyglot Psalter. By 1524 the Dominican Hebraist Santes Pagnino (1470–1536) was in Lyon. Here he brought out his *Veteris et Novi Testamenti Nova Translatio* in 1528, a venture approved of and paid for by Pope Leo X and further defended by prefatory letters by Adrian VI and Clement VII.⁵⁹ But not everyone was to approve. William D. Lindanus, Hebraist

56 K. Stow in J. Cohn, ed., *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict* (New York, 1991), p. 423, n. 45.

57 Moché Catano, "Les Imprimeries hébraïques en France à la fin du dix-huitième siècle," in *105 Congrès national des Sociétés savantes histoire moderne*, vol. 1 (Caen, 1980), pp. 175–185; Max Engammare, "Les premières Hebraïsants chrétiens français de la Renaissance et leur usage de la littérature juive medieval," in *Les Églises et le Talmud Ce que les Chrétiens savaient du Judaïsme (XVIe–XIXe siècles)*, dir. Daniel Tollet (Paris, 2006), pp. 43–56.

58 S. Kerner, "La Première Grammaire hébraïque publiée en France," *Yod* 6.2 (1980), 7–14.

59 The translation was the fruit of thirty years' work in an effort to offer the Hebrew Old Testament and Greek New Testament Scriptures in a word-for-word Latin translation with the greatest precision possible. The work was frequently reprinted, but three recensions are discernable: an edition by Servetus which appeared in Lyon in 1542, with corrections attributed to Santes Pagnino himself; Robert Estienne's 1547 Geneva edition, in which the Old Testament translation was revised from the notes of François Vatable and the New Testament was replaced by that of Beza; and a third recension from the press of Plantin, with a text revised further in the direction of literalness by Montanus. This text was included in the Antwerp Polyglot but also sold separately as *Biblia Latina Pagnini ab Aria Montano Recognita* (Antwerp, 1572). Robert Estienne's Bible was larded with annotations from French and German Protestant writers and provoked a censure from the Sorbonne. In the preface to the second volume of the *Apparatus Sacer*, Montano defends the use of the version in the Antwerp Polyglot, though the accusation that passages no longer conformed to the mysteries of the Catholic Faith prompted the revision made for him by Franciscus Raphengius and the Lefèvre brothers.

and Bishop of Ruremonde, writing to J.W. Harleminus, the Jesuit professor of Holy Scripture and Hebrew at Louvain, 25 November 1575 makes his feelings plain *de illo ferreolo textu sive horridula Pagnini versione*. Specifically he complains about the ridiculous and impious neologism *iehoua*.⁶⁰ Pagnino taught in Avignon and Lyon until his death. To help students read the Hebrew Bible he produced a grammar, *Institutiones Hebraicae*, and a lexicon, *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae seu Lexicon Hebraicum*, based on Kimhi's *Michlol* and *Book of Roots*, respectively. In the year of his death he completed a six-volume anthology of Jewish and Christian commentators on the Pentateuch—*Catena argentea in Pentateuchum*.

Girolamo Aleandro arrived in Paris in 1508 after working with Aldus Manutius. Displacing Tissard as the leading Greek scholar, he gave private Hebrew lessons to Celse-Hugues Descousu, professor of Greek and Hebrew from 1513, and to Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), who was instrumental in persuading François I to establish the Collège de France. Girolamo complained of the high cost of Hebrew books in Paris and stated his intention of remedying the problem by producing books in Hebrew, Greek, Aramaic, and Syriac, though he seems to have left for Germany in 1514. Subsequently, this outspoken critic of Luther became a papal nuncio.⁶¹ François Vatable, who died in 1547, was a pupil of Girolamo Aleandro. Apparently the master even attracted Jews to his lectures. He certainly deployed mediaeval Jewish exegesis in his commentaries, as the title of his *Zacharias cum commentariis R. David Kimhi* (1540) indicates.⁶²

The king's *lecteurs royaux* commenced their work in Paris in March 1530. François Vatable and Agathius Guidacerius (1477–1540)—who had previously been appointed along with Pagninus to teach Hebrew in Rome in 1513 but had

60 Baldomero Macías Rosendo, *La Biblia Políglota de Amberes en la Correspondencia de Benito Arias Montani* (Ms. Estoc. A 902) (Huelva, 1998), pp. 438–443 at p. 440. *Iam ipsum Dei nomen, illud tetragrammaton ac vere anecphoniton, quantae est, obsecro, irreligiositas, ne dicam superstitionis cum novitiis rabbinis eorumque infelici discipulo Pagnino Iehoua sonare, quam nulla veterum audivit, imo merito exhorruit semper aetas! Sed hanc rem alibi persequemur, quando contra novatores nostri seculi iudaizantes demonstrabimus non esse vocum hebraicarum prononciationem nobis temere, necdum stolide aut ridicule mutandum. Sed ut de voculis horride mutatis facile conveniat, apud eos maxime qui hoc ferreo seculo ferreametiam prononciationem suo pro novatore ingenio haud aegre admittant, illud qua nos religione feramus quod Xantis istius prophetias non paucas ita rabbinico suarum appendicum deformat fermento, ut non iam Christum, sed vanas quasdam Iudaeorum fabulas in prophetiarum depravationem confictas loquantur?*

61 F. Secret, *Les Kabbalistes*, p. 151, quoting the preface of his *Opuscules* of Plutarch (1509).

62 A.J. Baumgartner, *Calvin hebraïsant et interprète de l'Ancien Testament* (Paris, 1889), p. 15.

fled the city at the time of the sack in 1527—were the first incumbents.⁶³ Agathius Guidacerius was a loyal Catholic with little time for the Reformation and had failed to be appointed to the Trilingual College in Louvain, but his period in Paris was remarkably productive, with some fifteen works known, many of them published in the 1530s.⁶⁴ Paul Paradis, a converted Jew from Venice and an expert in Talmud and Kabbalah, soon joined them. Thereafter among their successors were: A. Resault de Caligny (1540–1565), Ralph Baynes (1549–1560), the prolific Jean Mercier (c.1560–1570), whose work included a Hebrew translation of Matthew’s Gospel from Jean du Tillet’s text,⁶⁵ Johannes Quinquarboreus (1558–1587), and the exceptional Gilbert Générard (c.1570–1591), whom we shall have cause to mention in a subsequent chapter. Guillaume Postel was also a *lector royau*.

The king’s *lecteurs royaux* and his new Collège de France were viewed as something of a threat by the Sorbonne, which in 1530 censured as rash, scandalous, false, and Lutheran the notion that Holy Scripture could not be understood without a knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, and other such languages, and similarly protested a second contention that a preacher could not explain the epistle or the Gospel without these languages.⁶⁶ This reactionary attitude persisted in the Sorbonne, and it was not until 1751 that a chair of Hebrew was established there.⁶⁷

63 H. Galliner, “Agathius Guidacerius 1477?-1540: An Early Hebrew Grammarian in Rome and Paris,” *Historia Judaica* 2.1 (1940), 85–101. Agathius Guidacerius was author of the *Institutiones grammaticae hebraicae* (Giles de Gourmont, Pierre Vidoue, Paris, 1529). S. Kessler Mesguich “L’enseignement de l’hébreu et de l’araméen à Paris (1530–1560) après les oeuvres grammaticales des lecteurs royaux,” in Fumaroli, ed., *Les Origines du Collège de France (1500–1560)*, pp. 357–374. Also the earlier A. Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France depuis ses origines jusqu’à la fin du premier empire* (1893, Paris; Geneva, 1970).

64 Galliner, “Agathius Guidacerius,” pp. 100–101.

65 Galliner, “Agathius Guidacerius,” pp. 157–158.

66 Bn ms. Lat3381b, fol. 110—conclusion du 30 avril 1530. *determinatio facultatis theologie parisiensis facta aultima Aprilis anno domini millesimo quingentesimo triresimo, super duobus propositionibus. Prima propositio: La sainte Escripiture ne se peut bonnement entendre sans la langue grecque, hébraïque et aultres semblables. Censura: hec propositio temeraria est et scandalosa. Secunda propositio: Il ne se peult faire que ung predicateur explicque selon la vérité l’espistre ou l’evangile sans lesdites langues. Censura: hec propositio falso est impia et populi christiani ab auditione verbi Dei perniciose aversiva. utraque harum asertionum authores de lutherismo vehementer reddit suspectos.*

67 M. Hadas-Lebl, “Les Études hébraïques en France au XVIIIe siècle et la Creation de la première Chaire d’Écriture Sainte en Sorbonne,” *Revue des Études juives* 144.1-3 (1985), 93–126.

Jean André, a converted Jew from Padua, taught Hebrew in Bordeaux in 1553. The University of Pont-à-Mousson (now in Alsace-Lorraine), set up by Pope Gregory XIII in 1572, also offered Hebrew.⁶⁸ The city of Reims had a printing press, and we shall note shortly the presence of the exiled English Catholic Hebraist Gregory Martin in the city, though there is little evidence of any efforts to teach Hebrew there.

Leiden

Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609)⁶⁹ was brought to the new University at Leiden, and his Hebrew scholarship inspired a generation of scholars there, including Daniel Heinsius, Hugo Grotius, and Peter Cunaeus.⁷⁰ Another distinguished scholar at Leiden was Johannes Drusius, whom we have met and whom we shall meet again as a philologist. He was followed as a professor of Hebrew by the Huguenot Franciscus Junius (1545–1602), author of the *Grammatica Linguae Hebraeae* of 1590. Constantijn l'Empereur, also a professor of Hebrew, composed *Halicoth olam sive Clavis Talmudica* in 1634, as well as Latin translations of the Mishnaic tractates *Middot* (1630) and *Baba Kamma* (1637). He also patronized the efforts of Johannes Coccejus, who produced Latin versions of *Sanhedrin* and *Makkot* (1629). The Vossius dynasty of Hebraists at Leiden was founded by Gerardus Johannes Vossius, a good friend of Menasseh ben Israel, the outstanding Jewish scholar of the 17th century, whom he introduced to Christian Hebraists such as Grotius, l'Empereur, and Claude de Saumaise (Salmsius). In the next generation, Dionysus Vossius translated the chapters on idolatry (*Hilkhot Avodah Zarah*) from Maimonides's *Mishneh Torah* (1641).⁷¹

68 S. Kessler-Mesguich, "Aspect et Tendence de L'Enseignement de l'Hébreu en France du Moyen-Âge à la Fin du Dix-Septième Siècle," *Pardès* 13 (1990), 116.

69 Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1983), pp. 361–459.

70 For Grotius and Hebrew, E. Rabie, "Grotius and Judaism," in *Hugo Grotius, Theologian: Essays in Honour of G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes*, eds. H.J.M. Nellen and E. Rabie (Leiden, 1994), pp. 99–120.

71 Aaron Katchen, *Christian Hebraists and Dutch Rabbis: Seventeenth Century Apologetics and the Study of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), pp. 161–169, 178–235; J.I. Dienstag, "Christian Translators of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah into Latin," in *Baron Jubilee Volume*, eds. S. Lieberman and Salo Wittmayer (New York, 1974), pp. 287–310.

England⁷²

England may have provided France with Hebraists in the Middle Ages, but in the 16th century England was very much dependent upon French and Continental scholarship.⁷³ There was no great pool of resident Jews in England, as they had been expelled in 1299 and were not officially allowed to return until 1656. Progressively, though, the work of the rabbis became known.⁷⁴ Some found there confirmation of the truth of Christianity (Laurence Humphry, president of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1561–1589); others more interestingly sought elucidation of Christian origins (Edward Lively, who was leader of the Cambridge scholars working on the King James Bible, and Henry Ainsworth, 1571–1622). Hugh Broughton (1549–1612) openly pursued Jewish conversion. Kabbalah does not seem to have been that important to English scholars.

Before the Reformation, Catholic reformists enjoying the support of men in universities and at court were eager for the renewal of Christian life by informed piety based on a good grasp of Scripture. They offered stimulus to reform by proposing a new basis for the interpretation of Scripture based upon the original texts and their philological investigation.⁷⁵ Thereafter, the English scholars exiled under Mary were able to experience the growth of Hebrew scholarship on the Continent. Theological controversy and the Lutheran *scriptura sola* increasingly demanded a study of the Hebrew text and authoritative exegesis. Progressive scholarly work on English Bibles refined English scholarship, and after the Elizabethan Settlement the biblical tendencies of the Puritans and their many controversies assured the place of Hebrew studies.⁷⁶

G. Lloyd Jones has given an account of tuition offered in the universities and schools, and has most helpfully provided a list of Hebrew and Aramaic books owned by dons and booksellers in 16th-century Oxford and Cambridge which clearly illustrates the growing currency of Hebrew studies.⁷⁷ Of particular importance was the establishment of Regius Professorships at Oxford and

72 J.L. Mihelic, "The Study of Hebrew in England," *The Journal of Bible and Religion* 14 (1946), 94–100. Israel Baroway, "Towards Understanding Tudor-Jacobean Hebrew Studies," *Jewish Social Studies* 18.1 (1956), 15. The article is useful for older bibliography.

73 G. Lloyd Jones, *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: A Third Language* (Manchester, 1983).

74 Rumours of an English translation of the Talmud have as yet found no confirmation: S. Schechter, "A Translation of the Talmud in England in 1568?" *Jewish Quarterly Review* 2.2 (1890), 188–189.

75 Jones, *Hebrew in Tudor England*, pp. 86–114.

76 Jones, *Hebrew in Tudor England*, pp. 115–143.

77 Jones, *Hebrew in Tudor England*, pp. 180–273 and 278–290.

Cambridge by Henry VIII in 1540. The first Hebrew printing in London was by woodblocks for Richard Wakefield's *Oratio de Utilitate Trium Linguarum*.⁷⁸ W. Musculus, *Common Places of Christian Religion* (1563), uses moveable type for its Hebrew. A 1588 pamphlet on the defeat of the Spanish Armada included a fourteen-line sonnet in Hebrew by Theodore Beza.

John Fisher, later to be distinguished as the only Cardinal ever to suffer martyrdom, became principal confessor to the Queen Mother Lady Margaret in 1500. Together they were instrumental in the founding of St John's College at Cambridge. They specified that at least a quarter of the fellows were to be engaged in parish preaching, but most particularly that there should be lectures in theology and biblical languages—Greek, Hebrew, and, later, Aramaic and Syriac. St John's was destined to become the leading centre of modern theological studies in England.⁷⁹

Robert Wakefield, who matriculated among the first students at St John's, was an influential teacher and able student of the rabbis.⁸⁰ He expressed some interest in Kabbalah but explains the name of God very soberly by reference to Kimhi on Judges 5 and Maimonides in the *Moreh*. He was briefly a professor of Hebrew in Louvain, where he was succeeded by Robert Shirwood from Oxford. His pupils included Richard Pace in Sion Monastery and Cardinal Pole.⁸¹ His younger brother Thomas was Regius Professor at Cambridge. On his death his chair passed to Edward Lively: between them they held it for sixty-five years (1540–1605).

Ralph Baynes (c.1504–1560), later to be Bishop of Litchfield but deposed on Elizabeth's accession, also had connections with France. He was a professor of Hebrew in Paris in 1550 and published *Prima Rudimenta in Linguam Hebraeam* (Wechel, 1550) and *Compendium Michlol* (C. Etienne, Paris, 1554), a translation of David Kimhi's grammar.

Gregory Martin (1542?–1582), a Scholar of St John's College, Oxford, also fled Elizabeth's England in 1570, the year in which his patron the Duke of Norfolk

78 Encycl. Jud. XI, p. 481. See also Richard Rex, "The Earliest Use of Hebrew in Books Printed in England: Dating Some Works of Richard Place and Robert Wakefield," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 9.5 (1990), 517–525.

79 Eamon Duffy, *Saints, Sacrilege and Sedition 1504–1535: Religion and Conflict in the Tudor Reformations* (London, 2012), p. 137. Jones, *Hebrew in Tudor England*, p. 274, for a partial list of those who held the St John's Hebrew lectureship from 1534 to 1605.

80 J. Olszowy-Schlager, "Robert Wakefield and the Medieval Background of Hebrew Scholarship in Renaissance England," in *Hebrew to Latin: Latin to Hebrew (Colloquium at the Warburg Institute October 18–19 2004)*, ed. G. Busi (Turin, 2006), pp. 61–88.

81 A. Schaper, *Christian Hebraists in Sixteenth-Century England* (unpublished PhD dissertation, 1944), pp. 19–45, is helpful on Richard Wakefield.

was committed to the Tower, and took refuge in Cardinal Allen's College at Douai.⁸² He was ordained as a priest in 1573 and joined the faculty as a teacher of Hebrew. Five years later he moved with the College to Reims and worked as a Bible translator. In 1582 John Fogny was able to bring out his *The New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin*. The Old Testament followed in 1609 or 1610.

A few months after his New Testament, in June 1582 John Fogny printed, again in Reims, Martin's *Discoverie of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the Heretikes of our Daies, specially the English Sectaries, and of their foule dealing herein, by partial and false translations to the advantage of their heresies, in their English Bibles used and authorised since the time of the Schisme*. William Fulke, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and Vice Chancellor, was given the task of refuting him, which he did in *A Defense of the sincere and true translations of the Holie Scriptures into the English tong, against the manifold cavils, frivolous quarels and impudent slanders of Gregorie Martin, one of the readers of popish divinitie in the trayterous Seminarie of Rhemes* (George Bishop and Henrie Binneman, London, 1583).

The *Discoverie* has Hebrew words in the margin and a list of errors at the end which draw attention to the omission of vowel points from these words. It would appear that a supply of letters was at hand but that there was a shortage of vowels and Fogny could not make any more. Nevertheless, Fogny at Reims deserves to be added to the list of 16th-century French printers of Hebrew. The presence of the type contributed to its considerable impact in England and shows clearly the controversial use of Hebrew in Reformation polemic.

Within a few years of the publication of Fulke's *Defense*, William Whitaker, Master of St. John's and Regius Professor of Divinity, brought out his *Disputations on Holy Scripture against the Papists* (1588) defending the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Bible as original and combing the Vulgate for errors. Nicholas Gibbens, of Clare Hall, held no academic post and produced, it seems, only one work, *Hall Questions and Disputations concerning Holy Scripture* (1601), which is an attack on papists from the *Hebraica Veritas* and shows both good use of the rabbis and an apparent toleration for contemporary Jews.⁸³

Retrospect

Looking back in 1626, Sixtinus Amama, the Dutch professor of Hebrew at Franeker, congratulated his colleagues who eight years previously had

82 McKane, *Selected Christian Hebraists*, ch. 3, deals with William Fulke and Gregory Martin.

83 Jones, *Hebrew in Tudor England*, pp. 155–157.

celebrated the centenary of the Reformation, and in so doing had celebrated the birth of Hebrew studies among Christians in the West—the great revolution led by Erasmus and Reuchlin, then Luther and Melanchthon, had been intrinsically tied to the revival of Hebrew studies.⁸⁴ Luther's emphasis upon the Bible as the sole way to seek salvation inevitably placed biblical languages at the centre of Christian ministry. If confidence was shaken in the traditional commentaries and exegesis of the Church, then it became a matter of some urgency to be able to read the Hebrew Bible in its own language. The battle for Hebrew had been fought against the barbarians who resisted scholarship and sought only to suppress knowledge of the original Christian church. The mediaeval period had in this respect been a linguistic desert of corrupt Aristotelianism and an inappropriate veneration of Thomas Aquinas and Peter Lombard. Yet there was no cause for complacency; theologians were turning again to Metaphysics and Scholasticism, and biblical languages, particularly Hebrew, were no longer held in the appropriate respect. He appealed to his university to renew its interest in Hebrew and to push back the threatening tide of Catholic barbarism.

We have seen that Amana's account of the Middle Ages is scarcely accurate, nor should one overlook the interest of Catholic scholars in Hebrew and other Oriental languages, evidence of which we have seen and shall see in the case of Générard and Postel and—somewhat later—Richard Simon's *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* of 1678.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the growth of Hebrew studies in Europe after the Reformation is striking and becomes a disproportionately Protestant story, particularly after the Council of Trent (1545–1563) decreed that the Vulgate was the authoritative scripture for both doctrine and practice. Catholic Hebrew studies were also impeded when Clement VIII authorized the Sixto-Clementine Index of 1596 and placed on it all copies of the Talmud, even those purged of their supposedly anti-Christian calumnies. Moreover, Protestants were less comfortable with the traditional allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament and were drawn to the study of the Hebrew text on its own merits.

84 S. Amama, *Anti-barbarus Biblicus in vi libros distributos* (Amsterdam, 1628). The cited oration is sig. B8v-F2r. See Peter T. van Rooden, *Theology, Biblical Scholarship and Rabbinical Studies in the Seventeenth Century: Constantijn L'Empereur (1591–1648) Professor of Hebrew and Theology at Leiden* (Leiden, 1989), pp. 69–70.

85 I have paid particular attention to Catholic scholarship in Wilkinson, *Orientalism*. Catholic Syriac studies in the second half of the 16th century are now considered in Robert J. Wilkinson, "Syriac Studies in Rome in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century," *Journal for Religion, Literature and Culture in Late Antiquity* 6 (2012), 55–74.

The most vital centre of Hebrew studies became in time the Protestant United Provinces, which after the settlement of Jews from Portugal in 1590s boasted a thriving Jewish community and a vigorous Hebrew publishing industry, as described by Van Rooden. Seventeenth-century Calvinists tended to see themselves as a “new Israel” and to understand the events of their own times in the light of Old Testament history, and this placed the study of Hebrew near the centre of intellectual life.⁸⁶

We have now seen the remarkable growth of Christian Hebraism in the 16th and 17th centuries. This was fortified by the emergence of, as it were, dynasties of Hebrew scholars at the great universities: Sebastian Münster and the two Buxtorfs in Basel, the Vossiuses at Leiden, the Carpzovs in Leipzig, and several others.

Finally, an index of the spread of Christian Hebraism across Europe may be found in a pupil of Giulio Bartolucci, a professor of Hebrew at the Collegium Neophytorum and author of the *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinnica* (1675–1693)—Carlo Giuseppe Imbonati in his *Bibliotheca Latina-Hebraica sive de Scriptoribus Latinis, qui ex diversis nationibus contra Judaeos, vel de re hebraica utcumque scripsere* (Rome, 1694) was able to list no fewer than 1300 works of Christian Hebraists.⁸⁷

86 See, for example, Eric Nelson, *The Hebrew Republic: Jewish Sources and the Transformation of European Political Thought* (Cambridge, Mass., 2010).

87 Burnett, *Christian Hebraism*, pp. 279–302, for a modern list of Christian Hebraist authors, printers, and publishers.

The Early Christian Kabbalists and the Tetragrammaton¹

Giovanni Pico della Mirandola

Most of what Pico has to say about the Tetragrammaton is found in the 900 *Conclusiones*, or theses, which he planned to debate in Rome in 1486. This extraordinarily daring and innovative programme blended Classical, Late Antique, and mediaeval philosophy; Christian Kabbalah; the Hermetic tradition; and Pythagorean mathematics into a syncretic system designed to expose the unity and power of Ancient Truth and its ability to work both reformation and miracles. We find in the theses reference to pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, Joachim of Fiore, and Ramon Lull. The antecedents of this bold project may lie in the highly syncretistic Neoplatonic systems developed in Late Antiquity after Plotinus—as in Proclus's *Platonic Theology*, for example. They find expression in the 15th and 16th centuries in the notion of the *prisci theologi* and with the contention that great minds of antiquity—Orpheus, Hermes Megistus, Pythagoras, and Plato—shared a secret tradition derived ultimately from Adam or Moses and expressive of Christian Truth.² The conviction of the existence of this arcane Hermetic tradition is characteristic of many of our sources and is also, of course, characteristic of the Alchemists.³ The openness of Medici Florence to the generous integration of these diverse traditions no doubt provided a sympathetic context for the development of Christian Kabbalah. The details of the arrival of Greek material in the West after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 are well known, but the extraordinary effervescence in European culture in Florence was also stimulated by the first major synthesis of

1 P. Beitchman, *Alchemy of the Word: Cabala of the Renaissance* (Albany, 1998); Moshe Idel, *Kabbalah in Italy 1280–1510: A Survey* (New Haven, 2011), discussing “Jewish Kabbalah in Christian Garb,” pp. 227–236.

2 D.P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology* (London, 1972), for an overview of the Hermetic tradition; Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London, 1964); and succinctly but expertly Antoine Faivre, *The Eternal Hermes from Greek God to Alchemical Magus* (Grand Rapids, 1995).

3 For a general overview, see again Antoine Faivre, “L’Esoterismo cristiano dal XVI al XX secolo,” in *Storia della Religioni*, ed. H.-C. Puech (Rome/Bari, 1977), pp. 77–103. For the study of Occultism in the West from the Renaissance on, W.J. Hanegraaf, *Esotericism and the Academy* (Cambridge, 2012).

Renaissance thought and Kabbalah. (The earlier writings of Maestro Alfonso da Valladolid (Abner of Burgos) in the late 13th and early 14th century, and those of the 15th-century Paulus de Heredia, both of whom we have already discussed, were not printed, nor were they apparently quoted by Pico.) We shall avoid the essentialist debate over the precise nature and definition of Christian Kabbalah, being content uncontroversially to consider as such those generally so considered.

The Church's theologians took fright at several of Pico's audacious proposals (Pico was condemned by Innocent VIII but later absolved of heresy by his successor Alexander VI), and the debate—surely the largest scholastic encounter ever envisaged—did not take place. This has had the inconvenient consequence that we do not really know how Pico would have conducted himself in that debate, nor is the underlying structure of this enormous number of theses—which he called his new philosophy—necessarily apparent to us. Moreover, the integrity of the text subsequently presented by his nephew Gian Francesco Pico has also been suspected.⁴

Nonetheless, Pico without ambiguity declares that Kabbalah is the key to understanding the marvelous power of Christ's name, that the Tetragrammaton contained the secret of the second and third persons of the Trinity, and that the medial letter "shin" inserted into the Tetragrammaton concealed the mystery of God become man.⁵

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- 4 Gian Francesco Pico, ed., *Pico della Mirandola Omnia Opera* (1557–1573, reprinted Hildesheim, 1969). Modern editions are: B. Kieszkowski, ed., *Conclusiones sive Theses DCCCC* (Geneva, 1973); (ed.) A. Biondi, *Conclusiones nongentas: Le novecento Testi dell' anno 1486* (Florence, 1995); and S.A. Farmer, *Syncretism in the West: Pico's 900 Theses (1486)* (Tempe, Ariz., 1998). The last of these three is most critical of the two previous editors, whose work he sees as progressive corruption. Farmer, pp. 151–171, describes the extraordinary story of Pico's papers after his death.
- 5 F. Secret, "Pico della Mirandole e gli inizi della Cabala christiana," *Convivium* n.s. 25 (1957), 31–47; H. Greive, "La kabbale chrétienne de Jean Pic de la Mirandole," in *Kabbalistes Chrétiens*, eds. A. Faivre and F. Tristan (Paris, 1979), pp. 159–180; C. Wirszubski, "L'ancien et le nouveau dans la confirmation kabbalistique de christianisme par Pic de la Mirandole," in Faivre and Tristan, eds., *Kabbalistes Chrétiens*, pp. 181–194; Alexander Thumfahrt, "Readings on Cabala: Giovanni Pico della Mirandola," in *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2, eds. Judit Taragona Borrás and Angel Sáenz-Badillos (Leiden, 1999), pp. 83–92. Stephane Toussaint, "Ficin, Pic de Mirandole, Reuchlin et les Pouvoir des Names," in *Christliche Kabbala*, ed. W. Schmidt-Biggemann (Ostfildern, 2003), pp. 67–76. Also, W. Schmidt-Biggemann, "History and Pre-History of the Cabal of JHSUH," in Busi, ed., *Hebrew to Latin*, pp. 223–242.

By the name *yod, he, vav, he*, which is the ineffable name that the Kabbalists say will be the name of the Messiah, it is clearly known that he will be God, the Son of God made man through the Holy Spirit, and that after him the Paraclete will descend over men for the perfection of mankind.⁶

Or again:

Whoever is profound in the science of the Kabbalah can understand that the three four-letter names of God, which exist in the secrets of the Kabbalists, through miraculous appropriation should be attributed to the three persons of the Trinity like this: so that the name *'hyh* is that of the Father, the name *yhwh* of the Son, the name *'dny* of the Holy Spirit.⁷

Pico exploits the unrestrained links of the Kabbalists between the emanations of God, the divine names, the days of creation, the names and activities of the Patriarchs, the four winds, the four directions, the letters of the Hebrew alphabet and their shapes, and yet more besides; by now, we expect no less. But one is perhaps less prepared for the overwhelming finality of Pico's statement that "there is no science which gives us more certainty of Christ's divinity than Magic and Kabbalah." Quite what Pico meant here is disputed: Frances Yates found the text not subsequently explained and conjectured that Pico might have intended to present the Eucharist as "a kind of Magia."⁸ A risky strategy, one might think. S.A. Farmer, on the other hand, draws attention to a passage in Pico's *Apology*, where Pico distinguishes between Natural Magic and that part of Kabbalah which is not a revealed science and, on the other hand, God's divine power. His argument appears to be: Given that we know from Scripture that Christ performed miracles, and because we know these were done not by natural magic or Kabbalah, they were therefore done through the power of his divinity. In this way the strong proof is derived.⁹

Pico's remarks on Kabbalah are presented in two sequences of theses: the *Conclusiones Cabalisticæ Numero XLVII secundam secretam doctrinam*

6 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, pp. 526–527. On this passage see now Idel, *Ben*, pp. 510–511. The equation between the three divine names and the three Sephiroth, *Keter, Tipheret, and Malchut*, was commonplace in late 13th-century Kabbalah in Castile.

7 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, pp. 522–523.

8 Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, pp. 105–106. See also her "The Occult Philosophy in the Italian Renaissance: Pico della Mirandola," in her *Occult Philosophy*, p. 172

9 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, pp. 126–127, quoting *Opera* pp. 171–172.

sapientum hebraeorum Cabalistarum, quorum me moria sit semper in bonum are perhaps most striking from our point of view for the systematic attempts made to integrate the *Sephiroth*, the Kabbalistic emanations of God, with the Trinity and the messianic role of Jesus.

The *Conclusiones Cabalisticæ Numero LXXI [I] secundum opinionem propriam, ex quis hebraeorum sapientum fundamentis Christianam religionem maxime confirmentes* are frankly another attempt to convert the Jews: the Trinitarian interpretation of the divine names, the *shin* in Jesus' name, and the relationship between the Tetragrammaton and seventy-two-letter name are familiar to us.

Quite how we should conceive of Pico's own magical doctrines is a matter for debate. Frances Yates drew strong continuities with Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) and stressed particularly the “practical” aspects of this magic.¹⁰ S.A. Farmer considers this influence overstated, not least for chronological reasons, and argues for a more contemplative (ultimate) goal for Pico's magic.¹¹ Pico's magic does, however, speak of a “dark side.” Parallel to the orderly emanation of reality from God, there is a “left hand coordination,” a mirror image of reality presided over not by God but by daemons. B.P. Copenhaver proposed that Pico's 72 *Kabbalistic Conclusiones According to his Own Opinion* (the significance of the number is obvious) constituted an angelic amulet to call down the archangel Metatron and repulse the evil daemon Azazel.¹² Farmer again prefers to see rather a mystical ascent suggested by the *Theses* than talismanic magic.¹³ These matters are made no clearer by Pico's own subsequent *Disputationes adversus Astrologiam*, which appears in several respects to contradict the *Theses* and denounce a genealogy of superstitious folly inherited from Egypt and Chaldaea. The work has been seen as a palinode, perhaps a

10 Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, pp. 84–116. Dame Frances, drawing upon her colleague's work (D.P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella* (1958; State College, Pa., 2000)), described the 900 theses as “indeed the great charter of Renaissance Magic, of the new type of magic introduced by Ficino and completed by Pico” and as “absolutely fundamental for the whole Renaissance.”

11 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, pp. 116–132, 171–176.

12 B.P. Copenhaver, “L'Occulto in Pico. Il Mem chiuso e le Fauci spalancate dei Azazel: la Magia cabalistica di Giovanni Pico,” in *G. Pico della Mirandola Convegno internazionale di Studi nel Cinquecentesimo Anniversario della Morte 1494–1994*, vol. 1, ed. C. Garfagnini (Florence, 1997), pp. 213–237, and subsequently his “Number, Shape and Meaning in Pico's Cabala: The Upright Tsade, the Closed Mem and the Gaping Jaws of Azazel,” in *Natural Particulars: Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe*, eds. A. Grafton and N. Siraisi (Cambridge, Mass., 1999), pp. 25–76.

13 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, pp. 516–517.

pseudo-palinode, or a text manipulated by Pico's nephew. Fortunately we do not have to decide on these matters.¹⁴

Pico's sources were investigated in depth by Chaim Wirszubski in a work which appeared posthumously from his editors.¹⁵ He believed that Pico used translations made for him by his Hebrew teacher Flavius Mithridates from Menachem Recanti's early 14th-century Hebrew *Commentary on the Pentateuch* and some other works. Wirszubski's work is indispensable, but the precise extent of Pico's reliance upon Mithridates for his knowledge of Recanti when drawing up the *Theses* may be open to doubt.¹⁶

There is nonetheless substantial continuity (perhaps falling short of citation) between Pico's theses and material from Raymund Martin's *Pugio Fidei*, the *Ensis Pauli* of Paulus de Heredia, and the *Zelus Christi* of Petro de la Cavalleria.¹⁷ Pico's use of Gematria, the manipulation of the numerical values of Hebrew words, is enthusiastic and prepares us for the latter work of Reuchlin. Pico himself compares his *scientiam alphabetariae revolutionis* with the *Ars combinadi* of Ramon Lull (c.1235–1316), and others have found here the influence of Abraham Abulafia.¹⁸ These procedures, of course, leave the exegete total freedom. (Scholem refers to a Kabbalistic manuscript in Oxford which offers seventy-two different methods of Gematria!¹⁹) The fuller scope of Pico's syncretism, though, is perhaps the most striking feature of his proposed debate. Chaim Wirszubski otherwise found his lasting contribution to Christian Kabbalah not in his Christianizing interpretation of existing Jewish Kabbalistic texts (which was, as we have seen, known before) but in his own Christian

14 Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, pp. 133–149.

15 Chaim Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism* (London, 1989), see also idem, *Flavius Mithridates, Sermo de Passione Domini* (Jerusalem, 1963).

16 F. Secret, "Nouvelle Précisions sur Flavius Mithridates, Maître de Pic de la Mirandole et Traducteur de Commentaires de Kabbalah," in *L'Opera et il Pensiero di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola nella Storia dell' Umanesimo*, vol. 2 (Florence, 1965), pp. 169–187, 181; Farmer, *Syncretism in the West*, pp. 344–345.

17 *Tractatus Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et Infideles... Caesaraugusta anno 1450 compositus* (Venice, 1592), f34r, 90r, 91v, 92r, 108v, 109r.

18 Umberto Eco, "Rapporti tra *revolutio alphabetaria* e Lullismo," in Garfagnini, ed., *G. Pico della Mirandola Convegno internazionale*, vol. 1, pp. 13–28. Also, Paolo Rossi, "The Legacy of Ramon Lull in Sixteenth-Century Thought," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1961), 183–213. H.J. Hames, "Between the March of Anacona and Florence: Jewish Magic and Christian Text," in Fanger, ed., *Invoking Angels*, pp. 294–312, discusses the translation of Lull's *Ars brevis* in terms of Abulafian ideas by Yohanan Alemanno, Pico's Hebrew teacher.

19 G. Scholem, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 341–342.

application of recognizable Kabbalistic *methods* to the confirmation of Christianity.²⁰

Reuchlin

The publication of the Christian Hebraist Reuchlin's *Augenspiegel* of 1511 brought controversy on both sides of the Alps.²¹ In early 1510 a converted Jew named Johann Pfefferkorn approached Reuchlin and sought help in the destruction of Hebrew books in accordance with an order made by the Emperor Maximilian at the behest of the Dominicans—not a position with which Reuchlin was sympathetic. The Cologne Dominicans considered *Augenspiegel* a defence of the Talmud and other rabbinic literature which they wished to see prohibited to the Jews, in order to remove an impediment to their conversion. A commission in Rome to consider the matter was presided over by the Cardinal of St. Mark's, Domenico Grimani, a Doge's son who had purchased Pico della Mirandola's library. Reuchlin had argued, apparently successfully, that as the Jews were not Christians, their literature could hardly be treated as heretical. Congratulations followed. The Christian Kabbalist and Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, who probably sat on the commission, wrote to thank Jaques Lefèvre d'Étaples for his previous letter of support.²² But on 23 June 1520 the pope, possibly motivated by some fear of Lutheranism, revoked the decision and forbade the circulation of the book as offensive, scandalous, and unlawfully favourable to the Jews.²³

This notorious controversy apart, Reuchlin nurtured an interest in Jewish literature from the perspective of a Christian Kabbalist. He had been inspired by a meeting with Pico and offered his *De Arte Cabalistica* to Leo X, a pope who had family connections with the Medicis of Florence. It was from the Florence

20 Wirszubski, *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter*, pp. 161–169, especially p. 168.

21 For detail and bibliography, Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, pp. 53–54. For Egidio on the Tetragrammaton, see now Brian Copenhaver and Daniel Stein Kokin, "Egidio da Viterbo's *Book on Hebrew Letters*: Christian Kabbalah in Papal Rome," *Renaissance Quarterly* 67.1 (2014), 1–42, esp. pp. 15–16.

22 We shall consider Lefèvre's use of Reuchlin later.

23 E. Rummel, *The Case against Johann Reuchlin: Religion and Social Controversy in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Toronto, 2002); A. Shamir, *Christian Perceptions of Jewish Books: The Pfefferkorn Affair* (Copenhagen, 2011); D.H. Price, *Johannes Reuchlin and the Campaign to Destroy Jewish Books* (Oxford, 2011); Daniel O'Callaghan, *The Preservation of Jewish Religious Books in Sixteenth-Century Germany: Johannes Reuchlin's Augenspiegel* (Leiden, 2013).

of Ficino and Pico that Reuchlin took his interests in the *prisci theologi*, syncretism, and Kabbalah. Significantly, this was not primarily for polemical purposes but as independently constitutive of real Christianity.²⁴ The position may not have been terribly stable—they were finding Truth in the texts of a religious competitor—but it was to prove extraordinarily influential.

Reuchlin wrote the *De Arte Cabalistica* in 1517, just as he thought the affair was settled. His earlier *De Verbo Mirifico* of 1494 will attract our attention first.²⁵

Reuchlin in the *De Verbo Mirifico* (*The Miracle-Working Word*) does not appear much interested in the emanations theosophy of Kabbalah, its notions of creation, or its views on the relations of God with the world and mankind. His interest is focused on the technical numerological manipulations which arise from the fact that the letters of the Hebrew alphabet also function as number symbols. The status of the Hebrew alphabet is itself significant. It is not of human contrivance but given to Adam by God himself, and it is through Hebrew that God wishes his secrets to be known to man. The true field of contemplation is the words, syllables and letters—even their shapes—and the vowels of Hebrew. They are all full of sacred meanings.

We touch here upon the “linguistic ontology” which attracted the Christian Kabbalists, a Platonic alternative to nominalist positions: the creation of the world was effected essentially by the manipulation of sacred letters. This is similar (at least in its anti-nominalist features) to Origen’s views on the power of divine names and the working assumptions of the magicians. It is characteristic of much of the early modern discussion of the Tetragrammaton, and its eventual passing perhaps more than anything else changes the nature of subsequent discussions of the divine name.²⁶

The work is presented as a conversation between three fictional philosophers. In Book I Sidonius the Epicurean is allowed to defend his unhelpful materialistic and fatalistic notions, which, of course, are quite incompatible with what follows. In Book II a more acceptable account of Jewish Kabbalah is

24 Joseph Dan, “The Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin and its Historical Significance,” in Dan, ed., *The Christian Kabbalah*, pp. 55–96. Also, briefly, Frances A. Yates, “The Occult Philosophy of the Reformation: Johannes Reuchlin,” in her *Occult Philosophy*, pp. 23–28.

25 Both published in a facsimile from Friedrich Frommann Verlag, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, 1964. A translation and facsimile of the *De Arte* is Martin Goodman and Sarah Goodman, eds., *On the Art of the Kabbalah: Johann Reuchlin* (Lincoln, Neb., 1993), with an introduction by Moshe Idel on Pythagoras in Reuchlin and other Kabbalists.

26 I take the term “linguistic ontology” from K. von Stuckrad, *Locations of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Esoteric Discourse and Western Identities* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 89–110.

392 DE VERBO MIRIFICO
 debunt omnes terrarum populi, quòd nomē Te-
 tragrammaton vocatū erit super te. Qui qui-
 dem aceruus orationis ex istis tribus videli-
 cet, Nomen Tetragrammaton Vocatum, simul
 collectus, omnino iuxta Cabalam Hebræorum
 per **ו** Schin frequenti vsu intelligitur, vt si
 vltima respondeat primis, nihil aliud hæc pro-
 phetia cõtineat, quàm si audieris vocē **יהוה**,
 hoc est quando Tetragrammaton fiet audibile,
 id est, effabile, tunc nomen Tetragrammaton
 vocatum per **ו** Schin, erit super te, haud secus
 atq; si diceret, Si nomen ineffabile Tetragram-
 maton oporteat fieri effabile, necessario vocabi-
 tur per consonãtem que appellatur **ו** Schin,
 vt fiat **יהוהו**, qui erit supra te, caput tuū
 & dominus tuus. Benedictus sit Deus & pa-
 ter domini nostrī **יהוהו** Ihsuh Christi,
 qui desuper instillat nobis cognitionem verī
 nominis vnigeniti filij sui & saluatoris nostrī,
 vel secundū Græcos sanatoris nostrī. Hoc enim
 nomen à medendo & sanando deriuant Græ-
 corum autores. Hebræorum verò grammatici
 à saluando, vt idem esse **יהוהו** Ihsuh pu-
 tent quod saluator. Atqui saluator commune
 nomen est, **יהוהו** Ihsuh autem maximè
 propriū, ita quod nulli alteri nisi filio Dei in-
 carnato conueniat. Facit hoc varietas literarū
 ex quibus dictio constat, quali à seculo non est
 audita.

ILLUSTRATION 15 Page of Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* (1494) from the Lyon 1522 edition. The Hebrew letter shin is inserted into the Tetragrammaton to make the name of Jesus

given by Baruch, exposing the ancient wisdom and power of the divine names, *Sephirot* and Tetragrammaton. But in Book III, Capnion (Reuchlin himself) speaks to declare the superiority of the “one supreme miracle-working and blessed name,” *yhswh*, by which the ineffable Tetragrammaton is vocalized as the Word, is incarnate in Jesus, and is the means by which Jesus worked his miracles (Illustration 15).²⁷ The conception here is frankly magical and does not avoid a problem we have suggested Pico may have anticipated—if Jesus used Kabbalah to do his miracles, that makes him no more than a magician; if it was his divine power which enabled him to do them, then in what way is the miracle-working word useful or of interest to the reader who is not divine?²⁸ Finally, perhaps it ought to be stressed again for those unfamiliar with Hebrew that inserting /s/ into the Tetragrammaton does not spell Joshua or Jesus. Friedman describes this philological impossibility as just as linguistically feasible as adding a letter /q/ to the middle of the English word *Lord*.²⁹ Lefèvre d'Étaples, at least, was aware that Pico, Cusanus, Reuchlin, and others were simply wrong here: we shall consider his comments below.

It is, however, of interest to notice the printer's mark of Reuchlin's printer, Thomas Anshelm (c.1470–1522/1524?) (Illustration 16). As it occurs on the final page (Nv verso) of Reuchlin's *Defensio...contra calumniatores suos Coloniensis* (Tübingen, 1514), it comprises a monogram of the printer's initials, ATB, in an orb; above the orb is a Hebrew Tetragrammaton displayed on an arc, under which, between the first and last two letters, appears a medial *shin*. There seems little doubt where this very early, but distinctive, printed representation of the (supplemented) Tetragrammaton came from.

The *De Arte Cabalistica* was written twenty-three years later. It presents another conversation, this time between Philolaus, a Pythagorean; Marranus, a Mohammedan; and Simon the Kabbalist.³⁰ This second work is somewhat

27 For interesting remarks on how Reuchlin may have misunderstood Jewish comments on the “Completion of Divine Name in the Messianic era”: Moshe Idel's introduction to Goodman and Goodman, eds., *Art of the Kabbalah*, pp. xix–xxi. Also E.R. Wolfson, “Language, Secrecy and the Mysteries of the Law: Theurgy and the Christian Kabbalah of Johannes Reuchlin” in Fanger, ed., *Invoking Angels*, pp. 312–340.

28 For the magic, Charles Zika, “Reuchlin's *De Verbo Mirifico* and the Magic Debate of the late Fifteenth Century,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 39 (1976), 104–138. Friedman, *Most Ancient Testimony*, pp. 71–98, discusses Reuchlin's Kabbalistic work. He makes the point about magic or divinity on p. 78, where he also makes it clear he considers the work “a failure,” a judgement he expands pp. 78–81 to conclude that the work was “unsophisticated, uneducated and in the final analysis, un-Christian.”

29 Op. cit., pp. 80–81.

30 On this figure, see Moshe Idel's introduction to Goodman and Goodman, eds., *Art of the Kabbalah*, pp. viii–xi.

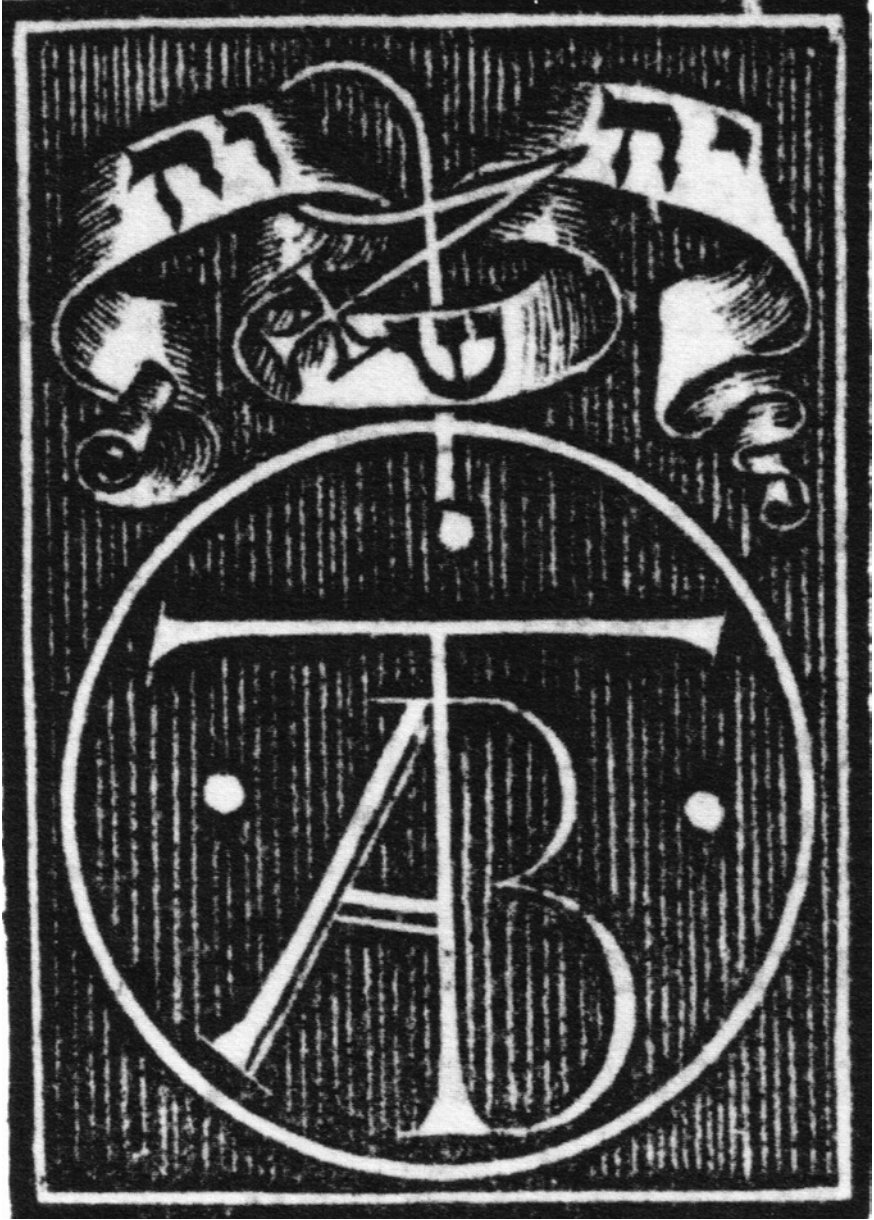


ILLUSTRATION 16 *Printer's mark of Reuchlin's printer, Thomas Anshelm Badensis, showing the shin inserted into the Tetragrammaton to make the five-letter name of Jesus*

more philosophical than the *De Verbo Mirifico* and speaks of a Neoplatonic universe in which the Kabbalah can help in passing from sense perceptions to illumination by the bridge of the *Sephiroth*, which are themselves interpretable in numerical terms. A series of dualities are developed matching this two-tiered universe—between the Work of Creation and that of the Chariot (the Creation of the World and the Creator's relationship to Mankind); the Talmud and Christianity; and the Tetragrammaton and the Pentagrammaton *yhswh*. Across these distinctions it is numbers which give theoretical and mystical meaning coherence and unity.³¹

Thus we find enumerated the different techniques of verbal manipulation—*gematria*, *notarikon*, *themurah*, and *atbash*—and speculations and relationships between 10, 32, 50, 72, etc. and divine names, gates of wisdom, paths of wisdom, etc. We discover again, after all this, that the 12-letter name means “Father, Son and Holy Ghost” and the 42-letter name means “The Father is God, the Son is God, the Holy Spirit is God, three in one, one in three,” but no real Kabbalistic proof is offered for the critical Pentagrammaton *yhswh*. The disappointed reader is referred to Jerome Friedman, who obviously felt this lack so keenly that he produced his own.³²

Reuchlin's Jewish sources appear to be Abraham Abulafia's student, the Spanish Joseph Ibn Gikatilla (1248–1325). His works *Ginnat Egoz* (*Garden of Nuts*), on alphabetic manipulation, and *Sha'are Orah* (*Paths of Illumination*), on the *Sephiroth*, are both used, as is the *Sepher Yetzirah*, which no doubt showed Reuchlin the importance of language in creation and of numbers in describing God's relation to the world.³³ Gershom Scholem identified Codex Halberstamm 444 (now Mic.1887 in the Jewish Theological Seminary) as the manuscript from which Reuchlin obtained most of his Kabbalistic sources, though it has been questioned whether this was the exact codex used and not one very like it.³⁴ His use of the material in this codex was haphazard to the point of appearing almost random.

The evident influence of Reuchlin will be apparent in those Christian Kabbalistic scholars we shall shortly examine. Francesco Giorgi and John Dee also work from him. Yet it would be wrong to suggest that all Christian Hebrew

31 G. Javary, “A propos du Thème de la Sekina: Variation sur le Nom de Dieu,” in Favre and Tristan, eds., *Kabbalistes Chrétiens*, pp. 281–306.

32 Friedman, *Most Ancient Testimony*, pp. 90–92.

33 Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia Perennis*, p. 105ff., for use of Gikatilla's Kabbalah similarly by Ricius.

34 See Moshe Idel's introduction to Goodman and Goodman, eds., *Art of the Kabbalah*, pp. xvi–xix.

studies in the 16th century were Kabbalistic, or even sympathetic.³⁵ Erasmus did not particularly like Hebrew, as we have seen. He was definitely not sympathetic to Kabbalah.³⁶ His comments in *The Praise of Folly* make this clear:

I know of one notable fool—there I go again, I meant to say scholar—who was ready to expound the mystery of the Holy Trinity to a very distinguished assembly... He expounded the mystery of the name of Jesus showing with admirable subtlety that the letters of the name seemed to explain all that could be said about Him... He amazed his audience even more when he treated the letters of the name mathematically. The name, Jesus, was equally divided into two parts with the letter 's' left in the middle. He then proceeded to point out that...this connection showed that Jesus took away the sins of the world. His listeners, especially the theologians, were so amazed at this new approach that some came near to being overtaken by that same mysterious force that transformed Niobe to stone.³⁷

Writing privately to the Hebraist Wolfgang Capito, he is disparaging:

I wish you were more content with Greek rather than these Hebrew studies, although I do not reprehend them, I see that race is full of the most inane fables and succeeds only in bringing forth a kind of fog. Talmud, Kabbalah, Tetragrammaton, Gates of Light: what more titles! I would rather have Christ tainted by [the Scholastic] Scotus, than by that nonsense. Italy has many Jews, Spain has hardly any Christians. I fear that this will be an opportunity to the long-suppressed plague to rise up again and I wish the Christian church did not give such weight to the Old Testament! It was given for a time only and consists of shadows, yet is it almost preferred to Christian writings.³⁸

Michael Servetus, with the exasperation of a non-Trinitarian, put it more bluntly:

35 Friedman, *Most Ancient Testimony*, offers a typology of several different Christian approaches to Hebraica.

36 Charles A. Zika, "Reuchlin and Erasmus: Humanism and Occult Philosophy," in idem, *Exorcising Our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 69–98.

37 J.P. Dolan, trans., *Essential Erasmus* (New York, 1964), p. 151, quoted by Friedman, *Most Ancient Testimony*, p. 93.

38 Allen, *Ep.* 298, 19–28.

O monsters of the world, that God should be a jest to us because the endings of words requires it and that we should confess a plurality in God because one word requires it and not another, as though Hebrews, Greeks and Barbarians ought to have nouns ending in -tia [*substantia, essentia, entia*] so that all languages may have a fixed rule for making sport of God.³⁹

Paul Ricius

A convert from Judaism was responsible, together with Reuchlin, for a significant increase in Christian knowledge of Judaism at the beginning of the 16th century. Paul Ricius (d. 1541) was converted by the Portuguese Franciscan Gometus in 1505.⁴⁰ Erasmus, no lover of Kabbalah, as we have seen, found him an enchanting conversationalist. In 1514 he was translating the Talmud at the court of Maximilian I. A friend of Reuchlin, he defended him against the Cologne Dominican Jacob Hochstraten. In 1530 he was ennobled as Baron von Sprintzenstein. Thereafter he became a physician at the court of the Emperor Ferdinand, who recommended him to Clement IV as coadjutor to the Bishop of Trieste.⁴¹ Maximilian asked him to prepare a Latin version of the Talmud: of this we have only *Berachoth*, *Sanhedrin*, and *Makkoth*, the earliest Mishnaic Tractates known in Latin.

Ricius wrote *Aphoristae in Cabalistarum Eruditionem cum Digressionibus Isagogae* in 1509 and *In Cabalistarum seu Allegorizantium Eruditionem Isagogue* in 1510, similarly printed in Augsburg.⁴² The later work, which caught the attention of Athanasius Kircher, explains the purpose of Kabbalah in preparation for the later *Porta Lucis*. It links Aristotelian psychology to distinctive

39 *De Trinitatis Erroribus* (Hagenau, 1531), p. 36a, quoted in Friedman, *Most Ancient Testimony*, p. 93.

40 Paulus Ricius or Paulus Israelita found all the doctrines of his new faith in Kabbalah and wrote an *Apologeticus Sermo* defending it against von Hoogstraten (J. Hockstraten, *Destructio Cabale seu Cabalistiche perfidie abs I. Reuchlin Capniae iampridem in lucem edite*. Cologne, 1519). See Secret, *Les Kabbalistes*, pp. 87–97, and idem, “Notes sur P. Ricius,” *Rinascimento* 11.2 (1960), 169–172. Ricius commented freely on the Tetragrammaton: the initial *yod* with a numerical value of 10 represents a beginning and unity, the 10 being achieved by the Three Persons of the Trinity and the Seven Gifts of the Spirit....

41 S.I. Ramos Maldonado, “La obra latina del converso Paulus Ricius (d. 1541/1542): catalogación bibliográfica,” *Sefarad* 69.2 (2009), 397–425, is an essential bibliographic aid. Schmidt-Biggemann, *Philosophia Perennis*, pp. 93–116.

42 English translation of *In Cabalistarum Seu Allegorizantium* in J.L. Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala* (New York, 1944), pp. 67–74.

techniques of Bible reading to account for the production of heightened intellectual states that result in prophecy—the purpose of Kabbalah.⁴³ In 1514 he produced an *apologia* for the Trinity in his *In Apostolorum Symbolum Dialogus* and briefly returned to psychologizing interests in *De Anima Coeli Compendium Responso ad Interrogationem de Nomine Tetragrammato* (1519, Grimm and Wyrnung).

According to Ricius, world history may be divided into three stages based upon the names of God in the Bible. The first period was the natural period, where God reveals himself through the three-lettered divine name *shaddai*. Then there is the Torah period, where God reveals to Moses the divine name of four letters, the Tetragrammaton. In the final period of grace and redemption, God reveals the Tetragrammaton plus the letter *shin*, or the letter of the Logos (Christ), spelling *yhswh*, or the Kabbalistic name of Jesus. Thus, the name of Jesus, or the miraculous name, became the pronounceable name of the previously unpronounceable *yhwh*. To support his argument, Ricius used mediaeval manuscripts in which Jesus' name was abbreviated *JHS*, the Jewish Kabbalistic doctrine of three world ages (*Chaos, Torah, Messiah*), and the similar doctrine of Joachim of Fiore, who, we have seen, proposed a reign, or age, of the Father, Son, and finally the Holy Spirit.

His *Porta Lucis: Haec est Porta Tetragrammaton, Iusti Intrabunt per Eam* (Augsburg, 1516) was a translation of the *Sha'are Orah* of Joseph ibn Gikatilla (Josephus de Castiliis) (Illustration 17). The work was added as a fourth book to his *De Coelesti Agricultura* in 1540 and was published a third time in 1582 in Johannes Pistorius's *Artis Cabbalisticae*.⁴⁴ Ibn Gikatilla was a student of Abraham Abulafia (1224–1292), and his systematized account provided Christians for the first time with an extended Kabbalistic text dealing with the Tetragrammaton and the *Sephiroth* of the *Zohar*.⁴⁵ For Ibn Gikatilla the Tetragrammaton was the source of the *Sephiroth* which flow from Torah. The whole Law is united in the holy names which depend upon the Tetragrammaton. The Law is thus the Law

43 C. Black, "From Kabbalah to Psychology: The Allegorizing *Isagoge* of Paulus Ricius (1509–1541)," *Magic, Ritual and Witchcraft* 2.2 (2007), 136–173.

44 Ricius's discussion on the Tetragrammaton in Book IV is found on pp. 175–185 of this edition. He considers the four letters, divides them into four standards, relates them to the signs of the zodiac, the months by seasons, and the standards of the twelve tribes of Israel.

45 E.R. Wolfson, "The Doctrine of Sephirot in the Prophetic Kabbalah of Abraham Abulafia," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 2 (1995), 336–371, and *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 3 (1996), 47–84. This essay reappears included in E.R. Wolfson, *Abraham Abouafia Cabaliste et Prophète herméneutique, théosophie et théurgie* (Paris, 1999). Now also: E. Morlock, *Rabbi Joseph Gikatilla's Hermeneutics* (Tübingen, 2011).

of the Tetragrammaton, the unpronounceable source of revelation, and the origin of the being of every visible and nameable thing. The unfolding of the divine names from the Tetragrammaton enables a systematic treatment of the names imagined as disposed in relationship to the Tetragrammaton. The book has a fine and famous plate of a Sephirothic tree with a Hebrew Tetragrammaton above the *Sephiroth* named in Hebrew.

Ricius offered a treatise of the divine names (a slightly different list from Jerome's) drawn from the *Sepher Yetzirah*, *Bahir*, and the *Zohar*.⁴⁶ Approaching the names of God requires fear and trembling, and the Tetragrammaton is not to be uttered or written. To use it is like the insolence of a child who calls its parents by their forenames. The work in translation, however, is as one would expect understood in Trinitarian terms. A copy was sent by Paul's son Jerome to Reuchlin, who used it in his *Ars Cabbalistica*, which appeared a year later.

Italy

We turn our attention now to Italy. Agostino Giustiniani (1470–1536) entered the Dominicans in Padua at fourteen and ultimately became Bishop of Nebbio in Corsica. He taught Hebrew in Bologna and Paris (1518–1522) and published several important books before moving to Henry VIII's England.⁴⁷ He is perhaps most famous for his 1516 Polyglot Psalter.⁴⁸ He showed a considerable interest in Kabbalah in his annotations to the Psalter and also published a *Precatio pietatis plena ad Deum omnipotentem composita ex duobus et septuaginta nominibus divinis hebraicis et latinis una cum interprete commentariolo*, which appeared in octavo in Venice from Alessandro di Paganini in 1513.⁴⁹ It is

46 *Edonai*, Lord (p. 143ff.); *El Haii*, True God (160ff.); *Eloim Zevaos & Edonai Zevaos*, Lord of Forces & God of Forces (p. 171ff.); The Tetragrammaton (p. 175ff.); *Eloim*, God of Justice (p. 183); *El*, God of Grace and Pity; *Eloim*, Creative Force (p. 185ff.); *Yah*, Wisdom (p. 188); *Ehei*, Crown (190ff.).

47 *Hebraicae Grammatices* (1519); *Liber Viarum Linguae Sanctae* (1520); an extraordinary translation of Maimonides's *Guide, Rabi Mosei Dux...* (1520), a commentary on Job, Ruth, Lamentations, and Numbers (1520), and an edition of Philo's *Centum et Duae Quaestiones* (also 1520). L. Delaruelle, "Le Séjour à Paris d'Augustino Gustiniani," *Revue du Seizième Siècle* 12 (1925), 319–336.

48 I discuss the Psalter in Wilkinson, *Kabbalistic Scholars*, pp. 2–4, and Giustinini himself in *Orientalism*, pp. 55–57.

49 Dan, ed., *The Christian Kabbalah*, p. 207. In the righthand scholia on Psalm 119 he gives a list of the seventy-two names of God. The scholia contain passages used by Galatinus and selections of the *Zohar* translated for the first time which were subsequently used by

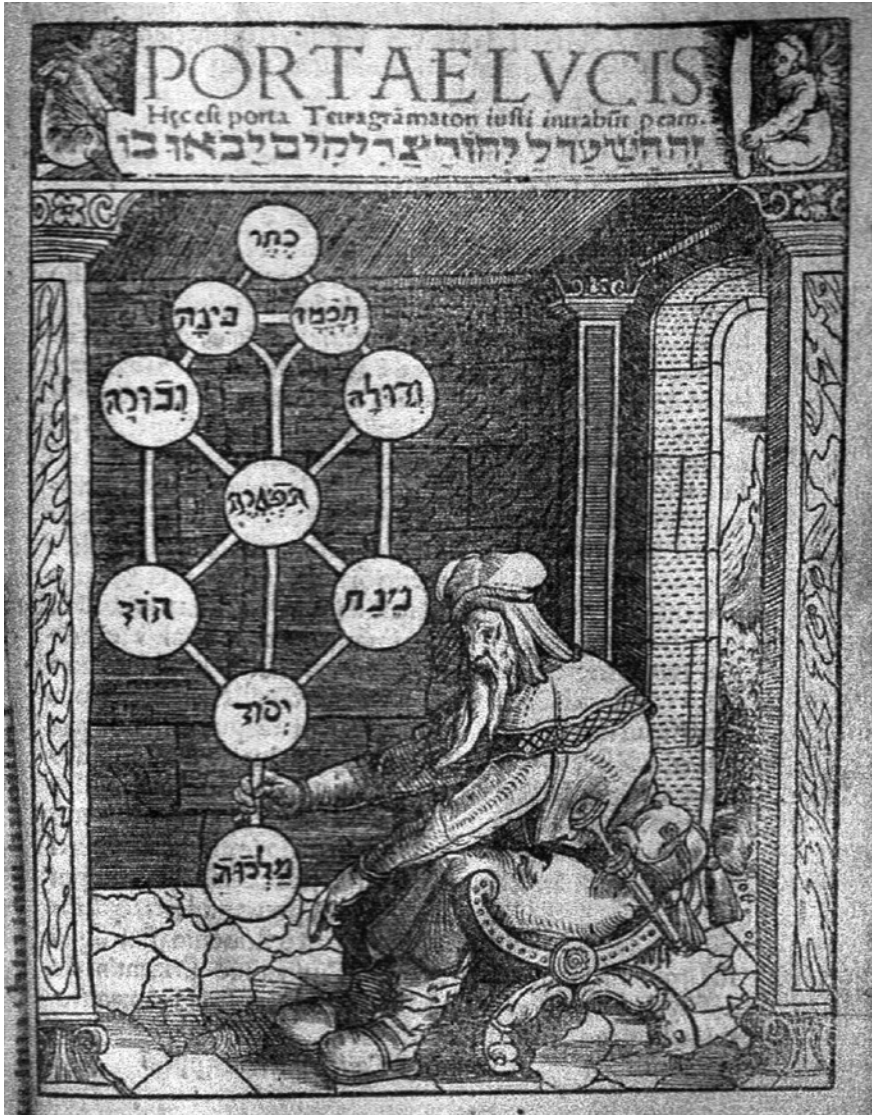


ILLUSTRATION 17 *Frontispiece showing Sephirothic tree from Paulus Riccius's Porta Lucis (Augsburg, 1516), a partial translation of Joseph Gikatilla*

a Kabbalistic prayer using seventy-two names of God in Hebrew and Latin. Attention is drawn to that prayer here as we met it previously in the *Encheridion* of Pope Leo III. Liturgical use of the Tetragrammaton is not common. This is an

Knorr von Rosenroth in *Kabbala Denudata* (1677). See Aurelio Cevolotto, *Agostino Giustiani un humanista tra Bibbia e Cabale* (Genoa, 1992), esp. pp. 35–62.

example, however, of the use of the seventy-two-letter name which has been turned into seventy-two Latin names of God. Its origin displays it as more of a charm than a prayer, which no doubt explains Giustiniani's insistence upon its piety. We shall, however, consider a more extensive liturgical use of the Tetragrammaton and the name of seventy-two letters at the end of our chapter on the later Christian Kabbalists. For the moment we turn our attention to Galatinus.

Galatinus

The Franciscan Peitro Galatino (1460–1540) was Doctor of Philosophy and Theology and from c.1523 Poenitentarius Apostolicus at St Peter's.⁵⁰ His interest in Kabbalah is indicated by his expressed support for Reuchlin and in his *Expositio dulcissimi nominis Tetragrammaton* (1507).

His major work was the *De Arcanis*, published in Ortona-al-Mare in 1518, with later editions in Basel (1550 and 1561) and Frankfurt (1603 and 1672).⁵¹ It was one of the most widely dispersed books of the Renaissance, but its reputation was damaged when Scaliger exposed its unacknowledged dependency upon the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymund Martin and the *Gale Razeia* of Paul de Heredia.⁵² Though received even by non-Kabbalists as a book useful for the refutation of the Jews, the work does mark a changed attitude to the Talmud and a real appreciation of the substantive and independent value of Kabbalah for Christians. The book is a trilogue between Galatinus, Reuchlin, and Reuchlin's opponent von Hoogstraten. Vasoli suggests that this was part of the effort of a group of Reuchlin supporters in Rome, some German humanists to whom Galatinus was connected, to win support for Reuchlin and that Leo X himself encouraged Galatinus to write.⁵³ The *De Arcanis* has also established a

50 For Galatinus, see: Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, pp. 58–61, which supplements material here and provides bibliography. Also: Anna Morisi, "Galatino et La Kabbale chrétienne," in Faivre and Tristan, eds., *Kabbalistes Chrétiens*, pp. 213–231. Also Jacques Fabry, "La Kabbale chrétienne en Italie au XVIe siècle," in Faivre and Tristan, eds., *Kabbalistes Chrétiens*, pp. 49–64.

51 P. Galatinus, *Opus toti christianae Reipublicae maxime utile de arcanis catholicae veritatis, contra obstinatissimam judaeorum nostrae temporis perfidiam: ex Talmud, aliisque hebraicis libris nuper excerptum: & quadruplici linguarum genere elegenter congestum, orthona maris impressum per Hieronymum Suncinum.*

52 These dependencies are displayed in F. Secret, *Le Zôhar chez Les Kabbalistes chrétiens de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1958), pp. 30–34, who defends Galatinus's reputation.

53 C. Vasoli, "Giorgio B. Salvati, Pietro Galatino e la edizione di Orta—1518—del *De Arcanis Catholicae Fidei*," in *Cultura Humanistica nel Meridione e la Stampa in Abruzzo. Atti del*

certain misplaced reputation as the book to first use the name *Jehovah*, though as we have seen this was rather an error waiting to happen than a new insight.⁵⁴

Nonetheless, the *De Arcanis* represents a compendium of received views on the Tetragrammaton from sources we have met, and it cannot be claimed that the Kabbalistic interests of its author have added much to this material.⁵⁵ The discussions of the Tetragrammaton are found mostly in Book II, ch. 8–17. In chapter X, the fictitious Rabbi Haccados is quoted from the *Gale Razeya*. The sense in which the *sem hammephoras* is appropriately reserved as God's own name is explained. The word is ineffable in its mysteries but quite pronounceable—as *Iehoua*. Some Christians would prefer *Ioua* and note that *Iehuda* may become *Iuda*, *Iehosua* become *Iosua*, and so on, as is indeed the case. This syncopation of the *shewa* and the following guttural means *Iehoua* became *Ioua* without the *shewa* or the *he*. But this is wrong: it transforms the Tetragrammaton into a three-letter word, and God had specifically warned Moses against adding and subtracting from things. Moreover, this syncopation occurs only rarely in the twenty-four books of Scripture, whatever rabbinic practice may be. Similarly *Ieoua* is to be rejected. The Jews, of course, say *Adonai*, so they are no help here.

Familiar now is the use of *Kiddushin* 71a, and the cessation of the Temple blessing with the Tetragrammaton on the death of Rabbi Simeon the Just is discussed. He performed this duty for the last time when he blessed baby Jesus in the Temple (for Luke's "old man Simeon" in 2:25–35 is identified with Rabbi Simeon the Just⁵⁶). From then on the "name above all names" was "Jesus."

Other divine names are explained, including *Adonai* and *Ehie* (*id est fui, sum, ero*), which "best teaches the eternal stability of the Holy Trinity," *AGLA*, and three letters of *Shaddai*—as are the twelve-letter, forty-two-letter, and seventy-two-letter names. The presentation of the seventy-two-letter name is illustrated by tables setting out the different ways of arranging the letters.

Convegno su Cultura Umanistica nel Meridione e la Stampa in Abruzzo (L'Aquila, 1984), pp. 121–156.

54 Moore, "Notes on the Name YHWH," pp. 34–52, p. 43, cited above.

55 Though perhaps the *De Arcanis* disseminated some of the more subtle speculation of Egidio da Viterbo (1469–1532), whose *Scechina* and *libellus de litteris sanctis* remained in manuscript. I discuss Egidio's two works in Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, pp. 40–44, where Egidio's remarks on the Tetragrammaton, Hebrew letters, and the complexities of the *Sephiroth* are noted. Also on the *De Arcanis*, W. Schmidt-Biggemann, "Political Theology in Renaissance Christian Kabbalah: Petrus Galatinus and Guillaume Postel," *Hebraic Political Studies* 1.3 (2006), 286–309.

56 It is possible that the view that the utterance of the Tetragrammaton in benediction stopped after Simeon perhaps arose from a misunderstanding of *Menahoth* 109b.

Some learned discussion follows on the vocalization of the first two series of arrangements. Flaminus had found evidence for this in Hebrew books in the Vatican Library.⁵⁷ The first series is to be interpreted, we learn: *Exaltator, Auxiliator, Spes, Salus, Quaesitus...* Each of these seventy-two names is linked to a verse in the Psalms, but Galatinus admits that these translations come from the Psalm texts rather than the three-letter names themselves. He has not found a Kabbalistic interpretation of these, but with three letters and three syllables they may with confidence be thought to denote...the Holy Trinity.

Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c.1455–1536)

In spite of Galatinus's inclusion of Reuchlin in his trilogue, the *De Arcanis*, for all its renown and polemical usefulness, is perhaps a bit tame: one misses a more profound or applied Kabbalah and looks for a bit less doctrine and a bit more magic. As we turn now to France, two works of Lefèvre d'Étaples will engage us. The first is the *De Magia Naturali* of 1492–1494, and the second his renowned *Quincuplex Psalter* of 1509.⁵⁸ The first deals quite explicitly with matters of “practical Kabbalah” but was never printed. The second, fully published, returns later to such matters, albeit discretely, as we shall see. It is not impossible that he knew of Reuchlin's work for the first book. He cites it explicitly in the second.⁵⁹

More distant connections, less specifically Kabbalistic, appear to have been made with the school of St Victor, for the well-stocked Abbey library was open to the public in Lefèvre d'Étaples's time.⁶⁰ “In the library of St Victor, Lefèvre read...the treatise of Richard on the Trinity: and in the author of ‘Benjamin

57 Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, p. 55, for Flaminus (Antonio Flaminio).

58 E. Rice, “The *De Magia Naturali* of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples,” in *Philosophy and Humanism: Renaissance Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. E.P. Mahony (Leiden, 1976), pp. 19–29. I have relied very heavily upon the essay of Brian P. Copenhaver, “Lefèvre d'Étaples, Symphorien Champier and the Secret Names of God,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977), 189–211, for this section. See now J.R. Veenstra, “Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples: Humanism and Hermeticism in the *De Magia Naturali*,” in *Christian Humanism: Essays in Honour of Arjo Vanderjagt*, eds. A.A. MacDonald et al. (Leiden, 2009), pp. 353–362.

59 Copenhaver, op. cit., pp. 206–207. He had supported Reuchlin over the battle of the books in a letter from Paris in 1514: A.L. Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs...* (Paris, 1866), vol. 1, p. 17.

60 P. Champion, *Paris au Temps de la Renaissance, Paganisme et Réforme* (Paris, 1936), p. 10.

Minor' and 'Benjamin Major' he found that theology, combining rationalism with mysticism, for which he had always sought."⁶¹

The *De Magia* exists in four manuscripts and was never printed. The final chapters of Book II, which is called "Pythagorean Philosophy which leads to Magic," develop Kabbalistic themes of the secret names of God.⁶² They are concerned mainly with astrological and theological numerology. In chapter 14 we are introduced to the mysterious Kabbalah by which "the most secret Hebrews claim to be able to call up the secrets of all wisdom and work all miracles—even more than the magicians." This power depends on numbers, *gematria*: for just as words which do not form the divine names are powerless, so numbers not derived from divine numbers are "ineffectual for the secret work of magic." Thus the series 10, 5, 6, 5 (the numerical value of the letters of the Tetragrammaton) is that through which all miracles are worked, and their sum (26) "completes the Tetragrammaton." The series 10, 5, 300, [6], 5 includes the new number 300, which contains the mystery of the Incarnation and the derivation of the name of the Mediator from the Mind of the Father, and also works miracles, for 300 and the middle letter of Jesus' name mean the same thing. This is the number of redemption and renewal, for *sin*, or 300, is the sign of life and triumphs over *tau* (400), which was written like a cross and is the sign of death (Ezek. 9 again). A mysterious series of "Syrian numbers" refers again (according to Copenhaver) to the articulated word of God.

Drawing on traditional material originally found in the Talmud and Midrash, discussion moves to the change of the names of Abram and Sarai in Genesis 17 to Abraham and Sarah, and that of the son of Nun in Numbers 13:16, whom Moses calls Joshua instead of Hoshea.⁶³ The numerical value of Abraham's name is increased by 5 (the value of *he*), from 243 to 248, whereas Sarai loses a *yod* (worth 10) and only gets a *he* (worth 5) in exchange. So her 10 was divided into two, and Abraham got half of it. It was the additional *he*, part of the Tetragrammaton, which enabled the elderly couple to miraculously produce Isaac. In the case of Hoshea, his name was increased by a *yod* (10) and a *waw* (6), both from the Tetragrammaton, and these extra letters enabled him to command the sun, defeat kings, cross the Jordan dry-shod, and bring down the walls of Jericho.⁶⁴ This sequence of exposition and numerology may possibly have been achieved by d'Étapes from Jerome, who knew that Sarai's name had

61 A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et Humanisme à Paris* (Grenoble, 1916), p. 521.

62 *De Pithagorica philosophia quae ad Magiam introducit*.

63 References to Midrash Rabba and other sources in Copenhaver, op. cit., pp. 193–194.

64 A possible spelling of Joshua adds *yod* and *he*, but this is not the spelling of Numbers 13:16.

lost a *yod* and that her name and Abram's had gained a *he*. He also knew that these letters *he* had come from the Tetragrammaton.⁶⁵ Elsewhere he draws a typological parallel between Joshua, son of Nun, whose name meant "saviour," and the Jesus who was greater than Joshua in spite of the latter's wonder working.⁶⁶ Jerome also knew that the numerical value of *yod* was 10 and had noticed that both the Tetragrammaton and the name of Jesus begin with it.⁶⁷ The exposition points nonetheless unambiguously to the miracle-working magic powers of the Tetragrammaton. This work was not published.

The Psalter was published and also enjoys a modern edition. Part One contains Jerome's three versions of the Psalter (*Romanus, Gallicanus, Hebraicus*). There is mention of divine names in comment on Psalm 71 (fiogr), where the help of Pablo de Santa Maria (c.1350–1435) is sought. Part Two contains the Old Latin and the Vulgate corrected against Jerome's *Hebraicus*. The divine names are discussed in the introduction to Part Two, and d'Étaples appeals to Petrus Alfonsi for illumination of its mysteries. There follow some difficult remarks where I adopt Copenhagen's translation, with explanations in square brackets:⁶⁸

Since the name [the Tetragrammaton] is ineffable, they [the Jews] apply to it, as if it were pronounceable the breathings (*spiritus*) *seva* and *comes* [the Massoretic vocalization of the name with the vowels of *shema*] which are the breathing of the name Iesua, the Healer (*salutaris*), that is, or Ihesuha, our Saviour's proper name as some would have it...[If Iesua represents the Hebrew spelling of "Jesus," *yshw*, this has different vowels and a final guttural, *'ayin*. If Ihesuha is a spelling of "Joshua," that also has different vowels and again a final *'ayin*. The *'ayin* is part of the root of the "salvation" words. Neither of these two words even contains both *seva* and *comes*, though the word for salvation, *yshwh*, at least contains them.] So what do these breathings mean but that Messiah, Word and Spirit (*spiritum*) are part of the great and arcane name of God?

But here you ask whether or not the name of Iesus, which the prophet uses so much in the Psalms to glorify Christ as 'healer' and 'saviour' has a breathing or not. [The reference here is to the notes in Part Two where *Christus* is glossed as Messiah and *salutaris* with *Iesua*.] No it has not, but it corresponds to the word which the Greeks write *iesous* or *Iesus* without

65 *Heb. Quaest. in Genesim 17.3–5.15*. Secret, *Les Kabbalistes*, p. 5. A new edition with augmented bibliography was produced by Arche, Milan, in 1985.

66 *Tract. Ps. LXXVI.21*.

67 *Tract. Ps. X*.

68 He gives the Latin, p. 199.

any breathing (*sine ulla aspiratione*): this name does not conceal the Tetragrammaton, and yet, as I have said, it does conceal the breathings (*spiritus*) of that great name. [This appears contradictory. It is possible that Hebrew vowels, gutturals, and Greek rough breathings are all getting muddled up. If it is the Latin name *Jesus* which is now under discussion, subsequent remarks may be clearer.] But following the old usage of the Latins, I rather frequently give a breathing to the proper name [Is he thinking of a Latin *Ihesus*?] and then I understand that it conceals the whole Tetragrammaton as can be understood more fully from that book *De Verbo Mirifico*, as I have said elsewhere in the notes.

The Jews however would take our Saviour's name as without a breathing (*non...aspiratum*) and spelled *ioth, sin, vau, 'ayin* [the spelling is correct, but what might lack of breathing mean?—the name has vowels and a guttural]: they would reject the other *ioth, he, sin, vau, he* [*yhshwh*] as fictitious and too much worked up by us. Either way, it is an august and venerable name.

With this final remark d'Étaples indicates his incapacity to decide without a Massoretic theory of vowelings.

Though d'Étaples seems to have recognized the difficulty of spelling and vocalization here, nevertheless Part One has *Ihesu* and *Ihsuh* without the 'ayin of the "salvation root" but presented as the Tetragrammaton with *shin*.⁶⁹ Commenting on Psalm 71 he refers to the *De Verbo Mirifico* and speaks of Jesus as *Ihesvhe* and Yhwh as *Ihevhe*, following Cusanus, Pico, and Reuchlin.

Such comparative restraint in Kabbalistic matters twenty-three years after the unpublished *De Magia Naturali* struck Copenhaver as significant. He conjectures a rising suspicion of magical practices and witchcraft in France and refers to some notorious cases. It was about the time of Pico's apparent palinode. Perhaps d'Étaples had cause to heed Cusanus's warning. Copenhaver concludes with a passage from a prefatory letter to Champier's *De Triplici Disciplina* of 1509:⁷⁰

Among the Egyptians there were Mysteries and there was Kabbalah amongst the Hebrews. In Latin this means 'reception' and through it in ancient time, according to the Hebrews and our authorities, the meaning of sacred letters handed down from Moses and 'received' in succession

69 f5v, 7, 17, 32, 35, 37v, et al.

70 Copenhaver, op. cit., p. 209, with Latin and with further discussion of Champier's views pp. 209–211.

was understood. And it happened that the Jews came to abuse the name of Kabbalah and transferred it even to illicit and profane matters, only they were learned secretly and privately. And thus beyond that more secret understanding of divine letters properly called Kabbalah by the ancients, beyond the art of transforming letters, and beyond that study which deals with the virtues of superior things, which later men somehow understood by the name of Kabbalah, these younger men, pretending they had the secret names of God which they would coerce demons and work wonders, also ascribed to Kabbalah a thousand insanities picked up from the Jews. This they called Kabbalah and mendaciously asserted that by its power Christ had done his miracles.

Guillaume Postel (1510–1581)

One of the most extraordinary Christian Kabbalists was Guillaume Postel, born in 1510 in the diocese of Avranches in Normandy. Of humble origins, Postel had an extraordinary capacity for leaning ancient and Semitic languages. Postel was also able and experienced in typography and, as I have discussed elsewhere, a moving spirit behind the first printed edition of the Syriac New Testament in 1555. Postel was possessed of a hermeneutic, both linguistic and literary, of extraordinary flexibility and was able to connect anything to pretty well everything else. He found connections between words, languages, and histories, and was uninhibited in the large interrelated patterns he discovered. Renowned for both his learning and his unquestioned piety, Postel nevertheless developed more and more singular and unorthodox ideas until he was finally confined to a monastery as insane.⁷¹

In 1549 in Venice, Postel met Mother Joanna, the founder of the Ospedale of Saints John and Paul, where he was serving as a priest. This remarkable woman was a stigmatic and a mystic, and Postel became her spiritual director and confessor. In relationship with Joanna, *mia madre*, Postel, “her little son,” was able to synthesize his interests in theology, Orientalism, and Kabbalah into a consciousness of personal mission which became frankly messianic. For him Joanna became the “Venetian Virgin” into whose body the Holy Spirit had descended and in whose person the Living Christ was present. She was the

71 I have written extensively on Postel and Kabbalah in Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, pp. 95–135, and in *Kabbalistic Scholars*, pp. 49–59 with extensive bibliography which I shall not repeat here. A brief overview may be found in Ina Baghdianz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade and the Ancien Regime* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 15–36.

Schekinah, a Revealer of the Mystery of Reconciliation, which would gather all peoples and religions into one, the Angelic Pope of the Fourth Age, and Postel was her Elijah. Joanna also, in spite of her linguistic ignorance, had insights into the secrets of the *prisci theologi* and Kabbalah. At this point Postel acquired his copy of the *Zohar*, which he was the first to print and provide with a Latin translation.⁷² With Joanna's help the *Zohar* was to become the lens through which Postel was increasingly able to seize the importance of his own role. His translation of the *Bahir*, which remained unknown in manuscript until its recent recovery, displays a similar interpretative perspective.

In treating the Genesis pericope in his translation and commentary (*Zohar* I 15a), Postel writes *Iehouah* or *Deus* for the Tetragrammaton.⁷³ He makes other names from it, notably but perhaps predictably that of *Jehochana* (Joanna). He offers a complex interpretation of the essence of God, Wisdom, the *Sephiroth*, and the Holy Trinity, and he identifies the *Mens Messiae*, the *sephirah Tiphereth*, and the Tetragrammaton. He comments on the writing of the Tetragrammaton with *yod* and a small *he*.⁷⁴

Mother Joanna died in 1550 while Postel was absent from Venice. He returned to Paris in 1552 and published his *Abrahami Patriarchae Liber Iezirah* from a manuscript he had brought back from the East. But 1552 was also the year of Postel's "Immutation." This formative experience involved Mother Joanna returning to his body as a burning spirit which purified him by infusing her spiritual presence. He became a New Man, with his reason restored to that of Adam before the Fall. He had obtained the power of Christ within himself and had the Soul of the Mother of the World, the New Eve, dwelling in him. He was their Son.

Postel's interest in Kabbalah, particularly in his later years, was heightened by his interest in gender and Mother Joanna. In his *Bahir*, she became not only the new Eve but the *Sekina*, the spouse of Christ. The *Sekina* was represented by the final letter *he* of the Tetragrammaton, for thus "all things find their fulfillment in the Mother of the World."⁷⁵

72 Secret, *Zohar chez les Kabbalistes*, p. 58.

73 BL MS Sloane 1410, 8r. I am indebted to Mrs Judith Weiss of Bar-Ilan University for her transcription of this passage and comments upon it. She also drew my attention to the passage in *Thresor*. She is currently preparing an important doctorate on Postel's translation of the *Zohar*.

74 Similarly in his translation of *Sarasschim* in a Basel manuscript (conveniently in G. Javary, *Recherches sur l'Utilisation du Thème de la Sekina dans l'Apogétique Chrétienne de XVe au XVIIIe Siècle* (Geneva 1978), pp. 551 and 574–557). This work, her Paris IV thesis, is enormously informative on our subject. The reproduction makes it difficult to read, and it has no index.

75 G. Postel, *Bahir*. Basel manuscript f75.

Postel was quite preoccupied by mysteries hidden in the divine names. His *Interprétation du Candélabra de Moÿse* (1548) treats the menorah as a symbol of Christ's body in the Mass. He offers a Kabbalah of the ten divine names, their properties, and their announcement of the reign of Christ. (More usual is the interpretation of Moses' Candelabra, where the sixth *sephirah Tipheret* is understood as related to Moses, the son of God, and to the Tetragrammaton.⁷⁶)

Le Thresor des Propheties de l'Univers (earlier form 1551; final state 1566) sought to establish Postel's role as the Angelic Pope, as well as the universal monarchy of the Kings of France. It illustrates Postel's own relationship with both *Jehochana* and the Tetragrammaton. At one point he observes that the Tetragrammaton יהוה *yhw*h contains both feminine and masculine pronouns—וה, *wh*, and יה, *yh*. He then finds this discovery is corroborated in 1 Kings 17:15, when the Prophet Elijah sits down with the Widow of Zarephath and the Hebrew says "she ate, she and he" היא הוא והיאכל. What is striking here in Kings is that the vowels of the pronouns are swapped around: הוא *hw'* (he) is vocalized as היא *hy'* (she), and vice versa.⁷⁷ This was exactly the sort of divine gender-bending he was after.

For Postel an overwhelming interest lay in finding proof for his gender distinctions within the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. In *De la consequence et futurs effectz de la loy salike ou saliche*, Postel presents evidence of his scheme involving the old and new Adam and Eve; dualistic notions of God and humanity; God's intercession on earth in female form; the cosmological balance between male and female elements; and the role of Mater Mundi in creation of world. His second Zohar version, in 1569, is the clearest statement of this truth.

Jean Thenaud (1480–1542)

Jean Thenaud, another Frenchman, was born near Poitiers into the household of Louise of Savoy, the mother of King François I. Thenaud was instrumental in getting the King interested in Christian Kabbalah. In response to the King's requests, he produced a manuscript of *le sainte et très chrétienne cabale*.⁷⁸ François did not like it on account of the *rigueur du stille qui est en metre*, and

76 F. Secret, *Guillaume Postel (1510–1581) et son interpretation du Candélabre de Moÿse* (Nieuwkoop, 1966), pp. 367–368.

77 F. Secret, ed., *Guillaume Postel, Le Thresor des Propheties de l'Univers* (The Hague, 1969), p. 211, for the passage.

78 BN m.s Fr.882 is the sole manuscript dated between 12 September 1519 and 12 September 1520 illustrated with eleven illustrations.

Thenaud replaced his work with *traicté de la cabale* or *la cabale et l'estat du monde angélic ou spirituel* in 1520–1521.⁷⁹ The core of the work is in six sections. The first, *les quatres mondes*, is based on Pico's *Heptaplus*; the second, *l'immortalité des ames*, upon Ficino's *Platonica Theologia*; the *monde angelique* is taken from pseudo-Dionysius's *Hierarchia Caelestia*; fourth, there is the *kabbale des hebreux*, which draws on Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabbalistica*; section five is the *kabbale des chrétiens*, based on Raban Maur's *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis*; and the last section deals with how the angelic world influences the celestial world *le monde angélique govern le céleste par le quarternaire et le septenaire*.

There are in all three manuscripts rather derogatory remarks about the lying and deceptive (indeed superstitious and damnable) nature of Hebrew Kabbalah and the tales of Jesus as a magician from the *Toledoth Jesu*, which clash somewhat with positive assessments of the many layers of meaning in Hebrew letters. But Thenaud's interest in Kabbalah is apparent in his fascinating diagrams and also in his angelic cosmology, much indebted to Pythagoreanism, Neoplatonism, and pseudo-Dionysius. The list of the seventy-two angels whose names are made up of endings in *-iah* and *-el* are familiar to us from Exodus 14:19–21 based upon Reuchlin's *De Arte Cabbalistica*. There Reuchlin had explained the difference between *-yah* and *-el* as between mercy and harshness (*De Arte Cabbalistica*, Haguenau, 1517: f58r), though Christie-Miller suspects the use of another source, particularly interested in the number 37, which explains patterns he finds in the names. The manuscripts also display amulets using the Tetragrammaton and angel names: *'adonay*, *'ehieh*, *hu'* are there.

Francisco Giorgio (1460–1540)

The Venetian Franciscan Friar Francisco Giorgio, like Postel, also enjoyed the relationship of confessor with another Venetian visionary, Chiara Bugni.⁸⁰ He, too, was a Christian Kabbalist.

79 Fundamental now is I. Christie-Miller and François Roudaut, eds., *Jean Thenaud Traicté de la Cabale* (Geneva, 2007). Earlier F. Secret, "Jean Thenaud: Voyageur et Kabbaliste de la Renaissance," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 16.1 (1954), 139–144. There are three manuscripts, which Christie-Miller dates as follows: Nantes ms 52 (1626–1651); Paris bib. Arsenal ms 5061 (1521), which Thenaud presented to the King; and Geneva ms 167 (1536), which may be read online. The manuscripts are not identical.

80 Giulio Busi, "Francesco Zorzi, a Methodical Dreamer," in Dan, ed., *The Christian Kabbalah*, pp. 97–125. Frances A. Yates, "The Cabbalistic Friar of Venice: Francesco Georgi," in her *Occult Philosophy*, pp. 29–36, also pp. 127–134, for bibliography.

De Harmonia Mundi, 1525, displayed the universal harmony implicit in Kabbalistic and Hermetic traditions and built upon mediaeval Pythagoreanism, as C. Vasoli has demonstrated. It was translated into French in 1579 by Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie, himself attracted to its Kabbalistic angelic harmonies and sephirotic schemes linked to pseudo-Dionysius's hierarchies.⁸¹ Below *The Centre*, which is everywhere and its circumference nowhere, their influence pours down through the planets and the zodiac to the world (though not, importantly, in such a way as to remove our free will, a consideration which had already exercised Nicholas of Cusa). Guy's translation was placed on the Index *donec corrigatur* and has nineteen in-folio pages of introduction by his brother Nicholas theorizing the discovery of divinity by way of the thirty-two paths of Wisdom (twenty-two Hebrew letters and ten *Sephiroth*, making thirty-two).⁸²

Giorgio uses Kabbalah to prove that Jesus was the name of the Messiah—a topic on which he devotes pages. In this fairly comprehensive treatment of the names of Jesus, Giorgio considers those “artificial names” which are applied to Jesus in the Old Testament and those he claims for himself. He is the great “House of God,” symbolized by a Hebrew letter, *beth*, by which appears as the *Sephirah Binah*. The Holy House is a sort of anti-typical tabernacle with an altar, offerings, the Host, and the Eucharist, and which is also his Church. He is the Door, a Book, the Straight Way and the Ladder, Manna, the Tablets of the Law, Aaron's rod, and the divine candelabra.⁸³

All the specifically divine names of the Old Testament are also claimed by Jesus for himself. Though God is a unity, these names express not division within the Godhead but his *proprietates* and virtues, which flow down into the material world; it is their variety which is marked by the multiplicity of names. They are, of course, Jerome's ten names, pseudo-Dionysius's forty-five names of God and Christ, and the name of seventy-two letters generated from Exodus

81 Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie, born near Montgomery in Normandy in 1541, was a pupil of Postel but is also increasingly appreciated for his own contributions. Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, pp. 120–121, for Guy. Also my *Kabbalistic Scholars*, pp. 61–65, 81–92, 101–120, 122. For Kabbalistic material concerning the secret names of God, the *Sephiroth*, the Tetragrammaton, all sorts of things in fours, and the Trinity, p. 82.

82 For this translation, see *Kabbalistic Scholars*, pp. 108–109. S. Campanini, “Le fonti ebraiche del De Harmonia Mundi di Francesco Zorti,” *Annali di Ca'foscari* 38.3 (1999), 29–74. Also idem, ed., *Francesco Zorzi L'Armonia del Mondo* (Milan, 2010); Caesare Vasoli, ed., *Francesco Giogio Veneto De Harmonia Mundi* (Florence, 2008).

83 Francisci Georgii Veneti, *De Harmonia Mundi Totius Cantica Tria...* (Andrea Berthelin, Paris, 1545), pp. 285–286.

14. Not all the mysteries of these names are revealed, and we should not overlook the teaching of pseudo-Dionysius or the rabbis upon the ultimate ineffability of God.

“I am the Lord (*yhwh*) that is my name and my glory I shall not give to another,” says Isaiah 42:8. *Ego Dominus hoc est nomen meum*, says the Vulgate. But for Giorgio this means: *Ego Dominus, ipsum scilicet quod est, est nomen meum*, hinting at God’s very essence, which is ultimately unintelligible to us. Similarly for “I am He” (*Ego ipse sum, a me videlicet & per essentiam...*), whence Scripture continues, “Before me there was no God nor shall be after me.” And so in other places similar where *hu’* is taken “not as a relative,” but as indicating essence.

The first name indicating the divine procession into the world is *’ehieh ’asher ’ehieh*, the upper *Crown* of the *Sephiroth*, that which Christ teaches us to call the Father and who would entirely escape our understanding had the Son not revealed him. Rather than *Ego sum qui sum*, this ought to be rendered *Sim qui Sim* or *Ero qui Ero*, the repetition allegedly indicating futurity.⁸⁴

The numerical relationships between the names conceal mysteries, and the substitution of letters marks profound theological matters. The numerical value of *asher* is 200 + 300 + 1, which matches (ignoring the powers of ten!) the value of the *waw* (6). The replacement of the *’aleph* of *’ehieh* with the *yod* of the Tetragrammaton gives us the name of the Son who brings life to our lower regions of the universe. The numerical value of one of the *’alephs* is replaced by the 6 of *waw*, and this marks the six days of creation. Graphically, the *’aleph* is made up of a *waw* (=6) flanked top and bottom by two *yods* (2 × 10), which is 26—precisely the numerical value of the Tetragrammaton, the Son’s name.

Further replacing one *he* of *’ehieh* with a *mem* and a *lamed* (40 + 30), one gets *’elohim*, which is the name of the Holy Spirit (who is always number 70). This name thus mixes a 4 and a 3 (ignoring again the powers of ten), indicating that the Spirit links the corporeal 4 with the divine 3. The Spirit’s relationship to the Son is indicated in their respective names. What the Son receives from the Father proceeds from both and is received by the Spirit.

At this point the lesson is clear: *Et cum omnia illa nomina includantur in quadrilatero, quod est....* Thus a fount of creative goodness flows, proceeding from the Father in the Son and through the Spirit. This is, of course, why the name *’elohim* occurs in the Genesis Creation narratives. The other names are brought forth as part of this procession, especially the main seven, names of mercy and love, justice and strength. “Strength and Beauty are in his Sanctuary,” says Psalm 96. Thus the connection is made to *Sephirah Tipheret* and to all

84 Ibid., pp. 286–287.

those passages which (though it may not be initially obvious) speak of Christ's beauty. To summarize: all the divine names are derived from the Tetragrammaton, and as the name of Jesus embraces the Tetragrammaton, it embraces them all.⁸⁵

The upshot of all this is the inclusiveness of the name of *Iesu*, which embraces all the other divine names. For just as the Father has committed all things to the Son, so all names are included in his. Giorgi uses the rabbinic spelling of Jesus (*yod, shin, waw: yshw*). Its three letters have the numerical value 10 + 300 + 6, indicating unity, divinity, and, appropriately for the Incarnation, corruptibility. The *he* has been deliberately replaced by *shin*. The *shin* reminds of the completion of creation, as well as the rest of the Sabbath (a word beginning with the same letter); the *waw* reminds us of the Tree of Life. Moreover, the numerical value of the Tetragrammaton (26) added to that of Mary makes 316, which is...the numerical value of *Ieshu*, who proceeded from a divine father and a human mother. I pass by demonstration of the relationships between Jesus' name and *shaddai, 'el*, and *'elohim*, further triads and a proof that Christ is beginning and end. Where we are heading (290–291v) is the citation of proof texts like Zechariah (14:9), "In that day there shall be one Lord and his name one." That is to say, there is only one name under heaven whereby men may be saved, the same name that Paul and the Apostles carried to the ends of the earth. "Whatsoever you ask the Father in my name," said Jesus, "He will give you." This is the name in which the Apostles spoke in tongues at Pentecost, by which men are anointed, daemons cast out. The power of that name flows like water from a spring. Nor is this unconnected with the particularly efficacious nature of Hebrew words, which the Church recognizes by preserving some of them in the Liturgy.⁸⁶

85 *Multa sunt alia nomina pertinentia ad divinitatem, quae possemus adducere, sed haec sufficient, quae in scriptura sacra celebriora sunt & a quibus alia omnia divina nomina dependent, imo (ut dicunt secretiores Theologi) deducuntur ex quadrilitero vel tetragrammo; quo cognito omnia alia cognoscuntur: Et quo concluso in nomine Iseu, omnia alia intelleguntur in eodem conclusa (288).*

86 *Nam (ut Democritus ait & post eum Epicurus) vox & nomen sonans est tamquam rheuma, aut abveus conducens verbum mentis, quae est tamquam fons, dans virtutem verbo prolato & concipiens ipsum: Sed veri abvei divinatorum nominum sunt in idiomate Hebraeo cum suis caracteribus, quibus primo illa nomina etiam mysterio maximo descripta sunt: hinc Iambl. ait: Dii, id est angeli agentes nobiscum sermonem barbarum, Hebraeum videlicet, quasi satis congruentem approbaverunt, praesertim, quia antiquior, & primus fuit modus loquendi: sed addamus hoc: quia characteres illi tum ex numeris importis, tum ex effigiatione rerum coelestium mirabiles, & mysteriosi sunt: idcirco & Zoroastres peritissimus in operando docet, ne barbara verba, id est Hebraica, immutentur in sacris: quod & ecclesia catholica plerique*

The mysterious name of *yshw* should be written only with three letters and not with an added *he*, which we already have shown has been converted into a *shin*. Nor does it want another *shin*, to get something like a Latin *Iesus*, as that is only a Latin case ending and because *mysteria non sunt in idiomate Latino. sed Hebraeo*. Messing around with these words just destroys their mysteries.⁸⁷

The Name of Jesus

Two works may further illustrate the deepening reflection upon the name of Jesus within the context of Christian study of the Tetragrammaton which we have seen in Cusanus, Reuchlin, Lefèvre, and Francisco Giorgi. The first is a work by Ioannes Martinus Siliceus, Archbishop of Toledo, published in 1550 and dedicated to Charles V. The title is programmatic: *de divino nomine Iesus, per nomen tetragrammaton significato liber unus*.⁸⁸ The book contains much now traditional matter (with passing references to Jerome's letter to Marcella, pseudo-Dionysius, and the anticipated quotation of Rabbi Moyses, or Petrus Alphonsi) on the combination of the first two, second two, and third two letters of the Tetragrammaton to reveal the three persons of the Trinity in one essence—overlooked by the Jews just as much as the Trinitarian implications of the plural number of *'adonay* (folio 5).

Yet the ineffable name was the *figura* of another name, and in the fullness of time the secret of the name was openly declared at the Annunciation in the name of Jesus. The Hebrew letters of *yhw* carry their own significance, but Siliceus is also able (like Arnaldo of Villanova) to find similar secrets in the Latin letters IHVH, which have their own mysteries, too. The *I* speaks of unity; the *V* speaks of two, not *simpliciter*, but as two sides of an equilateral triangle, joined by a shared angle; the two *Hs*, being aspirates, complete the formula: *Father, Son and Holy Ghost*. This evokes for Siliceus the equilateral triangle—admired by Pythagoras and Aristotle—the “three-fold chord” of Solomon “which is not easily broken” (folio 7).

in locis observavit, sicut quando iussit dicere alleluia, quod significat laudate Iah, quod est nomen divinum maximi momenti & foecundum nominis Tetragrammi, quia plenis illas duas literis reddit in numero 26, qualis est numerus quadrilateri: Sic & illud Adonai domine & illud osianu, pro quo nos osana & illud dominus Deus zebaot....(290v).

87 Notice, he remarks, that the initial Hebrew letters of “until Shiloh come” in Genesis 49:10, a passage frequently taken as a messianic prophecy, spell *iesu*.

88 Ioannis Martini Silicei, *Archeepiscopi Toletani, de divino nomine Iesus, per nomen Tetragrammaton significato liber unus* (Toledo, 1550).

When we come to contemplate the name IESUS, we notice that the two aspirate *Hs* have been turned into two sibilant *Ss* (called *dentals* by Jerome, apparently), which equally require breath to articulate them. *S* looks like a serpent: the Serpent in Eden, but also the brazen one lifted up by Moses in the wilderness which is used in John chapter 3 as a type of Christ in his passion (folio 8). The shape of *S* also evokes, in its near horizontal central line, the diameter of the Omega, of the Alpha and Omega in Revelation. It also represents oil (folio 11). When the second letter in IESUS, *E*, corresponding to the first syllable of *Iehovah*, is added, it makes the ineffable IHVH pronounceable, and as IESUS the name is venerated by both Latins and Greeks. Thus, the name IESUS speaks of Trinity, Incarnation, and Victory over Satan.

Chapter two returns to the ineffability of IHVH, which arises (literally) from having two sequential vowels (it would have been different if it had been HIHW). Articulation is possible with the addition of three vowels, */e/o/a/*, to give *Iehovah*, by which God was revealed to the Patriarchs and Moses and *in quo magnum divinitatis sacramentum includitur* (folio 13). Siliceus claims this word has uniquely all five vowels and two aspirates, thus making it the name above every name, just as the Reality named (Christ, God and Man) is above every other reality. The Patriarchs knew the name IHVH, and miracles were wrought by it, articulated with the three vowels, throughout the Old Testament. The name was known even before Exodus 3, as is evident from merely looking through the text of Genesis. Adam and Eve knew the name, Enos first invoked it, and so on. What Moses wanted to know when in Exodus he asked God His name, was what it meant, and that had to wait until the meaning of the name was declared at the Incarnation by the Son bearing the name IESUS (folio 15). This, as is explained at the beginning of chapter 3, is the burden of Jeremiah 1:6, where the prophet says: *AHH, Domine Deus, ecce, nescio loqui quia puer ego sum*. Now, admittedly *AAH* does not appear in the Vulgate, but in the *Hebraica Veritas*. (Jerome has *AAA*.) *Dixit AHH divinam essentiam et tres hypostases innuendo*, though of course there is only one *Dominus* in this sentence. What the prophet is saying is: "I do not know how to join together the four letters IHVH you have revealed to me so that they might be articulated and make an intelligible name." He was a child in as much as he lived before the Incarnation, indicated by the second letter of the Tetragrammaton (folio 21).

We have not yet exhausted all the secrets of the letters. Jeremiah's *AHH* is not materially different from Jerome's *AAA*, as *H* in Hebrew is the equivalent of *A* in Latin. *H* speaks of *generatio* and *aspiration*, and *A* was the first letter in the alphabet revealed by God to Adam. It is, of course, a triangle, and the progression of Christian believers is from the Alpha of the Holy Trinity to the infinity of the endless circle of Omega. Chapter four contains three geometric

diagrams as an exposition of possible relationships between triangles, circles, and other geometric shapes. The signification of the letter *Q* is dealt with tangentially (folios 29–38).⁸⁹ Jerome on Ezekiel chapter 9 indicates that the Samaritans still used books in which the letter *Tau* (now the last letter of the alphabet) was written with a cross. It is also Jerome who tells us in his *Preface to Kings* that Ezra reformed the Hebrew alphabet precisely to protect the mysteries hidden in the old letters (folio 23).

Siliceus insists that the two names *IHVH* and *IESUS* are the same, even if spelled slightly differently—*synonimum esse* (folio 14); *synonimum et figura* (folio 16); *haec nomina sunt synonyma: id est, idem significatio, sive sint idem nomen, licet non eisdem literis scribantur* (folio 19). In this way he achieves perhaps a more thorough Christian appropriation of the Tetragrammaton than previously attempted. That the Tetragrammaton might not be lost to Christians—*ne a Christianis penitus abolita fit nominis Tetragrammaton IHVH* (folio 41)—two of its letters appear in the Christogram *IHS*. The *H* here is the Greek *eta* replacing *H*, and the force of *V* is supplied by the line usually drawn over the three letters. This Christogram appears as his frontispiece, which he explains at folio 43. Chapter five continues his thoughts on the name of Jesus: he has demonstrated how the Father is Jesus, the Son is Jesus, and so is the Holy Ghost. He cites Ambrose (*De Spiritu Sancto* I.3) to show that a blessing in the name of *IESUS* is a blessing by Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for there is one name and one power, the name the Apostle Paul called the Name above every other.

Before taking our leave of Siliceus—sometime before he has actually finished his meditation on the offices, honours, and powers of the name of Jesus in exorcism, healing, mediation, miracle, and communion, or his slightly more philosophical thoughts on nature and convention in naming—let us examine one final exposition (folio 82ff.). It concerns Manna and is stimulated by Revelation 2:17, where Jesus says: “to him that overcometh, I will give to eat of the hidden manna....” Manna, so the Kabbalists tell us (in one of the few explicit references to Kabbalah in this work), contains the whole life of men: *in qua Cabalistae totam hominum vitam collocarunt*. It means “what?”—*quod, quid ipsum autem quid substantiam et quiditatem?* It is this “quiddity” which is given to the victorious. God alone truly is, and it is the gift of this true existence that Manna teaches. This may be shown from Exodus chapter 3, where God says: *ego sum qui sum, hoc nomen mihi est in aeternum. Et hoc secundum nostram latinam translationem, nam hebraea sic habet ero qui ero*. The citation of

89 By its tail departing from the eternal circle *intelligimus Filium in divinis, quatenus egressus ab illa divina periphera, descendit ad nos, ut factus homo, hominem faceret deum*.

the Hebrew is not pursued: if Siliceus wished to prefer the future tense, one imagines he was thinking of the Incarnation.

Thus, the name *IESUS* means that God is three and one and became man that man might become God. It is a terrible name yet as sweet as poured-out oil, and is deserving of all the honour of the Tetragrammaton, for it is that name.

Archangelus de Bourgonovo

The second work to consider in this respect is by the Franciscan Archangelus de Bourgonovo, published in Italian in Ferrara in 1557, *Declaratione sopra il nome di Gesu secundo gli Hebrei Cabalisti, Graeci Caldei, Persi & Latini*. The title page has *yhw* and *yshw* in Hebrew letters. Archangelo was a pupil of Francisco Giorgi, from whom (and Reuchlin) much of his erudition derives.

We also have from him an *Apologia...pro defensione doctrinae Cabalae contra Reverendum D. Petrum Garziam* (Per Alexandrum Benaccium, Bologna, 1564) and his comments on Pico's conclusions in *Conclusiones Cabalisticae and Cabalistarum Selectiora Obscurioraque Dogmata a Ioanne Pico ex eorum commentatioibus pridem excepta* (Venice, 1569), which is also called *Commentaria in J. Pico Mirandulani Theses Cabalisticas* and found in his *Artis Cabbalisticae Tomus I* (S. Henricpetri, Basel, 1593), f731–868. Three points may be of interest from his first work.

First, although the ineffable name properly pertains to mercy, it does not exclude all judgement: *Quamvis nomen ineffabile sit proprietatis clementis negandum tamen non est qui contineat proprietatem iudicii* (p. 741–742). This takes its departure from rabbinic debates over which is greater, the mercy or the judgement of God, and the identification of these *middoth* with specific divine names which we have met from Philo and the rabbis and thereafter. *Ehie* is said to be *nomen simplicis ac totius clementiae...primus omnium gratium, omnibus parcens, pater misericordiarum*. The third name, *ʿelohim*, is all judgement. Between the two is the Tetragrammaton, imagined as a sephirothic tree participating in and mediating between all the *Sephiroth*. It is perhaps relevant to point out here that he thinks that the Tetragrammaton is sometimes vocalized with vowels of *Elohim Jehoi*—but *de sui natura proferri deberet: Iehouah*. This first form, however, marks the Tetragrammaton as participating in the extremes of mercy and grace. The numbers $y = 10$, $h = 5$, $w = 6$ are called *numeri circulares*. Pico speaks of spherical nature of God and things proceeding from him in this manner.

Secondly, we learn of the equivalence of the name of God and the evil Prince of this world, if only one knows how to manipulate the letters.⁹⁰ He speaks of the special nature of the Tetragrammaton in a familiar way—*quatenus ipse est nihil eorum quae sunt, sed supra omnia est non habens respectum extra se*—which is unlike all other names, for *caetera sunt etiam aliarum proprietatum & relationum appellativa*. This name was not revealed to the Patriarchs, who used *shaddai: Qui sufficit, qui sufficiens, qui sufficientia*, similarly appropriate to God. But *shyd* is the Chaldean for a daemon and by numerical operations is related to Satan. Thirdly, we may notice that by commutation of its letters (by *athbas*), *yhw* becomes *mizpaz: Nomen Dei quatuor litterarum quod est ex mem zade pe and zade finale regno Davidis debet appropriari*. The mention of David's kingdom is important, for *Malchuth* ("Kingdom") is the door of the *Sephiroth* leading to the Tetragrammaton. In this vein we are further treated to angel names formed from the Tetragrammaton (816) and discover that the numerical value of Metatron (314) is also that of *shaddai*. 82of links *shiloh* in Genesis 49 with *Jesus*.⁹¹

The later work from Venice in 1569 may detain us just for a moment, as it evidently influenced Kircher in his later universalizing interpretation of the name of seventy-two letters (though he mistakenly called Archangelus *Novoburgensis*). The Israelite High Priest had the Tetragrammaton on his golden plaque so that all rites might be conducted in the name of God. But he also had seventy-two pomegranates on his mantle, which indicated that as the only true priest, he alone could beseech God on behalf of all the people of the world (there being, as we know, seventy-two peoples).⁹² Archangelus also has a discussion of Christ as the Tree of Life, which may have also influenced Kircher.⁹³

But to turn now to the *Dechiaratione*. It is a long and slow exposition of the Tetragrammaton and other Hebrew names, including that of *Giesu*, which draws on stock material but seeks systematically to relate observations upon the divine names and their inevitable Trinitarian significance to the ten *Sephiroth* and the complexities of their natures and associations. The numerical value of words is also a constant interest. The work takes the form of a

90 *Eadem sunt literae nominis cacodaemonis (qui est princeps mundi huius) & nominis dei Tetragrammaton. Et qui sciverit ordinare transpositionem deducet unum ex alio* (792–793).

91 Michael Neander (1525–1595) was author of *Sanctae Linguae Hebraeae Erotemata* (Oporinus, Basel, 1556), which was expanded the following year with *Testimonia Veterum Hebraeorum, Rabbidorum Thalmudistarum ac Cabbalistorum de Christo*. In interpretation of the Hebrew of Genesis 49:10 (traditionally rendered "until Shiloh come"), he also takes the first letters of the relevant Hebrew words to reveal that they spell *Yeshu*.

92 p. 1.

93 pp. 21–28.

dialogue between the author and his dedicatee, Signora Taddea Malaspina, who is constantly delighted by the profundity of the secrets revealed. The work draws widely on the *prisci theologi*, such as Hermes Trimegistus, and Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, and also Augustine, Origen, John Damascene, Occam, and Francisco Giorgio. It is a rich meditation on divinity and Christ. The centre core of the reflection on absolutes and archetypes in God, his attributes and titles, is based around the ten *Sephiroth* linked explicitly to Lull's attributes—*Potestas, Sapienza, Voluntas, Bonitas*, and so on (f30). These are then correlated with the different divine names: *Eheye* is the first, which relates to the *sephirah Cheter*; *Iah*, the second, to *Chocma*; the third, *Iehoua*, to *Bina*; and so on. The *'Ein Soph* is discussed, as is the relation of the *Sephiroth* to the cosmos, planets, the sun and moon, and the sensible world.

The Second Book begins with the letters of *ys/hw* and learned citations from Rabbenu Hacodos, the *Gale Razeia*, and Maimonides on the *Sem hamephoras*. Much of this material is now familiar to us, if not becoming tiresome: F77ff discusses the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton. The correct pronunciation is *Iehoua*. Some say *Ioua* (which they associate with the Classical Jove, who was apparently depicted with four ears, one for each of the letters of the name), but apart from the impropriety here, Hebrew requires it be pronounced *Iehoua*. The argument for *Ioua* is taken from Hebrew grammarians—or so says Petrus Niger in his work *Against the Hebrews*. *Kiddushin* 71a is cited, and again Rabbi Simeon the Just blesses baby Jesus with the Tetragrammaton for the last time, his hand raised here, however, with three upright fingers and two pointing towards his palm....⁹⁴ We may forgo a summary of Book Three. The point has been made about both the prominence of the name of Jesus and the increasing linguistic ingenuity Kabbalah is thought to legitimate. It is a rather over-rich diet, but at one point the letters, correspondences, and few diagrams of Book Three are relieved by a poetical passage of considerable beauty on the union of the two natures in Christ (fi80). It comes from the totally different spirituality of the Syriac poet St Ephrem, and is something of a refreshment to the weary reader.

In considering the name of Jesus we may also mention St Bernardino of Sienna (1380–1444), who was unusual in concentrating his preaching on the inner structure of the name rather than the details of the life of Jesus. He charged the Jews with accusing Jesus of magic wrought with the Tetragrammaton, but he himself preached the efficacy of the holy name of Jesus (*yhesus* or *yhesus hominum Salvator*), holding up the name on a square tablet surrounded by a starburst.⁹⁵

94 We have already seen this Trinitarian blessing in Galatinus.

95 Skemer, *Binding Words*, pp. 115–116.

The popularity of the name of Jesus seen in the light of the Tetragrammaton endured. In 1640, much later than Bernardino, there appeared a discussion of the Tetragrammaton and the name of Jesus—*Exercitatio Oratoria Oratio Prima De Nomine Jesu*—in a work by three Jesuit scholars.⁹⁶ The Tetragrammaton for them is effectively the name of Jesus, and they seek to concentrate upon IES-VAGH (*yshu'*). These four letters of the name of Jesus, the same number as those of the Tetragrammaton, designate the *Deum-hominem*, and (missionaries to the core) they observe that the name of God has four letters in thirty-two languages. In natural science (again, *they are Jesuits*) there are four points of the compass, four elements, and four humours. These four letters also evoke the divine *quadriga* which Ezekiel saw, the four orders of angels, evangelists, doctors of the Church, and religious...and so on.

Fray Luis de Leon (1527–1591)

In Spain, Fray Luis de Leon brought out his *De los Nombres de Christo en dos libros* in 1583 in Salamanca, from Iuan Fernandez.⁹⁷ He does not make much explicit use of Kabbalah but retains *iehoshuah*, considering it the Tetragrammaton with two extra letters.⁹⁸

The theory of names which he sets out in the first book of *De Los Nombres (De Los Nombres en General)* considers a name a virtual but adequate analogue of its object made up of its form, sound, and the origin of its etymology and meaning.⁹⁹ A name does not have to express all the qualities of the object without exception, and Fray Luis proceeds to exemplify this with the Tetragrammaton and fourteen names of Christ that respect his humanity.¹⁰⁰

96 J. Tollenaer, J. Bolland, and G. Henschen, *Imago primi saeculi societatis Iesu a provincia Flandro- Belgica eiusdem societatis representa* (B. Moreti, Antwerp, 1640), pp. 105–109.

97 E. Kohler, "Fray Luis de León e le Théorie du Nom," *Bulletin Hispanique* 50.3/4 (1948), 421–428; N. Fernández Marcos, "De los Nombres de Cristo de Luis de León y De Arcano Sermones de Arias Montano," in Fernández Marcos and Fernández Tejero, *Biblia y Humanismo*, pp. 133–152. I have briefly discussed Luis de León as a Kabbalist in Wilkinson, *Kabbalistic Scholars*, pp. 22–24 with bibliography.

98 *De Los Nombres*, pp. 632–634; Fernández Marcos, "De los Nombres de Cristo," p. 139. C.P. Thompson, *The Strife of Tongues Fray Luis de León and the Golden Age of Spain* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 165–168, seeks a more accurate measure of Fray Luis's Kabbalah by tracing his dependence upon Galatinus's *de Arcanis*. He finds him somewhat dismissive of letter manipulation but very taken with the usual Trinitarian imagery found in Galatinus.

99 Kohler, "Fray Luis," pp. 421–428.

100 F. de Onís, *Fray Luis de Leon De Los Nombres de Cristo* (Madrid, 1956), pp. 40, 49.

The name is ineffable because it is forbidden to articulate it, but its sound (as it is all vowels and no consonants) indicates everything, being, spirit, or life, without a hint of material. It denotes He who is all life and spirit, pure uncompounded being. The letters are such that they are interchangeable—each one is all and all are each—a very image of the simplicity of God on the one hand and of the infinite number of his interrelated perfections on the other. Thus, his perfect wisdom is identical with his infinite mercy, and his knowledge, power, and love are contained in each other. The name is written *en las letras caldayces* as a triangle of *yods* signifying the number of equal divine persons united in one essence. The name is thus both a name and a diagram (*figura*). Discussion concludes with the believer's white stone with the secret name in Revelation, God being all in all, and an awareness of the weakness of human understanding before such profundity.

La Croix cabbalistique de Maestricht¹⁰¹

Finally, we have a Kabbalistic artifact. A silver cross of uncertain provenance and dated only vaguely to the time of the Renaissance shows interest in the Tetragrammaton. Face A takes the (graphic) form of a Latin Cross (with a longer vertical), with a *tau* symbolizing the Cross marking top and bottom of the vertical, and Alpha and Omega from Revelation 1:8 marking the ends of the horizontal. In the centre is written the Tetragrammaton, spelled *yhwd* (presumably out of reverence).¹⁰² Three *yods* indicate the Trinity, above which one finds *yh* and below *'b* (Father) and *hw* (He? or seen as part of Tetragrammaton?). The number 72 is given, *num[erus]* apparently being the abbreviation. Face B takes the form of a Greek cross with (graphically) equal limbs marked by four *taus*. *Macabi* is placed across the centre in Hebrew and above in Latin. It is made from the initial letters of the Hebrew "Who is like Thee amongst the gods, O Yhwh" in Exodus 15:11. Below this (though the numbers do not quite fit the letters) and in three other places the number 72 is placed. On the lower vertical we have *y*, *yh*, *yhw*, and *yhwh*, again with a numerical value of 72.

101 "Croix Diverses Croix cabbalistique de Maestricht," in C. Cahier and A. Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie d'histoire et de littérature Collection de mémoires sur l'orfèvrerie et les emaux... rédigés ou recueillis... Volume I (1847-1849)* (Paris, 1850), pp. 191-203 and plate XXXI.

102 *Kabbala Denudata* 1:38 'Ob reverentiam divini nominis loco He pingitur fragmentum eiusdem, nempe Daleth.

The early Christian Kabbalists constituted an important stimulus to Christian appropriation of the Tetragrammaton. We shall return in due course to their later colleagues and the continuing influence of their speculations. At this point, however, we shall turn to consider early modern Bibles and the writings of the Reformers before returning to Kabbalah.

The Tetragrammaton in Vernacular Bibles, Popular Print, and Illustration

Early Modern Bibles

There was general confidence in Jerome's Latin Bible during the Middle Ages, though scholars who knew Hebrew, like Raymund Martin and Nicholas of Lyra, noted points where it did not reflect the *Hebraica Veritas*. They explained this as due to different, more accurate versions produced by Jerome as his critical acumen increased, or by denying versions of some books to him. Humanists were sharper. Lorenzo Valla felt able to use words like "crude" and "barbarous." Reuchlin in his grammar offered some 200 corrections of the Vulgate. Étaples's 1512 Commentaries on Paul consider that the common Latin which *preceded* Jerome (which we today call the *Vetus Latina*) was the Scripture he (Jerome) called the "Vulgate." In 1525 Augustino Steucho (1497–1548), the Italian humanist and Counter-Reformation polemicist, became director of the Grimani library in Venice (where many of Pico della Mirandola's books had ended up) and used its books to write annotations, strictly literal and historical, upon the Pentateuch. In his *Veteris Testamenti ad Hebraicam Veritatem Recognitio* (Aldus, Venice, 1529) he used these resources to correct Jerome's Vulgate text. He subsequently did the same with Job and the Psalms.¹ Mention should also be made here of the careful work of Santes Pagnino (Pagninus) and the translations of Étaples (Vatablus), whom we have considered in respect of his Christian Kabbalism.² Nevertheless, it was the Vulgate which was ultimately accepted as the Catholic Church's Bible at the Council of Trent in March and April 1546.³

1 Ambrogio Morando edited Steucho's *Opera Omnia* (D. Nicholinus, Venice, 1578, 1592, 1601). The *Enarrationes in librum Job* are in vol. 1; those on the Psalms are in vol. II. Theobald Freudenberger, *Augustinus Steuchus aus Gubbio Augustinerchorherr and papstlicher Bibliothekar* (Münster in Westfalen, 1935).

2 A. Morisi-Guerra, "Santes Pagnino Traducteur de la Bible," in Backus, ed., *Colloque international sur l'Histoire de Exègese biblique au XVIe siècle*, pp. 191–198. Also D. Barthélemy, "Origine et Rayonnement de la Bible de Vatables," in Backus, ed., *Colloque international sur l'Histoire de Exègese biblique au XVIe siècle*, pp. 385–402.

3 Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, pp. 173–199, for an excellent summary of the discussion of Jerome's version at the time of the Council. Cornelia Linde, *How to Correct the Sacra Scriptura: Textual Criticism of the Bible between the Twelfth and Fifteenth Century* (Medium

Nor were Bibles in particularly short supply. Manuscript Bibles had been turned out in such numbers between 1240 and 1280 that the market was saturated. The manuscripts produced in the 14th and 15th centuries are consequently comparatively rare.⁴ Between 1521 and 1570 there were some 138 Latin Bibles printed: the 80 that were printed in Catholic towns were placed on the Index, and 58 Bibles were Protestant.⁵ The three most influential were probably those of the Catholic humanist Santes Pagnino (1528), the Protestant Sebastian Münster (1534–1535), and the Zürich Bible of 1543.⁶

The printed text of the Vulgate, however, was not beyond reproach. Though subsequently tidied up in technical and typographic terms, Gutenberg's printed version remained extraordinarily influential, even though he seems to have given no thought at all to the choice of a copy text. Virtually all of the 15th-century printed Latin Bibles used Gutenberg's text or those of his slavish imitators. In purely textual terms, this constituted a major and rather arbitrary crystallization from the manuscript tradition, similar in effect to that of the early 13th century around the University of Paris. This was not a particularly good legacy for the 16th century.⁷

Nevertheless, there were attempts to improve on the Latin version, as we have just seen. Thomas Gataker in his *De Nomine Tetragrammato Dissertatio* in 1645 (Reland p. 481)—a book we shall meet again—offers a conveniently swift survey of the earlier Latin renderings of Exodus 3:14: Jerome had *Sum qui Sum* or *Sum quod Sum*, which has been always influential. Pagninus had *Ero qui Ero* or *Ero quod Ero*, which is what (he says) the words literally mean. Oleaster is happy to follow this entirely, though he had, of course, set himself the specific task of commenting upon Pagninus's translation.⁸ The Latin Bible brought out

Aevum Monographs) (Oxford, 2011). For 16th-century Bibles in general, see: G. Bedouelle and B. Roussel, eds., *Bible de Tous les Temps: Le Temps des Réformes et la Bible* (Paris, 1989).

4 Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, p. 8.

5 Josef Eskhult, "Latin Bible Translations in the Protestant Reformation: Historical Context, Philological Justification and the Impact of Classical Rhetoric on the Concept of Translation," in Gordon and McLean, *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation*, pp. 167–185.

6 Claire Gantet, "La Religion et ses mots: La Bible latine de Zurich (1543) entre la Tradition et l'Innovation," *Zwingliana* 23 (1996), 143–167; Christoph Sigrist, *Der Zürcher Bibel von 1531: Entstehung, Verbreitung und Wirkung* (Zürich, 2011); J.M. Lenhardt, "Protestant Latin Bibles of the Reformation from 1520–1570: A Bibliographical Account," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 8 (1946), 430–431, is incomplete. S. Berger, *La Bible au Seizième Siècle: Étude sur les Origines de la Critique Biblique* (Paris, 1879), is still useful.

7 Ibid., p. 31. See further, Paul Needham, "The Changing Shape of the Vulgate Bible in Fifteenth-Century Printing Shops," in Van Kampen and Saenger, eds., *The Bible as Book*, pp. 53–70.

8 Nevertheless, the Portuguese Hieronymus ab Oleaster (Jerónimo de Azambuja), O.P., in his *Commentaria in Mosi Pentateuchum juxta Sancti Pagnini interpretationem* (Heirs of J. Stelsius,

by Christophe Froschover Junior in 1564 uses Pagninus and writes *Ero qui Ero* and uses *Iehouáh* for the Tetragrammaton.⁹ Piscator is alone (Gataker believes) with *Ero qui Eram*. Junius rather differently treats only the first term as a holy name and the others as normal “profane” words. He has *Ehjeh, quia sum*. Vatablus somewhat similarly puts *Ero, quia Ero*, then, more interpretatively (*exegetikós*), *Ero: ero enim*, as if God is giving Moses both his name and then an explanation.

Immanuel Tremellius (c.1510–1580) was a Jewish scholar who converted first to Catholicism and then to Calvinism.¹⁰ He brought out a Latin version of the New Testament in 1569 in Geneva and, with his son-in-law Franciscus Junius (the Elder), an Old Testament published in five parts in Frankfurt between 1575 and 1579.¹¹ This was printed in London in 1580 and many times thereafter.¹² Tremellius used *Iehova*. The later editions also allow themselves *Dominus Iehovi* for *ʾdny yhw̄h*. Later, in 1604, when Drusius wrote his *Tetragrammaton* against the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton as *Jehova*, he found Tremellius’s choice almost incomprehensible. He makes reference to an explanation of the vocalization of the Tetragrammaton by Tremellius himself, which he says he has in his hands, a transcription, made by someone unknown, of the exegesis of some chapters in Isaiah *ex ore ipsius*.¹³ Tremellius remarks

Antwerp, 1569) on Exodus 6:3 achieved some notoriety in deriving *yhw̄h* from *hovah* rather than *hayah*: *Videtur autem JeHoVaH potius derivari ab Hovah, quam ab Havah quod est esse; cum majorem convenientiam habeat ad Hovah quam ad Havah*. Whence he argues that the word means: *Destroyer, Breaker, One Who Brings Misfortunes*. He was thinking of the destruction of the Egyptians and the Canaanites, as his subsequent discussion indicates. G.F. Daumer (1800–1875) expressed a similar view—before his conversion to Catholicism—in *Die Feuer- und Molochdienst der Hebräer* (Brunswick, 1842), p. 11. He evidently thought Jehovah was Molek and the name appropriate.

- 9 *Bibliorum Codex Sacer et Authenticus Testamenti Utriusque...ex Hebraea et Graeca... Translatus in Linguam Latinam* (C. Froschoverus Junior, Tiguri, 1564).
- 10 Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c.1510–1580)* (Aldershot, 2007); idem, “Immanuel Tremellius’ Latin Bible (1575–1579) as a Pillar of the Calvinist Faith,” in *Print and Power in France and England (1500–1800)*, eds. D. Adams and A. Armstrong (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 27–38. Earlier, W. Becker, *Immanuel Tremellius Ein Prosylytenleben in Zeitalter der Reformation* (Leipzig, 1890). I have discussed Tremellius’s Syriac New Testament in Robert J. Wilkinson, “Immanuel Tremellius’ 1569 Edition of the Syriac New Testament,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 58 (2007), 9–25.
- 11 On whom F.-W. Cuno, *Franciscus Junius der Ältere* (1891; repr. Geneva, 1971).
- 12 Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism*, lists subsequent editions in an appendix. He specifically discusses the Latin Bible pp. 145–168.
- 13 Drusius (p. 85) suggests that the text may have been taken down by Emmanuel Cevalerius, the elder son of Antonio Rodolphus Cevalerius, whose mother, wife of Cevalerius senior, was Tremellius’s adopted daughter. On pp. 88–90 a letter by Antonius Rodolphus

that: *y/hwh* they (the Jews) say to be the proper name of God's essence (*esse*), which has none of its own vowels and so is of itself unpronounceable, to indicate God's incomprehensible essence. It is by adding the vowels of other names of God (*'adonai* if it is on its own, or *'elohim* if it comes next to *'adonai*) that it is made pronounceable. He adds that the Jews find in this vocalization an indication that God is Spirit and that all time—past, present, and future—is caught up in this name. He finds similar exposition in Paul Fagius's *Annotationes ad Paraphrasim Chaldaicam* on Exodus 6. And yet, fumes the angry Drusius, with such a clear view of the Massoretic convention—Tremellius had, after all, been brought up and extremely well educated as a Jew—he allowed the impossible form *Jehova* to appear in his translation—even if he was not personally responsible for the latter editions after his death, but rather Junius. These editions also have *Jehovi*, which is even worse!

But these were scholarly works and accessible only to a learned elite. It is the appearance of the divine name, in some form or other, in vernacular Bibles which gave the general Christian laity access to the proper name of God for the first time since the very earliest days of the Church.¹⁴ The use of *Jehova(h)* or suchlike was uneven and would also stimulate learned debate over the felicity or barbarism of the form, but the name became widely known.

Luther's Bibles¹⁵

The conventions of representing the divine name in the Wittenberg Luther Bibles were presented in a text of Christoffel Walter, the corrector of the printer Luffts. The work is entitled: *Bericht von vnterscheid der Biblien vnd anderer des Ehrnwirdligen vnd seiligen Herrn Doct. Martini Lutheri Bücher/so zu Wittemberg vnd an anderen gedruckt werden/dem Christlichen leser zu nutz. Durch Christoffel Walter/des Herrn Hans Luffts corrector. Wittemberg 1563.*¹⁶ HERR capitalized

Cevallerius explaining the Massoretic convention and the error of *Jehova* is included. It is dated Cambridge 1569.

- 14 For manuscripts and printed Bibles in circulation in the 15th and early 16th centuries, A. Gow, "Challenging the Protestant Paradigm: Bible Reading in Lay and Urban Contexts of the Late Middle Ages," in *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages And Renaissance*, eds. T.J. Heffernan and T.E. Burman (Leiden, 2005), pp. 161–191.
- 15 For a modern edition of the last of his Bibles to appear in Luther's lifetime, see Volz, ed., *D. Martin Luther*.
- 16 For Walter's text, see the appendix on the orthography of Wittenberg Luther Bibles in the *Abhang* to the Hans Volz edition (above), pp. 270–277.

represents the Hebrew name of God, *Jehouah*, which is used for the Divine Majesty alone. Where other names are used, like *'adonai* or *'elohim*, which may be used of angels and men as well as God, *HErr* is used, half capitals and half lower case. For *'adonai Jehouah*, so characteristic of Ezekiel, *HErr HERR* is used. *'Adoni* used of a man is *herr* in lower case. For Psalm 110 we find: *Der HERR sprach zu meinem HErr*. Luther himself gives the same explanation when commenting on this Psalm.¹⁷ His further remarks on Isaiah 60:19 in *Von den letzten Worten Davids* make it quite clear that the convention was Luther's own.¹⁸ In that verse the *HERR* who speaks is God the Father, the *HERR* spoken of is God the Son.¹⁹

The convention was popular. When Sixtinus Amama wrote his *De Nomine Tetragrammato* in 1628, he concluded with a list of scholars who reject the form *Jehova* and suggests upper case DOMINUS & DEUS, HEERE, HERR LORD, SEIGNEUR, or *l'Éternel* as the way to present the Tetragrammaton in contemporary Bibles. In this respect he was able to cite the support of the Synod of Dordrecht (1618–1619) of the Dutch Reformed Church for this practice.²⁰ Nonetheless, by the last quarter of the century, books produced in Germany frequently used *Jehova(h)* or occasionally *Ihova*. The name had arrived.

Vernacular English Bibles

Tyndale appears to be the first to use *Jehovah* in an English Bible, not perhaps altogether surprisingly, as his 1530 Pentateuch was the first translation directly

17 Weimar edition, vol. 41, pp. 13, 23–83.

18 Weimar edition, vol. 54, pp. 38–46. In his sermon on Jeremiah 23:5–8 Luther made it clear that he did not consider that the Hebrew divine names could be put into German *habet ferme haec lingua X nomina dei et plura nomina quibus complectuntur opera dei, auff deutsch non potest reddi*.

19 Luther's work was made from the Hebrew and Greek but had, of course, been preceded by many vernacular versions from the Latin. There were eighteen such editions in Germany between 1466 and 1522; the first of four Italian editions appeared in 1471; and French, Dutch, Spanish, and Czech versions followed each other every year beginning in 1474. English vernacular Scriptures without ecclesiastical permission were forbidden by the Constitution of Oxford (1408) for fear of Lollardy.

20 Session 12: "Secunda quaestio fuit, Quomodo nomen *Jehova* (ita ex communi consuetudine appellat nomen yhw) in Veteri Testamento sit transferendum? Utrum in Belgico sit retinendum, an vero per vocem *Heere*, uti hactenus, aut similem, exprimendum. At consultum fuit iudicatum, cum alia commoda, atque usitata vox Belgica non exstet, qua vis istius nominis exprimat, ut Interpp. vocem *Jehova* transferant per vocem *Heere*,

from Hebrew to English.²¹ Luther's German Pentateuch from Hebrew had appeared in 1523, and no doubt Tyndale had kept an eye on it.²² Tyndale renders Exodus 3:14: "Then said God unto Moses: I will be what I will be: and he said, this shall thou say unto the children of Israel: I will be did send me to you." The margin has: "Of this word, I will be cometh the name of God Iehouah which we interpret as Lord, and is as much to say as that I am." Evidently, though preferring the future tense, Tyndale found it meant much the same as "I am." *Iehouah* appears in the text at the beginning of Exodus Chapter 6, where both the Vulgate and hence Wyclif have *Adonai*.²³ God says to Moses: "I am the Lord, and I appeared unto Abraham, Isaac and Jacob an almighty God: but in my name Jehovah I was not known to them." Outside Genesis Tyndale prints "Lord," but there the convention is different and Tyndale's initial practice seems reminiscent of Luther's. In his *Table Expounding Certain Words* at the end of his Genesis we read: "Jehovah is God's name, neither is any creature so

utque haec vox majusculis literis in textu exprimatur. Ubicunque vero vox *Jehova* emphasis habere videtur peculiarem, ibi ponendum esse asteriscum, & vocem *Jehova* in margine adscribendam. Monendos quoque interpretes, ut, ubi vox haec habes puncta vocis *Elohim*, dispiciant, an illis locis commodius per vocem *GODT*, quam per vocem *HEERE*, transferri non possit."

- 21 On Tyndale's Hebrew: Gerald Hammond, "William Tyndale's Pentateuch: Its Relation to Luther's German Bible and the Hebrew Original," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980), 351–385; idem, "Tyndale's Knowledge of Hebrew," in *Word, Church and State: Tyndale Quincentenary Essays*, eds. J.T. Day et al. (Washington, D.C., 1998), pp. 26–36; Michael Weitzman, "On Translating the Old Testament: The Achievement of William Tyndale," *Reformation* 1 (1996), 165–180. Earlier but still of interest, E.W. Cleaveland, *A Study of Tyndale's Genesis Compared with the Genesis of Coverdale and of the Authorised Version* (New York, 1911). For Hebrew in England (and English Hebraists in exile) in Tyndale's time, A. Schper, *Christian Hebraists in Sixteenth-Century England* (unpublished PhD dissertation, London, 1944), pp. 48–120. For a wider perspective on English Bibles, L.B. Lang, *Well and Truly Translated: An Exploration of the Processes at Work in Englishing the Bible from the Seventh to the Seventeenth Century* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Warwick, 1995). I have used the modern spelling edition of David Daniell, *Tyndale's Old Testament* (London, 1992). There is no significant distinction between *Iehouah* and *Jehovah*, merely orthographic fashion. Apparently the first English language book to distinguish /i/ and /j/ dates from 1634, R.M. Hogg, *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 39. It was only by the mid-1550s that *V* was used to represent the consonant and *U* the vowel.
- 22 L.F. Gruber, *The First English New Testament and Luther* (Burlington, Iowa, 1928).
- 23 Some texts of Wyclif B gloss: "Adonay, that is Tetragrammaton, that signifieth God's being nakedly, without consideration to creature." See David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography* (London, 1994), p. 284. Tyndale has "LORde Iehouah" at Genesis 15:2 and "O Lorde Iehoua" at Deuteronomy 9:2.

called. And it is as much to say as one that is of himself, and dependeth of nothing. Moreover as oft as thou seest LORde in great letters (except there be an error in the printing) it is in Hebrew Iehouah, thou that art or he that is." The meaning given the name is utterly traditional and the initial convention partly Luther's, but Tyndale's modern editor and biographer, David Daniell, has drawn attention to the appearance of this personal name of God in a text designed to be read by ordinary people without Latin, so soon after its appearance in Latin: "Readers of Tyndale's Genesis in England must have felt that in more than one sense they were meeting God for the first time. It is little wonder that the covenant made with that God became so central to the theology of so many of them."²⁴

The form evidently commended itself to English Protestants. Though missing from Coverdale's 1535 translation, it appears in Matthew's Bible of 1537, the Great Bible of 1539, the complete Geneva Bible 1560 (as *Iehouáh*), and the Bishops' Bible of 1568.²⁵ The King James Bible of 1611 usually has LORD but occasionally, where sense demands, uses *Jehovah*.²⁶ The Roman Catholic Douay version of 1609–1610, prepared by Gregory Martin, professor of Hebrew at the Douai Seminary, at the behest of Cardinal William Allen, naturally followed the Vulgate's *Dominus* and rendered the Tetragrammaton as "Lord."²⁷

24 Ibid., pp. 284–285. In his introduction to *Tyndale's Old Testament* (see below), Professor Daniell writes (pp. xxvii–xxviii), "In 1530, it would surely have struck Tyndale's readers forcibly that the name of God was newly revealed."

25 The marginal comment of the Geneva Bible at *Jehouah* in Exodus 6:3 has: "Whereby he signifieth that he will performe indeed that which he promised to their fathers: for this Name declareth that he is constant, and will perform this promise." The Bishops' Bible has *Iehouah* at, e.g. Exodus 6:2, 3, 6, 8; 33:19; and Ezekiel 3:12. The Psalter in the first two editions of the Bishops' Bible put "God" for the Tetragrammaton, but in later editions was replaced by the Psalter of the Great Bible.

26 Exodus 6:3; Psalm 83:18; Isaiah 12:2, 26:4. *Jehovah* occurs in place names Genesis 22:14; Exodus 17:15; Judges 6:24. In the first printing of the KJV, the Tetragrammaton was marked by large capitals until the end of Genesis, but thereafter by small capitals. In the second edition this inconsistency was presumably noticed and small capitals used throughout, David Norton, *A Textual History of the King James Bible* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 50–67. For an earlier work on KJV editions, F.H.A. Scrivener, *The Authorised Edition of the English Bible* (Cambridge, 1884).

27 On Douay-Rheims, see the balanced account of Alexandra Walsham, "Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation English Catholicism and the Vernacular Bible," *Journal of British Studies* 42 (2003), 141–166. H. Cotton, *Rhemes and Doway* (Oxford, 1853) is informative but partial. David Daniell, *The Bible in English* (London, 2003), is an extensive introduction to English Bibles.

Henry Ainsworth (1571–1622), a Hebraist and the leader of the Separatist Congregation in Amsterdam, produced *Annotations on the Psalter* in 1616, and subsequently *Annotations on the Pentateuch*, which were gathered together in folio from 1639. He used *Iehovah* consistently for the Tetragrammaton throughout. In his annotation to Genesis 2:4 he wrote: “Iehovah, this is God’s proper name. It cometh from havah, he was, and by the first letter I it signifieth, he will be, and by the second letter Ho it signifieth, he is... Past present and to come are comprehended in the proper name... It implieth also that God hath his being or existence of himself...”²⁸

An indication of the popularity and currency of *Jehovah* may be had from Roger Hutchinson’s *The image of God or laie mans booke* (John Day & William Seres, London, 1550), which was dedicated to Cranmer. There, reference is made to the “peculiar special honourable and most blessed name of God—Iehouah.”²⁹ The first Book of Common Prayer of 1549 required the Psalter to be read through once every month in every parish at Mattins and Evensong. The Great Bible was the appointed Scripture at that point, so the *Jehova* of Psalm 83:18 would be heard in English in church. The 1662 revision, of course, incorporated Coverdale’s Psalter, which has “Lorde.” *Jehouah* hereafter would become common. Francis Bacon’s *The Translation of Certain Psalmes in English Version* of 1625 has *Iehouah*. Robert Hill subtitled his *Life Everlasting* of 1601 (John Legat, Cambridge) *The True knowledge of one Iehouah, Three Elohim and Iesu Immanuel*. These terms were no longer obscure.

The most renowned Psalter of the English Renaissance was, of course, *The Paraphrase upon the Psalms* (1636), written by Philip Sidney and his sister the Countess of Pembroke, which used *Jehova*.³⁰ The Psalter of George Sandys, a

28 Henry Ainsworth, *Annotations upon the Five Books of Moses, the Book of Psalms and the Song of Songs or Canticles* (M. Parsons for J. Bellamie, London, 1639). R.A. Muller, “Henry Ainsworth and the Development of Protestant Exegesis in the Early Seventeenth Century,” in idem, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 156–174.

29 John Bruce, *The Works of Roger Hutchinson* (Cambridge, 1842), pp. 183–184. The context is a proof of the Holy Trinity from the use of the plural form *’elohim* with that of the one God, *Iehova*, in the formula of the Shema’, “The Lord our God is one Lord.”

30 Anne Lake Prescott, “King David as a ‘Right Poet’: Sidney and the Psalmist,” *English Literary Renaissance* 19.3 (1989), 131–151; Theodore L. Steinberg, “The Sydneys and the Psalms,” *Studies in Philology* 92.1 (1995), 1–17; D.L. Orvis, “Re-revealing the Psalms: Mary Sidney Countess of Pembroke and her Early Modern Psalter,” in *Psalms in the Early Modern World*, eds. L.P. Austern and K. Boyd McBride (Farnham, 2011), pp. 219–234; also Anne Lake Prescott, “Sibling Harps: The Sydneys and the Chérons Translate the Psalms,” in Austern and McBride, eds., *Psalms in the Early Modern World*, pp. 235–256.

gentleman of Charles I's Privy Chamber, also achieved distinction and used *Jehovah* many times. In 1653 John Milton began Psalm 5, "Jehovah to my words give ear...." *Jehovah* is familiar throughout *Paradise Lost* (1667). America's first printed book, *The Bay Psalm Book*, was printed by Stephen Daye in Cambridge, New England, in 1640. It uses *Iehovah* a few times.

The complete Welsh Bible of 1588 was the work of William Morgan (1545–1604), who was educated at St. John's, Cambridge, completed his Hebrew studies in 1578, and worked, apparently on his own, in the rural parish of Llanrhaeadr.³¹ This was preceded by a New Testament and Prayer Book (including a Psalter) in 1567, but he seems to have worked alone on the daunting task of translating the Old Testament without any official directive and quite away from either University. It is uncertain how many were printed: some have suggested a thousand copies, which would have provided one for every church in the principality. William Salesbury's Psalter included in the Welsh Book of Common Prayer of 1567 rendered the Tetragrammaton as *Arglwydd* but has *Jehováh* at Psalm 83:18. Here, Morgan put *Iehofa*.³²

In Scotland, Robert Pont in *Psalms for the Scottish Metrical Psalter* (1564 ed.) used *Jehoua*.³³ Beza's Latin *Psalmodum Sacrorum Davidis* (J. Le Preux, Bern, 1581) used *Iehoua* at times. It was put into English by Anthony Gilbie and the 1590 edition from R. Yardley and P. Scot has an initial plate of King David praying to a Tetragrammaton. The version, however, appears to prefer "Lord."

Versions in French

Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples produced his *La Sainte Bible en Francoys*...in 1530 with the printer Martin Lempereur in Antwerp. It was made from the Vulgate with the aim of helping preachers in his diocese of Meaux, and has preaching illustrations for the fifty-two Sundays of the year. It appeared with a privilege of the Emperor Charles V and the support of some Louvain theologians. The Parlement of Paris had forbidden vernacular versions in 1526, so this first

31 E.M. White, *The Welsh Bible* (Stroud, 2007); John Ballinger, *The Bible in Wales* (London, 1906), for bibliography of editions. Also: Glanmor Williams, *Wales and the Reformation* (Cardiff, 1999), pp. 338–360.

32 Three important articles in the *National Library of Wales Journal* by Isaac Thomas (with English summaries) reveal Morgan's working methods: "Salmau William Morgan" 23.2 (1983), 89–129; "Fersiwn William Morgan o'r hen Destament Hebraeg" 23.3 (1984), 209–291; "Y Fersiwn o'r hen Destament Hebraeg ym Meibl Cymraeg 1620" 24.1 (1985), 1–45.

33 J. Reid-Baxter, "Metrical Psalmody and the Bannatyne Manuscript: Robert Pont's Psalm 83," *Renaissance and Reformation* 30.4 (2006–2007), 41–62.

complete printed French Bible appeared in Antwerp. It was reprinted in 1534 and 1541 and made it onto the Index in 1546. More positively, the Bible was reviewed by the doctors of Louvain, who produced another version in 1550 printed by B. Gravius, and another after review in 1578. The version naturally influenced those which followed. The Tetragrammaton was rendered *Le Seigneur*; in Exodus 3:14 we have *Je suis celui qui suis...celui qui est ma envoie a vous*; and in Exodus 6:3 the Vulgate *Adonay* is preserved. *Jehovah* does not appear.

The French version of Scripture most associated with the Reform is *La Bible Qui est toute la Sainte Scripture* (1535, Pierre de Wingle, Neuchâtel) translated direct from the Hebrew and Greek by Pierre Robert Olivétan (c.1506–1538).³⁴ Olivétan was a cousin of Calvin who contributed a Latin preface to the translation (he was twenty-five years old at the time). Olivétan had studied Hebrew under Bucer in Strasbourg and made use of Lefèvre d'Étaples's work in preparing his version. The occasion was the Chanforan Synod of 1532, where, under the influence of Guillaume Farel, the Waldensians adhered to the Reform. Olivétan was persuaded by Farel to produce the Bible the synod wanted: it took him some two years. This version was generally adopted in Geneva, but it never achieved the universal authority of Luther's Bible in Germany or the King James Bible in England. It was an awkward folio (Tyndale's Pentateuch had a small format, convenient to carry) and unattractive, in heavy Gothic print. The unparalleled changes in the French language in the 16th century meant that it, or any other version, soon sounded rather archaic.³⁵ It was revised in 1588 by a committee of Geneva pastors headed by Beza and the Professor of Hebrew Corneille Bertram and, until its further revision by David Martin (1699–1707), may be considered the standard French Protestant Bible.³⁶ It is often called the (French) Geneva Bible, but is to be distinguished from the English version of

34 Olivétan, *Traducteur de la Bible. Actes du Colloque Olivétan Noyon mai 1985* (Paris, 1987). E. Reuss, *La Bible d'Olivétan* (Strasbourg 1866) comprises material from *Revue Théologique (de Strasbourg)* 3rd series: 3 (1865), 217–252; 4 (1866), 1–48, 281–322, 388–390; 5 (1897), 306–324. For French Bibles in general, B. Thomas Chambers, *Bibliography of the French Bible: Fifteenth- and Sixteenth Century French Language Editions of the Scriptures* (Geneva, 1983). A straightforward account is found in R.D. Linde, "The Bible and the French Protestant Reformation of the Sixteenth Century," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 25.2 (1987), 145–161.

35 See Lucien Febre, *Le Problème de l'Incroyance au XVIe siècle: La Religion de Rabelais* (Paris, 1942), 383–411.

36 Max Engammare, "Cinquante Ans de Révision de la Traduction Biblique d'Olivet: Les Bibles Réformées Genevoises en Français au XVIe siècle," *Bibliothèque del'Humanisme et La Renaissance* 53.2 (1991), 347–377.

that name. The version translates the Tetragrammaton by *l'Éternel* and does not use *Jehovah* at all. In the preface to his Bible, Olivétan explains his choice:

Désirant montrer la vraie propriété et signification de ce mot JHVH...je l'ai exprimé selon son origine, au plus près qu'il m'a été possible par le mot Éternel. Car JHVH vient de HWH qui veut dire 'est'. Or, il n'y a que lui qui soit vraiment et qui fasse être toute chose... De la nommer comme les Juifs Adonaï, c'est à dire Seigneur, ce n'est pas remplir et satisfaire à la signification et majesté du mot. Car Adonaï en l'Écriture est communicable, étant aux hommes comme à Dieu. Mais JHWH est incommunicable, ne se pouvant approprier et attribuer, sinon qu' à Dieu seul selon son essence.

We may consider this his attempt to moderate between philology and translatability. The Catholic equivalent, the Louvain Bible of 1550 reprinted in 1578, similarly lacked *Jehovah*.³⁷

Sébastien Castellion (1515–1563) is famous for his dispute with Calvin after the latter had burned Michel Servetus as an anti-Trinitarian in Geneva in October 1553.³⁸ He was also an able, albeit unconventional, biblical translator. He became a Protestant in Lyon and met Calvin in Strasbourg but subsequently disagreed with him and did not become a pastor later in Geneva, as he had hoped. He moved to Basel in 1545 and after some difficult years was appointed to teach Greek in the University in 1553. He produced a new Latin version of the Bible in 1551 from the Hebrew and Greek which was distinguished for the use of *Ioua* in Latin for the Tetragrammaton. He defended this by saying that there was no suitable Latin name for God except *Jupiter*, which was too “defiled.” Besides, he thought with time people would get used to it.³⁹ He translated Exodus 3:14 as: *ERO QUI ERO...ERO mittit me ad vos*.

37 P.-M. Bogaert and J.-F. Gilmont, “La première Bible française de Louvain,” *Revue Théologique de Louvain* 11.3 (1980), 275–309.

38 His *Traicté des Hérétiques* appeared in 1554 under the pseudonym Martin Bellie.

39 ...quod autem Dei nomen IOVA Hebraeorum usurpavimus, quod nullum DEI proprium nomen latine exstat, nisi forte iuppiter, sed id, vi pollutum, omittamus, id etsi principio videbitur fortasse durius, tamen usu mollescet: et quod insuetum aures radet, idem usitatum demulcebit. His remarks are found in the Preface to his *Dialogues* (J. Aqnensis, Cologne, 1551), now D. Amherdt and Y. Giraud, eds., *Dialogues sacrés/Dialogi sacri: première livre* (Geneva, 2004) and in his annotation to Genesis 2:4. See also, Irena Backus, “Moses, Plato and Flavius Josephus Castellio’s Conceptions of Sacred and Profane in his Latin Versions of the Bible,” in Gordon and McLean, *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation*, pp. 143–166.

Castellion's French language Bible, *La Bible nouvellement translattée...* of 1555, however, used *Le Seigneur*. This is a Bible which has attracted a lot of interest recently because of Castellion's unusual views on translation.⁴⁰ He not only believed that the Holy Spirit *laisse la liberté des mots et de la langue à l'orateur ou à l'écrivain*, but also sought himself to render the text *entendible aux idiots*. Such freedom annoyed both Catholics and Protestants, and few ordinary people got the benefit of his labours. When the Bible was reprinted for the first time in 2004, there were only 21 extant copies of the first edition.⁴¹ The spread of vernacular Bibles in France can hardly be considered to have spread familiarity with the name *Jehovah*.⁴²

Italian Bibles

Nor was this the case in Italy. The first printed Italian Bible was produced by Niccolò Malerini in Venice 1471 from the Vulgate. An edition of 1490 by Lucantonio di Gunta is noteworthy for its 386 woodcuts, 210 of which are in the Old Testament. These illustrations perhaps give some idea of the low level of literacy anticipated in some of the readers or hearers. Woodcuts appear generously in Vulgate Bibles themselves produced in Venice and Lyon.⁴³ Paul IV proscribed all reading and printing of vernacular Bibles without ecclesiastical permission in 1471, and this was repeated by Pius IV in 1564. This effectively put a stop to Bible translation into Italian for 200 years, though the bible of the Swiss-born Italian theologian Giovanni Deodati (1576–1649) is one exception. He was a professor of Hebrew at Geneva and brought out his translation from Hebrew and Greek in 1603 and with notes in 1607. At Exodus 3:14 he has

40 J. Chauraud et al., eds., *Sébastien Castellion La Genèse* (Geneva, 2003); N. Gueunier and Max Engammare, eds., *Sébastien Castellion Les Livres de Salomon* (Geneva, 2008). C. Skupien Deleus, *Traduire pour le Peuple de Dieu. La Syntaxe française dans la traduction de la Bible par Sébastien Castellion Bâle 1555* (Geneva, 2009). An older work is: F.E. Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion, sa Vie et ses Oeuvres 1515–1563*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1892).

41 J. Rounbaud et al., eds., *La Bible nouvellement translatté par Sébastien Castellion 1555* (Paris, 2004).

42 The *Arrest memorable du Parlement de Toulouse* (Antoine Vincent, Lyon, 1561) tells the famous story of the Return of Martin Guerre with annotations by Jean de Coras, 1560. At 2.13 De Coras discusses blasphemy in the context of an accusation of blaspheming the name of God: he considers the theologian's definition of such as attributing bodily limbs and other parts to God. He then mentions the view of the Hebrews and Kabbalists that blasphemy is nothing other than pronouncing the ineffable Tetragrammaton, which must be neither written nor articulated according to its letters and characters, before passing to a more generally serviceable definition based upon the meaning of the Greek word.

43 James Strachen, *Early Bible Illustration* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 31–35.

IO SONO COLUI CHE É. His annotation explains that God really exists, as opposed to other gods who exist in name alone—*opinione degli nomini*.⁴⁴

Another exception is *La Biblia che si chiama il Vecchio Testamento*, made from the Hebrew and printed by Francesco Durone 1561 [n.p. but Geneva] which has *Io sarò quel che sarò* and occasionally *IEHOVA*. It was prefaced by a defence of vernacular Scripture addressed to the Florentine Republic made by Antonio Brucioli 1498–1566 and placed on Paul IV's index in 1555.

Spanish Bibles

This is in contrast to the position in Spain. A Spanish version of the Bible was produced under the name of Casidoro de Reina, the Lutheran theologian, in Basel in 1569 from Bomberg's 1525 Hebrew Bible and Stephanus's 1550 Greek New Testament. The version was revised under Cipriano de Valera in 1602 and printed in Amsterdam; hence the common name of the Reina-Valera version. The next substantial revision was in 1862.

The version uses *Iehoua* for the Tetragrammaton throughout. This practice is stoutly defended in an initial *Amonestacion al Lector*. The translators feel a duty of fidelity to the sacred Hebrew text, from which it is forbidden to add or subtract. The Jewish superstition which inhibits pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton is similar to the additional burdens which frustrate the intention of Scripture (mentioned in Matt. 15:4), for Leviticus 24:10 forbids blasphemy, not pronunciation! Everyone in the Old Testament was pronouncing the name all the time. There is no theological objection whatsoever to its use, and it should be as commonly spoken among Christians as it was by Old Testament worthies.

The suppression of the name and its replacement by "Lord" by the Septuagint translators arose out of superstition, but also from a malicious wish to keep holy mysteries from the Gentiles. This was merely tolerated by Christ and the Apostles, whose role on earth was not to produce or correct Bible versions, but to proclaim the advent of the Messiah and his kingdom. For that, the Septuagint was good enough. However, there should be no compulsion to use the name for those who prefer the burden of Jewish superstition to the liberty of the Prophets.

It is, after all, the duty of a translator to translate, not merely transcribe, the four Hebrew letters. This is not just any common name but the proper name of God. The translation given at Exodus 3:14 is, *Y respondiò Dios à Moysen: Seré: El que seré.... Seré me ha embiado à vobros*. This shows the meaning of God's

44 From his *Annotaciones in Bibliam, ad loc.* The text was reprinted in *I Commentarii alla Sacra Bibbia I* (Florence, 1880).

name—his existence and independence as the cause of all being. The name is reserved to God alone, though it is shared in the Old Testament with the other persons of the Trinity, and particularly with the Incarnate Son.

Versions in Other Languages

The Dutch translation of the complete Bible by Aegidius de Witte, a pastor at Mechelen in 1717, titled *De Geheele H. Schriftur* (Theodorus van den Eynden, Utrecht), was made from the Vulgate and the “New Testament of Mons.” He uses *Jova* in the Exodus texts.

We shall perhaps be excused for not following further the vernacular versions. They appeared also in Danish in 1524 and 1550; in Swedish in 1526 and 1541; in Finnish in 1529 and 1548; in Icelandic in 1540 and 1584, in Hungarian in 1541 and 1590; in Croatian in 1543; in Polish in 1552–1523; in Slovenian in 1557 and 1582; in Romanian in 1561–1563; in Lithuanian in 1578 and 1582; and in Czech in 1579 and 1593.⁴⁵ The Portuguese Almeida version, produced by a Dutch Reformed pastor, adopted *Jehovah* in 1681, the German Elberfelder version in 1871, and the American Standard version in 1901. The French *Bible de Jérusalem* of 1956 used *Yahweh* instead of *Lord* or *Jehovah*.

John Eliot offered a New Testament in the Algonquian language of the North American Indians in 1661 and an Old Testament in 1663 in which he used *Jehovah* many times.

A version we may also find space for is Münster’s 1537 edition of the Gospel of Matthew in vocalized Hebrew, dedicated to Henry VIII and reportedly received from the Jews with many lacunae.⁴⁶ Münster, however, did not indicate what he himself restored! The Tetragrammaton is vocalized (e.g. 1:20) as *shema*’. Du Tillet’s Hebrew version appeared in 1555 with a Latin version by Jean Mercier (Martin Le Jeune, Paris) and a dedication to Cardinal du Guise, its manuscript having been found among Italian Jews in 1553.⁴⁷ Neither of these

45 List from Williams, *Wales and the Reformation*, p. 357.

46 *Torat Hamashiah Evangelium Secundum Mattheum Lingua Hebraica cum Versione Latina...* (Henricus Petrus, Basel, 1557). The work is preceded by a hundred-odd pages setting out the Christian and Jewish faiths. The Hebrew text is glossed in Latin in parallel columns and there are generous notes. A similar version of the Epistle to Hebrews is attached. Sebastian Münster used *Iehova* in his Hebrew grammar of 1526 and thereafter in his Latin Bible of 1534.

47 Heb ms no 132 in La Bibliothèque nationale was translated by Hugh Schofield, *An Old Hebrew Text of St. Matthew’s Gospel* (Edinburgh, 1927).

are Shem-Tob's earlier version, which we have discussed above. Suggestions that earlier New Testament translations by Aragonese Jews were cited by Raymund Martin in his *Pugio Fidei* now seem unlikely.⁴⁸

Finally, we may merely note the fascinating and exotic business of rendering the Tetragrammaton into Chinese which faced Matteo Ricci and other early Jesuit missionaries.⁴⁹

The Tetragrammaton in Illustrations

Visual Representations of the Tetragrammaton

Early Eastern representations of the Burning Bush tend to show the Mother of God and the Infant Jesus in the flames. Two splendid later examples are found in the Kariye Museum, formerly the large church at the centre of the Chora Monastery complex in Constantinople. The Grand Logothete Theodore Metokhites completed his rebuilding of the monastery from the ground upwards in 1321. The frescoes in question are in the *parekklesion* and date from a time when frescoes were apparently preferred over the earlier mosaics. On the right side of the tympanum of the northern wall of the western bay, a bearded Moses stands before a burning bush in which there is a medallion portrait of the Virgin and Christ Child. Just above the medallion a winged angel reaches out towards Moses, and in the background we see Mount Horeb. On the lower half of the fresco Moses kneels in reverence. The inscription cites Exodus 3:1–5 and 5. On the northern side of the arch separating the eastern and western bays, an elderly Moses appears on the left, hiding his face from God (the inscription is Exodus 3:6). Again, the bush contains a medallion of the Virgin and Child and, as before, an angel reaching out towards Moses.⁵⁰

48 Lapidé, *Hebrew in the Church*, pp. 14–16, 20–52. This book gives an excellent treatment of Christian scriptural texts in mediaeval Hebrew books, and include discussion of the Hebrew Matthew. For Reformation translations of New Testament texts into Hebrew, pp. 64–72.

49 Sangkeun Kim, *Shangti Strange Names of God The Missionary Translation of the Divine Name and the Chinese Responses to Matteo Ricci's Shangti in Late Ming China (1583–1640)* (New York, 2004). Less further afield, Dr. Brock informs me that the earliest case he knows of the East Syriac practice of placing *yh* at the top of a text—a common practice in the 19th and 20th centuries—is, in fact, a Syrian Orthodox anathema against purloiners of manuscripts written in 1516 at the abbot's request by the bishop of Jerusalem and found at Dayr al-Suryan (BL Add 17,124). The text then begins “in the Name of the Eternal Being” (*'ityo mtumoyo*).

50 Illustrated in the official guidebook, *Chora Museum* (Istanbul, 2011), pp. 163 and 164.

By contrast many Western Fathers—Justin, Irenaeus, Cyprian—wrote rather of the theophany at the Bush as that of Christ or the Word: Justin's *Against Trypho*, as we have seen, simply interprets the Tetragrammaton as Jesus. For Augustine the event was a type of *visio corporalis*, with the Word becoming present by his Angel.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the Eastern visual representation finds written parallels not only in the Syriac and Greek Fathers—Ephrem (306–377), Gregory of Nyssa (330–c.395), John Chryostom (c.347–407), John Damascene (675–749)—but also in Western writers: just as the bush caught fire but was not consumed, so Mary received the fire of the Holy Spirit and conceived but without losing her virginity.⁵² Such a tradition was not, however, reflected in the usual pictorial solutions to the portrayal of the theophany. The Vulgate text of Exodus 3:2 does not mention “the angel of the Lord” or even “an angel of the Lord” (as the Septuagint has), but says *Apparuit ei Dominus in flamma ignis de medio rubi*, suggesting the Lord himself was in the bush. F. Boespflug has provided a typology of Western illustrations.⁵³ First there are non-anthropomorphic representations, relying upon perhaps a quarter of heaven, or a hand from a cloud or an angel or flames to mark the presence of God. The emphasis here is not upon the ontology of the name of God, but rather upon the reaction of Moses to the sight and the voice. From the 12th century the face or bust of figures appears, either of God or of Christ or perhaps of Christ-as-God. Thereafter are found images which are clearly intended to be God, until the arrival of 16th-century inhibitions over anthropomorphic representations of God.⁵⁴ Raphael's (1483–1520) *Moses and the Burning Bush* in the Vatican may illustrate the penultimate stage—a convincingly awed Moses, overwhelmed by the encounter, kneels on the right before a bush whence emerge red flames and the head, shoulders, and torso of God, white-haired and bearded, his right hand raised in blessing. The effect of the theophany itself is more curious than awe-inspiring. Yet how can these things be painted?⁵⁵

51 *De Trin.* II.13.23; *Sermo* VII.7.

52 See Cornelius à Lapide on Exodus 3:14 for such interpretations.

53 F. Boespflug, “Un Étrange Spectacle: le Buisson ardent comme Théophanie dans l'Art occidental,” *Revue de l'Art* 97 (1992), 11–31.

54 For Tetragrammata illustrated in Christian contexts: E. Ingram and R. Luborsky, *Guide to English Illustrated Books 1536–1603* (Medieval and Renaissance Texts) (Tempe, Ariz., 1998); Patrick Reuterswärd, “The Christian Use of the Tetragram,” in *Acts of the XXVII International Congress of Art*, vol. 1, ed. I. Lavin (State College, Pa., 1989), pp. 219–222.

55 Karad Oberhuber, “Eine unbekannte Zeichnung Raffaels in den Uffizien,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorische Institutes in Florenz* 12 (1966), 225–224, for a possibly more convincing fresco from the Stanza dell'Eliodoro in the Vatican.

The influence of the vernacular Scriptures is obviously related to the level of literacy of ordinary folk. This is a tricky thing to measure, and one should not underestimate the continuing powerful influence of pictorial material in the Reformation.⁵⁶ Moreover, the use of the aniconic Tetragrammaton instead of an anthropomorphic image of God marks a major *caesura* in Western art. Such a change overall was no doubt gradual, but it clearly answered to growing theological sensitivity to pictures of God, particularly among Zwinglians and Calvinists, and in some places change was fairly immediate.⁵⁷ The change was no doubt also facilitated by a (somewhat) more general awareness from the vernacular Scriptures that God did indeed have a personal Hebrew name.

Frank Muller drew attention to a fly-sheet which appeared in Strasbourg in 1529 from Hans Weiditz, which he proposed tentatively as the first artistic representation of the Tetragrammaton (Illustration 18).⁵⁸ The broadsheet is generally called *Nachfolge Christ* and Muller interprets it both as propaganda for Anabaptist ideas of an anti-Trinitarian hue and the first image of Anabaptist martyrdom. The verse below the illustration is explicit: *Ich bin allein der einig Gott/der alle ding on ghilff bschaffen hat/Fragst wie vil dann meyner sey: allein bib ichs, myner*

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- 56 For this question in general, R.W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Oxford, 1981, 1994), pp. 1–14. Earlier, in a lecture to the Annual Meeting of the Historical Association at Homerton College, Cambridge (4 April 1986), Scribner had suggested that in the Strasbourg area at the time of the early Reformation only one in five families possessed a Bible. See also: Michael Hackenberg, “Books in Artisan Homes in Sixteenth Century Germany,” *Journal of Library History* 21.1 (1986), 72–91.
- 57 See Adolph Krücke, “Die Protestantismus und die bildliche Darstellung Gottes,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 13 (1959), 76; Charles Garside Jr, *Zwingli and the Arts* (New Haven, 1966); Lee Palmer Wandel, “Envisioning God: Image and Liturgy in Reformation Zurich,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24 (1993), 21–40. An important collection is P.C. Finney, ed., *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition* (Grand Rapids, 1999). Margarete Stirm, “Les Images et la Bible,” in Bedouelle and Roussel, eds., *Bible de Tous les Temps*, pp. 683–748, offers an overview. James R. Tanis, “Netherlandish Reformed Tradition in the Graphic Arts 1550–1630,” in Bedouelle and Roussel, eds., *Bible de Tous les Temps*, pp. 369–396, gives evidence of engravings showing growing use of the Tetragrammaton. Similarly, Ilja M. Veldman, “Protestantism and the Arts: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Netherlands” in Bedouelle and Roussel, eds., *Bible de Tous les Temps*, pp. 396–423.
- 58 Frank Muller, “Les premières Apparitions du Tétragramme dans l’Art allemand et néerlandais des Débuts de la Réforme,” *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance* 56 (1994), 327–346; idem, “Strassburg als Mittelpunkt oberrheinischer ‘radikaler Reformation’. Täuferische und antitrinitarische Bildpropaganda in der frühen Jahren der Reformation (1526–1530),” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 140 (1992), 267–286.

sint nit drey... The author, an old companion of Zwingli, Ludwig Hätzer, was executed in Constance in 1529, ostensibly for bigamy but perhaps rather for his opinions. His beheading is represented at the bottom left of the illustration. He looks toward a central image of Christ carrying his Cross—the martyr's model. The Hebrew letters of the Tetragrammaton appear in the centre of the plate together with the letters of CRUX in a square which also gives God's names—God, One, Love, Herr—in Latin and German. The German word *Herr*, however, is not accompanied by *dominus* in Latin but *'ehyeh* in Hebrew. The message of the whole is anti-Trinitarian and representation of God is deliberately excluded.

Later that year, again in Strasbourg, two further Anabaptist documents by Johannes Bänderlin were printed by Balthasar Beck, but this time with a clearly Trinitarian frontispiece, albeit not one necessarily incompatible with the author's ideas.⁵⁹ A triangle unites Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and the Tetragrammaton is placed within. Muller offers a sketch of the early reform in Strasbourg with iconoclast, anti-Trinitarian, and radical elements, from which Bucer and Zwingli progressively distinguished themselves. In 1534, we shall note below, the printer Matthias Apiarius began to use the Tetragrammaton in his printer's mark. Nevertheless, at this time Bibles from Strasbourg and Zürich seem to show little inhibition in printing anthropomorphic pictures of God.

Jan Stewart, born in Groningen (c.1500), uses a Tetragrammaton in a plate illustrating the wide and narrow ways of Matthew 7. The Amsterdam painter Cornelisz Anthonisz, a contemporary of Jan Stewart, produced an *Allégorie de la Patience* (undated but quite probably influenced by Weiditz and reflecting a shared Anabaptism), which also has a Tetragrammaton. He also has a portrait of Aaron with the Tetragrammaton on the plate on his forehead (Illustration 19). A 1540 woodcut, one of six, illustrating the parable of the Prodigal Son has the Tetragrammaton appearing in heaven with *theos* in Greek and *deus* in Latin. The same three divine names appear in the sky in Jörg Breu le Jeune's 1539–1540 woodcut *The Conversion of Saul*. In all this Frank Muller sees the Tetragrammaton appearing in Strasbourg in 1529 in radical circles, which shared with the more orthodox a biblical emphasis on the prohibition of images. It was the Strasbourg scholar Martin Bucer who wrote *a treatise declaring and shewing [sic]...that pyctures & other ymages which were wont to be worshipped ar in no wise to be suffered...* (translated by W. Marshall n.p., 1535) in which he declared that “spirituall thing[s]” could not be portrayed in “sensyble external ymage[s].” Thomas Cranmer's Catechism attacked depictions of God

59 Muller, “Les premières Apparitions,” pp. 330–331.



Gott.
 Ich byß allein der einig Gott
 Der alle ding on ghillß bſchaffen hat
 Fragß wie vil daß meyner ſey?
 Allein bß ichs/myner ſint nur drey
 Wißs auch dar bey on allen wohn
 Das ich gar nichts weys von perſon
 Ich byß/ vnd doch nit dis noch das
 Dem ichs nit ſag/der weyß nit was.

Mittler Emanuel.
 So du daß wolleß bey mir ſein/
 In mynem hoff gehn vß vnd ein.
 Zu ſolchem mag die ein dñg dienen/
 Das ſindß bey Chrißto vnd ſunßt nyenen
 Nemlich dein creyß/ ſolßs vß dich nemē
 Vnd dich mins namens nyenen bßchdmen
 Daß wer mir Chrißto nit hie leide
 Dem ſag ich zü/ er daußen bleibe.

ILLUSTRATION 18 Hans Widitz. 1529 Anabaptist woodcut Nachfolge Christi

the Father as an old man with “a long hore berd.”⁶⁰ Calvin himself warned that “licentious attempts” to depict the Lord corporeally corrupted his glory by an impious lie and reduced him an absurd and indecorous fiction (*Institutes* I.11.1–6).⁶¹

Hans Sebald Beham (1500–1550) produced a *Biblia Historiae, magno arte depictae* from Christian Egenoff in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1539. The eighty-two illustrations had appeared previously, but here they were enhanced by Latin verses and a dedicatory epistle by Georgius Aemilius (Oemler). Also added were two new illustrations of figures at the beginning of the book holding banners with the Tetragrammaton on one and the Hebrew *ʾadonai* on the other. God is represented anthropomorphically in the early series of illustrations.

Beham portrays the *Fall of the Papacy* in a woodcut from around 1525, with rays from the ascended Christ in Heaven striking the defeated Anti-Christ, the pope.⁶² It is interesting to compare, by way of contrast, the treatment of the same theme in an illustration found in a book which influenced the young Edward VI, John Ponet’s English translation of Bernardino Ochino’s *A dialogue of the uniuiste usurped primacie of the Bishop of Rome*, dedicated to the King and appearing in two editions in 1549. A plate in the second edition, reused from



ILLUSTRATION 19 Cornelis Anthonisz. Woodcut Moses and Aaron (1535–1540?) showing the Tetragrammaton on Aaron’s turban

60 D.G. Selwyn, ed., *A Catechism Set Forth by Thomas Cranmer* (Appleford 1978), pp. 19–21.

61 For England, A. Walsham, “Angels and Idols in England’s Long Reformation,” in *Angels in the Early Modern World*, eds. P. Marshall and A. Walsham (Cambridge, 2006), Chapter 6.

62 Illustrated and discussed in Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, pp. 161–163.

elsewhere the previous year by the printer Walter Lynne, portrays much the same scene, but as was appropriate for the young, iconoclastic King, this time the deadly rays come from a heavenly Tetragrammaton.⁶³

A 1566 *Biblia Sacra* printed by Guillaume Rouillé in Lyon has plates by Pierre Eskrich which show the Tetragrammaton at the Theophany at Sinai. An edition the following year showed the kings of Judah, Israel, and Edom consulting Elisha about fighting Moab. The Tetragrammaton appears on the flags of the soldiers.

The Olivétan Bible printed in Geneva in 1567 by F. Etienne the Younger has only maps and diagrams of technical features and little in the way of narrative illustration. A pictorial map of the Wilderness Journeys of the Israelites there appears with the Tetragrammaton placed above Mount Sinai. This map is found in several later Bibles.

From around 1560, then, the haloed Tetragrammaton had generally replaced anthropomorphic images of God in Protestant Bibles. At much the same time they disappeared from French Protestant emblem books, leaving only a few benign bearded figures to be found in the second part of the century.⁶⁴

In the British Museum, a Netherlandish work after Jan Snellinck by Jan Collaert I from c.1579 shows *Nimrod abandoning the Tower of Babel*.⁶⁵ The work was published by Visscher in 1643. The work is the second state of another piece⁶⁶: God surrounded by angels administering the destructive blast has been replaced by a Tetragrammaton.

British Museum 1937.0915.13 recto (Flemish, 1575–1618) is an engraving after Hans Bol made by Adrien Collaert and published by Sadeler. It is one of a series of three. It shows the *Descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost*. The Apostles are seated in a wooden structure as tongues of fire descend. The Nicæan Creed appears in Latin the lower margin. Christ appears surrounded by *putti* in a cloud top centre, and to his left is a Tetragrammaton which in this second state replaces God.

A Netherlandish Adoration of the Virgin from before 1619 by Hieronymus Wierix shows St Albert of Sicily and St. Angel adoring a Virgin kneeling and Christ with a huge Cross on clouds.⁶⁷ Above them is a Tetragrammaton. The Wierix brothers were listed as Protestants in 1585 but probably reverted to Catholicism soon thereafter. Certainly they produced engravings for the Jesuits

63 Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation* (London, 1999), pp. 27–29 with plate.

64 Alison Adams, *Webs of Allusion: French Protestant Emblem Books* (Geneva, 2003), pp. 43, 69, 79, 295.

65 (1901.1022.1597).

66 (1968.1018.1.21).

67 British Museum 1859.0709. 3138.

which played a part in the recovering of the Southern Netherlands for Catholicism. The British Museum also has a Netherlandish pietà by Crispijn de Passe the Elder (who was, of course, an Anabaptist) after Maerten de Vos (1590–c.1637) with a Tetragrammaton top centre.

By the end of the 16th century the Tetragrammaton was appearing in Catholic printed works. The...*In Ezechielem Explanationes* (three volumes, Rome, 1605) of two Jesuit scholars, Hieronymus Pradus and Ioannis Baptista Villalpandus, has an elaborate historiated title page with the arms of Philip II of Spain, on either side of which appears an angel, one with the Hebrew Tetragrammaton on the left, the other with the Christogram IHS on the right. An illustration of the slaughter of the Egyptian firstborn inside the book has an angel holding an orb on which is written the Tetragrammaton. Very different, but roughly contemporary, is an English (and Latin) 1604 *Primer, or Office of the Blessed Virgin Marie according to the reformed Latin and with lyke graces privileged*. The frontispiece shows a man kneeling at prayer at a table but looking out to the Tetragrammaton in heaven. The Stadtmuseum in Münster has an engraving from the first half of the 17th century by the distinguished Schelte Adama Bolswert showing Ignatius kneeling, quill in hand, poised, as Mary appears to him in a vision. The rays of a radiate Tetragrammaton fall between them onto his book. The 1681 Antwerp edition of the Jesuit Cornelius à Lapide's Pentateuch Commentary sports a Tetragrammaton on high, Moses holding a table on which the first commandment refers to *Dominus Deus Tuus*, and a very energetic anthropomorphic God separating Day and Night.

An amusing case is the puzzle created by a figure of God the Father replaced, possibly in 1641, on a stained glass window in the St Jacobskerk in The Hague by a Tetragrammaton. The window has been lost and all that remained was a 19th-century drawing with a mysterious 3333 *in loco*. This, of course, was a misunderstanding of the Tetragrammaton.⁶⁸

Illustrations in English Bibles

Turning to look at English Bibles, Coverdale's Bible (Merten de Keyser, Antwerp, 1535) has a Tetragrammaton on the title page by Holbein.⁶⁹ This might be

68 Andrea Gaston, "A Nineteenth-Century Drawing after a Lost Sixteenth-Century Stained-Glass Window in the St. Jacobskerk, in the Hague," *Simiolus Netherland Quarterly for the History of Art* 29.3/4 (2002), 139–151, 146.

69 For the long-disputed place and printer, Guido Latré, "The 1535 Coverdale Bible and its Antwerp Origins," in *The Bible as Book: The Reformation*, ed. O. O'Sullivan (London, 2000), pp. 89–202.

thought surprising in view of the somewhat suspect nature of the Continental beginnings of the innovation, but Margaret Aston has argued for the combined influence of Cromwell and Cranmer here—the latter early on removed a representation of God from his jurisdictional seal and made it clear, as we have seen in his 1548 Catechism, that it was forbidden to make “any ymage of the true lyving God.”⁷⁰

The heading for Genesis from the Bishops' Bible of 1568 also has a Tetragrammaton. The 1572 edition (*fo.2r*) has an angel inspiring the Evangelist Matthew where a Tetragrammaton replaces an anthropomorphic image of God the Father. From around 1570, observes Margaret Aston, a Tetragrammaton became something of “a declaratory ornament of the reformed faith” in England. We may further note a 1595 Bible printed in London by Christopher Baker (1529–1599) which has a frontispiece of the Fall and Redemption with a Tetragrammaton in the top right corner. The book also includes an initial I showing the text of John 1:1 and John writing his Gospel, his eagle nearby, as he looks towards a heavenly Tetragrammaton. The “Authorised” King James Bible of 1611 appears with a historiated title page border with both the Trinity and the Tetragrammaton. The Cambridge 1630 edition has an engraved Tetragrammaton on the title page.

One the other hand, Archbishop Parker got himself into trouble for importing anthropomorphic woodcuts for his Bishops' Bible of 1568, and the Reform seemed particularly sensitive to IHS Christograms such as Bernadino had used, probably because the Jesuits had adopted them.⁷¹ *A Collection of Private Devotions or the House of Prayer* brought out for Protestant ladies at the Royal Court in 1627 by John Cosin (Bishop of Durham and Master of Peterhouse) created an uproar, though Cosin himself thought it a somewhat silly reaction to a very common symbol: “besides the name of JEHOVAH standeth the engraving at the beginning of our bibles and service books and many others,” so why not the name of Jesus?⁷² Finally from our fleeting selection, the title page of Walton's Polyglot of 1657 shows the Tetragrammaton on the plate on Aaron's forehead.⁷³ There are, of course, many, many more. And one does find the

70 Margaret Aston, “Symbols of Conversion: Proprieties of the Page in Reformation England,” in Hunter, ed., *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain*, pp. 23–42, gives an excellent account of the early use of the Tetragrammaton in early English Bibles. Richard L. Williams, “Censorship and Self-Censorship in Late Sixteenth-Century English Book Illustration,” in Hunter, ed., *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain*, pp. 43–64, is also of considerable interest.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

72 *Ibid.*, pp. 30–33.

73 For a striking Christian liturgical realization of this: *S. Bonifacii ferentinatis Episcopi alba, in Cathedral Viterbien. asservata habet haec frustra attalica, ac etiam in eiusdem amictu*

Tetragrammaton in odd places. Guillaume Rouillé brought out a Paris edition of Lucretius in 1564 by Dionysius Lambinus. At the top of the title page a Trinitarian triangle contains the Tetragrammaton, *theos*, and *deus*. Lucretius would have been delighted!

Similar in intent to the 1604 English primer mentioned above, a woodcut in several editions of Thomas Rogers's English translation of Thomas à Kempis's *Of the Imitation of Christ* first published in 1580 shows King David kneeling in a small closet with his hands together in prayer. His lyre and book are shown, and he looks up to a radiant Hebrew Tetragrammaton in the upper right corner. This in turn recalls the frontispiece image of Queen Elizabeth at prayer in the 1569 and 1578 editions of *The Christian Prayers*. A striking similarity to the woodcut is apparent in a plasterwork overmantel, first mentioned in an inventory of 1638, in the first-floor bedroom known as the "Garden Room" in Montacute House in Somerset. The house was built by Sir Edward Phelips at the end of the 16th century. The overmantel is clearly intended as a stimulus to private devotion. Here, however, King David is outside and in front of a classical building. His harp and his book are shown, but instead of the Tetragrammaton there appears in a similar position a sun, in which is written DEUS.⁷⁴

Printer's Marks

Printer's marks also made use of the Tetragrammaton—a sign for God suitably economical in space.⁷⁵ One of the earliest, that of Reuchlin's printer, Thomas Anshelm, which I have already mentioned in an earlier chapter, shows the Tetragrammaton with a medial shin below representing Reuchlin's wonder-working name of Jesus. But other marks often appear to have little to motivate them other than piety and perhaps a desire to avoid anthropomorphic pictures of God. The Swiss Matthias Apiarius (*alias* Biener) in Strasbourg (1500–1554) chose a tree with bees (punning on his name) (Illustration 20). At the bottom of a tree was an

similiter, in quo gothicis litteris, minutisque margaritis pulchre tetragrammaton efformatur, nomen illud scilicet, Dei ineffabile, alludens ad id, quod summus judaeorum Sacerdos in fronte gerebat. Quo ad varia eius mysteria in Dominico Magri Hierolexicon (Balleoniana, Venice, 1770), p. 38 s.v. alba.

74 Tara Hamling, "Guides to Godliness: From Print to Plaster," in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Interpretation*, ed. M.C.W. Hunter (Aldershot, 2010), pp. 65–86.

75 For more on Tetragrammata on printer's marks: R. Krüger et al., "Zeichnormung für Handwerk und Industrie," in *Semiotik Semiotics HSK 13.4*, eds. R. Krüger et al. (Berlin, 2004), pp. 3535–3538 and p. 3536 for a crucifix.

open book in which the Tetragrammaton was written. Here, the bees are making their honey directly from Scripture, which comes directly from God, as only the Tetragrammaton is seen. The New Testament quotations which surround the plate (John 5:39 and 1 Thess. 5:21) encourage the reader to search the Scriptures. Nicolas Barbier (*fl.* 1551–1564) and Thomas Corteau (d. 1567) in Geneva chose a design of two men, one watering and the other tending a tree. Above is the Tetragrammaton, surrounded by light. Printing on his own, Corteau sometimes adds the explanatory text in French (1 Cor. 3:7). Eustache Vignon (*fl.* 1571–1589), son-in-law and successor of Crespin, brought out Calvin's *Harmonia ex Evangelista Tribus Composita...* in Geneva in 1582. His device, an anchor and serpent, has two hands emerging from clouds to hold the anchor. Again, the Tetragrammaton in light overtops the design. Ernest Vögelin of Leipzig (1529–1589) had Jesus on the Cross above the Ark of the Covenant, and above them both was the Tetragrammaton. This is no doubt a representation of the Two Covenants. From Johann Beyer (*fl.* 1573–1596), again in Leipzig, an elaborate design has Jesus lighting a candle with a taper while John the Baptist stands to the right. Adam and a skull are below the candle, with Beyer's arms and initials, IB, at the bottom. The Hebrew Tetragrammaton, which sits above, is sadly corrupt. For Matthäus Harnisch from Neustadt an der Haart (1535–1596), it was a cornucopia held up by two hands emerging from clouds. The Tetragrammaton floats above. Hans Rambau (1595–1637) from Görlitz chose a device which quoted Psalm 120:2 and topped it with a Tetragrammaton. Paul Helwig from Wittenberg at the beginning of the 17th century chose the Conversion of Paul from Acts 9:5, above which, again, is the Tetragrammaton.

Broadsheets

A quite different genre is that of the *flugblatt*, or political broadsheet. Offspring of the Lutheran Reformation and fixed-type printing, its very nature is to be as accessible and as persuasive as possible. Notice the use of the Tetragrammaton on the engraving of two similar sheets from Peter Troschel (Zeichner & Stecher) from 1632 which praise the military union between Gustavus Adolphus, John George of Saxony, and George William of Brandenburg (Illustration 21). Entitled *Schwedischer Bundt mit zweyen Churfürsten Sachsen und Brandenburg, Trifolium Unionis Aureum in Sanctae huius Concordiae Vinculum*, the single printed sheet places alongside the engraving biblical verses in both Latin and German which deal with covenants and keeping them (Ezek. 37:16; 2 Chron. 15:12; Exod. 19:5; Ps. 25:10; 1 Macc. 10:16). The engraving itself shows the three men bound together. Above, a radiate Hebrew Tetragrammaton sends down rays helpfully labeled with references to these verses invoked in their treaty. Below appear

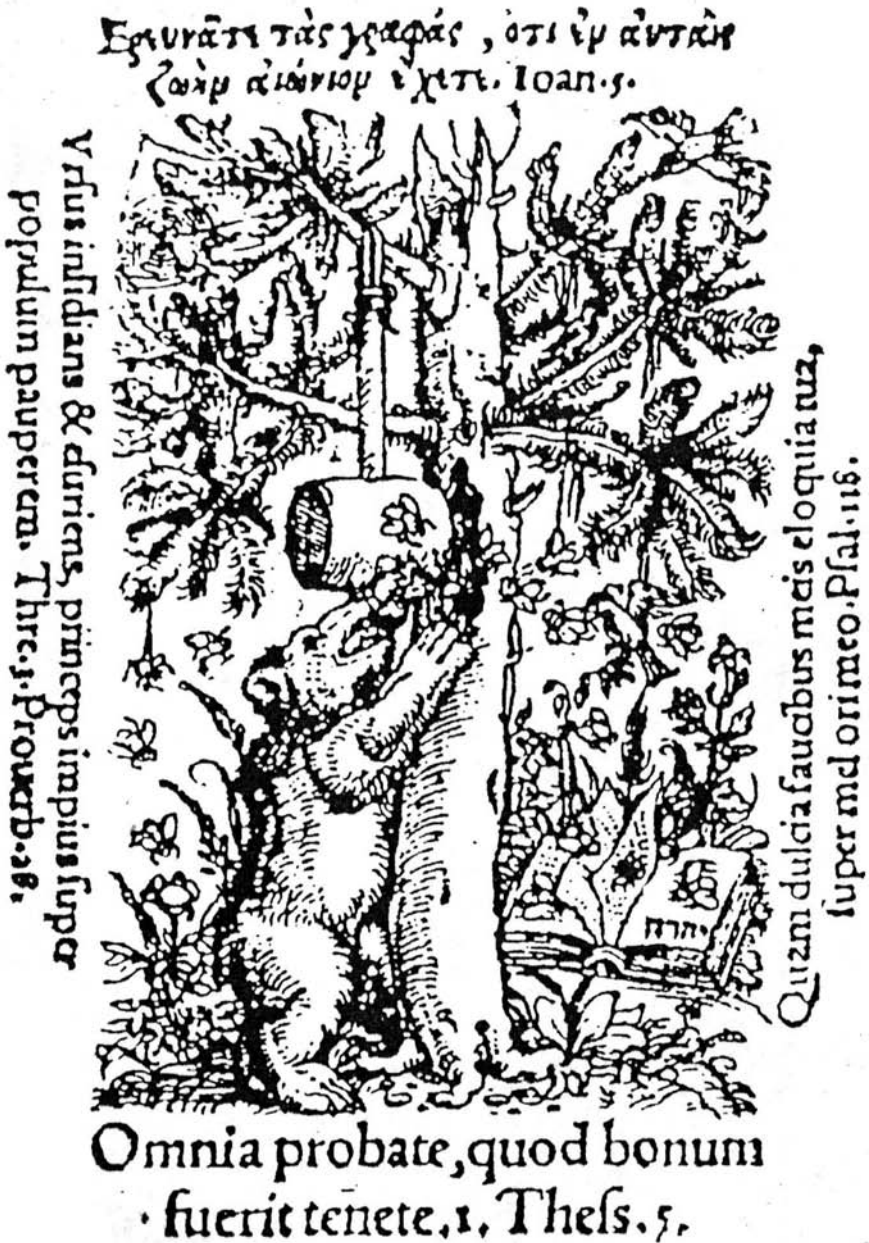


ILLUSTRATION 20 Hans Widitz. Woodcut printer's mark for Matthias Apiarius, 1543. The bees (who play upon his name) feed directly from Scripture. The Tetragrammaton appears in the open Bible

accompanying German verses.⁷⁶ Gustavus Adolphus also made use of the Tetragrammaton on his coins and medals.

Coins

Particularly interesting is the use of the divine name on coins, particularly the *Jehova Talers*, as presented by the late H.-P. Marquardt.⁷⁷ A few coins and medals with Tetragrammata are found from the Netherlands at the end of the 16th century, but most are from the 17th century, with examples from Denmark, Sweden, and Switzerland, as well as proud towns in the Holy Roman Empire (Nuremberg, Hamburg, Magdeburg) and several from Saxony. A delightful early medal from the Netherlands struck to commemorate the defeat of the Spanish Armada has the legend *Flavit yhwh et Dissipati sunt* (Illustration 22). Generally they are struck by Protestants and used for commemoration, propaganda, and legitimation. Many come from the time of the Thirty Years War and promote the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus (1611–1632) and the progress of the Reform. The Taler commemorating the Erfurt Evangelical festival of Purim on 17 September 1632, when the town heard the Reform preached (the preacher mentioned Purim), manages neatly to achieve both goals.⁷⁸ Gustavus Adolphus, son of King Charles IX (reigned 1599–1611), had adopted IEHOVAH SOLATIUM MEUM as his personal motto, which he put not only on coins and medals (with Hebrew Tetragrammata) but also on memorial plaques and monuments. His coat of arms set up in the old town centre of Göteborg carries this motto.⁷⁹

To the extent that coins and medals were circulated they increased familiarity with the Tetragrammaton. Talers commemorating baptism which appear in the 17th century and bear the Hebrew Tetragrammaton show the presence of the Tetragrammaton in quite personal commemoration.⁸⁰

The coins and medals generally carry a radiate Hebrew Tetragrammaton or a Latin IEHOVA or something similar. In some cases the Tetragrammaton is replaced by three *yods* in a triangle to represent the Trinity. The reverse of one

76 John Roger Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet 1600–1700*, vol. 6 (Weisbaden 1998), pp. 49–51.

77 H.-P. Marquardt, *Der Name Gottes auf Münzen, Talern und Medaillen*, Privately printed and available from his website: <http://www.jehovataler.de> (accessed 26 November 2012). See also: *World Coins* (January 2011), pp. 184–197. Frau Marquardt now graciously informs me that she has published an English translation of her late husband's work.

78 *Ibid.*, pp. 89–90.

79 Marquardt, *Der Name Gottes auf Münzen*, p. 45.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 127.



ILLUSTRATION 21 Schwedischer Bundt mit zweyen Churfürsten Sachsen und Brandenburg, Trifolium Unionis Aureum in Sanctae huius Concordiae Vinculum. Flugblatt of Peter Troschel (Zeichner & Stecher) from 1632 which praises the military union between Gustavus Adolphus, John George of Saxony, and George William of Brandenburg. The engraving itself shows the three men bound together. Above, a radiate Hebrew Tetragrammaton sends down rays helpfully labelled with references to biblical verses invoked in their treaty



ILLUSTRATION 22 *Enlarged Netherlandish medal celebrating the defeat of the (Catholic) Spanish Armada by Sir Francis Drake in 1588. The inscription reads: "Flavit yhwv et dissipati sunt"*

fascinating example of Franz II of Sachsen-Lauenburg (1581–1619) exploits a triangle within the circle of the coin to show *Iehova*, at the apex, radiating through *Messias* and *Spiritus* (the sides) to *Homo* (at the base). The outer rim proclaims *Gloria in excelsis...*, the next *Trinity* and *Unity*, *Mother* and *Virgin*, the inner ring the *Incarnation*. The obverse uses a similar geometry to proclaim the Prince's names and titles and to celebrate the divine protection he apparently enjoyed.⁸¹

A French example comes from the Wars of Religion (Illustration 23). On 23 December 1588 Henri III had the Duke and Cardinal de Guise assassinated at Blois. Their brother Mayenne was proclaimed Lieutenant General of the Kingdom. The royal partisans gathered on the plateau of Flavigny and of Semur, but the rest of the Bourgogne with few exceptions was part of the Ligue, and Dijon was the headquarters of *La Sainte-Union*. Medals were produced here by the Ligue in the middle of the civil war in 1591 with the legend *Victrici et Fidei*, proclaiming the victory of the traditional faith. On 5 September 1592 the royalists gathered at Semur decided in return to strike 800 *jetons* of silver and 1200 of copper. One does not know whether this was ever done, but the design has survived.⁸² The legend reads + PRO. PATRIA. IURATA. MANUS. PRO. REGE. DEO. Q. Three

81 Ibid., p. 12.

82 J. Fontenoy, *Manuel de l'Amateur de Jetons* (Paris, 1854), pp. 272–273.

hands are joined on an altar in an oath to serve God, King, and *Patria*. The King appears on the right wearing a cloak *fleurdelisé* and holding a cross, and *Patria* is on the left crowned with a city and holding a palm. Above, a radiant Hebrew Tetragrammaton bears witness.

Turning from confessional politics, we may take one final example from high art and consider a work of Rembrandt—his *Repentance of Judas*. Here, the high priest has a Tetragrammaton on his hat (as we might expect) and the priest's book lies open to reveal a Tetragrammaton and (in Hebrew) "a mesh of branches" from 2 Samuel 18:9–11 and the two last words of 2 Samuel 18:32 (again in Hebrew) "for evil." The quotations refer to Absalom's treachery against his father David and his demise—he was caught in a tree by his hair and hanged. The typological relationship between his fate and that of Judas is already found in the *Biblia Pauperum*.⁸³



ILLUSTRATION 23 *Design for 800 jetons of silver and 1200 of copper intended for production by the royalists gathered at Semur in September 1592 during the French Civil War. The legend reads + PRO. PATRIA. IURATA. MANUS. PRO. REGE. DEO. Q. Three hands are joined on an altar in an oath to serve God, King, and Patria. The King appears on the right, wearing a cloak fleurdelisé and holding a cross and Patria on the left which is crowned with a city and holding a palm. Above, a radiant Hebrew Tetragrammaton bears witness*

83 S. Perlov and L. Silver, *Rembrandt's Faith: Church and Temple in the Dutch Golden Age* (State College, PA, 2009), pp. 233–236; Mirjam Alexander-Knotter, "An Ingenious Device: Rembrandt's Use of Hebrew Inscriptions," *Studia Rosenthalia* 33 (1999), 131–159; Shalom Sabar, "Between Calvinists and Jews: Hebrew Script in Rembrandt's Art," in Merback, ed.,

On Buildings

Finally, the Hebrew Tetragrammaton or a Latin equivalent appeared on buildings and in churches. The new palace of Friedrich IV (1592–1610) at Heidelberg had (in Hebrew and Latin) a text from Psalm 118:20 (English 119): *Haec est Porta Jehovae Iusti Intrabunt Per Eam*. The Poortwachte in Calvinist Dordrecht decorated with the arms of the Reformation in 1614 faced the Spaniards and prayed *Custos esto mihi Deus Jehova*. In Denmark Christian IV built himself a Renaissance castle, Schloss Frederiksborg, some thirty-odd kilometres north of Copenhagen, between 1602 and 1620. The castle now houses a museum. The ceiling in Room 31 has a radiate *Jehova* along with the text *In domo Patris mei multa mansiones sunt*. The observatory built by the king near the Holy Trinity church in Copenhagen has an inscription of 1642 which combines Latin and Hebrew and rebuses into a petition that “the righteousness of Yhwh might dwell in the heart of the King.” The king also placed a Hebrew Tetragrammaton on the Holmenkirche in Copenhagen (1619–1620).

The 13th-century Alte Dorfkirche in Berlin-Dahlem, used by the Reform, has the text of Jeremiah 1:17 at the entrance to the chancel over-topped with *Jehova*. A sandstone Hebrew Tetragrammaton crowns the side-door in the Nikolaikirche in Berlin-Mitte. A grave stone in the graveyard of the destroyed Sorbenkirche in Bautzen, Eastern Saxony, has *Ieho*.

The commemorative plaque set up after the plague year of 1629 in the Dorfkirche Morsum (Insel Sylt) in the North Sea seems to have the distinction of creating a new form of the Latin name of God. I assume *Ihehovah Benedictio Summa* at the end is simply an error.

In Switzerland the entrance to the Reformed Dortkirche in Sils Domletsch from 1619 commemorates *Jehove*. A stove presented by two brothers from Winterthur to the Council in Zurich in 1698 has *Jehova* and a Hebrew Tetragrammaton. One could go on. Little will be achieved in listing further. The point is the ubiquity of the name. And the tradition has become enduring. The municipal Coat of Arms of Plymouth in southwest England, where I spend part of every year, is only a century old. The Latin legend is *Turris Fortissima est Nomen Jehova*.

Beyond the Yellow Badge, pp. 371–404. Also of interest: Deni McIntosh McHenry, “Rembrandt’s Faust in His Study: A Record of Jewish Patronage and Mysticism in Mid-Seventeenth Century Amsterdam,” *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* (Spring 1989), 9–19.

The Tetragrammaton and Scholars at the Time of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations

If the Renaissance indicated the importance of Hebrew for the exegete, this expertise became even more valued in the Protestant Reformation, for Hebrew was seen as facilitating a serious and impartial understanding of the Old Testament freed from mediaeval hermeneutics, and particularly Scholasticism. Rather than the four senses of mediaeval exegesis the Reformers generally preferred a more literal reading. The programme of vernacular translations produced from the original texts and disseminated by the Protestant Reformers required considerable Hebrew scholarship. There was obviously a confessional and polemical edge to all this: it also brought into relief the implicit theology of the Christian response to the Jews and the issue of contemporary relations between the two communities.¹

Pierre des Groux, O.P., offered a lecture in Paris on the Tetragrammaton on the first Sunday in Advent 1512, and it was published in 1519.² His specific concern was with the name of Jesus, but he ranged widely and gives us a fairly full indication of orthodox Catholic Parisian interpretations at the beginning of the Century of Reform. He knows the Fathers and Jerome and can refer to Maimonides at secondhand *referente Stapulensi*. His emphasis is consistently Trinitarian: indeed, the ineffable Tetragrammaton embraces the mystery of the most holy Trinity in Unity. Thus: *ex primo & secundo illorum nominis elementa unum Dei nomen fieri; ex secundo & tertio iunctis alterum; ex tertio & quarto unitis tertium confieri: que tria coniuncta, celebre nomen Tetragrammaton dominum trinum & unum exprimens efficiunt.* (We may remember Innocent III

1 Thomas Kaufmann, "Die Theologische Bewertung des Judentums in Protestantismus des späteren 16. Jahrhunderts 1530–1600," in idem, *Konfession und Kultur* (Tübingen, 2006), pp. 112–156. He deals with the later Luther pp. 130–135 and Bucer pp. 126–133. Also A.L. Eckhardt, "The Reformation and the Jews," in *Interwoven Destinies: Jews and Christians through the Ages*, ed. E.J. Fisher, (Mahwah, 1993), pp. 111–133. From the other side: Jerome Friedman, "The Reformation in Alien Eyes: Jewish Perceptions of Christian Troubles," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 14.1 (1983), 23–40.

2 Petri des Groux, *Theologi Doctoris Oratio de divi Ludovici Francorum Regis praeconiis...* (Gromontius, Paris, 1519). The lecture on the Tetragrammaton appears as the chapter *De Dignissimo Nomine Teragrammaton Nominis Ihesu presignato / ac de multiplicibus mysterioriis in eo comprehensis praeter haec ad mussim dissertur.*

similarly finding different divine names in the combinations of the letters of the Tetragrammaton.) Moreover, the name of God was also represented by three *yods* arranged in an equilateral triangle representing Three Persons in One Essence, and further this also marks the Procession of the Son from the Father, and the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son (*Gj*). Des Groux shows himself adept at discovering threes. Thereafter (*Hiii*), he turns to the name of Jesus, name above all other, conforming to and drawn from the holy Tetragrammaton: *quod & magnifico et sancto illi Tetragrammaton nomini conforme; seu ab eo deductum ceu ex Hebraeis & allis doctorum ostendere non penitebit*. The Tetragrammaton, so the convert Paul of Burgos (*e Judeo factus Catholicus*) tells us, is not pronounced (except formerly by the High Priest in Temple blessings), but rather *Adonai* is said—the word referring to the supreme God and no other. It denotes the unlimited nature of the divine essence—*infinitum divine substantie pelagus*, as Gregory of Nazianzus put it. There are seven *sacramenta* in the divine name, but he finds more mysteries than this: the name is made of two consonants (*IV*) and two aspirates (*HH*) that represent the divine essence but which cannot go into Latin, where *s* is used. Similarly from pseudo-Dionysius and Reuchlin he realizes that the ‘*ayin*’ of the root *ysh’* (salvation) also cannot be transcribed. Again from Paul of Burgos he knows that the hidden name of the invisible God is revealed and proclaimed in the Incarnate Son. A third *sacramentum* may be seen in the two *Ss* in Jesus’ name, one representing Christ’s head turned downwards towards us on the Cross, the other the serpentine nature of our sin. The *yod* means ten (says Reuchlin), and the Incarnate Christ came tenth below the Nine Orders of Angels. Citing the opinion of Christopolitanus *praesulis viri in catholicis et hebraicis litteris doctissimi*, he finds the Tetragrammaton represented in the Hebrew *Yohessua*, the Greek *Iesos*, and the Latin *Iesus*. The three different letters of the Tetragrammaton represent Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and the final doubled letter *he* marks their unity. A prophecy of Jesus is found in Jeremiah 22:3, *Dominus* (i.e. *yhw*, the Tetragrammaton) *iustus noster*, which teaches us of the Trinity and the Incarnation. A seventh *sacramentum*: The four letters of the Tetragrammaton taken individually mean “The principal itself in itself living” (as we have learned from the Fathers). There is yet more: from Reuchlin’s *Arts Cabbalistica* we learn that the angel Raziel told Adam that that the Fall would be rectified when a righteous man with *ihuh* in his name would restore Paradise and defeat original sin. Three names, *nomina essentialia*, are again posited in the Tetragrammaton, but this time they are: the Tetragrammaton *ineffabile notat essentiam primam*, *Ehieh essentiam in rebus* and *Iah essentiam in mentis et praedicantur in eo quod quid est*. There is more on the Procession of the Son and Spirit (*Iiii*), an exposition of *br’* (created) in

Genesis 1:1 as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and Reuchlin is cited on the *shin* (*sh*) inserted into the Tetragrammaton to make the Pentagrammaton of Jesus' name (*Kij*). This is all fairly traditional material, otherwise touched only by Reuchlin.

The Protestant Reformers

We turn now to the major Reformers and shall attempt to articulate the role the Tetragrammaton played both generally in their thought but also with regard to their theology. Luther is eager to seize upon Maimonides's assertion that the name has no etymological sense, because in this way he can avoid ontology and speak of God as presence. Calvin seeks to apply the full force of "I am" to the Son, and Zwingli worries about the contamination of the divine by the human. Bucer promoted his own divine name of *Autophyes*, but he soon appeared to regret it. Michel Sevetus, condemned equally by Rome and Geneva, where he was burned, surely had the most Hebraic of theologies, and more than all the others, reflection upon the divine names inspires his thought. Similarly denounced as unorthodox because of suspicions of Socinianism, Conrad Vorstius hesitated over some the inherited philosophical absolutes found in traditional accounts of naming God. Andreas Osiander and Flacius Illyricus show how different understandings of the name might be mobilized with inner Lutheran disputes, and Michael Walther offers us a systematic Protestant presentation of naming God.

Returning to Catholic orthodoxy we shall consider the contribution of G nebrard, who disliked the Reformed church as much as he did their sponsorship (as he saw it) of a divine name redolent of the pagan *Jove*. Peter Faber will conclude our survey with a mature and comprehensive statement of Catholic orthodoxy.

Luther in Wittenberg

Luther bought a copy of Reuchlin's Hebrew Grammar *De Rudimentis...* (1506) in his early days at Erfurt, or so he suggests many years later in a letter to Johann Lang, a one-time fellow Augustinian. It would appear he knew little Hebrew or Greek by the time of his first course of lectures on the Psalms (*Dictata super Psalterium*, delivered at Wittenberg, 1513–1515), but by 1519 when he published his second set of lectures on the Psalms, *Operationes in Psalmos*, he moved to

accepting the Hebrew as authoritative text.³ Luther was always prepared to consult those he considered had a better grasp of the language than he. His *Sanhedrin* (as he called his circle of Hebrew Bible experts) included Bernard Ziegler, a Hebraist from Leipzig, and Matthew Aurogallus (c.1490–1543), who succeeded Adrianus as professor of Hebrew in Wittenberg.⁴ Andreas Osiander, who taught at Nuremberg, was also at hand. Also available was Caspar Cruciger, the elder professor of Hebrew in Wittenberg (1528–1548). Luther maintained a positive attitude to Hebrew as a language. Addressing the Bohemian Brethren in 1523 on the Adoration of the Sacrament, he ends by suggesting to them that Greek and Hebrew studies would improve their theological education.⁵ He wrote more generally in 1524 to civic authorities throughout Germany with the same message.⁶ Such humanist sensibility, however, did not stretch to the rabbis.⁷ Luther's positive attitude towards Hebrew studies (as far as it went) is probably due to Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), nephew of Johann Reuchlin, who, though appointed to the chair of Greek in Wittenberg in 1518, was nonetheless an enthusiast of Hebrew studies. He may not have agreed with his uncle's indulgent attitude to Kabbalah and the rabbis, but in 1546 and 1549 he gave two enthusiastic orations in favour of Christian Hebraists.⁸

Martin Luther (1483–1546) early on preached against superstitious uses of the Tetragrammaton. In his 1518 *Decem praecepta Wittenbergensi praedicta populo* he denounced both magical uses of the name and an excessive

3 S. Raeder, *Das Hebräische bei Luther untersucht bis zum Ende der ersten Psalmenvorlesung* (Tübingen, 1961); idem, *Die Benützung des Massoretischen Texts bei Luther in der Zeit zwischen der ersten und zweiten Psalmenvorlesung (1515–1518)* (Tübingen, 1967); idem, *Grammatica Theologica: Studien zu Luthers Operationes in Psalmos* (Tübingen, 1977).

4 He brought out *Compendium Hebraeae Grammaticae* in Wittenberg in 1523; O. Eissfeldt, "Mathaeus Aurogallus' Hebräische Grammatik 1523," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Gesellschafts Wissenschaftlich Sprachwissenschaftliche* 7 (1957–1958), 885ff.; G. Bauch, "Die Einföhrung des Hebräischen in Wittenberg," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums (Breslau)* 48.12 (1904) 427ff.

5 *Works* 36, p. 304. W. Koenig, "Luther as a Student of Hebrew," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 24 (1953), 36.

6 *Works* 45, p. 362f.

7 Arnold Ages, "Luther and the Rabbis," *Jewish Quarterly Review* n.s. 58.1 (1967), 63–68.

8 *Corpus Reformatorum* (Brunswig, C. a. Schwetschke), vol. 11, cols. 718ff. and 867ff. Andreas B. Kilcher, "Der Name Gottes in der Kabbala," in *Gott Nennen Der trinitarische Name Gottes in seinen Verhältnis zum Tetragram Evangelische Theologie* 5 (2004). The whole volume is given over to this topic: pp. 347–362 contrasts the Jewish doctrines of magical Judaism which were attractive to Reuchlin with Luther's devaluation of them in favour of his emphasis upon Faith and Spirit.

preoccupation with it—as if it had anything to do with the First Commandment!⁹ In 1543 Luther recalled that in 1527–1528 Saxon pastors had been discovered with books of magic charms based on the Tetragrammaton and other names of God. Such superstition came from the Jews, Luther claimed in his excursus on the Tetragrammaton in his commentary on the Fifth Psalm, and, like all ritual without true faith, was worthless.¹⁰ He addresses his remarks on the Tetragrammaton to the reader to guard against Jewish superstition.

He begins his remarks by noting the ten names of God of which, according to Jerome, the Jews may boast. It is only superstition which leads them to believe that the Tetragrammaton can work magical benefits for them, when they in reality blaspheme the Name of God by their rejection of Christ. It is not the name but faith in it which brings salvation. No one name is more effective than any other or the Church, guided by the Spirit, would be foolish to celebrate her sacraments in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit and not the Tetragrammaton. All of this Trinitarian confession is contained in the Tetragrammaton, so there is no need for the Tetragrammaton to be separated, elevated or venerated apart from other names of God. Moreover even the Name of the Trinity does not save if there is no faith in it.

But, he concedes, the Tetragrammaton does contain what was to be revealed in the New Testament. The Jews consider it ineffable and incommunicable because they do not like the mystery that has now been revealed: the Tetragrammaton is a sign or symbol of the Holy Trinity.

The letters even carry meaning. *Yod* means *principium*; *he* is *ista*; and *vaf* and *he* mean *et ista*, which gives us *principium istius et istius*, which invites an obvious Trinitarian understanding. We have encountered this all before. Moreover, there are four letters in the Tetragrammaton; Luther interprets this geometrically rather than arithmetically to denote one quadrilateral or square with two sets of equal sides, giving symbolically a Unity within in which both the Son proceeds from the Father and the Spirit proceeds from the Father and Son. This Luther relates to the *generatio* (active and passive) and the *spiratio* (active and passive) of the theologians—which also add up to four. Turning to the

9 *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Herman Böhlhaus Nachfolger, Weimar, 1912), vol. 1, p. 43: *Primo itaque nomen Domini polluant superstitioni, sortilegi et alii, de quibus super. Secundo quidam superstitiosi ex judaeis, fabulantes de nomine Tetragrammaton, quanquam hoc ad primum Praeceptum pertinet.*

10 Weimar Ed. XLVI p. 628. *Operationes in Psalmos (1519–1521)* (Weimar Ed. V, p. 184): *Dimanavit autem et in Christianos eorundem superstitio, ut passim iacent, scalpant, tigant, gestant quatuor istas literas, sive impii sive pii sint, nihil curantes velut Magi in literis et characteribus virtutes se habere presumentes.* See Raeder, *Grammatica Theologica*, pp. 59–80, for Luther's response to Kabbalah in this work.

letters themselves, Luther finds the *he* at the end of the first syllable of the name a soft breathing which denotes the Spirit and not the Flesh. The final *he* marks the procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son. From one beginning and two processions we have a plurality in a simple unity.

But now that the Name of the Holy Trinity is known throughout the world in all languages we have no particular need of the Tetragrammaton to understand God—just as the Hebrew language itself is no longer strictly necessary.

Paul of Burgos is quoted in his opinion that the Tetragrammaton was ineffable because it was not reducible to the etymology of any Hebrew word, and consequently its signification could not be known by any analogy. (And he, of course, had borrowed the assertion from Maimonides.) Rather, the (philologically arbitrary) joining together of these four letters was a contrivance of the Spirit and the Divine Will to make a word without communicable significance, extraneous, and not reducible to the language of Hebrew. This is a rather striking move which protects the divine name from the encroachment of rude philology, yet does not underwrite general rules for mystical or Kabbalistic hermeneutics. (Luther, remarkably, then suggests to us that the Valentinians' name *Abraxas* was a similarly opaque and arbitrary name.) Such a move, of course, removes the divine name from ontological arguments arising from its meaning so characteristic of the mediaeval tradition because, simply, it does not have a meaning but merely denotes God. Here, then, is perhaps that which Luther takes from the Christian tradition of reflection upon the Tetragrammaton, and (let us note) it was ultimately Maimonides who facilitated this assertion of the freedom of the divine will.

The Tetragrammaton containing the mystery of the Trinity was ineffable as long as the Trinity had not been named, nor faith therein evoked, nor was there knowledge of Christ except in shadows and figures. (Luther is working the tradition here). For this reason it was, unlike other names of God, never applied to angels or men—another traditional but (for the Jews and others) rather controversial statement. This for Luther explained Exodus 6:23, which says that the Patriarchs did not know the Lord by his name but as God Almighty (*'el shaddai*), which is problematic because of the evident use of the Tetragrammaton from Genesis 4 onwards. God was not known to the Patriarchs by the Tetragrammaton, asserts Luther, *because the faith in the Trinity was not revealed*.¹¹

11 In his commentary on Psalm V, Luther understands the ignorance of the divine name imputed to the Patriarchs to indicate probably: *quod tunc non fuerit revelatum Trinitatis sacramentum, etsi occulte insinuatum*.

Luther discusses adding *shin* /s/ to the Tetragrammaton to make the name of Jesus. This is simply rejected: Matthew 1:21 indicates that the name Jesus meant “Saviour” (not “Yhwh saves”); the Tetragrammaton has (as has just been established) no etymological meaning at all; and the *‘ayin* from the root *ysh*’ used in salvation words has obviously no place in the Tetragrammaton. Philologically the explanation was dead in the water.

The Commentary on the Fifth Psalm is also noteworthy for its criticism of pseudo-Dionysius in several places.¹² His negative and mystical theology, spread abroad from Italy and Germany, is self-inflated, arrogant ignorance, best left to people with nothing else to do. Luther is not interested in the problems of naming the ineffable: God may be incomprehensible, but let us, he says, in simple understanding receive the name of God in Scripture as signifying not merely that which he is called, but that which is proclaimed abroad in his praise.

Luther understood the Tetragrammaton, as we have just seen, as a symbol of the Trinity: the *y* represents the origin, the two letter *she* the Son and the Spirit, held together by the *waw*, making three equal persons and two eternal processes. This is plurality in unity, for in himself God is not other than Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and what can be said of the eternal birth of the Son and the eternal procession of the Holy Spirit.

H. Assel has suggested that this Trinitarian interpretation, which is based not on existence but the eternal birth of the Son and Procession of the Spirit, is without precedent.¹³ Be that as it may, this certainly must be the core of Luther’s reaction to the tradition of meanings of the Tetragrammaton. Less kindly, Assel points out that Luther, placing the Name of God in his Trinitarian teaching, links it not only with his *Kreuzestheologie* but also with a certain amount of anti-Jewish prejudice which he finds evident in Luther’s New Testament translation.

God’s name therefore refers to the ineffability of the imminent Trinity and the names through which God as the economical Trinity conveys himself as righteousness and power. God does *not therefore reveal himself as being, but as presence*. Luther links this to pseudo-Dionysius’s view that incomprehensibility of God implies a rejection of any name for God. He accepts (as we have

12 K. Alfsväg, “Deification as *creatio ex nihilo*: On Luther’s appreciation of Dionysian Spirituality in Operationes in Psalmos,” in *Hermeneutica Sacra: Studien zur Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift in 16 und 17 Jahrhundert*, eds. T. Johansson et al. (Berlin, 2010), pp. 59–84, esp. 79ff.

13 For Luther’s own Trinitarian understanding of the Tetragrammaton, H. Assel, “Der Name Gottes bei Martin Luther. Trinität und Tetragramm—ausgehend von Luthers Auslegung de Fünften Psalms,” *Luther Digest* 15 (1970) and *Evangelische Theologie* 64 (2004), 363–378.

just seen) the supposition but criticizes the consequences pseudo-Dionysius draws from it as speculative. A better way, he argues, is to accept the meaning of the name of God in the sense it is used in the Bible, where it does not primarily signify the name by which he is called, but what is said about him. God's name is thus his fame, praise, and glory, according to Psalm 102:2 (Vulgate 101). This corresponds to Luther's emphasis on faith—faith relating to biblical narratives wherein God appears through his works.

Moreover, since God works all in all, the name of every work is in reality appropriate only to God. It is he who is good, righteous, merciful, and true etc.: whatever can be used as a predicate of the laudable thus really belongs to God alone.

By including even the predicates of the Good in the all-embracing divine activity, Luther apparently confirmed pseudo-Dionysius's kataphatic theology as establishing God as the foundation of all that is. What appears to be different, however, is Luther's insistence upon the omnipresence of God: for if God is present (he says), he cannot be without a linguistic manifestation.

Luther understood the theophany of Exodus 3 to be that of the Son, as may be expected given the focus on the Son in his Old Testament hermeneutic.¹⁴ Calvin was similar, though he was perhaps more Theocentric than Christocentric in his approach.

Last Years

The end of Luther's life was graced by two extraordinary outbursts. Henry of Wolfenbüttel was a Catholic opponent of the Reformation possessed of somewhat lax sexual morals and with some suspicious links to outbreaks of arson in Protestant towns. He insulted the Elector John Frederick of Saxony and was rewarded with a venomous broadside from Luther, *Against Hanswurst* (1541), a masterpiece of ill-tempered and cantankerous insult. But Luther's attack on the Jews in 1543 reached yet greater heights of malice.¹⁵

14 D.P. Scaer, "God the Son and Hermeneutics," *Concordia Theological Journal* 59 (1995), 49–66. Gliessen, "The Real Presence," pp. 105–126 at pp. 113–114. For Luther's view on the theophany from *The Last Words of David* LW 15:313–314 and a comparison with Calvin. Huffstuter, *He Who Dwelt*, pp. 45–61, on the Reformers.

15 A less accusatory account may be found in K. Hagen, "Luther's So-Called *Judenschriften*: A Genre Approach," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 90 (1999), 130–158, which questions the extent to which these text were written "against" Jews and suggests their anti-Jewish remarks are incidental to more fundamental purposes—aimed at other Christians—indicated by a consideration of their genre. More generally one recognizes that charges of

When Luther wrote his earlier work *Jesus Christus ein geborner Jude sey* (*That Jesus was born a Jew*, Basel) in 1523, he had clearly been hoping that his rediscovery of the Gospel freed from the tyranny of Rome would be the occasion for the conversion of the Jews. It is frankly a short missionary piece. There Luther appeared more sympathetic than his usually anti-Judaic contemporaries, affirming Christ's own Jewishness and encouraging the controversial use of Jewish scholars in the work of establishing Hebrew Grammar. He was disappointed in his hopes and in 1543 gave vent to *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen* (*On the Jews and their Lies*, Hans Lufft, Wittenberg). Here, Christian Hebraists are dismissed as Judaizers. Luther proposes a list of seven rather chilling proposals for dealing with the Jews. The final notorious section advocates the burning of synagogues, Jewish homes, and books, the reduction of Jews to serfdom, and finally their expulsion.¹⁶ A Berlin edition of 1936 illustrates how encouraging this material was later found to be by the Nazis.¹⁷

Luther's progressively more vicious attitude toward Jews grows with an evident fear that they might be responsible for a Judaizing of Protestantism, and

"Judaism" were a stock in trade of disputes among Christian denominations and factions, a point made for England 1558–1660 by E.R. Glaser, *Uncircumcised Pens: Judaizing in Print Controversies of the Long Reformation* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Birkbeck, 2000). For more detail, see: Mark U. Edwards Jr, *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics 1531–1546* (Minneapolis, 2005), pp. 115–142.

- 16 R. Josel von Rosheim, a *shetadlan* or defender of Jewish interests, spoke out against Luther. On this extraordinary character, L. Feilchenfeld, *Rabbi Josel von Rosheim Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Deutsche Juden in Reformationszeitalter* (Strasbourg, 1893); M. Gindsberg, *Joseph von Rosheim und seine Zeit* (Guebweiler, 1913); S. Stern, *Josel of Rosheim, Commander of Jewry in the Holy Roman Empire* (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 192; C. Fraenke-Goldschmidt and A. Shear, eds., *The Historical Writing of Josel of Rosheim: Leader of Jewry in Early Modern Germany* (Leiden, 2006). A helpful modern anthology is B. Schramm and K.I. Stjerna, eds., *Martin Luther, the Bible and the Jewish People: A Reader* (Minneapolis, 2012). Also: L. Kaennel, *Luther, était-il antisémite?* (Geneva, 1997).
- 17 Walter Linden, *Luthers Kampfschriften gegen das Judentums* (Berlin, 1936). The work has an introduction characteristic of the time and place. Julius Streicher, Gauleiter of Franconia, sought to place Luther beside him on the bench at Nuremberg, *Procès des grand criminels de guerre devant le tribunal militaire international, Nuremberg 14 novembre 1945- 1re octobre 1946* t. XIII (Nuremberg, 1947), p. 324. There is an Italian translation of *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen* by Adelisa Malena, *Degli ebrei e delle loro menzogne* (Turin, 2000). See now E.W. Gritsch, *Martin Luther's Anti-Semitism Against His Better Judgment* (Grand Rapids, 2012), and Price, *Johannes Reuchlin*, pp. 193–222; J. Wallmann, "The Reception of Luther's Writings on the Jews from the Reformation to the End of the Nineteenth Century," *Lutheran Quarterly* 1 (1987), 72–95. Naturally I am not hinting here that Luther's teaching and National Socialism are the same thing.

a similar growing suspicion of Christian Hebraists as tainted with the diabolic evil of the Jews, even when involved in the apparently useful study of Hebrew. Luther's *Treatise against the Sabbatarians* of 1538 complained of Judaizers in Moravia and Austria urging the observance of the Sabbath and circumcision. It was a very different book from the *Jesus Christus ein geborner Jude sey* of 1523, traditional and very anti-Jewish. It has further been suggested that the Catholic Emperor Charles V's opportunistic attitudes to Jewish needs may have promoted the growing gulf between Luther, the Jews, and Christian Hebraists.¹⁸

The Extraordinary Difference Luther Made to Printing in Wittenberg¹⁹

The Christian Hebraism of Wittenberg under Luther's effective control developed in opposition to use of rabbinic material. The case was put most forcefully by Johannes Forster (1495–1556), who worked very closely with Luther and whose own knowledge of Hebrew was apparently not that profound. His own comments on *hyh* are totally and conventionally Trinitarian.²⁰ Forster was a pupil of Reuchlin, but without his master's tolerance of Jewish authorities. Forster's *Dictionarium Hebraicum Novum* (Basel, 1557) makes the avoidance of Jewish scholarship and the development of an independent Christian philology and exegesis programmatic. And Luther concurred. In the *Treatise on the Last Words of David* (1543) he denigrates Jewish exegesis and the authors' theological incompetence: the Christians have the meaning and import of the Bible because they have Jesus Christ (*Works*, vol. 15, p. 267). He would let the Jews go to the Devil with their interpretation and their letters: he would prefer to go to Heaven with St Augustine.²¹ Thus, in contrast to the work of particularly Sebastian Münster, in Wittenberg Christian Hebraism developed *mirabile dictu* without reliance upon Jewish learning.²² Yet by the mid 1530s Wittenberg was one of the leading trilingual Universities of Europe.

18 This is the thesis of Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony*, pp. 203–211. The question is of some complexity. H.A. Oberman, *Wurzeln des Antisemitismus* (Berlin, 1980), p. 79, n. 108. Pages 123–162 of this work are devoted to Luther.

19 Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, pp. 91–106. For printing in general in Wittenberg before Luther: Maria Grossman, "Wittenberg Printing Early Sixteenth Century," *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies* 1 (1970), 53–74.

20 Foster, *Dictionarium s.v. hyh*.

21 Ages "Luther and the Rabbis," pp. 63ff.

22 For the contrast of Basel and Wittenberg sketched here, Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony*, pp. 165–176, and, earlier, idem, "Luther, Forster and the Curious Nature of

Vom Schemhamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi

Luther's contribution to discussion of the Jewish divine name, *Vom Schemhamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi* (*On the Schemhamphoras and the Genealogy of Christ*), belongs to this same year of 1543 and shares the same disagreeableness as his other contemporary work.²³ The work takes its departure from Chapter 11 of Book One of Porchetus's *Victoria contra Impios Judaeos*, which we met earlier. Luther had his own annotated volume of Porchetus.²⁴ The chapter which Luther puts into German had been taken by Porchetus word for word from Raymund Martin's *Pugio Fidei* and is one of the echoes in Christian authors of the *Toledoth Yeshu*.²⁵ These stories, collected from traditional material in the Talmud, were fashioned in the 10th century into

Wittenberg Hebraica," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 42 (1980), 611–619. For Hebrew in Wittenberg more generally see: G. Miletto and G. Veltri, "De Hebraistik in Wittenberg 1502–1813 Von der 'Lingua sacra' zur Semistik," *Henoch* 25.1 (2003), 93–112. Also S.G. Burnett, "Reassessing the Basel-Wittenberg Conflict: Dimensions of the Reformation-Era Discourse of Hebrew Scholarship," p. 181ff. in Coudert and Shoulson, eds., *Hebraica Veritas*, p. 181ff. Luther criticizes Christian Hebraists who follow the rabbis too closely—the *Buchstablisten*—in the preface and last folio of *Von den Letzen Worten Davids* (1543). For other contemporary engagements with Jewish anti-Christian polemic, S.G. Burnett, "Spokesmen for Judaism: Medieval Jewish Polemicists and Their Christian Readers in the Reformation Era," in *Reuchlin und seine Erben*, eds. P. Schaefer and I. Wandrey (Prozheimer Reuchlinschriften) 11 (Stuttgart, 2005), pp. 41–51. Antonius Margaritha, *The Whole Jewish Faith, Das Ganz Judisch Glaub*, was published in German in 1530 and paid particular attention to the anti-Christian prayers and practices in the Jewish liturgy. Luther read the third edition of this book to his friends at table and expressed his shock at the blasphemies there revealed, *Works*, vol. 54, p. 436. Kaufmann, *Konfession und Kultur*, pp. 118–127.

23 The topic is announced for future treatment in *Von den Juden und iren Lugen* (biiii v.). Luther's work *de Nomine Dei Tetragrammaton*, an Excursus to the Second Psalm Commentary of 1519 (on Ps. 5:12: *wa* 5.184, 4–191, 11), is discussed by the Lutheran theologian Bader, *Die Emergenz des Namens*, before the latter's pursuit of the Tetragrammaton through pseudo-Dionysius, Aquinas, Scholem, Rosenberg, Levitas, and Derrida.

24 See also *WA* 60, pp. 236–239.

25 The first printed editions were by Protestants J.-C. Wageneil, *Tela ignea Satanae* (Altdorf, 1681), and J.-J. Huldreich, *Historia Jeshua Nazareni* (Geneva, 1705). S. Kraus, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüdischen Quellen* (Berlin, 1902), was the first edition prepared by a Jew. J.-P. Osier, *L'Evangile du Ghetto* (Paris, 1984), offers a convenient translation of several versions. The same material Luther also found in the book of the converted Ratisbon Rabbi Anthony Margaritha, *Der Gantz Jüdisch Glauben* (Heynrich Steyer, Augsburg, 1530) (see above), which he had read in preparation for writing: M. Brecht, *Martin Luther: The Preservation of the Church 1532–1546*, vol. 3 (Minneapolis, 1993), p. 336.

something of an anti-gospel—part polemic and part parody—telling a very different story of Jesus.²⁶ Jesus, we recall, learns the letters of the *Sem hamme-foras* from the Temple, and by enunciating these is able to work his miracles. This gives Luther his entry into the subject of the *Shem Hamphoras*, though he begins by refuting the stories he has from Porchetus.

Luther has little new to tell us. He discusses the 216 letters of the relevant verses in Exodus 14 and lines them up to make 72 three-letter words, the names of angels (or, as he prefers, devils). The 72 words have numerical values and (we learn again) these 72 names can be linked to verses in the Psalms. Though the Jews say *Adonai*, Luther cannot see why they do not say a word they can write. The name is hardly ineffable—one says *Jehova*. This comes from *haio* or *havo*, meaning *wesen* or *sein*, and refers to God existence without beginning or end. There are ten names for God in the Old Testament; *Jehova* is the only one reserved solely for God. Familiar material, but delivered with some venom.

Luther does, moreover, draw our attention to a carving in the Schlosskirche in Wittenberg. A rabbi examines the rear end of a sow under the inscription *Schem Hamphoras*.²⁷ Luther rises to the occasion.

Not everyone thought as Luther did. In 1529 Andreas Osiander wrote a tract published anonymously in 1540 refuting charges of Jewish ritual slaughter of Christian children, asking whether it be true and credible that Jews secretly strangle Christian children and make use of their blood. He found it inconceivable that Jews, so particular about their kosher food laws, could be thought to eat (gentile) children. The stimulus for his work was an alleged murder at Tittingen at the time. The Bishop of Eichstatt asked Johannes Eck to refute him, and he produced an encyclopaedic horror story of all mediaeval anti-Semitism could produce and inevitably demanded stricter laws against the Jews.²⁸ Osiander wrote a private letter to Elias Levita denouncing Luther's *Schem Hamphoras* of 1554. Heinrich Bullinger had also denounced Luther's lewdness and scurrility in Zurich. Melanchthon sought to keep knowledge of Osiander's letters away from Luther.

26 For an early treatment of the Talmudic material, see G. Dalman, *Jesus Christ in the Talmud, Midrash and the Zohar* (London and Cambridge, 1893).

27 Linden, *Luthers Kampfschriften gegen das Judentums*, predictably provides a photograph. For a wide-ranging consideration of Christians, Jews, and pigs, C. Fabre-Vassas, *The Singular Beast* (New York, 1997).

28 Steven Rowan, "Luther, Bucer and Eck on the Jews," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 16 (1985), 86; B. Haegler, *Die Christen und die 'Judenfrage' am Beispiel des Schriften Osianders und Ecks zum Ritualmordvorwurf* (Erlangen, 1992). H. Oberman, *Roots of Antisemitism* (Berlin, 2003), pp. 23 and 35.

Calvin in Geneva

John Calvin mentions with gratitude his Greek teacher Melchior Wolmar in his *Commentary on II Corinthians*. He does not, however, tell where he learned his Hebrew. One may conjecture it was in one of the less busy times in his life, perhaps in Paris, soon after his conversion c.1530 with his fellow Picard, d'Étaples.²⁹ There were at least three Hebrew teachers there at the time: François Vatable, Agathias Guidacerius, and Paul Paradis. But later, after Calvin fled France in 1533, he was in Basel as Sebastian Münster was seeing his Hebrew Bible through the press. Another Hebraist, Simon Grynaeus (1493–1541), was also in the city at the time.

Strasbourg

During his exile from Geneva (1538–1541), Calvin was in Strasbourg, where Wolfgang Capito (1478–1541) and Martin Bucer were expounding Scripture along with the Hebraist Gregor Caselius. Capito had learned Hebrew from Matthew Adrianus and had previously been professor of Old Testament at Basel.³⁰ He was committed to the three languages which he commends in his introduction to his *Hebrew Grammar* of 1518. He also seems to have been on better terms with the Jewish community than many reformers and enjoyed a close relationship with Rabbi Josel of Rosheim, who attended his lectures on account of his great learning.

Martin Bucer's *Commentary on the Psalms* 1529 was to earn Calvin's admiration. It displays good knowledge of classical Hebrew and a positive attitude to rabbinic commentaries—Rashi, the Targum, David Kimhi, and Ibn Ezra—which he deploys to get at the historic meaning of the text. Only Psalms 50 and 85 are interpreted Christologically.

He was, however, not so friendly to contemporary Jews. Philip Landgrave of Hesse sought a ruling from his advisors on the legal position of the Jews. Leading theologians rejected a first proposal as too tolerant and suggested Bucer's counsel concerning the Jews (*Judenratschlag*), sometimes called the *Cassel Advice*. The proposals of this rather savage document are little different from those of Luther's *The Jews and their Lies*. The Jews were dishonest idolaters opposed to true religion. If they were to be tolerated in Christian society they must desist from synagogue building and drop the Talmud. Attendance in

29 Baumgartner, *Calvin Hébraisant et Interprète*.

30 J.M. Kittelson, *Wolfgang Capito: From Humanist to Reformer* (Leiden, 1975).

Church should be imposed upon them; they need to pay higher taxes and be kept away from industry and commerce. They should have no economic relations with Christians. As they were unlikely to put up with all this, they should be expelled from Hesse. Fortunately Philip did not listen and the Jews were allowed to stay.³¹

Geneva in 1559 lacked an effective educational institution. The Collège de Rive founded by William Farel in 1535 was financially precarious and of uncertain future. In 1559 a school and academy to produce future ministers was opened only five years before Calvin's death. Calvin ensured the sacred languages held a primary place in the curriculum. Theodore Beza, though primarily a Greek scholar, was an eager promoter of Hebrew. Anthony Chevallier, recently expelled from the Bernese Academy in Lausanne, accepted the offer of the chair in Hebrew, which he held until 1566.

His successor was Corneille Bertram, a French man and pupil of Jean Mercier in Paris. He produced a comparative grammar of Hebrew and Aramaic in 1574 acknowledging in his preface his debt to Kimchi and Tremellius. He also produced a new edition of Pagninus's lexicon, *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae*, revised and enriched from the Scriptural commentaries of Chevallier and Mercier. Bertram's successor was a Genevan, Pierre Chavallier (unrelated to his predecessor Anthony Chevallier, though one of his pupils). During the final years of the century the chair was held by Jean Diodati (1576–1649), a Protestant who had fled to Geneva from Lucca. Beza recommended him for the chair when Diodati was just twenty-one years old. He went on to earn distinction for his translation of the Bible into Italian in 1607. The 1572 catalogue of the Academy's Library holding list fifteen items related to Hebrew and Aramaic and three copies of Bomberg's Rabbinic Bible. There are far more books on the Old Testament than on the New.³²

Calvin's own eventual achievements in Hebrew may perhaps finally be judged from the printer's introduction to the *Lectures on the Twelve Chapters of Daniel*. There, we hear that it was his custom when lecturing to read a verse first aloud in Hebrew or Aramaic before translating it into Latin.³³ Not overly

31 Hastings Eells, "Bucer's Plans for the Jews," *Church History* 6 (1937), 135, felt that the programme was intended to protect Christianity, that Bucer did not thereafter attack Jews, and that, having been asked his advice, he subsequently let the matter drop. M. Greschat, *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times* (Louisville, 2004), pp. 156–158.

32 A. Ganoczy, *La Bibliothèque de l'Académie de Calvin: le Catalogue de 1572 et ses Enseignements* (Geneva, 1969).

33 For Calvin's Competence, see Max Engammare, "Joannes Calvinus Trium Linguarum Peritus? La Question de l'Hébreu," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 58.1 (1996), 35–60.

fond of rabbinic exegesis, he was somewhat abusive when it differed from hallowed Christian readings, and his familiarity with it in the first place may have come via Lyra, Pagninus, or Vatablus. There were officially no Jews in Geneva at the time, as they were banned between 1490 and 1780. However among Calvin's papers after his death was found a pamphlet published in 1575 by Theodore Beza, *Ad Quaestiones et Objecta Judaei Cuiusdam Responsio, An Answer to a Certain Jew's Questions and Objections*. This is a treatment in thirteen chapters of theological disputes arising from Matthew's Gospel and dealing with the messiahship of Jesus and Jewish incomprehension of claims of his divinity. Though forceful, the work does not rise to the level of Luther's malice: perhaps the company of Capito offered some restraint.³⁴ The argument does, however, indicate how the use of the Tetragrammaton in the Old Testament was appealed to in controversial debate. Calvin is interested in the apparently human language used of Jehova: he cites "one like a Man" on the divine throne in Ezekiel 1:26b and Jehova as "man of war" in Exodus 15:3. He notices how the Son of David, Solomon, is linked to the Tetragrammaton in Jeremiah 23:5–6 and 33:14–16. He notices that Emmanuel of Isaiah 7:14 is called the "Everlasting Father" and the "Mighty God" (9:5) and also cites Psalm 45:7 to the same effect. Now God is not made like a mere human in these places; rather, we see proclaimed that He really put on human flesh in the Incarnation.

Calvin's major contribution to Reformation thought on God was also not unconnected with the Tetragrammaton. He was particularly concerned with the applicability of the divine "I am" to the divinity of the Son. In the *Institutes* he dismisses the Scholastic teaching of the eternal generation of the Son by the Father as an absurd fiction (I.XIII.29). The Godhead is absolutely of itself (*autotheos*), "and hence we hold that the Son, regarded as God, without reference to his person, is also of himself *autotheos*, though we say that, regarded as Son, he is of the Father. Thus his essence is without beginning, whilst his person has its beginning in God" (I.XIII. 25). Thus the Son in his divine essence is "I am," the self-existing God. He does not derive his divinity from the Father. He is Son because he has a Father, but he is God because he is God. We must notice here

34 J. Courvoisier, "Calvin et les Juifs," *Judaica* 2.3 (1946), p. 203ff.; S.W. Baron, "John Calvin and the Jews," in *H.A. Wolfson Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem, 1965), p. 141ff.; G.W. Locher, "Calvin spricht zu den Juden," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 23.2 (1967), 180ff. S.G. Burnett, "Calvin's Jewish Interlocutor: Christian Hebraism and Anti-Jewish Polemics during the Reformation," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 55.1 (1993), 113–123, shows that Calvin's "interlocutor" was in fact the argument of the writer of the earlier Jewish anti-Christian *Sepher Nizzahon*. M Faessler, *Jean Calvin Réponse aux questions et objections d'un certain Juif* (Geneva, 2010). See now Ochs, *Matthaeus adversus Christianos*, pp. 176–208.

the use of the exegetical tradition of the ultimate being of God being applied to the Son. He of his own right may say “I am.”

Calvin's attribution of this term to the Son as well his statements about the unbegotten essence of God have been held by some to correct an implicit Subordinationism in traditional Nicaean Trinitarianism. Others have found a “metaphysical breakthrough” in establishing the primacy of persons in Trinitarian theology; others still have found little innovation at all.³⁵

But such views earned Calvin a reputation as a theological heretic and (therefore) a Judaizer. So claimed Aegidius Hunnius's *Calvinus Iudaizans* (M.J. Spies, Frankfurt, 1593/1595). Similar accusations were made by Générard.

In his Latin works Calvin used the term *Jehova*. In the *Harmony of the Laws I* on Exodus 3, he tells us that the name *Jehova* is allowable of an angel acting for God and also of the eternal Son. The verb is in the future tense, “I will be what I will be,” but it has the same force as the present except that it designates the perpetual duration of time. But there is more to this divine essence than is asserted by Plato, for God is the chief power and government of all things, ruling everything under his hand. Considering Exodus 6:3, he renounces a tedious review of the various explanations of the Tetragrammaton, but he is nonetheless clear that by a foul superstition the Jews substitute *ʾadonai*.³⁶ Nor is he happy with those who consider it ineffable. The etymology of the word from *hwh/hyh* is obvious and weightier in Calvin's eyes than any grammatical rules to which appeal may be made in explaining the form of the word. But he adds that “God's name” in this passage “does not mean syllables and letters but the knowledge of His Glory and Majesty, which shone out more fully and more brightly in the redemption of his Church than in the commencement of the Covenant.” Not all his contemporaries were so eager to give up the “syllables and letters.”

Not all the philosophical observations of the Middle Ages upon the Tetragrammaton and the nature of divine existence were by any means necessarily called into question by the Protestant Reform. Particularly influential in

35 Calvin's theology here was acclaimed by B.B. Warfield, “Calvin's Doctrine of the Trinity,” *Princeton Theological Review* 7 (1909), 553–652. Also K.A. Richardson, “Calvin on the Trinity,” in *Calvin and Evangelical Theology: Legacy and Prospect*, ed. S.W. Chung (Milton Keynes, 2009), pp. 32–47. See now Brannon Ellis, *Calvin, Classical Trinitarianism and the Aseity of the Son* (Oxford, 2012), for an up-to-date summary of the question.

36 J.W.H. van Wijk-Bos, “Writing on the Water: The Ineffable Name of God,” in *Jews, Christians and the Theology of the Jewish Scriptures*, eds. A.O. Bellis and J.S. Kaminsky (Atlanta, 2000), argues that the articulation of the Tetragrammaton remains an issue in dialogue between Jews and Christians. Calvin's attitude here she cites as part of the “teaching of contempt” which links both keeping silent about the Holocaust and articulating the Tetragrammaton.

bringing the scholastic method, with its deductive logic and speculative metaphysics, into Reformed Theology was Girolamo Zanchi (Jerome Zanchius) (1516–1590), an Augustinian friar who converted to Protestantism under the influence of Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562) and later spent ten months in Geneva studying with Calvin.³⁷ In 1567 he replaced Zacharias Ursinus as professor of Theology in Heidelberg, the only established Reformed centre based on the Catechism of 1563. Here he became involved the dispute over excommunication between Caspar Olevian and Thomas Erastes. From this dispute emerged knowledge of a group with sympathy towards the Arian views of a number of Italian refugees. Johann Sylvan was beheaded for this in 1572, his fellow accused having wisely fled.³⁸ To vindicate the orthodoxy of the Palatinate Settlement, the Elector had Zanchi write in defence of the Nicaean faith. *De Tribus Elohim* (G. Corvinus, Frankfurt, 1572) was followed by in 1577 by *De Natura Dei seu De Divinis Attributis*, printed in Heidelberg.³⁹ There, Zanchi comments on the appropriate way in which the Tetragrammaton may be understood to express the divine nature, as the name expresses essence in past, present, and future, and thus denotes the eternal and immutable. Zanchius explains that the root (*thema*) *yhw*h means simply “to be himself” (*ipsum esse*), but the addition of an initial *camets* makes it past tense, an initial *cholem* makes it present, and an initial *jod*, future.⁴⁰ The passage is quoted with approval by Nicholas Fuller in his defense of the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton as *Jehovah*, which we shall mention later. The *Dreizeitformeln* of Revelation 1:4 et al. offers an inspired translation of the Tetragrammaton which agrees so well with this imagined significance of the vowels of *Jehova* that it inclined Fuller to believe that the Tetragrammaton is, in spite of Jewish and some Christian views, vocalized with its own proper and original vowels.

37 C.J. Burchill, “Girolamo Zanchi: Portrait of a Reformed Theologian and his Work,” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 15.2 (1984), 185–207; J.P. Donnelly, “Calvinistic Thomism,” *Viator* 7 (1976), 441–456; H. Goris, “Thomism in Zanchi’s Doctrine of God,” in *Reformation and Scholasticism*, eds. W.J. van Asselt and E. Dekker (Grand Rapids, 2001), pp. 121–139. More generally, C.R. Trueman and R.S. Clark, eds., *Protestant Scholasticism: Essays in Reassessment* (Carlisle, 1999).

38 C.J. Burchill, *The Heidelberg Antitrinitarians* (Bibliotheca Dissidentium) 11 (Baden-Baden, 1989). C. Horn, *Der Kampf zwischen Calvinismus und Zwinglianismus in Heidelberg und der Prozess gegen der Antitrinitarier Johann Sylvan* (Heidelberg, 1913).

39 A Fellow of St John’s, Cambridge, Robert Hill, *Life Everlasting: or, the True Knowledge of one Iehouah, two Elohim and Jesus Immanuel* (John Legat, Cambridge, 1601) offered an abridged translation of *De Natura Dei*.

40 *De Divinis Attributis* 1.13. The works of Zanchius are most conveniently found in H. Zanchi, *Opera Omnium Theologicum* (Crespin, Geneva, 1617–1619).

But, regardless of their position on the authenticity of the pronunciation of Jehovah, the fundamental scholastic teaching about the divine essence found in Zanchi is not questioned by any of the Reformed commentators. Moreover, the Elector evidently believed that the way to refute Socinianism and establish orthodoxy was to sponsor books on the Tetragrammaton—an evident indication of its usefulness in controversy.

Zwingli (1484–1531) in Zurich⁴¹

Zwingli was the pioneer and chief promoter of Hebrew studies among the Swiss Reformers. His Old Testament commentaries produced between 1526 and 1531 leave no doubt that he knew Hebrew.⁴² He had apparently begun his Hebrew studies in 1516 while chaplain to the pilgrims visiting the Black Madonna in the Benedictine house in Einsiedeln.⁴³ His heavily annotated copy of Reuchlin's *De Rudimentis* in the Zwingli Library in Zurich suggests he may have tried to teach himself, but after his move to Zurich in 1519 he was helped by Andeas Böschenstein, then in 1520 by one of Reuchlin's pupils, Jacob Ceperinus.⁴⁴ In 1522 he wrote to Beatus Rhenanus, claiming to once more have begun study of this difficult language, though in time he came to love it.⁴⁵ The attraction of Hebrew for Zwingli was more than a matter of humanism: it was of theological importance for one who wished to establish the independent authority of the Scriptures and penetrate their true meaning. Ignorance of Hebrew was responsible for many erroneous interpretations of Scripture.⁴⁶ This meant recourse to the original texts, which Zwingli was happy to have, even—to the irritation of Luther in a *Table Talk*—from the pulpit.⁴⁷ At the First Zurich Disputation in 1523 Zwingli appealed to Bibles in Hebrew and Greek as well as to the Vulgate as the deciding authority. When he undertook

41 Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, pp. 108–110.

42 Neuman, *Jewish Influence*, p. 486, considered that the commentaries entitle Zwingli to be regarded as one of the leading Continental Hebraists of his time. He discusses Zwingli and Judaism pp. 454–510. Also E. Egli, "Zwingli als Hebräer," *Zwingliana* 2 (1900), 153–158.

43 E. Christen, *Zwingli avant le Réforme de Zurich: Histoire de son Développement intellectuel et religieux* (Geneva, 1899), p. 84.

44 H.-C. Rublack, "Zwingli und Zürich," *Zwingliana* 16.5 (1985), 393–426.

45 M. Schulter and I. Schulthess eds., *Huldrici Zwingli, Opera Omnia* (Zurich, 1829–1842), vol. 7, p. 145; vol. 5, p. 547.

46 Schulter and Schulthess, eds., *Zwingli Opera*, vol. 5, p. 55off. (Introduction to the *Isaiah Commentary*).

47 P. Smith, *The Life and Letters of Martin Luther* (London, 1911), p. 244.

the reform of the life of the church in Zurich, he placed particular importance on the three biblical languages, and exposition of Scripture in all three languages became a part of the daily “prophesyings” or meetings for Bible study.

Zwingli’s attitude to contemporary Jews was less outspoken than Luther’s: stubborn rejection of the Messiah did not mean they should be hounded without mercy.⁴⁸ Interest attaches to his associate Leo Jud (1482–1542), not least because of the suggestion of his name, though some have strongly denied that this Alsatian, the son of a Catholic priest, had any Jewish background at all.⁴⁹ Regardless, Jud became a competent Hebraist. He made a contribution to the Zurich Bible of 1529 but also worked on independent Latin translations of the Old Testament that were published the year after his death in 1543, on which both Bibliander and Konrad Pellican cooperated, together with a baptized Jew and citizen of Zurich named Michael Adams. They give ample evidence of his reliance upon Jewish exegesis.

Ulrich Zwingli marked his break with Luther by his *Commentarium de Vera et Falsa Religione* of 1526, in which he sought to present the main feature of his theology.⁵⁰ Disagreement focused upon the Eucharist, what might be meant by the Real Presence, and whether or not the sacrament in some way imports some other sort of reality into the believer’s heart. Zwingli thought it did not—so for him, eating the “bread of heaven” in John 6 was not sacramental but rather simply believing the Gospel.⁵¹ Behind this position lay Zwingli’s Christological views, which clearly separated the divine and human aspects of Christ—who suffered according to the flesh but saves according to his divinity.⁵² Luther, of course, saw this as dangerously imperiling the unity of Christ, but Zwingli persisted and in 1524 asserted in his *Antibolon* that the spiritual things that Jesus spoke about had nothing to do with

48 E. Künzli, “Zwingli’s Stellung zu den Juden” *Festgabe Leonhard von Muralt* (Zürich, 1970), p. 309ff.

49 O. Farner, “Leo Jud, Zwinglis treuster Helfer,” *Zwingliana* 10.4 (1955), p. 201ff.; Neuman, *Jewish Influence*, p. 507, against a Jewish background.

50 Martin Sallmann, *Zwischen Gott und Mensch Huldrych Zwinglis Theologischer Denkweg in de vera et falsa religione commentarius 1525* (Tübingen, 1999), p. 47, for the work as an attempt at a comprehensive statement of Christian Truth.

51 *de vera* 204a.

52 Joar Haga, *Was There a Lutheran Metaphysics? The Interpretation of the Communicatio idiomatum in Early Modern Lutheranism* (Göttingen, 2012), pp. 36–39. For the Lutheran view, A. Harstead, “The Communication of Attributes in Christ,” *The Lutheran Synod Quarterly* 7.1 (1966), 1–17.

corporeal things: Zwingli did not at all like intimacy between the divine nature and the flesh.⁵³

Zwingli based this clear separation between God and man on the Revelation of the divine name at the Burning Bush, which shows that God alone is the being of all things—*quo verbo* [ie the Tetragrammaton] *indicavit se solum est rerum omnium ESSE*.⁵⁴ This is more plausible than a mere “He that is” (*Qui est*), for that would not justify the need to distinguish God from other creatures.⁵⁵ God is thus totally different from men, and we can as likely understand him as a beetle can understand a man. The divine name speaks of that difference: that is why, he continues, Mary the mother of Jesus was a virgin—to enforce the same separation.⁵⁶

Zwingli uses the Tetragrammaton in eucharistic discussion once more in the *Amica Exegesis id est Expositio Eucharistiae Negotii ad Martum Lutherum* of 1527. In speaking of the general presence of God he finds support in the fact that the four letters of the Tetragrammaton are *spirantes*.⁵⁷

Zwingli used Hebrew words in Hebrew type frequently in his commentaries. Genesis 17 offered the opportunity of glossing *’el shaddai* as *Qui sufficientia*.⁵⁸ He explains his view of how divine names work: *quae tamen omnia nomina illi ex interna fide imposuerunt; nempe sic apud se de deo sentirant, imo quod re ipsa intra se experti essent*. Hearing God named thus, we understand only that he is the source of all good and that he is eager to help us: hence the etymology of the Greek *theos* (God) from *theein*, “to run [to assist].” Such modest pretensions are no doubt appropriate for beetles.

Genesis 17:5 further gives Zwingli—within his view of God’s radical difference from men and his theory of names—an opportunity to use a common Jewish interpretation of the naming of Abraham and Sarah which we have met several times previously. The explanation allows a Kabbalistic interpretation of the *he* of the Tetragrammaton.⁵⁹

53 *Adversus Hieronymum Emserum Canonis Missae Adsertorem Huldrychi Zwinglii Antibolon* (1524; rep. Froschauer, Zürich, 1545), 197a.

54 *de vera* 163a.

55 *qui est, ut sit ESSE rerum omnium & solus sit, non distinxisset se dominus ab aliis quae sunt: quamvis ex ipso sunt & per ipsum adhinc tamen sunt.*

56 *de vera* 162a.

57 Heinrich Zwingli, *Sämliche Werke*, vol. 5 (Leipzig, 1934), p. 587: *Sic ergo nos de praesentia dei sentimus. Quod ad essentialem sive naturalem praesentiam adtinet, ex aequo ubique esse praesentem, non aliter quam aëram, quem spiramus; ipse enim esse est et fulcrum rerum omnium. Unde et hebraei videntur eum nomine tetragrammato in hoc sensu nominavisse, quod eae litterae omnes sint spirales.*

58 Schuler and Schulthess, eds., *Zwingli Opera*, vol. 5, pp. 67–68.

59 *est enim he littera essentialis et praecipua nominis ineffabilis Dei yhw, quae nominibus Abrahami et Sarae addita est, quod ex eis nasciturus erat Christus filius Dei, in quo omnes*

Finally, in commenting on the phrase *A Deo Patre et Domino Nostro Jesu Christo* in 1 Corinthians, Zwingli explains that the Tetragrammaton may be properly used of the Messiah: *Ex propheta Esias, Meschiae nomen illud ineffabile YHWH tribuat capite 42. Quandoquidem ergo Christus filius est Dei et dominus omnium, Deo patri, cui et deitas et omnipotentia tribuntur, similis sit necesse est. ostendit ergo hoc Epitheto Paulus Christum filium Dei patris per omnia similem. Nam omnia reurm dominum esse, non minus est quam deum esse.*⁶⁰ We return thus to the Pauline “Yhwh passages.”

Martin Bucer (1491–1551)

Martin Bucer was based in Strasbourg. He mediated between Luther and Zwingli in their disagreements on the Eucharist and was exiled to England in 1549, where he became professor of divinity at Cambridge. He was buried in Great St Mary’s. Bucer does not seem to have been interested in Christian Kabbalah, but neither was he sympathetic to traditional Jewish reverence of the Tetragrammaton, believing that it was God’s will that it should be generally known.⁶¹ He translated, with some freedom, the Psalms into Latin in *Sacrorum Psalmorum Libri quinque, ad Ebraicam Veritatem genuine versione in Latinam Traducti*. In the first edition of 1529 he displayed his independence by rendering the Tetragrammaton by the Greek epithet *Autophyes*. This he took to mean “Self-Existing One” and quoted in support of Lactantius’s approval of its use by the Oracle of Apollo.⁶² By the second edition in 1532 he seems to have repented of

gentes, quorum pater Abraham, bendicendae essent. Item apirationis nota est hebraeis: spirando autem vivimus. Aspiratione ergo vita significatur; quae Christus est qui ex Abrahamo secundum carnem erat nasciturum. Opera Omnia V.74. Neuman, Jewish Influence, pp. 488–490, discusses Kabbalistic influence upon Zwingli. It is clear that he had read with interest Pico’s Conclusions, but one is hesitant to say more.

60 *Omnia Opera, In Priorem ad Corinthios Annotationes*, Vol. 6/2 (1893).

61 With respect to the Jews, A. Detmers, “Martin Bucer und Philipp Melanchthon und ihr Verhältnis zum Judentum,” in *Bundesheit und Gottesvolk Reformierter Protestantismus und Judentum im Europa des 16. Und 17. Jahrhunderts*, eds. A. Detmers and J. Marius J. Lange van Ravensway (Emden, 2005), pp. 9–37.

62 Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 1.7. 1 (CSEL 19). The term also appears as a Valentinian Gnostic aeon in Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* Bk I. A letter from Pellican to Bucer 6 August 1529 complains of this. Pellican has been reviewing the commentary for a busy Zwingli. He admires the exegesis but disapproves of the number of conflicting rabbinic interpretations: he would prefer Christian Doctors and to leave grammatical questions to the Jews. He then expresses reservations over Bucer’s new name for God: *Haereo tamen in aliquibus, nescius*

his innovation and replaced it with *Jehovah*. This has earned him the doubtful distinction of being the first to put *Jehovah* to regular use in an Old Testament translation.⁶³ Peter Martyr Vermigli's conversion to the Reformation was perhaps in part due to reading Bucer on the Psalms, and he eventually became professor of theology at Strasbourg with Bucer's support. In his *Commentary on Lamentations* he initially follows Pagninus, using *Deus* or *Deu*. In later work, however, from Genesis 2:4 and on through Judges, he uses *Jehovah*, now popularized by Bucer's Psalms.⁶⁴

The Tetragrammaton among Radicals

Michael Servetus

Michael Servetus was born in Villanueva, Spain, in either 1509 or 1511 and was burned by Calvin in Geneva in 1553 for an anti-Trinitarianism which was unacceptable to the Reform as it was to Rome: "the veritable effigy for Catholics and Protestants alike of all that seemed execrable in the Radical Reformation."⁶⁵ Servetus was considered both an anti-Trinitarian and a "Judaizer," and with some justification, for it would appear Servetus was as happy to commend Jewish resistance to the doctrine as he was to condemn the doctrine itself. Servetus did not merely, as the Protestants did, deprecate the Roman Catholic imposture, but by dating the Satanic corruption of the Church somewhat before Luther (who blamed Gregory the Great in the 6th century), he managed to implicate the Council of Nicaea itself in the charge. Constantine and Pope Sylvester called that meeting at the behest of the Antichrist, specifically to

instituti tui donec praefationem tuam perlego, quare scilicet domino Deo novum nomen nuncuparis, quod ego non umquam me meminisse legisse, licet nomine yhw (in Hebrew) affinisimum esse credam; sed ab initio nonnullos movebit insolitum et novum. The letter is found in C. Krieger and J. Rott, eds., *Correspondence de Martin Bucer Volume III (1527–1529)* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 310–312. The editors misunderstand the letter, apparently thinking the reference is to *Jehova* rather than *Autophyes*.

63 R.G. Hobbs, "The Pluriformity of Early Scriptural Interpretation," in Saebo, ed., *Hebrew Bible Old Testament*, pp. 452–511 at p. 469. Idem, *An Introduction to the Psalm Commentary of Martin Bucer I* (Strasbourg, 1971), pp. 299–302.

64 R.G. Hobbs "Strasbourg: Vermigli and the Senior School," *A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli*, eds. T. Kirby et al. (Leiden, 2009), pp. 49–63.

65 G.H. Williams, *The Radical Reformation* (Philadelphia, 1962), p. 3. Jerome Friedman, "Michael Servetus: The Case for a Jewish Christianity," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 4.1 (1973), 87–110. For older polemic, W.K. Tweedie, *Calvin and Servetus, The Reformer's Share in the Trial of Michael Servetus* (Edinburgh, 1846).

pervert true teaching. Not that Servetus could do much about it, other than await the return in 1585 of the Archangel Michael, who was to destroy the Antichrist. The measure of the corruption of doctrine was belief in the Trinity. Servetus attacked the doctrine in his *De Trinitatis Erroribus* (Hagenau, 1531), which he followed by *De Restituto Christianismi* (Vienna, 1553), most copies of which were burned with him.⁶⁶

Servetus's own theology was pretty much *sui generis*, and it is not necessary for us to fully expose or evaluate it. He appears not to have been an Adoptionist, as he did not want to deny the divinity of Christ; nor was he an Arian, because they multiplied *hypostaseis* and established a rank; nor was he even a Sabellarian, for they at first sight may appear to confuse the Father and the Son.⁶⁷ He has been viewed sympathetically by Unitarians and claimed by others as a process theologian before the letter. We may note, however, that Servetus found the changing names of God in the Hebrew Old Testament suggestive of both the nature of the Godhead and God's role within the cosmic and human context.⁶⁸ Thus, God was known to the Patriarchs of Israel as *ʾel shaddai*, which conveys notions of power and destruction, so that they might realize he was omnipotent. "The other name, most holy of all, JHWH some say means essence, others begetting. Yet it included both and can be interpreted thus: JHVH, that is, source of all being, parent of being, one who causes to be, gives being, cause of being..."⁶⁹ "I shall leave the Cabalists their own secrets," he continues, but understands the name from the initial *yod* and *shewa* as the future *pi'el*, meaning "he will cause to be," "which applies rather well to Christ, as much to say, he will cause Christ to be." "The more notable names of divinity are Elohim and Jehova... I have interpreted Elohim as meaning God and his Word."⁷⁰ For Servetus an accurate description of the biblical use of *ʾelohim* and other Hebrew words for God will clear away many

66 E.M. Wilbur, *The Two Treatises of Servetus on the Trinity...translated into English...* (London, 1932).

67 Marian Hillar, "The First Translation of *De Trinitate*, the First Part of *Christianismi Restituito*: An Evaluation of Its Biblical Theology." Paper presented at a meeting of the South/Central Renaissance Conference, San Antonio, Texas, 21–24 March 2007. The translation appeared as C. Hoffman and M. Hillar, *Restoration of Christianity* (Lampeter, 2007).

68 I follow generally Jerome Freidman, *Michael Servetus: A Case Study in Total Heresy* (Geneva, 1978); idem, *The Most Ancient Testimony*, pp. 59–69. See also R.H. Bainton, *Hunted Heretic: The Life and Death of Michael Servetus 1511–1553* (Boston, 1953, 1960); A. Alcalá, *El Systema de Sevet* (Madrid, 1978), and C. Manzoni, *Unamesimo ed Eresia: M. Servet* (Naples, 1974).

69 *De Erroribus*, p. 100 a–b.

70 Ibid., p. 96b. That is to say, *ʾelohim* is plural because it refers to God and his Word.

misapprehensions about the nature and role of Christ. A particular significance is given to various combinations and distinctions of usage between the two terms, and the combinations with words for salvation and the name of Jesus.⁷¹

The rather riddling answer to Moses at the Burning Bush affirms, as does the variety of divine names, that God is subject to his own dynamic of change, governed by laws applying only to him. And the changes of usage are eloquent: God is only called *Jehova* on the seventh day of Creation (never before), because only as his work finished was it appropriate to use the name of creation and generation.⁷² Servetus gives an account of the other divine titles and their applicability. He appears to find four periods in God's relations with men, marked by the divine names and culminating finally in the Incarnation.⁷³ It is ignorance of these divine names which leads the philosophers astray. Because these names were not available in Greek, the Apostles had to fall back on the unhelpful *theos*. Had the Greeks learned Hebrew, a lot of these problems might have been avoided and Jews would not have found Christian doctrine so ridiculous.⁷⁴

Of the name Jesus, Servetus remarks: "Let us say for the present that God can share with a man the fullness of his deity and give him the name which is above every other name," and he appears to see Jesus as the greatest manifestation of God to that time.⁷⁵ Servetus invites us in our consideration of the Godhead to push beyond the alien Greek notion of "person" and to consider Jewish usage at the time of Christ and the Apostles. The Hebrews would have spoken of "image," not "person," and thought in terms of the *middoth*, or attributes of God. The rabbis considered divinity in terms of the *Shekinah*, suggesting that the divinity of Christ is an indwelling or an attribute of the Father, one of the three *middoth* of God.⁷⁶ Servetus thus found himself sympathetic to Jewish exegesis of the Hebrew Bible, which he found authoritative.⁷⁷ Speaking

71 Ibid., pp. 98a–98b.

72 Ibid., p. 101b.

73 Ibid., p. 119b.

74 Ibid., pp. 13b, 15b, 42b.

75 Ibid., p. 11b.

76 *Restitutio*, pp. 168, 108, 700, 74, 116.

77 A. Detmers, *Reformation und Judentums: Israel-Lehren und Einstellungen zum Judentum von Luther bis zum frühen Calvin* (Stuttgart, 2001), emphasizes that Servetus did not develop a "Jewish Christology," nor did he have an unusual interest in Judaism. The charge of Judaizing played hardly any role even in his Geneva trial. Servetus certainly believed there was no true knowledge of God *extra Christum* and thought the Old Covenant had been abolished completely (and not just with respect to ceremonial laws). Servetus was saved from eternal death by faith in Christ alone.

of Kimhi's repost to Christian arguments over Psalm 2:7, Servetus remarked: "I find the reasons with which they tried to convince him so obscure that I cannot but weep."⁷⁸

Conrad Vorstius (1569–1622)⁷⁹

The German-Dutch Protestant Remonstrant theologian Conrad Vorstius, professor of theology in Steinfurt, produced his *Disputationes Decem de Natura et Attributis Dei* in 1602 and republished the material as his *Tractatus de Deo* in 1610. The work was basically disputations held publicly at various times in Steinfurt. What he said about God, Predestination, and Christ made him suspect of Socinianism, an impression no doubt reinforced by his edition of Socinius's *De Auctoritate Sanctae Scripturae* in 1611. Vorstius was finally condemned as a heretic by the Synod of Dort in 1619 and enjoyed the distinction of a pamphlet against him from the English King James I.⁸⁰ He apparently held, albeit tentatively, that God was not infinite in essence, had limited knowledge of the future, and was not wholly present in every part of the universe.⁸¹

Vorstius disputed *de Nominibus Dei* in July 1598, and the text is found in the *Tractatus*.⁸² There would appear to be little that is terribly controversial in Vorstius's presentation, which shows obvious dependency on the discussion of naming God from pseudo-Dionysius onwards, though it admits that a clear exposition of names only gets us so far when we are dealing with such a difficult subject. Names for God in classical and vernacular languages are discussed, as are the various Hebrew terms. The Tetragrammaton he gives as *Jehova* or abbreviated as *Jah*, as we would expect: its meaning is learned from *'hyeh* and Jesus' declaration in Revelation 1:4. God's eternal existence guarantees his promises, and this is why the Tetragrammaton was not revealed to the Patriarchs: God had not yet given them the Promised Land. Both ontology and Providence are respected here.

78 *Erroribus*, p. 56b, *Restitutio*, p. 59.

79 To be distinguished from Johannes Vorstius, whose *SYN THEO de Nomine Veri Dei Propria Dissertatio Altera* (J. Richelius, Rhodopolis) appeared in 1652.

80 Frank Shriver, "Orthodoxy and Diplomacy: James I and the Vorstius Affair," *The English Historical Review* 85 (1970), 449–474.

81 So S. Mortimer, *Reason and Religion in the English Revolution: The Challenge of Socinianism* (Cambridge, 2010).

82 From p. 9, with correction on p. 146.

Osiander and Flacius: An Inner Lutheran Quarrel

Andreas Osiander (1498–1552) became a priest in 1520 and was tutor at the Augustinian convent in Nuremberg before becoming a Lutheran. He left the city at the time of the Augsburg Interim in 1548 to become professor of Hebrew at the new University in Königsberg. He was a Christian Hebraist and studied Kabbalah. Knowledge of rabbinic literature and Talmud is evident in his *Harmony of Gospels* of 1537. He had earlier produced a corrected Vulgate (1552).

Osiander was a Christian mystic believing in a mystical union with Christ and the Word of God whence justification for a Christian believer resulted from Christ dwelling in his person, for God finds a person righteous because Christ is in him or her. This is very different from the imputed righteousness of Luther and Calvin. In 1550 both *De Lege et Evangelio* and *De Justificatione* explained that justification is instilled into (rather than ascribed to) humanity by Christ's divinity.

The Lutheran Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–1575) wrote *De Jesu Nomine Christi Servatoris Nostri Proprio Contra Osiandrum. De Jehove Nomine Veri Dei Proprio* (Johann Krafft, Wittenberg, 1552).⁸³ The two-part work begins by being very critical of Osiander's attempt to derive the name of Jesus from the Tetragrammaton by the traditional method of inserting a *shin* and the mutilating the last letter—this metamorphosis was Judaic and Kabbalistic. The root in question means “to save” as in “Joshua.” Osiander's etymology is simply made up; the name of Joshua was not explained in the Old Testament, but that of Jesus is very clearly explained in the New Testament and means “Saviour,” designating thereby his office. Paul speaks of the Tetragrammaton being given to Jesus as a name (Phil. 2:7): Joshua was a type of Christ in that he came after both Moses and the Law (*De Jesu* A2r-A4v). Flacius disliked Osiander's Talmudic citations and his acceptance of the truthfulness of superstitious rabbis when they claimed the name was never spoken.

More serious was the constant challenge that Osiander posed to the Lutheran dogma of justification.⁸⁴ This was due to the fact that Osiander allowed Christ's death to be only for redemption but not for justification, attributing justification to Christ's divine nature alone, and then (on the basis of this most unsatisfactory foundation) dared to declare that the word *Jehovah*

83 N. Hohnjec, “Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Father and Creator of Modern Biblical Hermeneutics,” *The Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia*, ed. J. Kraovec (Sheffield, 1998), pp. 1467–1478. On the *De Jesu...* T.J. Wengert, *Defending Faith: Lutheran Response to Andreas Osiander's Doctrine* (Tübingen, 2012), pp. 118–121.

84 *Von der Gerechtigkeit wider Osiandrum* (C. Rodinger, Magdeberg, 1552).

in the familiar key text of Jeremiah 23 (“The Lord our Righteousness”) only applied to Christ’s divinity. This was unacceptable but no doubt influenced by Osiander’s evident sources in Pico, Reuchlin, and so on. Moreover, this contradicted what Osiander had himself written earlier in his *Harmony of the Gospels* (*De Iesu B 1r-D [=c] 1r*).

As for the Tetragrammaton itself, some thought that it meant God’s essence, but Flacius along with others held it to be a promise from God about what his being would bring about. Thus Christ spoke in Exodus 3 and 6 and promised “I will be who I will be,” namely, the Messiah. Flacius then tried to prove this from the vocalization but admitted this was conjectural.

As to the problem of whether the name had been used before it was revealed to Moses, his opinion was that the name had not been known and that its appearance in the Pentateuch was due to Moses’ anachronistic way of writing—essentially that of his own time and not that of the time of the Patriarchs. Worship had gone astray, so now to Moses was revealed a new proper name which would be used in true “Christian” worship until the birth of Christ.

The name was not simply a title but the real, proper name of the Israelite God (D [=C] 4v). Under these circumstances, then, Matthias allowed that Christ’s name was the *Shem hamphoras*: “The name of interpretation that contained some great and mystical doctrines through which some were able to perform miracles.” That name was fulfilled in Christ and his name, in as much as for one truly believing in God through Christ, nothing is impossible (D[=C] 4 r-v). The name was fulfilled at the Incarnation and refers to both the divinity and humanity of Christ.

A Later Lutheran

Michael Walther (1638–1692) was a Lutheran mathematician and professor of theology in Wittenberg of a decidedly orthodox cast who wrote against Socinians. From 1660 we have his *Spicilegium Controversiarum Illustrium—de Nominibus Dei Jehovah Elohim* (Jena, *Sumptibus Zachariae Hertelii, Typis Johannis Nissi*), the wide-ranging, well-informed work of a systematic Lutheran scholastic with a good grasp of grammar and offering consideration of a wide range of relevant biblical, Patristic, and contemporary texts. The work offers a thorough review of much of the previous scholarship on the Tetragrammaton.

The work is divided first into two sections, *Onomatologia* and *Pragmatologia*, dealing respectively with specifically linguistic matters and then matters of usage. *Onomatologia* is in turn divided into *Apellatio* (itself divided into *Etymologica*, *Homonymia*, and *Synonymia*), *Efformatio*, and *Pronuntiatio*.

Discussing the etymology of the Tetragrammaton, the link with being is reiterated but within the caveat we have followed from before pseudo-Dionysius, that *Deus omnino incomprehensibilis est*. Nonetheless, we may affirm the essence of God in which is lived the life of the Trinity. The Tetragrammaton is used only of (all) the persons of the Trinity and the Incarnate Son but never of an angel as an agent of God or a creature. Trinitarian symbolism is also found in the rabbinic abbreviation for the Tetragrammaton of three *yods*. Oleaster's suggestion that the Tetragrammaton is to be derived from *hawoh* (*pernicies, interitus, contritio*) (see Exod. 7:16) is dismissed. Origen's remarks in *Contra Celsum* on the untranslatable virtue of the Hebrew names, and Jerome on Isaiah 26:4 and the ineffability of the name are discussed under the heading *Synonymia*.

The consonantal morphology of the name marks all tenses at once: *Deus est ens per se, existens semperiternun, qui fuit, qui est, et qui erit a seculo in seculum*. Separate *controversia* raise the question of whether the Tetragrammaton may be articulated, what vocalization has been suggested, and whether the vocalization has been lost. The opposition by Drusius and Générard to the term *Jehovah* is considered, as is the question of what name was revealed to the Patriarchs before the Burning Bush.

Pragmatologia, the second division of Walther's work, comprises *Primaeva Revelatio, Signifactio (propria et mystica), Repetitio, Abusio*—divided into *Grammatica* and *Nigromantica*—and *Pragmatica*.

Significatio builds on the essential aspects of the Tetragrammaton but distinguishes, for example, between the proper use of the future tense, *Ero qui Ero*, as a promise of liberation from Egypt and entry into the Promised Land, and its mystical sense, as an announcement of the Incarnation of the Son. A long quotation from the Exodus Commentary of Johann Brentius (1499–1570), a colleague of Luther, on the future tense of *'ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh* balances the future tense as a revelation of the hidden mystery of the divine essence with its character as a guarantee of God's faithfulness in his promises, two themes to which we have long been accustomed. Walther does not entirely reject the arcane mysteries of the Tetragrammaton, but insists that these are not articles of the faith, rather symptoms of spiritual devotion. He reviews the work of Reuchlin and Galatinus on the twelve and seventy-two names and accepts their Trinitarian explanations but does not appear particularly interested in magic.

The *Repetitio* of the Tetragrammaton in several biblical passages (e.g. Gen. 19:24; Exod. 16:17) is explained with respect to the several persons of the Trinity, particularly in cases of triple repetition. In a separate *controversium*, Walther considers whether the name Jesus is, in fact, the Tetragrammaton supplemented by a letter S. This he finds not certainly true (he knows it's the wrong

root) but not alien to piety. Does the Tetragrammaton enable one to work miracles? Walther reviews the ancient and Jewish evidence and quotes Luther's *Shem Hamphoras* extensively and in the appropriate typeface. He finally considers in *Controversium XVI* whether Urim and Thumim, the priestly oracle, made use of the Tetragrammaton, citing Ibn Ezra on Exodus 28:29, 30, as well as Augustine, Vatablus, Steuchus, and Paul Fagius. The second part of his work gives a similarly systematic consideration of *'elohim*.

The work is certainly systematic, but much of the material, now rather commonplace and traditional (1660), suggests possibly that an ossifying topic was losing its stimulating powers. But before we anticipate that development, we must consider in another chapter others later than the early Reformers who still did find stimulus and enlightenment in the contemplation of the Tetragrammaton.

Génébrard

But let us return to Catholic orthodoxy. The doxography of Gilbert Génébrard as repeated in many French encyclopaedias can be found almost in its entirety in Jean-Pierre Nicéron's *Mémoires* of 1733:⁸⁵ Génébrard was born in Riom in the Auvergne in 1537, and early on he entered the nearby Benedictine Abbey at Maussac, where he made his profession. He was brought to Paris by the patronage of his benefactor Guillaume du Prat, the Bishop of Clermont, where he was taught Greek by Adrien Turnèbe, philosophy by Jacques Charpentier, and theology by Claude de Saintes. He also learned Hebrew. He was made a Doctor of Theology 10 June 1563 and was subsequently appointed professor of Hebrew and Holy Scripture at the Collège Royal. He also became a long-serving Prior at Saint-Denis de la Chartre in Paris.

Génébrard was well received in Rome by Sixtus V and his cardinals on account of his scholarship. On his return to Paris he became a most committed supporter of the League and preached without restraint against Henri IV. He was also one of the strongest opponents of Protestantism in France. For his loyalty to the League's cause Génébrard was rewarded by Gregory XIV with the

85 Jean-Pierre Nicéron, *Mémoires pour Servir à l'Histoire des Hommes Illustrés dans La République des Lettres*, vol. 22 (Chez Briasson, Paris, 1733), pp. 1–18. The same material is found *exempli gratia* in Paul Colomiès, *Gallia Orientalis...* (Adrian Vlacq, The Hague, 1665), pp. 87–88, who took it directly from Sammarthanus's *Élogia*. Louis Moreri, *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique...* vol. 4 (Jean Bradouiller, Basel, 1732), p. 253, is practically identical; so is Michael Ott in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 6 (New York, 1909).

Archbishopric of Aix-en-Provence in 1592, and he took possession of it 9 September 1593. As he had had no part in it, the King did not recognize this appointment, and so he in turn appointed Paul Hurault de L'Hôpital, Seigneur de Vallegrand, who was *Maitre de Ville*. He, however, did not take up his appointment until 23 December 1597, after Génébrard had died.

After five years, as the League's fortunes declined and loyalty to the monarchy rallied in Provence, Génébrard retired to Avignon, where he wrote his *Liber de Sacrarum Electionum Iure*, which argued against any role for the monarch in the appointment of prelates. By an order of 26 January 1596 the King had the Parlement of Provence burn the book, and Génébrard was sent into exile. Subsequently he was allowed to retreat to the priory at Semur in Bourgogne, which he held *in commendam* and where he died 16 February 1597, aged sixty. Génébrard represents an extreme and outspoken Catholic position.

Beyond such bare biographical facts the encyclopaedias and dictionaries also hand down, but with far less consistency, a similarly derivative but growing bibliography of Génébrard's works, with few comments, and most of those of little value. Richard Simon's criticisms of Du Pin, however, stand out for their critical acumen and learning.⁸⁶ Otherwise these works are only of use for keeping tabs on the various editions of Génébrard's works they mention.

We shall confine ourselves to three texts relevant to the Tetragrammaton. In Book One of the *De Trinitate*, which appeared in 1569, the year Génébrard took his chair at the Collège de France, he notes that the name of the *Lord* is frequent in the Old Testament but used only of Christ in the New. He approves the almost universal practice of substituting "Lord" for the Tetragrammaton, and most definitely does not approve of those "who wish to confuse the God who was first revealed to Moses under this most holy name" (Exod. 6) with the *Iove* of the Gentiles. (Such had been Varro's view, to which Augustine also took exception.⁸⁷) Theologically he takes exception to Calvin's description of Christ as *autotheos* in *Institutes* 1.13. Rather, the Tetragrammaton and its apparent restriction to Christ in Revelation Chapter 1 speak of what has always naturally and inevitably existed, the being of God. The Tetragrammaton, and the names of twelve and forty-two letters, as Maimonides explains them in the *Moreh* 1.60–62, were not spoken out of reverence, but now there is a new deceptive vocalization which knows no such inhibitions, apparently due to Santes

86 Louis Ellies Du Pin, *Histoire de L'Église et des Auteurs ecclésiastiques du XVI siècle* (André Pralard, Paris, 1703); Richard Simon, *Critique de la Bibliothèque des Auteurs ecclésiastiques...publiez par M. Ellis Du-Pin*, vol. 2 (Étienne Ganeau, Paris, 1730), pp. 138–145.

87 *De Consensu Evang.* 1.22. For those who conversely derived *Jove* from *Iehoua*, see Cornelius à Lapide on Exodus 6:3.

Pagnini. People say *Iehoua* or *Ioua*, contrary to the nearly universal practice of the Massorettes, the Septuagint, Origen (who put *betou badonai* for *btchw byhwh*), Jerome, Epiphanius, Tertullian, and the Sybil. Another strong tradition calls the name “ineffable.” In itself the name is evidently a third-person form produced by Moses from the first-person *ehyeh* and should be pronounced *Iehúe* (if from *hwh*) or *Iihúe* (if from *hyh*)—the matter is inconsequential except perhaps for considerations of euphony.⁸⁸

Much the same point is made in the *Psalms Commentary* of 1582.⁸⁹ This was essentially Génébrard’s lecture notes, first produced in 1577 and enjoying several subsequent editions. He uses the form *Ieheué* and attacks the barbarity of the new, irreverent forms of *Ioua vel iehoua, vocabulo novo, barbaro, fictitio, irreligioso et Iovem Gentilium redolento*. The edition of 1615 (Génébrard died in 1597) carries a *Preface to the Reader* attacking Beza’s translation and making the same points.

The *Chronographia* first came out in Paris in 1567 and was republished in Louvain in 1570 and 1572, with subsequent, ever-growing, editions appearing in 1578, 1580, 1581, 1585, 1586, 1599, 1600, 1608, and 1609. The 1599 edition has a discussion (77b) of the Tetragrammaton which will add little to what we have already read. The section concerns *Quid de Moses exteri?* and points out that Diodorus Siculus’s rather clumsy attempt to articulate the Tetragrammaton as *iao* (to be aspirated as *iaho*) is not the same as the new and barbaric pronunciation favoured by the Calvinists and the Bezans, which has never been heard before and simply suggests the pagan daemon *Iove*. Similar to Diodorus is Clement’s *iaon*. The pronunciation is probably *Ihué* (Joachim of Fiore had *Ievé*) or *Iahvé*, the latter being abbreviated to *Iah*, as in *Halleluia*h, which is similar to the *iabe* the Samaritans were reported to say. We should retain the substitution of *Lord*. In this way Génébrard gained the reputation as the inventor of *yahweh*.

Génébrard was thus evidently eager not to promote what he saw as the creation of Calvinists and Bezans, the promotion of a name which suggested merely the pagan daemon *iove*. In this respect we may note the poet and scholar Gulio Gregorio Giralaldi (1479–1552) of Ferrara, whose *De Deis Gentium* (Basel, 1548; Lyon, 1585) was a work of considerable erudition and one of the first modern systematic treatments of classical mythology. He begins (1–5) with an unambiguously Trinitarian confession, which he follows with a discussion of the Tetragrammaton and the other Hebrew names of God which holds no surprises for us at this stage. The Tetragrammaton may be properly vocalized *Iheuhe* or *Iehoua*. He mocks and dissents, though, from those who

88 See pp. 29, 56–57, and 59–62.

89 *Psalms Davidis Vulgata Editio* (1582), p. 433.

say *Ioua* because they want to facilitate the derivation of *Jove*: *Quidam tamen ioua pronunciant, unde et Iovis nomen volunt esse derivatum, quos iure et merito sanioris capitis homines rident.*⁹⁰

Neither he nor Générard would evidently have approved of later expansions of this notion. We may note a dissertation of M.J. Hoffmann, *Deorum Gentilium Principiorum Origines ex Sacra Scriptura Derivatas...* (J. Banhofer, Jena, 1674). In Chapter 1 *Jovis* descends directly from *Jehovah*—authorities are cited and the details of transmission by Tyrrhenians or Phoenicians discussed. In subsequent chapters—generously displaying Arabic type—Bacchus is accounted for and Saturn, Adam, and Eve are the ancestors of some pagan deities, *Jovis* had enjoyed cult under Cain, and Tubal-Cain became Vulcan.

Returning to Catholic orthodoxy we may further consult the *Catholicum Parvum Encheiridion Christianae Institutionis in Concilio Provinciale Colonensi [1536] editum* (Apud Andoenum, Paris, 1550), explaining the commandment: “I am the Lord your God...” This has reference to the ineffable name of God, the Tetragrammaton, which cannot be pronounced. It comes from the verb “to be,” as Exodus 3 shows. It is the name most appropriate to express the divine nature. For only God exists in this special way, timelessly and as the cause of all other being. The first thing one must know of God is his being in this sense.⁹¹ This is old and constant Catholic teaching.⁹²

Dodecamenon

The *Dodecamenon...sive de Dei Nomine* of the jurist Pierre DuFaur de Saint-Jorry (Peter Faber Saniorianus, 1540?–1612) appeared from J. Richerius in 1588.⁹³

90 p. 3.

91 *Explicatio ego sum Dominus deus tuus, qui eduxit de terra Aegypti et de domo servitutis (p249): hunc respicit nomen illud apud hebraeos ineffabile Tetragrammaton, quod quatuor literis scribitur, quae sonari non possint. Deductum tamen nomen ab essendo, seu a quo nomen esse derivatur. Et profecto non est alia vox, quae proprius accedat ad exprimendam naturam divinam. Nam solus Deus vere est qui incommutabiliter est sine tempore, qui est ipsum esse, et a quo venit omnibus rebus conditio, ut sint alioque modo. Sic Ex 3 legimus: Ego sum qui sum et Qui est misit me ad vos. Ex quo id nobis descendum est hoc primum esse in cognitione Dei, ut sciamus sive cognoscamus esse, qui natura est, qui ipse est et a nullo accipit ut fit, atque perpetuo est.*

92 An orthodox Catholic summary of the field—based inevitably upon many of the authors we have met—may be found in *Recueil de Dissertations critiques sur des Endroits difficiles d'Écriture sainte* (Pierre Witte, Paris, 1715). For *Jehovah*, p. 232; for Exodus 6:3, p. 292.

93 *Editio altera* (Fratres de Gabiano, Lyon, 1592).

Peter Faber studied law under Jaques de Cujas before returning to his native Toulouse, where, after the troubled time of the League, he led the Toulouse Parlement. The work is dedicated to the Archbishop of Vienne, Petrus Villarius, and prominently displays its Paris *Censura* of 1587. It comprises ten sermons which together constitute a mature and learned presentation of orthodox Catholic Trinitarianism drawing extensively on the work of the Greek and Latin Fathers, Plato, Hermes Trismegistus, and Galatinus among the moderns—not to dispute over the faith, but seeking to explain difficulties and obscurities. The scope of the sermons is a wide and mature consideration not only of the Tetragrammaton, but other names and difficult biblical passages, and also of difficult phrases in the liturgies of St James, St Clemens, and St Basil.

The work is carefully worded (the author must, after all, satisfy the Parisian theologians) yet seeks to make a substantive point of its own. After our consideration of the works of the early Reformers we may finish with this intelligent but necessarily traditional reassertion of Catholic orthodoxy.

Beginning from the fundamentals we learn (again) that God has no proper name for he cannot be comprehended by humans (so Isidore, John Damascene, Tertullian, Arnobius, Augustine, and ultimately the divine Plato in the *Timaeus*). In as much as He can be named, it is for his acts but not his essence. The most proper and appropriate way for us to evoke Him is by the name revealed to Moses, *Ego sum qui sum* or *Qui est*, an assertion of the simple integrity of his essence.

This name is in Hebrew *Jehoua* (or *Aehia*, which is from the same root and has the same force), though Petrus Faber is not drawn to discuss the endless variants of this offered—*pro quo Ieheue aut Ieheui, Iehue, Ithie, Iahu: & aliud quodlibet, etiam Iove cur malint nonnulli eruditi non video*⁹⁴; *qui Ieheui scriptum aliquod locis (Deut 9, Hab 3, Isaiah 61 in princ.) non ignoro*. He knows of the Massorettes's vocalization, the authority of which he does not overestimate but which on occasion he is happy to follow, apparently from the Complutensian and Antwerp Polyglots.⁹⁵ He tells us that the word *deus* expresses God's divinity (*nomen substantitiae ipsius nomen, id est divinitas*) and the word *dominus* expresses rather less, not his divinity but merely his power (*vero non substantitiae sed potestatis*). The Tetragrammaton, however, is superior in naming the incommunicable essence of God (*ipsam Dei substantiam incommunicabilem & (ut sic liceat loqui) singularem*), his universality determined by no mode of being neither past, present, nor future.

94 The margin shows he has Générard in his sights.

95 *Iehova: sic equidem cum Massorettes qui punctis additis Hebraeum contextum ante aliquot saecula explanarunt quin legamus & vero pronunciemus.*

Petrus Faber delays over the *esse* of God: he explains how it embraces the relationship of the Father and Son against the blasphemies of the Arians: *Qui est* cannot be used of a God who changes—*qui heri alius fuit & hodie alius fuit*. God does not change, as we learn from Plato's *Timaeus*. We must grasp the external unchanging existence of God, who is and is always the same (*eodem modum esse*). He exists in Himself, yet is the source of all else. He is not called *to on* to contrast Him with other gods who do not exist (as Justin Martyr suggested), but to teach that all else has its origin from him, the changeless and eternal Creator. He is infinite, “an immense ocean of being,” as the Greek Fathers said, simple, without parts, without fault. In him is strength, life, light, blessing, spirit, etc. This is what Thomas Aquinas taught following in the steps of the Blessed Augustine.

More original, however, is Peter Faber's sustained investigation of the use of the Tetragrammaton throughout Scripture. He gives a list of those places where the Old Testament text specifically mentions the name of God, but also considers which divine names in the Old Testament, including the Tetragrammaton, may properly be applied to the Son. In so many cases the use of *Jehoua*, *ex hebraico autographo*, enhances our understanding of the passage. He considers whether the Tetragrammaton was known before Moses and the divine names used by the Patriarchs. He offers as a version: “I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob; *this* is my memorial for ever.” This triple “God of” designates the Trinity, but “I am who I am...He who is” reasserts the unity of the three persons.

He considers also New Testament usage of “the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit,” “the name of the Lord,” and the “name above every name.” He also examines the witness of the Fathers and pagan notices like Macrobius's oracle of Apollo, which mentions *iao*.

But it is his sustained defence of the improvement the use of *Jehoua* would make to the sense of Scripture which is most original. Admittedly the New Testament writers followed the Septuagint translators and substituted a word for “Lord” but that should not be over-interpreted: the Septuagint was here merely tolerated, not approved, and does not predetermine matters in the face of the *Hebraica Veritas*⁹⁶—a statement remarkable for its assertion of the authority of the Hebrew text.

96 *Septuaginta tolerata potius quam probata fuerit, Hebraicae veritati non praescribere...*

The Tetragrammaton in Renaissance Magic and among the Later Christian Kabbalists

Renaissance Magicians

In this chapter we turn from the theological rigours of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations to take up again the theme of magical interest in the Tetragrammaton as it appears in the early modern period. Continuities with mediaeval works are evident, as is significant innovation.¹ This will lead us naturally to consider some of the work of the later Christian Kabbalists—still drawing inspiration and stimulus from the Tetragrammaton. Thereafter, our final chapter will chart the emergence of the much less inspirational philological consensus.

Cornelius Agrippa

Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535) from Nettesheim had briefly been a student of Trithemius in 1510 and sent a copy of his *De Occulta Philosophia* to his former teacher.² The work attests a strong interest in magic, yet one which Agrippa appeared to renounce in his later years. Scholars now generally do not take that renunciation at face value, though Agrippa did withdraw and replace the early version of his manuscript of *De Occulta Philosophia*. More

1 For continuity with the earlier Ficino and Pico: P. Zambelli, *White Magic Black Magic from Ficino, Pico, della Porta to Trithemius, Agrippa, Bruno* (Leiden, 2007)—a gathering of previous papers.

2 C.I. Lehrich, *The Language of Demons and Angels* (Leiden, 2003), offers a coherent account of Agrippa's thought, which makes Agrippa something more than the intellectual dilettante he has often been considered to be. C.C. Nauert, *Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought* (Urbana, 1965); Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, pp. 130–143, for Agrippa in Hermetic tradition; also her “The Occult Philosophy and Magic: Henry Cornelius Agrippa,” in her *Occult Philosophy*, pp. 37–48; Dieter Müller-Jahncke, “Agrippa von Nettesheim et la Kabbale,” in Faivre and Tristan, eds., *Kabbalistes chrétiens*, pp. 197–209; M. Iserman, “Substantial vs Relational Analogy in 16th & 17th Century Linguistic Thought,” in *History of Linguistics From Classical to Contemporary Linguistics*, vol. 2, eds. D. Cram et al. (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 105–112. The modern edition is V.P. Compagni, *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres* (Leiden, 1992).

significantly the continuities in ritual magic from the late Middle Ages and the growth of interest in this material are now becoming clearer.³

Agrippa (*Occ. Phil.* 1531–1533, Book II) deals with celestial magic and the importance of numbers and number groupings.⁴ The number one stands for the supreme God, three for the Holy Trinity, and the numerical values of Hebrew letters are most potent for number magic. In Chapter 79 after the English translation of 1651 (p. 183) we read:

...therefore a four square is ascribed to God the Father, and also contains the mysteries of the whole Trinity, for by its single proportion viz, by the first of one to one, the unity of the paternal substance is signified from one which proceeds one son, equal to two, is signified by the second procession of the Holy Ghost from both, that the Son be equal to the Father by the first procession; and the Holy Ghost be equal to both by the second procession. Hence that super-excellent and great name of the Divine Trinity in God is written with four letters viz. yod, he and vau, he where it is the aspiration he signifies the proceeding of the spirit from both: for he being duplicated terminates both syllables and the whole name, but pronounced Jove as some will, whence that Jovis of the heathen, which the ancients did picture with four ears, whence the number four is the fountain, and head of the whole divinity.

Book III deals with ceremonial or ritual magic, by following which we may form our spirits and thought in order to know the Truth. Agrippa goes beyond Ficino and Pico to a real priestly magic which involves the performance of religious miracles. The Orphic Hymns with their gods and *Nox* are the same as the *Sephiroth* of Hebrew Kabbalah, with the *Ein Soph* corresponding to *Orpheus Nox* (as Pico held). It is these that pseudo-Dionysius called “the powers.” The ten *Sephiroth* have names which act on all creatures, from angels, down through the celestial spheres, to mankind. Agrippa gives a list of the ten Hebrew divine names, the corresponding names of the *Sephiroth*, and their associated angelic orders (III.10). There then follows more on Hebrew divine names, a magical arrangement of Abracadabra, and pictures of talismans with inscribed names in Hebrew. The influx of virtue from the divine names is mediated by angels.

3 F. Klassen, *The Transformations of Magic: Illicit Learned Magic in the Later Middle Ages and Renaissance* (State College, Pa., 2013).

4 I.R.F. Calder, “A Note on Magic Squares in the Philosophy of Agrippa of Nettesheim,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 12 (1949), 196–199.

Since the coming of Christ the name *Iesu* has all the powers, so Kabbalists cannot operate with other names.

Of the Tetragrammaton he writes specifically and very traditionally (III. cii pp. 378–379):

...but the true name of God is neither to men not to angels but to God alone neither shall it be manifested (as the holy scripture testifie) before the will of God be fulfilled; Notwithstanding God hath other names amongst the Angels, others amongst us men; for there is no name amongst us (as Moses the Egyptian [i.e. Maimonides] saith) which is not taken from his works. and signifieth with participation, besides the name Tetragrammaton, which is holy, signifying the substance of the Creator in a pure signification, in which no other thing is partaker: name, which is written and not read, neither is it expressed by us but names, and signifieth the second supernall Idiome, which is God, and perhaps the angels.

We have discussed Agrippa's knowledge of the name of seventy-two letters and the *Vehuiah* list in an earlier chapter and shall not repeat those remarks here (Illustration 24).

Agrippa had considerable influence upon both Giordano Bruno and John Dee. Johann Weyer was also his live-in pupil. Noticeable is the network of personal contacts between European scholars interested in natural and angelic magic around 1500.⁵ Dame Frances Yates stressed the Hermetic tradition in all this, but this emphasis has been debated.⁶

John Dee (1527–1608)

Of those influenced by Agrippa, John Dee, one of the most remarkable men in Elizabethan England, was both an important mathematician and a practical scientist. Into these activities he integrated (without contradiction) an interest in numbers as a way of understanding the secrets of nature and believed the

5 Pointed out by F.L. Borchardt, "The Magus as Renaissance Man," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 21.1 (1990), 57–76.

6 B. Copenhaver, "Hermes Trismegistus, Proclus and the Question of Magic in the Renaissance," in *Hermeticism and the Renaissance*, eds. I. Merkel and A.G. Debus (Washington, D.C., 1988), pp. 79–110. J.S. Gill, *English Hermeticism: A Critical Study of Contrasting Responses to Hermeticism in Renaissance and Seventeenth-Century English Literature* (Loughborough, 1982).

ILLUSTRATION 24 *The 72 angel names from the original (1533 Cologne) edition of Agrippa's De Occulta Philosophia (III.25)*

way to achieve this was through the use of numbers in connection with the Hebrew names of angels. He was a great multifaceted magus,⁷ most notorious for his attempts at angel magic recorded from 1581 onwards.⁸ Dee used Kabbalah in an attempt to achieve enlightenment, and indeed to tap into super-celestial powers.⁹ Dee had read Pico, made use of Lull, and worked his angel magic within the Christian Trinitarian framework on which Lullism is

7 E.M. Butler, *The Myth of the Magus* (Cambridge, 1948); K. Reichert, "Von Wissenschaft zur Magie John Dee," in Grafton and Idel, eds., *Der Magus*, pp. 87–106.

8 I.R.F. Calder, *John Dee Studied as an English Neoplatonist*, 2 vols. (unpublished PhD dissertation, Warburg Institute, London, 1952); Peter French, *John Dee: The World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London, 1972), was influential in enabling others to take Dee seriously. B. Woolley, *The Queen's Conjurer* (London, 2001); F. Yates, "John Dee Christian Cabbalist," in her *Occult Philosophy*, pp. 79–94. Most important are: M. Casaubon, *A true & Faithful relation of...Dr. john dee...and some Spirits* (D. Maxwell, London, 1659), and J.O. Halliwell, ed., *The Private Diary of Dr John Dee* (London, 1842). Also S. Clucas, "False Illuding Spiits & Cownterfeiting Devills: John Dee's Angelic Conversations and Religious Anxiety," in *Conversations with Angels Essays towards a History of Spiritual Communication 1100–1700*, ed. J. Raymond (London, 2011), pp. 150–74.

9 K. De Léon-Jones, "John Dee and the Kabbalah," in *John Dee: Interdisciplinary Studies in English Reformation Thought*, ed. S. Clucas (Dordrecht, 2006), pp. 143–158, cautions against too ready a use of the word Kabbalah but does not deny its creative influence for Dee and upon the *Monas Hieroglyphica* of 1564, as well as work also published in Frankfurt in 1591

based. He appears to have been a genuinely devout man and probably something of a Hebraist. His own library catalogue, completed on 6 September 1583 (British Library MS Harleian 1879), lists some fifty-nine books on Hebrew and Aramaic, with three others in the general catalogue.¹⁰ His twice-daily Prayer for Wisdom in the *Liber Mysteriorum* is not necessarily merely a front, as some have argued. He had Agrippa's Third Book of *De Occulta Philosophia* (itself dependent upon Reuchlin and Trithemius, as we have seen), which is full of religious magic and endless tables of names for summoning angels, seals which attract angels, and so on.

Dee's own personal seal, the *Sigillum Aemeth*, is an example of this. Based apparently upon a *Sigillum Dei* seal in Dee's own copy of the *Liber Juratus*—his library, remember, was one of the most extensive of Renaissance collections—this indicates one aspect of the continuity between Dee and the mediaeval magic we have mentioned above.¹¹

Dee's medium Edward Kelley alone apparently claimed to see the spirits evoked by his master.¹² Kelley's integrity has naturally been a matter for debate.¹³

Elias Ashmole was responsible for entitling Sloane Mss 3191 *Tabula bonorum angelorum invocationes*. At the head of these tables of mystical angelical names Dee evokes the Lord *O Ieova Zabaoth....* He prays to the Holy Trinity and also lists at the end of every invocation a revered and mystical name of God. In his personal prayer, Dee calls upon the names of God to help him.¹⁴

with I. Wechel and P. Fischer. H. Cluke, "Astronomia Inferior: Legacies of Johannes Trithemius and John Dee," in *Astrology and Alchemy in Early Modern Europe*, eds. W.R. Newman and A. Grafton (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), pp. 173–234. Also Von Stuckrad, *Locations of Knowledge*, pp. 146–151, for Dee, and U. Szulakowska, *Alchemy of Light Geometry and Optics in Late Alchemical Illustration* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 55–78, for Dee.

10 Jones, *Hebrew in Tudor England*, pp. 275–77, for the list.

11 S. Clucas "John Dee's Angelic Conversations and the Ars Notoria: Renaissance Magic and Mediaeval Theurgy," in Clucas, ed., *John Dee*, pp. 231–274. Also D.E. Harkness, *Conversations with Angels: Cabala, Alchemy and the End of Nature* (Cambridge, 1999).

12 Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, pp. 148–150.

13 Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, p. 149, thought Kelley "a fraud who deceived his pious master."

14 Dee's twice-daily Oration for Wisdom from the *Liber Mysteriorum*: *In nomine Dei Patris, Dei Filii, Dei Spiritus Sancti Amen.... Omnipotens, Sempiterna Vere et Vive Deus, in adiutorium meum intende: Domine Dominantium, Rex Regum, Jeovah Sebaoth ad adiuvandum me festina. Amen. Fiat Jeovah Zebaoth, Fiat Adonay, Fiat Elohi. O Beata et Superbenedicta Omnipotens Trinitas, concedas mihi (Joanni Dee) petitionem hanc, modo tali, qui tibi maxime placebit.*

Dee was well connected with Sir Philip Sidney and the Court. His *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation* (1577) was an early manifesto of English imperialism in which Dee presciently proposed a mighty navy—he may have invented the phrase “British Empire”—and an assertion of territorial claims to the New World. The frontispiece is eloquent: Elizabeth appears at the helm of the ship of state, seizing the hair of a kneeling figure of Opportunity. The sun, moon, and ten stars in the heavens indicate a favourable outcome. Above, a radiant Tetragrammaton sheds its vital rays.¹⁵

Marlowe

In 1620 Marlowe wrote his *Tragical History of the Life and Death of Dr. Faustus*. Marlowe had Dee in his sights when he wrote:

Faustus, begin thy incantation. And try if devils will obey thy hest, seeing thou hast prayed and sacrificed to them. Within this circle is Jehovah's name, forward and backward anagrammized. And characters of signs and rising stars, by which the spirits are enforced to us....

Marlowe's primary material was ultimately based upon the first “Faustbuch,” the *Historia von D. Johann Faustus*, published by Johann Speiss's printing house in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1587 and thereafter growing with the somewhat casual introduction of new materials. There is a manuscript text in Wolfenbüttel, written a few years before Speiss's edition by a professional scribe in Nuremberg, which comes nearest to the original but is itself a copy of an earlier version.¹⁶ The book was evidently popular, enjoying some eighteen editions in Germany before 1599. But the edition produced in that year, on the basis of the 1589 edition, by Georg Rudolf Widman was hugely supplemented by moralizing, pious, and patently anti-Catholic insertions which rather stifled the former text. The English version was made in 1592 and entitled *The Historie of the Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Doctor John Faust* by P.F. Gent. It was fortunately this unimproved version that Marlowe had to hand. And so, maybe, did King James

15 French, *John Dee*, pp. 182–184. For Dee's politics: G. Yewbrey, *John Dee and the Sidney Group Cosmopolitics and Protestant Activism in 1570s* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Hull, 1981).

16 E.M. Butler, *The Fortunes of Faust* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 3–30, offers a positive assessment of the earlier editions—before 1599! H.G. Haile produced two editions, with Carl Schmidt Verlag in 1960 and Carl Winter Verlag in 1996. For a longer view, P. Boerner and S. Johnson, eds., *Faust through Four Centuries: Retrospect and Analysis* (Tübingen, 1989).

I, who some ten years later wrote of the thirst for knowledge which drives some to transgress their mortal limitations:¹⁷

...for divers men having attained to a great perfection of learning, & yet remaining overbare (alas) of the spirit of regeneration and frutes thereof: finding all naturall thinges common, aswell to the stupide pedants as vnto them, they assaie to vendicate vnto them a greater name, by not onlie knowing the course of things heavenlie, but likewise to clim to the knowledge of things to come thereby. Which, at the first face appearing lawful vnto them, in respect the ground therof seemeth to proceed of naturall causes onelie: they are so allured thereby, that finding their practice to prooue true in sundry things, they studie to know the cause thereof: and so mounting from degree to degree, upon the slipperie and vncertain scale of curiositie; they are at last entised, that where lawfull artes or sciences failes, to satisfie their restles mindes, even to seeke to that black and vnlawful science of *Magie*. Where, finding at the first, that such diuers formes of circles & conjurations rightlie joyned thereunto, will raise such diuers formes of spirites, to resolue them of their doubts: and attributing the doing thereof, to the power inseparablie tyed, or inherent in the circles: and manie words of God, confusedlie wrapped in; they blindlie glorie of themselves, as if they had by their quicknes of ingine, made a conquest of *Plutoes* dominion and were become Emperours over the *Stygian* habitacles. Where, in the meane time (miserable wretches) they are become in verie deed, bond-slaues to their mortal enemy: and their knowledge, for all they presume thereof, is nothing increased, except in knowing evill, and the horrors of hell for punishment thereof, as *Adams* was by eating of the forbidden tree.

The King was not alone in his anxieties, and theological concerns about Christian magic went back to Pico della Mirandola's nephew Giovanni Francesco Pico, who disapproved of Ficino's talismans and his uncle's magic, though he chose to believe that the latter had abjured this in his *Adversus Astrologiam*. The mixture of magic and *prisca theologia* he regarded as little more than pagan idolatry.¹⁸ Agrippa's student, the Protestant Johann Weir (1515–1588), in his *de Praestigis Daemonum et Incantibus ac Veneficiis* (Oporinus, Basel, 1563)

17 *Daemonologie* (R. Walde-Grave, Edinburgh, 1597), Book III, 10–40; J. Craigie and A. Law, eds., *Minor Prose Works of King James VI and I* (Edinburgh, 1982), p. 7. Cited by E.M. Butler.

18 Both his *Examen Vanitatis Doctrinae Gentium* and the *De Rerum Praenotione* attack magic and appear in his *Opera Omnia* (Basel, 1573).

supplemented by *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* (Oporinus, Basel, 1577)—a veritable *Who's Who* of demons—similarly regarded the Hermetic *prisca theologia* not as authentic Mosaic tradition but simply Egyptian magic.¹⁹ He thought magic had no place in religion and that many Catholic practices were similarly superstitious. He was one of the first to raise his voice against the persecution of witches. Thomas Erastus (1524–1583), *Disputationem de Medicina Nova Philippi Paracelsi* (Basel, n.d.²⁰), was another Protestant who considered the *prisca theologia* an Egyptian and Platonic abomination, clearly diabolical and without place in religion. He opposed, however, Weir's appeal for clemency for those accused of witchcraft.

Johann Pistorius

Magicians might also have an interest in Christian Kabbalah, as the case of Johann Pistorius the Younger (1546–1608) illustrates. The son of a Lutheran pastor of the same name, he turned first to Calvinism and then to Rome. His interest in Kabbalah is attested by his *Artis Cabbalisticae h. e. Reconditae Theologiae et Philosophiae Scriptorum Tomus Unus*, which came out in Basel in 1589. This is a useful compendium of previous Kabbalistic works reprinted and indexed. Ricius is reprinted, as are the *Porta Lucis*, Leo Hebraeus, Reuchlin, Archangelus Burgonovensis, and the *Sepher Yetzirah*.

But Pistorius's more original work caught the full force of confessional polemic. Pistorius was a Doctor of Medicine and sometime court physician to Margrave Karl II of Baden-Durlach. It was a printed small book on healing which attracted the ire of the Lutheran theologian Jacob Heilbrunner (1548–1618), who approved of neither Pistorius's theology nor what he considered his magic.²¹ The little book offered cures through the power found *verbis et nominibus*, provided diagrams of angels and names ascending through fifty levels to the *'Ein Soph*, and also commended the power of the Tetragrammaton and the *schemhamphorash*. It was clearly an occult work, a blending of Kabbalah and magic perhaps not intended for a wide audience. Heilbrunner knew of Reuchlin's work and cited Pistorius's *Artis Cabbalisticae*. But he considered this work to do with magic and idolatry. He discussed what we might properly think of as angels in this respect, clearly concluding that Pistorius had to do

19 D.P. Walker, *Spiritual and Demonic Magic*, p. 152.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 163.

21 Jacob Heilbrunner, *Daemonomania Pistoriana Magica et Cabalistica morborum curandorum ratio...* (Typis Palatinis, Lauingen, 1601).

with daemons. After an introduction the book proceeds with quotations from Pistorius followed by substantially longer glosses by Heilbrunner. This daemonic and idolatrous magic is clearly portrayed as a papist's problem.

Catholic views may be gauged from the work of the Jesuit Martin del Rio, *Disquisitionum Magicarum, Libri Sex* (Louvain, 1599–1600).²² He allows some forms of natural magic but does not like Ficino's talimans. Nor does he consider that the Hebrew language has any particular power at all, thus robbing Pico's practical Kabbalah of any force. Agrippa he considers the worst type of black magician, though naturally he seeks to defend Catholic practices from the charge of superstition. Another Catholic, Pierre Le Loyer (1550–1634), *Discours et Histoires des Spectres, ou Apparitions et Visions...* (N. Buon, Paris, 1605), provides a compendium of ancients and moderns upon the power of the Tetragrammaton, but holds it works in any language—and cites fifteen to make his point.²³

Somewhat later, Marin Mersenne's (1588–1648) massive *Quaestiones Celeberrimae in Genesim*, a monument to rationality and orthodox Catholicism, took a stand against all esoteric and occult interpretations of Genesis—specifically contesting Pico's discovery of the Trinity in the first Hebrew word of Genesis, *br'sht*.

Jean Bodin

Jean Bodin stands aside from the confessional rivalries of Catholic and Protestant. He wrote his *Démonologie des Sorciers* after playing an unofficial advisory role at the trial of Jeanne Harvillier as a witch. Its dedication is dated 1579, but a refutation of Johann Weyer's attack on witch-burning, *De Lamiis* (1577), and implicitly his earlier *De Praestigiis Daemonum* (1563, Basel), was added hurriedly before printing in Paris in 1580. Bodin's book was influential and came to replace the *Malleus Maleficarum* as a standard textbook for secular courts in France dealing with such trials. Bodin's own convictions at this point seemed to have moved to neutrality with respect to the major confessions, and evince an attempt to discover true religion, which for him evidently had a Judaic basis. The *Démonologie*, however, is not explicitly critical of Christianity, though Bodin's views at this point were very unorthodox. Bodin develops his own distinctive views of angels and daemons and attempts to refute Pico's view of magic. Fundamentally he sees magic as involving a

²² Ibid., pp. 178–185.

²³ Book VIII, pp. 909–911.

deliberate pact with the Devil. Kabbalah he considers nothing more than the correct interpretation of Scripture, the *secrete intelligence des merveilles de Dieu, couverte d'allegories par toute la sainte escripture*. Kabbalistic number magic is blasphemy, and the Tetragrammaton has no magical efficiency.²⁴ Bodin's emerging faith appears as a very strict form of Judaic monotheism with an elaborate daemonology, but it has little place for the Christian Magicians or Kabbalists.²⁵

It is interesting, therefore, to turn to his *Colloquium of the Seven about the Secrets of the Sublime*. Marion Kuntz, an expert on Postel, has produced a translation of the text and draws attention to the use of Kabbalah in both the *Colloquium* and Postel.²⁶ The importance of the holy language which contains secrets is now fundamental.²⁷ The holy tongue is related to numbers and especially to four, because the most holy unutterable name has four letters—indeed, Salomon, a privileged interlocutor, preferred four to three and reminds his friends that the voice of God repeated four divine names to Moses. He explains: It would be much more likely to contrive a quaternity from the name Tetragrammaton than a trinity, as did Basilides the Evangelist, whose opinion the Noetians and the Lombard himself, the Master of the Sentences, seem to follow, as Abbot Joachim wrote, because in addition to three persons, they imposed a fourth which they called *hypokratora*. The Pythagoreans seem to have held this opinion. They had been accustomed to swear by a Holy Quaternity. Timaeus Locrensis indicated that by means of a tetragonal pyramid this quaternity held many thousands of worlds together. The powerful sagacious reasoning of the Master of the Sentences concerning the quaternity either established the quaternity or overturned the trinity, because he opposed the two relations of things produced to the relations of things producing, namely, the thing begetting the thing begotten, the thing breathing, the thing neither begotten nor breathing. The four wheels would be appropriate to this opinion, and also the four animals of the divine vision, and the voice of God

24 Book I develops his ideas of daemons against the Neoplatonists and Pico; Book II dismisses operative Kabbalistic magic and declares that on no account should scriptural verses be used in spells. The efficacy of the words of God consists in procuring salvation, not in causing storms.

25 For this characterization of Bodin, I have followed Christopher Baxter, "Jean Bodin's *De La Démonomanie des Sorciers*: The Logic of Persecution," in *The Damned Art: Essays in the Literature of Witchcraft*, ed. Sydney Anglo (London, 1977), pp. 76–105.

26 M.L. Kuntz, *Jean Bodin Colloquium of the Seven about Secrets of the Sublime* (Princeton, 2008), p. lvi. The first complete edition was that of Ludwig Noack (Schwerin, 1857). Previously the work was circulated in manuscript with only partial printings.

27 *quod arcanum latet imperitos linguae sanctae*; op. cit., p. 184.

repeating to Moses the four divine names, namely, the God of Your Fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.²⁸

Emphasis upon the number four and the sacred Tetragrammaton pervade the *Colloquium*, as Professor Kuntz shows.²⁹ Salomon knows the ten divine names of Jerome and seventy-two epithets common in a certain way to creator and creatures—except, of course, for the Tetragrammaton.³⁰

The historical realism of humanist philology progressively questioned the dating and origin of many of the texts upon which the *prisca theologia* and associated mythologies and magical practices were based. Erasmus was perhaps emblematic of those who sought to return to the sources of the Christian tradition but regarded the *prisca theologia* as vain dreaming based on bad scholarship.³¹ Frances Yates memorably portrayed Giordano Bruno in Oxford 1583 as an extreme magus unable to be heard in a country which had been through Erasmian reform any more than he could be in Counter-Reformation Rome.³² Campanella appears as a final gesture of a passing tradition in the last chapter of her book on Bruno. We shall return to this scepticism below.

Rosicrucians

But for others the influence of Dee was still substantive. Though probably not a Rosicrucian³³ himself in the sense of belonging to a secret society, he certainly showed a similar mode of thinking.³⁴ Dee's personal seal from his *Monas Hieroglyphica* appears at the beginning (p. 6) of Ezechiel Foxcroft's 1690 translation of *The Chymical Wedding of Christian Rosenkreutz* (*Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz*, Strasbourg, 1616).

28 pp. 282–83.

29 p. lvii.

30 p. 326. The name is also imagined as used by Aaron when he called a feast for the Golden Calf (p. 446).

31 Yates, *Giordano Bruno*, pp. 159–168. For Bruno and Kabbalah, pp. 257–274, especially pp. 278–279.

32 *Ibid.*, *passim*; quotation from p. 168. Paul-Henri Michel, *The Cosmology of Giordano Bruno* (Paris, 1973).

33 F.A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London, 1972), briefly in her *Giordano Bruno*, pp. 407–416.

34 French, *John Dee*, p. 14. F.A. Yates, "The Hermetic Tradition in Renaissance Science," in *Art, Science and History in the Renaissance*, ed. C.S. Singleton (Baltimore, 1968), pp. 255–274, for Dee's thought and Rosicrucianism.

Rosicrucianism appeared publicly for the first time with two texts which are today called “manifestos”: the *Fama Fraternitatis* (1614) and the *Confessio Fraternitatis* (1615). The two manifestos hardly innovate on the doctrinal plane: there is nothing that has not been found before, yet—with an admirable brevity—they combined Hermetic, messianic Joachimic, and Reformist themes—a blend of a Lutheran inner church and also a community of initiates.³⁵ Johann Valentin Andreae and his friends, apparently despairing that the Reformation had not produced the hoped-for spiritual renewal, that Europe was split between Catholics and Protestants (they were Protestants), and that science was starting to drift away from religion, thought to create an imaginary secret brotherhood of goodwill and enlightenment which would (perhaps) lead to real improvements in society. Others have seen their venture as more allegorical, sometimes to the point of a hoax. Their founder, they proclaimed, was Christian Rosenkranz, who had lived for 106 years from 1378, and their symbol was the Rosy Cross. Frances A. Yates initiated modern historians into the movement and claimed considerable importance for it at the time of the outbreak of the Thirty Years’ War. She argued for the importance of the marriage in February 1613 of the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I, to Frederick V, Elector Palatinate of the Rhine (Illustration 25).³⁶ In the mythology and propagation of the ideas of the movement, she saw the culture portrayed at the court as a “Rosicrucian” export of Elizabethan occult philosophy to Germany.³⁷

We may confine ourselves to considering some of the iconography of the Rosicrucians. The *Fama* ends with *sub umbra alarum tuarum, Jehova* in Latin at the end of the German text. The phrase is taken from verses in the Psalter which indicate God’s protection (17.8; 57.1). Thus, the title page of Theophilus

35 A. Faivre, “The Rosicrucian Manifestos (1614, 1615) and the Western Esoteric ‘Tradition,’” in idem, *Theosophy, Imagination, Tradition: Studies in Western Esotericism* (Albany, 2000), pp. 171–190.

36 A single broadsheet shows “the most illustrious prince Fredericke, by the grace of God King of Bohemia” marrying Elizabeth: John Roger Paas, *The German Political Broadsheet 1600–1700*, vol. 2 (Weisbaden, 1986), p. 335. (Yates, plate 8 with radiant Tetragrammaton.)

37 Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*. Dame Frances’s achievement remains, though many of her conclusions have been questioned, particularly the existence of a (real) secret society under the pressure of persecution after the devastation of Heidelberg in the Thirty Years’ War. See her “Christian Cabala and Rosicrucianism,” in her *Occult Philosophy*, pp. 169–75. John Matthews et al., eds., *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment Revisited* (New York, 1999). Briefly: A. Faivre, *Access to Western Esotericism* (Albany, 1994), pp. 64–66, and his “The Chemical Wedding of the Christian Rosencreuz as a Pilgrimage of the Soul,” *ibid.*, pp. 163–75.



ILLUSTRATION 25 German print of 1613 showing the marriage of the Elector Palatinate and the Princess Elizabeth. The union is blessed by a radiate Tetragrammaton

Schweighardt's *Speculum Sopicum Rhodo-Stauroticum* (1618) (Illustration 26) is topped by wings enclosing the Tetragrammaton repeated three times on lines top right to bottom left (no doubt to indicate the Trinity) and surrounded by rays and a scroll with the motto *sub umbra alarum tuarum*.³⁸ A plate inside the book illustrating the Invisible College of the Rose Cross Fraternity shows two sets of wings, with the upper one having a Tetragrammaton.³⁹ A satirical print from 1621 in the British Library directed at the "triumphant eagle" of the Hapsburgs uses it to replace the wings of Jehova, though a radiant Tetragrammaton appears above the eagle. The motto itself is a fierce and mocking distortion of the Rosicrucian—*sub umbra alarum mearum florebit regnum Bohemiae*—and triumphs over the defeat of Frederick.⁴⁰

Alchemical Texts

The Rosicrucians lead us naturally to alchemy, the Hermetic science *par excellence*. Again, we shall note no more than its iconographic use of the Tetragrammaton.⁴¹

The title page of Andreas Libavius, *Alchymia Andreae Libavii Recognita, Emendata et Aucta*, produced in Frankfurt in 1606, was reprinted as the title page of his *Syntagma Selectorum* (Frankfurt, 1611) and his *Syntagmatis Arcanorum Chymicorum* (Frankfurt, 1613). Hippocrates and Hermes kneeling above and Galen and Aristotle standing below venerate a Hebrew Tetragrammaton (vocalized as *Jehovah*) which is being crowned by two angelic figures. Joseph Quercetanus (Joseph du Chesne) brought out his *Pharmacopoea Restituta* in Strasbourg in 1625. The layout of its title page with the four figures and the Hebrew Tetragrammaton is clearly derived from Libavius's books, albeit redrawn and with some differences at the bottom of the plate. The same may be said of the title page of the posthumous collection of his works brought out in 1641 in Paris by Michael van Lochem and entitled *Recueil des plus curieux et rares secrets...* (Illustration 27). Oswald Croll's *Basilica Chymica* (1608, 1629, and 1611 for the Latin edition) has a complex title page (Illustration 28). A circle at the top embraces the nine orders of angels, a triangle for the Holy Trinity in which appears an unvocalized Hebrew Tetragrammaton. A lower circle matches the upper one, with a triangle representing body, soul, and spirit dividing the circle into fire, water,

38 Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, pp. 129–130, plate 32.

39 Ibid., p. 32.

40 Ibid., pp. 86–87. Plate 15a.

41 Illustrations in Faivre, *The Eternal Hermes*, pp. 156, 159, 165, 170.



ILLUSTRATION 26 *Theophilus Schweighardt, Speculum Rodo-Stauroticum (1618). Engraving of the Invisible College of the Rosy Cross Fraternity with Tetragrammaton above and on the defenders' shields*

and air, and also into arcs representing magical astrology, alchemical medicine, and theological Kabbalah. This presentation of both upper and lower worlds is framed by sages, including Hermes Trismegistus, Geber Arabs, Morienus, Raymond Lull, Roger Bacon, and Paracelsus, who feature on many similar title pages.

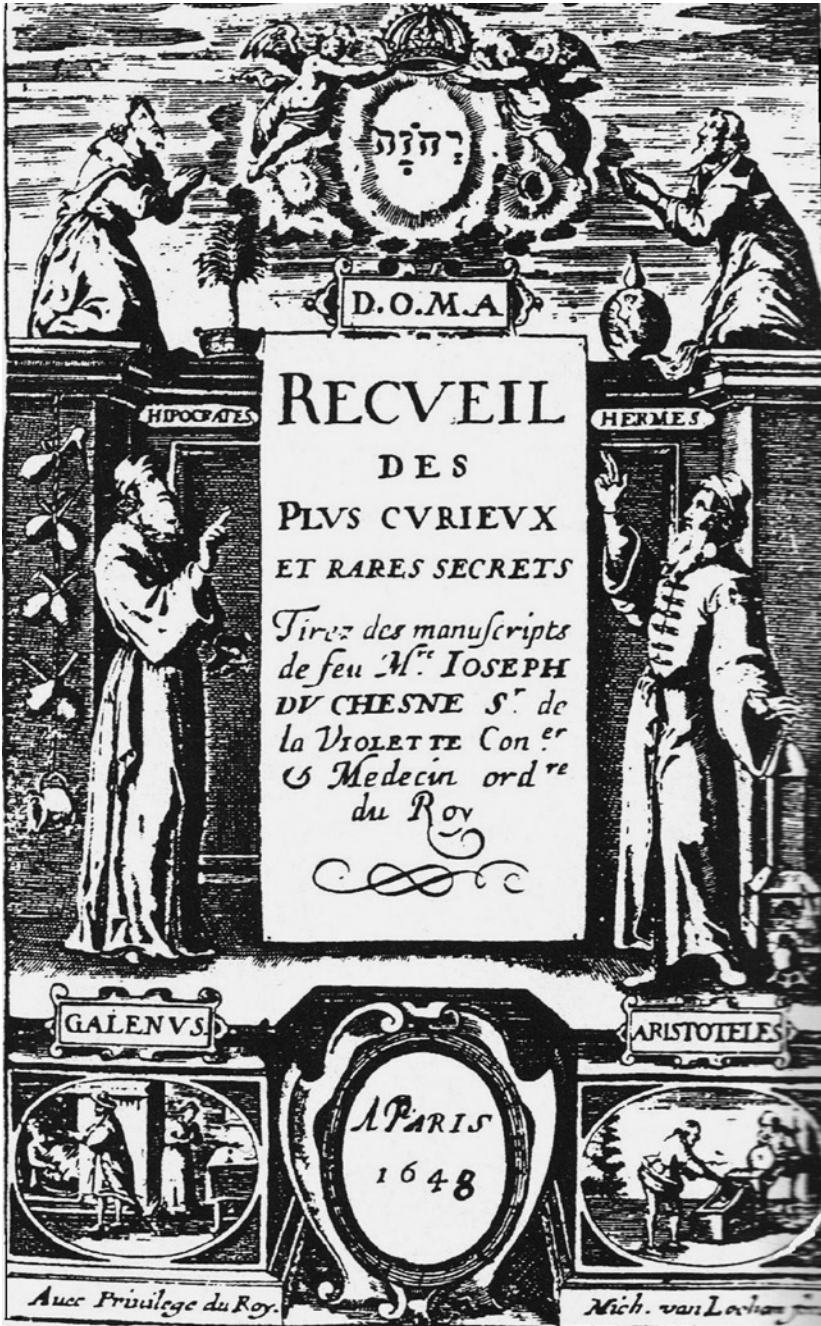


ILLUSTRATION 27 Title page by Michael van Lochem to Josephus Quercetanus (Joseph du Chesne), *Recueil des plus curieux et rares secrets* (Paris, 1648). The four sages venerate the Tetragrammaton

As an example of these alchemical interests we may consider Heinrich Khunrath (1560–1605), who was a disciple of Paracelsus, an acquaintance of Dee, and a visitor to the Habsburg Emperor Rudolf II in Prague.⁴² A committed Lutheran, convinced of the value of experience and observation, he used chemistry and natural magic to seek the *prima materia* which would lead to eternal wisdom. His *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (Hamburg, 1595) features the Tetragrammaton in its alchemical plates (Illustration 29).⁴³

The Later Kabbalists

We shall conclude this chapter with discussion of some of the later Christian Kabbalists for whom the Tetragrammaton still provided an access to the unseen world of greater reality. Indeed, it is among these later scholars that some of the most systematically elaborated expositions of the Tetragrammaton are to be found. We may note also the growing detail and importance of plates in works under consideration.⁴⁴

Robert Fludd (1574–1637)

Robert Fludd—philosopher, astrologer, mathematician, follower of both Paracelsus and Nicholas of Cusa, defender of the heliocentric universe against Kepler and of Hermetic science against French Empiricists like Mersenne and Gassendi—produced what may be arguably the most ambitious and elaborate systematic interpretation of the Tetragrammaton, making good use of the Kabbalistic techniques of *gematria* (interpreting

42 In Neoplatonist tradition one passed from the divine to physical matter through intervening stages. The Swiss Theophrastus Bombatus von Hohenheim (known generally as Paracelsus) (1493–1541) had nature emanate directly from the nature of the divine and believed that the “light of nature” reveals to us the mutual interconnections between physical and spiritual nature.

43 Szulakowska, *Alchemy of Light*, pp. 79–152, for Khunrath.

44 We now have W. Schmidt-Biggeman, ed., *Geschichte der Christlichen Kabbala (1600–1660)* (*Clavis Pansophiae*) 10,2 (Cannstaff, 2013). See p. 68 for Sophia and Metatron in Fludd and pp. 98–104 for the power of the Tetragrammaton. Kircher is discussed pp. 315–74 with remarks on the divine name pp. 351–352. Boehme is discussed on pp. 187–334, with discussion of the divine name on pp. 224–29.



ILLUSTRATION 28 Title page to Oswald Croll, *Basilica Chymica* (1st edition 1608; here the German edition, Frankfurt, 1629). The same design occurs in the 1611 Latin edition. A Tetragrammaton appears within a Trinitarian triangle surrounded by the nine orders of angels. The six alchemical masters are portrayed

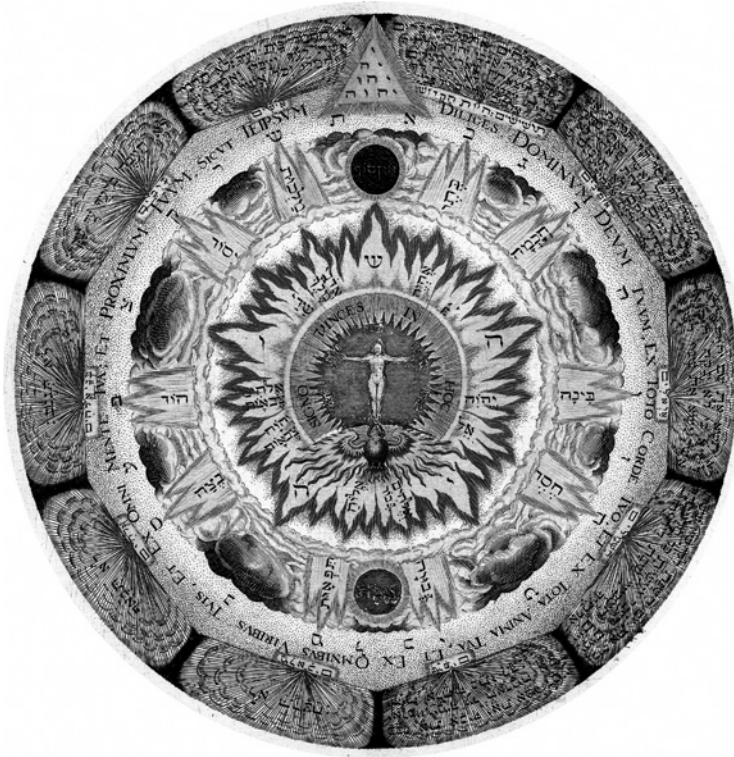


ILLUSTRATION 29 *Heinrich Khunrath, Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae (Hamburg, 1595). The first edition has several remarkable hand-coloured engraved plates heightened with silver and gold. The illustration here shows the inner circle of the "Cosmic Rose." The central cruciform figure is surrounded by in hoc signo vinces and then the Pentagrammaton and other Hebrew names of God. The next ring links these to the Sephiroth. On the other rim are the Ten Commandments*

letters as numbers), *temura* (recombining letters), and *notarikon* (interpreting letters as words).⁴⁵

45 Alan Debus, *Robert Fludd and the Philosophical Key* (London, 1979); W.H. Huffman, *Robert Fludd and the End of the Renaissance* (London, 1988); Serge Hutttin, *Robert Fludd (1574–1637) Alchimiste et Philosophe rosicrucien* (Paris, 1971); W. Schmidt-Biggemann, "Robert Fludds kabbalistische Kosmos," in *Scientia Poetica Literatur und Naturwissenschaft*, eds. N. Elsner and W. Frick (Göttingen, 2004), pp. 76–97; idem, "Kosmos und Kabbalah Robert Fludds Naturkonzeption," in *Der Naturbegriff in den früher Neuzeit*, ed. T. Leinkauf (Tübingen, 2005), pp. 213–235; idem, "Robert Fludd's Kabbalistic Cosmos," in *Platonism at the Origins of Modernity: Studies in Platonism and Early Modern Philosophy*, ed.

His *Utriusque Cosmi Historia* was produced in Oppenheim and Frankfurt between 1617 and 1623 in four unfinished and not entirely coherent volumes.⁴⁶ Fludd interprets the Mosaic account of creation in terms of a natural philosophy which he relates to heavenly archetypes (i.e. he is concerned with *both* worlds, the microcosm and the macrocosm)—the scope of the work is therefore pretty comprehensive. Fludd understands being as the eternal self-production of the divine and explains the divine name and powers (*Sephirot*). The work is Trinitarian and proceeds by a method mixing revelation with speculation.

The speculative core of the book is *Utr.Cos. II.2, Tomi Secundi Tractatus Secundus Sectio Prima: De Theosophico, Cabbalistica et Physiologico Utriusque Mundi Discursus...Frankfurt 1621*. Fludd discusses the beginning of all being, the power of the Tetragrammaton, the divine plan for creation, and the ten primordial powers, the *Sephiroth*, which determine the Cosmos and Adam (Illustration 30).

In a vision not dissimilar to that of the *Sepher Yetzirah*, Fludd finds the Hebrew alphabet emblazoned on the primal substance of the world and creation explicated by a detailed consideration each letter, its occult significance, and the order of the alphabet. At the centre of this vision are the three (different) letters of the Tetragrammaton, *yod*, *waw*, and *he*, which speak of the persons of the Trinity and the Messiah. Hebrew letters were “not invented by man but engraved formally in fiery letters in the womb of *Hyles* by the mouth of the Tetragrammaton in the primal world.” (Illustration 33)⁴⁷ The philosophy of language implicit here is reminiscent of the Jewish Kabbalists but was not destined to survive the demystification of language in the 17th century, as we shall see.

W. Schmidt-Biggemann provides a helpful guide to Fludd’s universal world scheme and process in his exposition of the *Causarum Universalium Speculum*, a diagram of the circle of the worlds (Illustration 31).⁴⁸ We follow him here, though with a considerable abbreviation that may conceal the extraordinary complexity of Fludd’s schema. The lower half of the diagram is marked off by a horizontal

D. Hedley and S. Hutton (Dordrecht, 2008), pp. 75–92; G.E. Szónyi, *John Dee’s Occultism: Magical Exultation through Powerful Signs* (Albany, 2004).

46 Tobias Schütze, *Harmonia Macrocosmi cum Microcosmo* (Frankfort, 1654), has illustrations of the circles of the microcosm under the radiant Tetragrammaton, which shows his dependence upon Fludd’s diagrams. Faivre, *The Eternal Hermes*, p. 174.

47 *...non ab homine inventae, sed ab ore Tetragrammati in mundi primordi formaliter inscriptae fuerint....*

48 Szulakowska, *Alchemy of Light*, pp. 167–82 for Fludd.

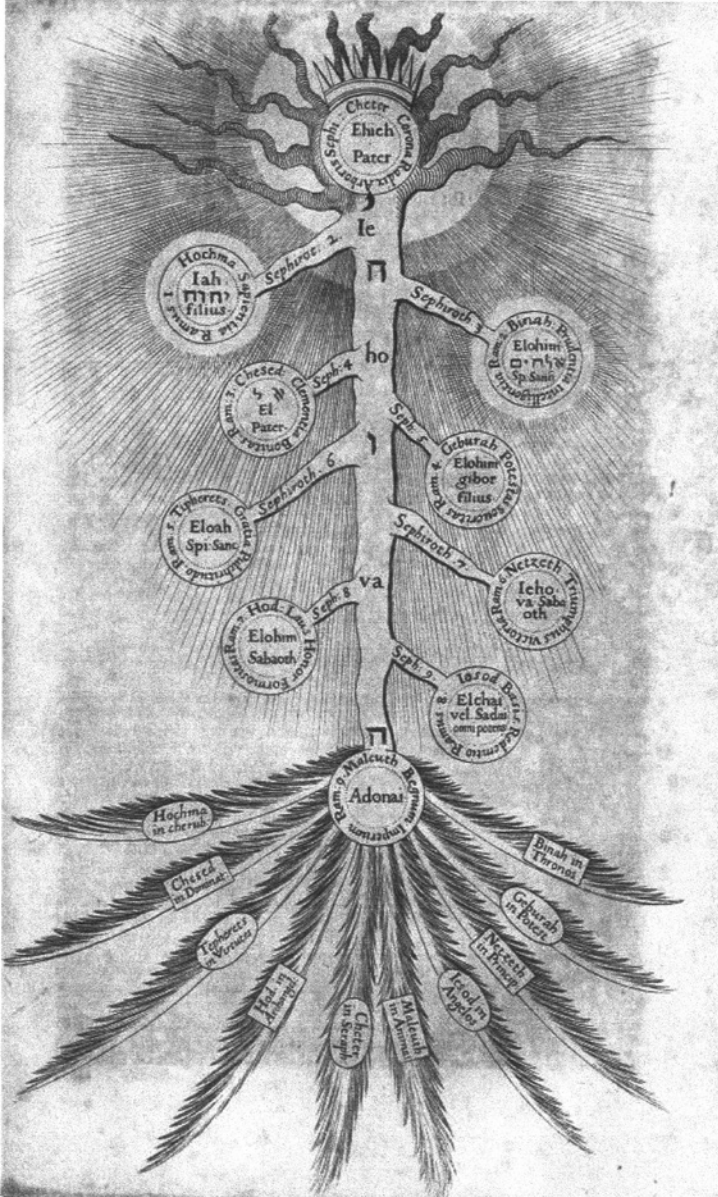


ILLUSTRATION 30 Robert Fludd, *De Praeternaturali Utriusque Mundi Historia*, p. 157. A representation of the Sephiroth as an upside-down tree. The leaves emerging from Malkuth at the bottom are themselves identified with the Sephiroth and one of the orders of angels. Hochma and Geburah are identified with the Son and Binah with the Holy Spirit. Each of the Sephiroth is associated with a Hebrew name of God, and the Tetragrammaton lies along the trunk, vocalized as Ie-ho-va

line and divided into three segments, the central one being black and denoting the *terra inanis et vacua* of Genesis 1:1—the caption below refers to *Deus Latens seu Aleph Tenebrosum*, kabbalistically representing the unity of the unknowable and ineffable God. The left-hand side of the diagram represents rising or ascent; the right, the opposite. The outer circle shows the divine life manifest through Wisdom; the second, nine numerals; and the third, simple archetypes. The letters of the Tetragrammaton are conceived as the archetypes of creation. We have thus moved from night and privation portraying the world of endless divine becoming, a divine self-revelation in the eternal creation of the world. The upper half of the third sphere has the four letters of the Tetragrammaton corresponding to the three “mothers” (*’aleph*, *shin*, and terminal *mem*) responsible for creation and, according to the *Sepher Yezirah*, the die in which the world was moulded. The four letters of the Tetragrammaton are linked as “fathers” to the maternal letters as archetypes of the emanation of the Godhead through the *primum mobile*, the planets, and onto materiality conceived in a fairly Aristotelian fashion and linked in the inmost sphere to the three Paracelsian elements of salt, sulphur, and mercury.

Fludd links the first word of the Hebrew Bible, *br’sht*, “in the beginning,” to the letters of the Tetragrammaton to produce a fully Trinitarian symbolism of the divine self-begetting linked to the creation of the world. The Tetragrammaton reveals the inner life of the Trinity—*y* is the Father, *w* is the Son, and *h* is the Holy Spirit—linked together in the fiat of creation as *yhy*, “let there be.” Thus the Tetragrammaton represents the entire power of existence. In it the divine power mediates itself to the cosmos (Illustration 32).

Fludd’s application of his learning may be discerned in a discussion of the extent to which leprosy may be considered a divine punishment.⁴⁹ He discusses the ten *Sephiroth*, which are the reason Hebrew has ten divine names expressing the divine unity embraced in the name *Iehova*. His concern is to discuss the properties these designate and the organs and humors through which they operate. Archangelo Burgonovo in his *Cabbalistarum Dogmata* had spoken of the flow of virtues from the divine. In the cause of leprosy, thought Fludd, the *Sephiroth*, angels and astrology seem to be mixed.

49 Robert Fludd, *Medicina Catholica, seu Mysticum Artis Medendi Sacrarium*, 2 vols. (W&G Fitzerum, Frankfort, 1629/1631), Sectio 1. Part IV. lib III. Membr 1, pp. 269–270.

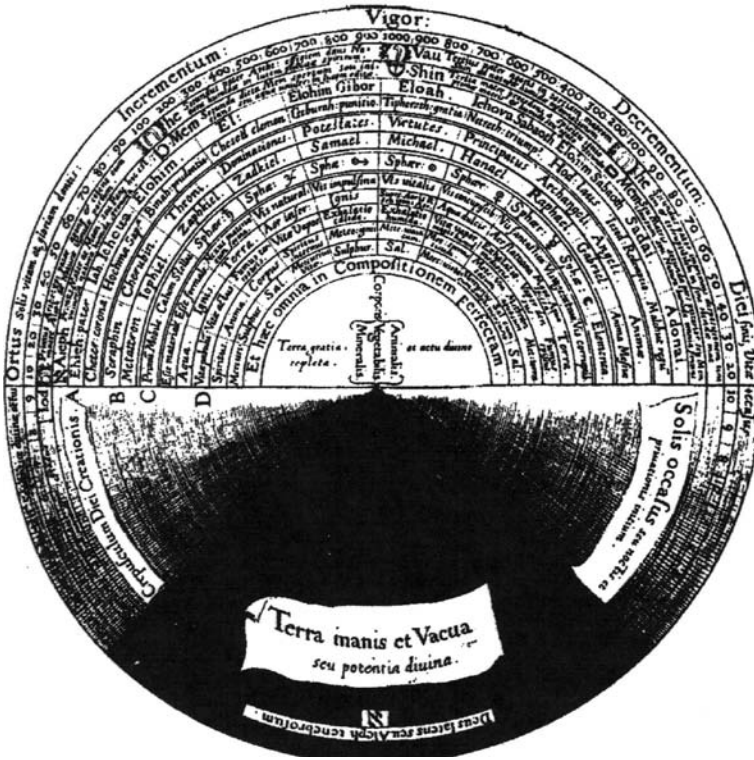


ILLUSTRATION 31 Robert Fludd's copper engraving *Causarum Universalium Speculum* from *Utr. Cos.* 1621. The plate is discussed in the text

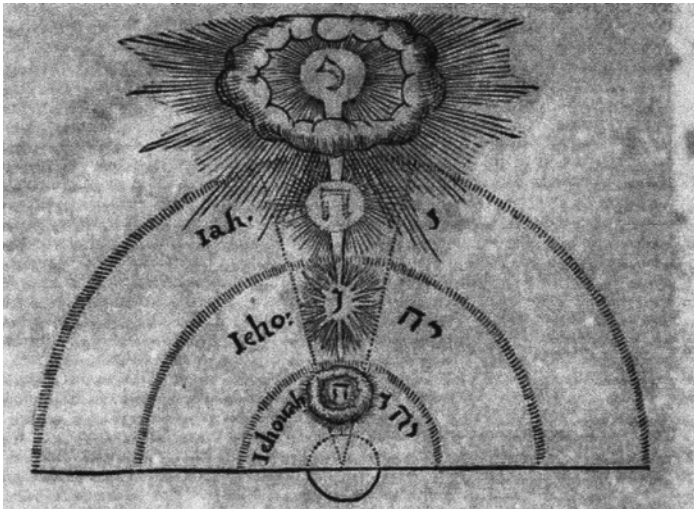


ILLUSTRATION 32 Robert Fludd's diagram showing the heavenly emanation of the Tetragrammaton, displaying three stages in the growth of the name

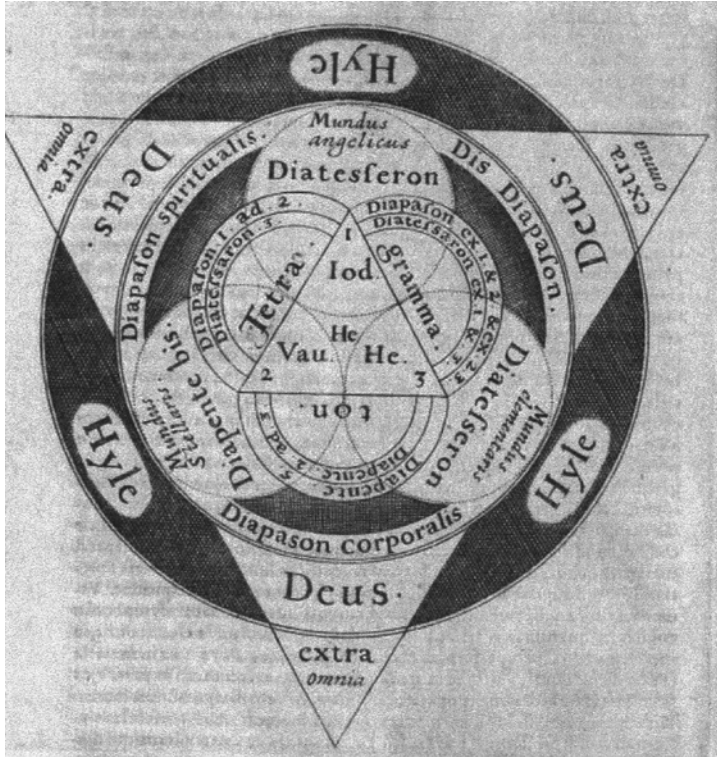


ILLUSTRATION 33 Robert Fludd's diagram representing divine harmony (1619) with Tetragrammaton

Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680)

Athanasius Kircher, polymath and professor at the Jesuit *Collegium Romanum*, reserved a special place for Kabbalah in the huge idiosyncratic syncretic system of “hieroglyphic knowledge” he created. Kircher tended notoriously to equate the traditions of all cultures, but he found a particular affinity between Egyptian and Hebrew learning, the wisdom of Hermes Trimegistus, and the true teachings of the Kabbalah (appropriately purged of rabbinic superstition) (Illustration 34). His great work *Oedipus Aegyptius* (1652–1655) contains in its second volume a treatise on the Kabbalah of the Hebrews dealing with the alphabet, hermeneutics, and the *Sephiroth* as well the false teachings of Kabbalistic magic and astrology. As in the case of Fludd, we have a complex diagram, *The Mirror of the Mystical Kabbalah*, which is found as a

plate after his discussion of the divine names and upon which we may concentrate (Illustration 36).⁵⁰

Kircher had first written on Egyptian hieroglyphs in 1650 in *Obeliscus Pamphilius*, when Innocent X had placed the obelisk in the middle of the Piazza Navona. Hieroglyphs had been invented, he held, by Hermes Trimegistus to encode the wisdom of the ante-diluvians (Illustration 35). Though their tradition had been corrupted by magic, traces might be restored from the *prisci theologi* Orpheus, Pythagoras, the Chaldean Oracles, et al.⁵¹ The purest tradition, however, though not entirely uncorrupted, was to be found in Kabbalah.

It was apparently from the work of a Jewish convert turned Christian Kabbalist, Philippe d'Aquin (c.1578–1650), *Interpretatio Arboris Cabbalisticæ* (*The Interpretation of the Tree of the Kabbalah*) (Jean Laguehay, Paris, 1625), that Kircher took and then adapted the basic pattern of his diagram in his plate. He replaced a central Sephirotic tree with a sunflower bearing the names of God (itself probably based upon a diagram in a manuscript of Moses Cordovero's *Pardes Rimmonim*, now in the Vatican Library⁵²). The innermost circle contains the Tetragrammaton, supplemented with a Hebrew letter *shin*, YHSUH, as the origin of the other divine names.⁵³ The monogram of Jesus IHS, adopted by the Jesuits, is topped by an image of Christ himself, reinforcing the message of the Pentagrammaton. Below this are three *yods* written above the vowel sign *qamets*, a form of the Tetragrammaton emphasizing the Trinity. The first circle thereafter contains the twelve-letter name of God, usually read as "Father, Son and Holy Spirit," punctuated by the twelve divine attributes. Thereafter comes the forty-two-letter name, again read usually as "God the

50 Following the interpretation of Daniel Stolzenberg, "Four Trees, Some Amulets and the Seventy-Two Names of God," in *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything*, ed. Paula Findlen (London, 2004), pp. 149–169. Stolzenberg's article should be consulted for its illustrations. Also see Ingrid Roland, "Athanasius Kircher's Guardian Angel," in *Conversations with Angels Essays towards a History of Spiritual Communication 1100–1700*, ed. J. Raymond (London, 2011), pp. 250–72.

51 On whom see Walker, *The Ancient Theology*.

52 Marc Haven and Daniel Nazir, eds., *Interprétation de l'Arbre de la Cabala* (Paris, 1946), with an Italian version from Atanor in 1980. For Moses' diagram, B.A.V. Neofiti 28 fol.319r.

53 Vol 2. Part 1, p. 287, on the connection between divine and human on equal terms in the Pentagrammaton and pp. 232–238 on the Trinitarian significance of the Tetragrammaton. *Oedipus Aegyptius*, vol. 2, 2.1 VI for the 72 names. See VII for Tetragrammaton and Jesus.



ILLUSTRATION 34 *The frontispiece of Kircher's Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae (Scheus, Rome, 1646) with Tetragrammaton*

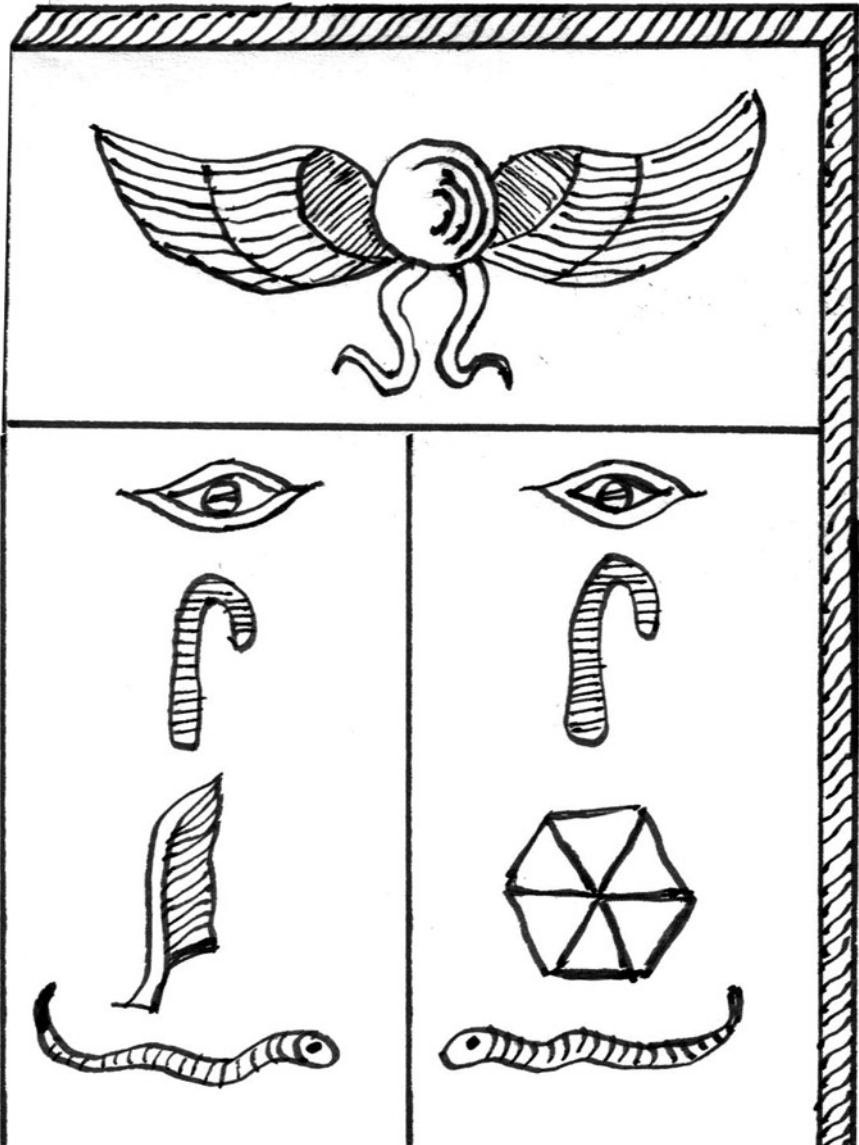


ILLUSTRATION 35 *The Tetragrammaton supposedly concealed in an Egyptian Hieroglyph.*
Kircher; Oedipus Aegyptiacus (1652–1655) (Volume II, Part I, p. 282)

Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit, Three in One, One in Three.” But, surprisingly, Kircher also included a real Jewish forty-two-letter name derived by letter substitution from the first two verses of Genesis and quite devoid of Trinitarian or Christological significance.

So far this has been very predictable. Thereafter, Kircher presents the seventy-two-letter name, but instead of seventy-two three-letter names, we find seventy-two four-letter names of God associated with the seventy-two nations that make up humanity. It was apparently Marsilio Ficino in his commentary on Plato's *Philebus* who first claimed that “everyone calls God by four letters.” The range of nations is impressively broad (some are borrowed from Ficino), though the challenge of the requirement of four letters means that the English worship “Good,” as the Italians worship *Idio*. All nations thus possess a God-given divine name, and Kircher replaces the usual angelic powers of the seventy-two-letter name (and the risk of their magical use) with these. These names emanate from the Tetragrammaton, as do the twelve-letter and forty-two-letter names. Thus, the entire world is supported by the power and efficacy of the Tetragrammaton, and all peoples are bound together in the cult of true religion. The universalist ideology of early modern Catholicism could not

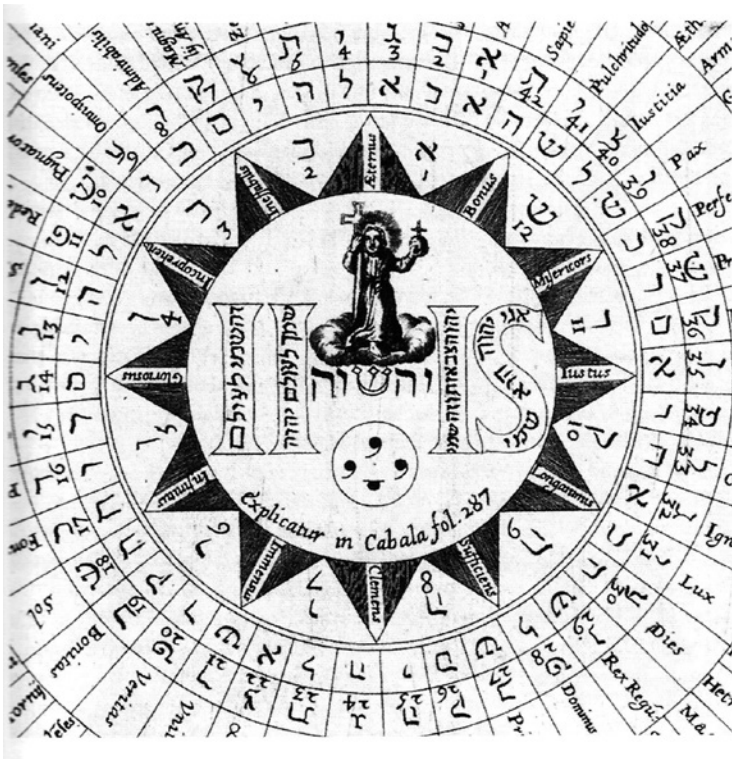


ILLUSTRATION 36 *Detail of the Mirror of the Mystical Kabbalah from Kircher's Oedipus Aegyptiacus (1652–1655) (Volume II, Part I, p. 287)*

be more apparent, as is Kircher's borrowing from Arcangelo da Borgonovo. The *Universal Horoscope of the Society of Jesus* from the 1646 *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae* (p. 553) makes use of a similar tree and shows the Jesuit mission as it had stimulated the original heritage of ancient truth so long buried under idolatry and superstition. Like the *Oedipus Aegyptius* it offered a justification for the accomodationist missionary strategy of the Society.

The *Mirror of the Mystical Kabbalah* contains two further trees in the left-hand and right-hand corners which portray Kabbalistic amulets representing superstitious "rabbinic" astrological manipulations of the Tetragrammaton and the seventy-two-letter name, which are to be avoided. A third tree represents the seventy-two three-letter names, presumably also hinting at bad rabbinic practices. Kircher's source for such practices was a Hebrew book of popular magic called *Shimmush Tehillim* (*The Use of the Psalms*), which he found in manuscript in the Vatican Library.

Mercury van Helmont

Jan Baptista van Helmont christened his son Mercury in honour of his own transformation of quicksilver into gold.⁵⁴ The popular young man was believed to possess the philosopher's stone and the elixir of life. He was a good friend of the Cambridge Platonist Henry More, who was moved to tears as his friend parted after a long visit and was driven to calm his distress with a can of Norden ale and a glass of Canary. He also enjoyed the admiration and respect of Leibniz, who wrote an epitaph praising his joining of arts and sciences and revival of the secret doctrines of Pythagoras and the Kabbalah.

Mercury was a social and economic reformer and an advocate of religious tolerance. Almost uniquely philosemitic, he accepted Jews as Jews and not simply as potential Christian converts.⁵⁵ He was also an alchemist and a Christian Kabbalist. Perhaps this unexpected conjunction was significant.

54 In the following I follow A.P. Coudert closely.

55 A.P. Coudert, *The Impact of Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury van Helmont 1614–1698* (Leiden, 1999), pp. 104–10, for a judicious review of Van Helmont's philo-Judaism in the context of recent scholarship on the subject. She draws attention to an article of Ernst Benz, "La Kabbale chrétienne en Allemagne, du XVIIe au XVIIIe siècle," in Faivre and Tristan, eds., *Kabbalistes Chrétiens*, pp. 89–148 at pp. 111–12, which suggests a certain no-man's land between Judaism and orthodox Christianity occupied by some Christian Kabbalists.

Coudert speculates that some of the confidence in mankind and its potential for progress and understanding characteristic of the later Enlightenment—and which was so different from Luther's and Calvin's view of man as an ineffectual sinner—may have arisen from this Renaissance mix of Hermeticism, Neoplatonism, alchemy, and Kabbalah.⁵⁶

Van Helmont's philosophy of language is made explicit in his *A most compendious and truly Natural Draught of the Hebrew Alphabet which at the same time furnished a method whereby those who are born deaf may be so informed that they may not only understand others speaking but may also themselves arrive at the use of speech*.⁵⁷ Hebrew is the divine language of creation which exactly expressed the nature of things. The creative process began with God's thoughts (in Hebrew) and ended in the articulated creation. Similarly, Adam's naming of the animals brought them into existence.

Though time and ignorance had to some extent corrupted the language, Van Helmont felt able to restore it.⁵⁸ The restored natural language would bring an end to the religious conflicts and enable men to live in peace. Its signs and symbols are natural and reflect reality. The work is a dialogue between M & H (presumably Mercury and Helmont) written while he was imprisoned by the Inquisition for his (other) unorthodox opinions. It demonstrated an exact correspondence between the movements of the tongue sounding the Hebrew letters and their written form. Van Helmont famously drew the letter shapes as concatenations of tongues, so integrally was the language engraved in nature (Illustration 37). On this basis he was able to offer Hebrew as speech therapy for the deaf. The consequences of this for understanding divine names may be illustrated by his exposition of *Aelohim* in *Some Premeditate Thoughts...on Genesis* (1697), pp. 13–15, written a year before his death. The *'aleph* by its shape and sound signifies infinity or multitude; the *lamedh*, because it is a tall letter, indicates virtue and power; the *he* is a spirant marking respiration, breath, life, vegetation, growth, and fruitfulness; and the final *mem*, because it is a closed letter, represents the womb, birth, and multiplicity. Taken together, then, these letters exactly define God.

56 A.P. Coudert, "Leibniz, Locke, Newton and the Kabbalah," in Dan, *The Christian Kabbalah*, pp. 149–179 at p. 150.

57 Coudert, *The Impact of Kabbalah*, pp. 100–136, for the *Alphabet of Nature* (as the work is generally known) and its sources.

58 Van Helmont sought to defend the vowels by accepting their late date (as Elias Levita had shown in his *Massoreth ha-Massoreth* of 1538) but by affirming (also with Levita) that they accorded perfectly with the nature of the Hebrew language.

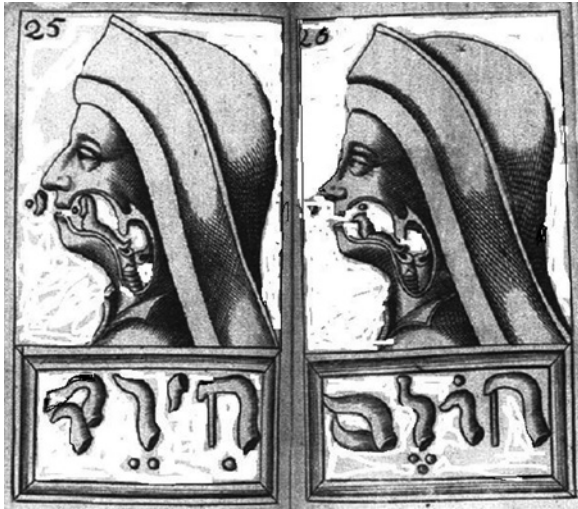


ILLUSTRATION 37 *Van Helmont's philosophy of language is illustrated by the natural concurrence of the Hebrew letters with the position of the vocal organs necessary to their production. Here the position of the throat in articulating hireq and holem is illustrated*

Such notions of the creative power of Hebrew letters and the Tetragrammaton we have met in the *Sepher Yetzirah* and on several other occasions. Van Helmont was familiar with texts dependant on *Sepher Yetzirah* and included some in his *Kabbala Denudata*. Such a treatise was the *Valley of the King*, a 16th-century treatise of Lurianic Kabbalah by Naphthali ben Jacob Bacharach (*Introductio pro meliori intellectu Sohar e scriptu R. Naphthalia Hirtz F. Jaacob Elchanan*) which describes the Hebrew letters similarly as the building blocks of the universe. Every man is created through the mystery of the letters, and as the microcosm which contains all things man is pictured physically in the shape of the Tetragrammaton. For if the four letters of the Tetragrammaton are placed one on top of another, with *yod* at the top and *he* at the bottom, they make a stick man. He also includes a recipe for making a three-year-old heifer from certain letters combined with letters of the Tetragrammaton.⁵⁹ Hayim Vital, also included in *Kabbala Denudata*, tells how pious men can create angels and spirits through prayer. Abraham Cohen Herrera in *The Gates of Heaven* has everything created through combinations of the Hebrew letters, from the *Sephiroth* to *Adam Kadmon*. But Van Helmont had yet other sources: he was also familiar with the

59 Reminiscent of Talmud Sanh.65b, but perhaps suggesting a *golem*.

works of Ficino, Pico, and Reuchlin, and their similar notions of the power of Hebrew letters in general and those of the Tetragrammaton in particular.

Here, then, is a blending of Kabbalah and Christianity in the Neoplatonic Hermetic tradition, making the strongest of possible claims for Hebrew as a natural language, but articulated just at the time when elsewhere such notions were being undermined.

Kabbala Denudata

The *Kabbala Denudata*, to which we have referred, is a collection and translation of the largest number of Jewish Kabbalistic texts available to the Latin-reading public until the 19th century.⁶⁰ The translations were made by Van Helmont's friend and collaborator Christian Knorr von Rosenroth.⁶¹ The first two volumes were published in 1677 somewhat out of the way in Sulzbach, some forty miles southwest of Nuremberg, and the third in Frankfurt-am-Main in 1684.⁶² Their patron, the prince Christian Augustus, financed the Hebrew press of the two friends. Their anthology offered a selection from the *Zohar* and other texts containing the ancient esoteric teaching handed to Moses on Mount Sinai (a pre-eminent source of the *prisca theologia* and evident demonstration of the universal truth of the Christian revelation). Their aim was conversionist (in spite of what has been said above), though the Christianity they espoused became increasingly Jewish and heterodox.⁶³ The imaginative space

60 A.B. Kilcher, ed., *Die Kabbala Denudata Text und Kontext* (Bern, 2006).

61 Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636–1689), from Stara Rudna in Silesia, was a student in Wittenberg and Leipzig and developed an interest in both Hebrew and Kabbalah, in which he found, so he believed, proofs of Christianity. S.A. Spector, ed. and trans., *Francis Mercury van Helmont's Sketch of Christian Kabbalism* (Leiden, 2012), shows the extent of Van Helmont's dependence on Von Rosenroth.

62 Rosenroth intended to make a Latin translation of the *Zohar* and the *Tikkunim*, and he published as preliminary studies the first two volumes of *Kabbala Denudata, sive Doctrina Hebraeorum Transcendentalis et Metaphysica Atque Theologia* (Sulzbach, 1677–1678). They contain a Kabbalistic nomenclature, the *Idra Rabbah* and *Idra Zuta*, and the *Sifra di-Zeni'uta* and Kabbalistic essays of Naphtali Herz ben Jacob Elhanan, etc. The other volume (from Frankfurt in 1684) contains the *Sha'ar ha-Shamayim* of Abraham Cohen de Herrera and several of the works of Isaac Luria. A partial translation of the *Kabbala Denudata* is S.L. MacGregor Mathers, *The Kabbalah Unveiled* (London, 1887).

63 A.P. Coudert, "Seventeenth-Century Christian Hebraists: Philosemitic or Antisemitic," in *Judaean-Christian Intellectual Culture in the Seventeenth Century*, eds. P. Popkin et al. (Dordrecht, 1999), pp. 43–69, suggests that to be really philosemitic in this sense one

provided by the Tetragrammaton as seen through a Kabbalistic lens evidently provided a stimulus to theological speculation which was not entirely orthodox.

Thus, their identification of Christ with *Adam Kadmon* is nearer to the Arian Christ than the orthodox one, though the three highest *Sephiroth* represent the Trinity. It is important to notice this rapprochement between this central Lurianic figure and Christ. Their adaptation of R. Moses Cordovero's *Pardes Rimmonim* in *Kabbala Denudata* also mentions the term "son" in the context of *Adam Kadmon*. This identification is found in Anne Conway⁶⁴ and Leibniz, and mentioned by Sir Isaac Newton.⁶⁵

The *Kabbala Denudata* made available in Latin translations a new type of Jewish Kabbalah associated with R. Moses Cordovero and particularly Isaac Luria in Safed. Work written down by Luria's disciples moved the focus of Kabbalah from cosmology to redemption and the forthcoming millennium. Exile for Luria was both necessary for creation and the cause of sin. For there to be a place for the world, God had to withdraw from a part of himself. Luria's profound and ambiguous doctrine of *simsun*—a symbol of exile within God himself—also suggested that evil was a necessary consequence of creation and not just man's fault. *The Breaking of Vessels* 'shevirat ha-kelim' and *Restoration* 'tikkun' explain how evil is a temporary phenomenon which emerged with creation but will disappear with the perfection of all things.

When God withdrew, he left traces of light in the resultant void, which formed into *Adam Kadmon*, the primordial man, who was thus the first manifested configuration of the divine. Further light burst from Adam, but the vessels meant to contain it shattered—in this way evil came into the world as sparks (souls) became entrapped in matter. Thus, the potential for destruction has come from the Godhead itself.

In *tikkun*, the mending of the shattered vessels, man has a central role. Only through his actions can the souls trapped in the shards of the broken vessels be reunited with the divine light. Jewish history (for mysticism is here transformed into a historical force—and the history of every Jew) is a struggle

needs a pretty unorthodox Christology. Also idem, "Leibniz, Locke, Newton," pp. 172–73, for bibliography on substitutionist attitudes and the evangelization of Jews.

64 A.P. Coudert, "Anne Conway: Kabbalist and Quaker," in idem, *The Impact of Kabbalah*, pp. 177–219.

65 Idel, *Ben*, pp. 529–30, for bibliography. For *Kabbala Denudata*, pp. 520–522. Towards the end of her life, Betty Jo Tetter Dobbs came to appreciate the importance of the Arian Christ for Newton, *The Janus Faces of Genius: The Role of Alchemy in Newton's Thought* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 250–255.

between good and evil, a fight to free souls by good deeds rather than sending them into the abyss by sinful behaviour. This struggle is played out by a confined group of players who are reincarnated (*gilgul*) until they become perfected. However arduous the struggle, the end is universal salvation. This is arguably the first Jewish theology which envisaged perfection as a future rather than a past state, and may thereby have contributed to emergent notions of progress in the West. These doctrines of redemption and millennium had great appeal for Van Helmont and Von Rosenroth, who found *tikkun* and *gilgul* the basis of an impregnable theodicy.

We may illustrate Van Helmont's use of the Tetragrammaton from the *Adumbratio Kabbalae Christianae*, which appeared at the end of the 1684 volume of *Kabbala Denudata*.⁶⁶ The work is a dialogue between a Jewish Kabbalist and a Christian philosopher structured around discussion of the four periods of world history (just as there are four letters in the Tetragrammaton): the primordial history, the ensuring destitution, the modern condition, and the supreme restitution. The Tetragrammaton has cosmic and Christological correspondence. The Jewish interlocutor states that the First Adam (*Adam Kadmon*) contained the four plenitudes of the Tetragrammaton (*'b* = 72; *s* = 63; *mh* = 45; *bn* = 52). The sages maintain this was by virtue of his name, that is, the root of the Tetragrammaton in him. He asks for the Christian's response. This involves citation of the *Zohar* but is fundamentally based upon New Testament passages citing words in the Hebrew Bible which are applied to Christ. The Glory of the Tetragrammaton which Isaiah saw (6:5) is said to be Christ's glory in John 12:41. The Rock in the desert Paul declares "was Christ" (1 Cor. 10:4) was where the Tetragrammaton stood in Exodus 17:5–6. The Tetragrammaton is the name of the messianic stone which destroys the statue in Daniel 2:35. 1 Corinthians 10:9 compares Christ to the brazen serpent in the wilderness. Those who fell at the time had tempted the Tetragrammaton (Exod. 17:7), and Numbers 21:6 says it was the Tetragrammaton who had sent snakes among the people in the first place.

Van Helmont travelled extensively and spent a long time in Hanover with Leibniz. Allison Coudert drew attention to the progress that could be made in

66 Spector, ed. and trans., *Van Helmont's Sketch*. The passages quoted here come from pp. 63–69 of her translation. Remarks on *yeshua'* and the feminine letters of the Tetragrammaton on p. 145. The work was considered by Scholem to be Van Helmont's, and A.P. Coudert follows him. Victor Nuovo on the basis of his study of Locke's letters considered it written by Rosenroth. He discusses Locke's use of the text in Victor Nuovo, *Christianity, Antiquity and Enlightenment Interpretations of Locke* (Dordrecht, 2011), Chapter 6.

understanding Leibniz in the light of the esoteric philosophy of Lurianic Kabbalah.⁶⁷ He ghosted Van Helmont's last book.⁶⁸ Isaac Newton appears to have been hostile to Kabbalah: Van Helmont had presented him with a copy of *Kabbala Denudata*, but Newton apparently considered Kabbalah a major source of the Gnostic ideology that had introduced into Christianity abstruse metaphysical theories and pantheistic notions of emanations; and he probably considered Leibniz both a Gnostic and Kabbalist.⁶⁹ Other interested friends included the Cambridge Platonist Henry More and Lady Anne Conway, with whom he collaborated on several books over a period of nine years before her death.⁷⁰ He published her Kabbalistic and posthumous *Principles of the Most Ancient and Most Modern Philosophy*, aimed at Hobbes, Descartes, and Spinoza. He is prominent in Locke's correspondence, and Locke's library contained several of Van Helmont's Kabbalistic works. Excerpts from *Kabbala Denudata* appear in several of Locke's papers.⁷¹

Jacob Boehme (1575–1624)

Jacob Boehme, a shoemaker from Goerlitz in Silesia, enjoyed a visionary experience in 1610 while contemplating a pewter vessel. This determined his spiritual vocation and also his vocation as an author.⁷² Van Helmont and Von Rosenroth offered an alternative to Christian orthodoxy, but they did so as learned and noble gentlemen. Jacob Boehme offered his alternative vision to Church and University—itsself a vision of some complexity—as a poor, untutored artisan. Evidently the mystic approach, in this case at least, facilitated doctrinal elaboration regardless of the boundaries of class and schooling. *Aurora* (1612) upset the Protestant authorities. Only his *Der Weg zu Christo*

67 A.P. Coudert, *Leibniz and Kabbalah* (Dordrecht, 1995).

68 *Ibid.*, p. 155.

69 Matt Goldish, "Newton on Kabbalah," in *The Books of Nature and Scripture: Recent Essays on Natural Philosophy, Theology and Biblical Criticism in the Netherlands of Spinoza's Time and the British Isles of Newton's Time*, eds. R. Popkin and J.E. Force (Dordrecht, 1994), pp. 89–103; *idem*, *Judaism in the Theology of Sir Isaac Newton* (Dordrecht, 1998); J. Faur, "Newton Maimonidean," in *New Directions for Dialogue and Understanding*, eds. A.J. Avery-Peck and J. Neusner (Leiden, 2009), pp. 127–162.

70 C.C. Rown, "The Mere Numbers of Henry More's Cabbala," *Studies in English Literature 1500–1600* 10.1 (1970), 143–53, argues More was not a real numerologist.

71 Coudert, *Leibnitz and Kabbalah*, p. 157.

72 Andrew Weeks, *Boehme: An Intellectual Biography of the Seventeenth Century Philosopher and Mystic* (Albany, 1991).

appeared in his lifetime (1624), but he also left inter alia *De Tribus Principiis* (1619), *De Sinatura Rerum* (1621), and *Mysterium Magnum* (1623)—only the titles of which are in Latin.

He was not a humanist, though he was apparently influenced by Paracelsus, alchemy, and Kabbalah.⁷³ In contrast to mediaeval, even Neoplatonic, notions of God as static, Boehme saw rather a passionate struggle of opposing principles. Before Being there was the *Urgrund*, a primordial freedom without cause. Rather than Reason, it was Will that was the basis of Being. God is not, therefore, outside all becoming, but though never in *esse*, he is always in *feri*: this is a supreme being who sees his living mirror, his own divine Wisdom, in the potential world. Created by this vision, Wisdom then wills and magically engenders the temporal image into existence. Wisdom is one of the developing themes of Boehme's work, together with the fall of Lucifer and Adam, the spiritual corporeality of angels, the idea that all exterior form is language or figure, and the seven spirit sources that exist from eternity.⁷⁴

The following is taken from the *Quaestiones Theosophicae*:

The Sixth Property of the Emanated Will is sound, tone understanding.... In the Sixth Property stands the Holy Name, that is, the divine powers... in working and willing.... And here we have the Wonder-Working Word in its operation. For the great name of God, the Tetragrammaton (JeHoVaH) is here the centre of the wonders of God...and the ground of all cabala and magic exists in this principle.

The Seventh Property of the Desireful Will is Essential Being where all the powers are contained and are operative in the Being as a basis of all their power.

From this the visible world has arisen and by the motion of the Wonder-Working Name has flowed out....⁷⁵

73 W.A. Schulze, "Jacob Boehme und die Kabbala," *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung* 9.3 (1955), 447–460. For Boehme's disciple, Balthasar Walther (1588–c.1630), also from Silesia, a Doctor of Chemistry and Medicine and Eastern traveller, see: Leigh T.I. Penman, "A Second Christian Rosenkreuz? Jakob Böhme's Disciple Balthasar Walther (1558–c.1630) and the Kabbalah, with a Bibliography of Walther's Printed Works," in *Western Esotericism: Selected Papers Read at the Symposium on Western Esotericism held at Åbo, Finland, on 15–17 August 2007*, ed. T. Ahlbäck (Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis) 20 (Åbo, 2008), pp. 154–72.

74 Faivre, *Access to Western Esotericism*, pp. 63–64, for this summary.

75 K.J. Campbell, ed., *Hildegard of Bingen, Meister Eckhart, Jacob Boehme and Other German Mystical Writers* (New York, 2002), p. 232.

Boehme's use of the Tetragrammaton looks back to the tradition of Pico and Reuchlin.⁷⁶ The *Key of Jacob Boehme*, which appeared in the 1715 complete edition, offers the following:⁷⁷

The Tetragrammaton, Jehova, is nothing but a speaking forth or expression of the threefold Holy Trinity working in the unity of God. *J* (for *I*) is the effulgence of the eternal invisible Unity or the sweet grace and fullness of the ground of the divine power of becoming something; *E* is a threefold I where the Trinity shuts itself up in the Unity, for the *I* goes into the *E* and joineth *IE* which is an out breathing of the Unity itself. *H* is the Word or breathing of the Trinity of God. *O* is the circumference or the Son of God through which the *I*, *E* and *H* or breathing, speaks forth from the compressed delight of the Power and virtue. *V* is the joyful out flow from the breathing, that is the proceeding Spirit of God. *A* is that which is proceeded from the power and virtue, namely the wisdom: a subject of the Trinity; wherein the Trinity works, and wherein the Trinity is also made manifest.

Boehme also has illustrations of the combination of *yhw* and the letter *shin* to make the name of Jesus.

Afterglow

The influence of *Kabbala Denudata* was considerable.⁷⁸ Scholars have adduced in evidence Leibniz's perfect language, speculative Freemasonry, and, in the middle of the 19th century, Eliphas Levi. On the other hand, Fludd and Von Rosenroth arguably mark the end of the sort of Christian Kabbalah postulated by Postel and Agrippa in the 16th century. Such speculation needed a suitable metaphysical philosophy of language to support it, and we have seen the vigour of such facilitating philosophies from Origen to van Helmont. In our next chapter we shall pursue precisely the philological disenchantment of our subject.

But there is yet a wider context, that of the gradual weakening of Hermeticism after the devastating historical criticism of Casaubon, which (though not

76 G. Scholem, *Kabbalah* (Jerusalem, 1988), p. 196ff.

77 William Law, trans., *The Key of Jacob Boehme* (Grand Rapids, 1991).

78 P. Theisohn and A.B. Kilcher, eds., *Morgen-Grantz Zeitschrift der Christian Knorr van Rosenroth Gesellschaft XVI, Sulzbach-Rosenberg* (Bern, 2006), on *Kabbala Denudata*.

necessarily immediately received) decisively demonstrated the fabulous nature of this tradition.⁷⁹

Moses ben Aaron of Kraków (1670–1716)

As one born out of due time, Moses ben Aaron of Kraków became Johann Kemper, who taught Hebrew in Uppsala from 1701 until his death.⁸⁰ He produced a literal Hebrew Matthew from Syriac in 1703, a Latin version of *The Enlightenment of the Eyes* by Azariah ben Moses dei Rossi in 1714, and a Kabbalistic commentary on Matthew.⁸¹ He earned a certain notoriety for asserting the abusive nature of dropping the final *ayin* from the Hebrew name of Jesus as a curse, *yimalah shemo*. All his compositions were written in Hebrew, seeking to establish Christian doctrine on the basis of Jewish sources, especially Kabbalah and specifically the *Zohar*.

He was an excellent Kabbalist, although the activity in which he was involved by its very nature undermined it. He viewed *Halakhah* through the lens of Kabbalah in a Christological light. This was not just the self-justification of a convert, but rather a positive suggestion that to grasp the esoteric import of Christian Messianism one needs a good grasp of the rabbinic culture as expressed in the mystical tradition, and an assertion perhaps of the abiding merits of learning within Israel.

Wolfson expounds his *Beriah ha-tikhon*, part of a massive commentary upon the *Zohar Matteh Mosheh* or *Maqqel Ya'aqar*, which interprets the Zoharic explanation of circumcision. In the *Zohar*, circumcision entails the inscription of the Tetragrammaton as sign of the covenant upon the flesh of the Jewish male, which corresponds to the phallic *sephirah*, the divine *Yesod*. Supernal

79 M. Mulsow, ed., *Das Ende des Hermetismus* (Tübingen, 2002), for Hermeticism after Casaubon. Florian Ebeling, *The Secret History of Hermes Megistus: Hermeticism from Ancient to Modern Times* (Ithaca, 2007), pp. 91–139. Some things, of course, never die. Daniel Colberg, *Das Platonisch-hermetische Christentums* (Frankfurt 1690–1691; new edition, 1710), for example, is a mishmash of theosophy, Kabbalah, and Hermeticism.

80 E.R. Wolfson, “Messianism in the Christian Kabbalah of Johann Kemper,” in *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture: From Savonarola to the Abbé Grégoire*, eds. M. Goldish et al. (Dordrecht, 2001), pp. 139–87. Also his “Angelic Embodiment and the Feminine Representation of Jesus: Reconstructing Carnality in the Christian Kabbalah of Johann Kemper,” in *The Jewish Body*, eds. M. Diemling and G. Veltri (Leiden, 2008), pp. 395–426. Briefly, Idel, *Ben*, pp. 522–23.

81 Lapidé, *Hebrew in the Church*, p. 76.

waters flow down upon the sign of the covenant, justifying calling the circumcised baby a “living soul” (*nephesh hayyah*). Additionally, the foreskin is associated with impure animals and their demonic potency, and its removal is associated with the clean animals. This is now understood by Kemper as the rite of baptism. Circumcision is the “inscribed letter” which is related to the Tetragrammaton. It is also an inner sign, “the sign of truth,” replacing the circumcision of the flesh. Thus, the symbolic language of the *Zohar* is used to overcome the ritual.

Also in *Matteh Mosheh*, in an explanation of the custom mentioned in the *Zohar* of stressing the *’aleph* of *’ehad* (one) in the recitation of the *Shema*⁸² (Deut. 6:4), we are told Rabbi Akiva specially lengthened *’ehad* to avoid a Jewish Christian practice of eliding the *’aleph* by way of allusion to the mystery of the Crucifixion of Jesus.

As we approach the end of our discussion of Christian Kabbalah we may note a comment of Yehuda Liebes, who observes that both Christianity and Kabbalah were very influenced by Neoplatonism: Christians were *not entirely wrong* to discover Christian (or Neoplatonized Christian) concepts in the Kabbalah, for Jewish Kabbalists themselves lived among Christians and absorbed Christian ideas.⁸² Such remarks merely hint at a more fundamental congruence between the two historically separated faiths, but they remain at the frontier where history may yet challenge theology.

Chrysostomos à Capranica

Finally, let us conclude with a delightful work. The Italian Franciscan friar Chrysostomos à Capranica was responsible for a most interesting work, appearing in several forms and distinguished, in its manuscripts at least, by carefully drawn and colourful diagrams, but more particularly by its apparent liturgical function. A manuscript copy of the work is in the Harvard Library,⁸³ and

82 Yehuda Liebes, “Christian Influences on the Zohar,” in his *Studies in the Zohar*.

83 Mentioned in Dan, ed., *The Christian Kabbalah*, p. 216 (part of an exhibition catalogue at the end of the volume) and entitled *De Ineffabile ac Gloriosissime Dei Nomine Tetragrammaton contra Persecutores et Hostes Catholicae Fidei*. Identified as Phillips Ms 790, comprising seventeen chapters followed by prayers and hymns, it was written in 1620 in Rome for the new Emperor Ferdinand II to bring him victory over the Turks *in hoc signo*, i.e. in the name of the Tetragrammaton. There is an illustration of the Emperor and Brother Chrysostomus receiving God’s promise of victory by the power of the name (fol. 26r) which is different from that in the Parker manuscript but is born of the same

I know of another manuscript in Innsbruck,⁸⁴ but I shall work from the manuscript in the Parker Library in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which may be freely read on the library's magnificent website.⁸⁵ The work was printed in red and black in Vienna by Wolfgang Schump in 1614. The title in this case is *officium in sanctissimi nominis tetragrammaton: honorem, laudem & gloriam per eius literas alphabeticas a qualibet creatura rationali recitandum*. This title makes clear the liturgical purpose of the book (*officium*) and invites general use of it. The printed work apparently comprised 48 pages without numbers, of which pages 37–43 were devoted to the Litany of the Tetragrammaton, which is the most interesting feature of the work. This is a very rare printed book and I have not seen a copy.

The Parker manuscript is on vellum, in a regular italic hand, has neatly executed coloured designs dated to 11 May 1623, and is entitled in red, black, and

conception. Another illustration showing the usual triangle of the Trinity transformed by Hebrew letters in the centre and corners is found on the cover of Dan's book. It is claimed (p. 216) that this is the first printed reference to the work since Lucas Wadding, *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (F.A. Tanus, Rome, 1650). I assume this is meant to exclude other catalogue descriptions. The entry in Wadding is found on p. 91 and is not particularly helpful: he considered the author only in *Hebraea aliisque orientalibus linguis mediocriter versatus*, but apparently approved of the manuscript copy of the work—in *Gregorio XV nuncupavit*—which he had before him.

- 84 Innsbruck Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Tirol (ULBT) Cod 383. See H.J. Hermann, "Die illuminierten Handschriften in Tirol," in *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handinschriften in Österreich I*, ed. Franz Wickhoff (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 198–199. The work is of 74 pages with *rohe Illustrationen ohne Kunstwert*. The title appears on f2 as *De Ineffabili Dei Nomine Tetragrammaton* (in Greek capitals). *Contra Hostes Catholicae Fidei ad Serenissimum atque Christianissimum Principem Leopoldum, Archiducem Austriae*, together with the coat of arms of Erzherzog Leopold V of the Tirol (1586–1648). Folio 3 carries a dedication to Leopold as *episcopus Argentinensis* (1605–1625) and *Passaviensis* (1595–1625) from *F. Chrystostomus a Capranica, 'episcopus Firminiae'*. The first folio shows the Erzherzog on the left kneeling in prayer, with a Franciscan on his right holding a book with the Tetragrammaton above. Three appropriate texts encourage God to give the victory and Leopold to take it. Under which are the following verses: *Sume tibi librum, Leopolde, inclyte princeps, Victricem gladium, quo Deus ultor erit. Dumque sacellanus decantat nomen Yhwh* (in Hebrew) *Jehova, / Esto manu fortis, fortior esto genu. / Si reget imperium virtus, pietate magistra, / hostibus edomit, cuncta pericula ruent*. Other illustrations show Turkish forces drawn up before "Adrianopolis" and its defenders (f3v), the Tetragrammaton over ruler and monk (f14v), two Franciscans carrying the Ark of the Covenant (f18), and Moses at the Bush (f9v and f29). There are commonly triangular symbols of the Trinity, and the Tetragrammaton appears throughout.
- 85 See the College Library online catalogue and M.R. James, *Corpus Christi College Catalogue of Manuscripts* (no. 497), pp. 438–49.

gold capitals *De cabala sacra et De Ineffabili Dei nomine Tetragrammaton* (in a medallion) *contra hostes et persecutores catholicae fidei ad philippum IV hispanarum et indiarum regem potissimum et catholicam Monarchum*. Philip's arms are on the binding. Chrysostomos describes himself again as Bishop of Firminia. The *imprimatur* was given by J.B. Hepburn, *Minimus Scotus* and professor of Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and other Oriental languages, at the convent of the Holy Trinity in Rome, at the request of Cardinal Verallo. The learned professor manages to show off in Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Armenian (often considered a Semitic language at the time), and Ethiopic script. The work has thirty initial chapters before recommencing thereafter (f42) with a new title, *Laudes ineffabilis ac gloriosissimi nominis Tetragrammaton ad implorandum divinum auxilium contra hostes Catholicae Fidei. Auctore f. chrysostomo carlecto a Capranica Episcopo Firminiae*. We shall turn to this later part, which contains prayers, antiphons, hymns (acrostic and other), and a litany, shortly.

Folio 2r prays that Philip may conquer the Turk in the Name of the Tetragrammaton, convert the infidel, and strengthen Catholic religion. *The Preface to the Pious Reader* (f4r) stresses that there is no intention of returning to the *vetustas* of the Synagogue in considering Old Testament divine names *de priscis secretoribus Hebraeorum*. Jesus has the name above every other. The fully Catholic and Holy Roman Church may find piety and devotion to the great majesty of God excited by the rehearsal of his attributes and the effects signified by his names. But the reader is warned not to attribute special efficacy in prayer or magical force to the names and diagrams in the work (as the superstitious Jews do). The first part of the book generally proceeds with coloured illustrations and then some appropriate comment. The comments are not unusual, but the illustrations in the Parker Manuscript are rather attractive.⁸⁶

86 Chapter 1 f5: The Tetragrammaton is reserved for the highest Creator, indicating *quidditas* rather than *qualities*, and called *sem hammephoras* (*nomen expositum sive declaratum*). It is the source of all other divine names, including *'ehyeh 'asher 'ehyeh* (*id est: ero qui ero*) and *Agla* (*hoc est: tu potens in aeternum, Domine*). F6v: Medallion with Tetragrammaton surrounded by *Tetragrammaton Trinus et Unus* in a void with three *yods* above and *yh* below. Hebrew names and Latin glosses. Chapter 2: manifestation of name *Ego Sum* at Sinai. "This is my name for ever": Notes that without the *waw* this may be read as *occultando*, which is why the *prisci patres* only revealed it to sober, placid men. f7r Moses, snake staff, and lamb. Burning Bush with anthropomorphic God proclaiming himself God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Tetragrammaton and Cross in background. Chapter 3: *Solus Trinus et Unus est nomen Dominus Tetragrammaton*. Deuteronomy 32: "See I am alone and there is no God besides me": *Ego, Ego Ipse*. Chapter 5: *Quomodo trinitatis mysterium per nomen tetragrammaton distincte exprimitur*, three *yods* in a circle. F9v: *Tres sunt qui testimonia dant in caelo et hi tres est unus*—one God, not Three. Chapter 6: three names, *yh,*

hw, and *whw*, from Tetragrammaton representing Trinity with design f10v. Chapter 7: 12 names generated from Tetragrammaton. Chapter 8: 72 names: the numerical value of the four letters of the Tetragrammaton is 26, which added to their total is 72. Triangle illustration with Cross f12v. Chapter 9 has an inverted triangle made of four *yods* = 40, under which are 3 *hes* = 15, 2 *waws* = 12, and one final *he* = 5, which is 72. Chapter 9: Galatinus explaining 72 names from verse in Exodus with illustration of 72 names f17r. Chapter 12: Psalm 69, *Quoniam...super deos* has 72 letters. Latin names then presented from Psalm 69. F18v has square of 8 groups of 9 names beginning with the same letter in Latin, etc. Chapter 13 reads the name of 12 letters as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. F21r has the High Priest with a turban as high as his beard is long with the Tetragrammaton at base with the name in Hebrew and Latin. Chapter 15: *quomodo Machabaei in hoc signo Tetragrammaton ab angelo ostenso victoriam reportabant. M c b y* are the initial letters of Exodus 15 in Hebrew, "who is like you amongst the mighty, Yhwh?" with a numerical value of 72. Also with illustration f22r *Turris machabaeorum ante faciem inimicorum*. Chapter 15: name of God as a most fragrant rose. Chrysostom holds a rose out to Philip who, having laid aside his crown, reaches out to it f23r. *Sume Rosam tibi, Rex, signatam nomine divo/Aere vicans clypeus, quae tibi fortis erit/Fulgore hinc hostem feriens, nam lumina stringit/et valde instanti lesa repugnat ei/Quam [??] regalem poteris defendere sedem/te roseo vis clypeo*. Chapter 15: "the name of God is a mighty tower;" f24r. Tower made of combinations of letters of Tetragrammaton totalling 72. Chapter 16: *In arca foederis magnum Dei nomen Tetragrammaton custodiebatur*. Reference to Exodus 25 and God requesting a sanctuary in which to dwell with his people f24v. Name from Exodus 3, *Ego Sum qui Sum*, shown on first tablet in the Ark. Ark carried by two Franciscans. Chapter 18: name only used by the High Priest in temple, then replaced by *Adonai*, which, being plural like *'Elohim*, indicates the Trinity again. Chapter 19: the name *'ehie—ero qui ero*. The first-person verb indicates all tenses: *qui fui, sum et ero*, and God's timelessness. That he is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob indicates the Trinity again. F27r has an unpainted design of Moses with staff and serpent and God above on cloud. A circle has been left empty on Moses' chest, no doubt to receive the Tetragrammaton. Chapter 20: on name *'elohim*. F28r has a very anthropomorphic God creating man in his image and likeness. Chapter 20: about the name *shaddai, qui sufficit* with design f29r. Chapter 23 shows that *yhw/Iesus* is the Tetragrammaton, citing Habakkuk 3, 1, "shall rejoice in God" *Jehovah Iesu meo* and Jeremiah 23 *Jehovah Deus iustus noster*. Illustrations 30r/v. Chapter 23 31r/v, 32r, *yshw wmrvm* is equivalent to *bryt* (Text Deut. 33 *nisi pactum meum esset*, meaning without my love for Jesus and Mary). Chapter 24: *in virga Moysi erat absconditum hoc magnum dei nomen* from *rabbi haccodos*, cited for Moses' staff as a descendent of the Tree of Life (planted from the original stock by Seth). F33v Cross as Tree of Life: *In probatica piscina hoc nobile lignum fuit absconditum in quo mundi salutem operatus est Christus*. Chapter 25: *in signo Tau potentia gloriosissimi nominis Tetragrammaton continebatur* (Ezek. 9, Is. 44, Rev. 1). 34v: This is the sign of the Maccabees, Constantine, and the unconquered Spanish king who is now to defeat the Turks. 35r: Cross, *ywh*, and *taus*, *in hoc signo omnia vince*. Chapter 26 deals with the 72 names and the names of angels. Exodus 25, "my name is in him." Seventy-two tongues of the earth divide according to the number of angels—together they make but one *Sem hammephoras*. F36r: 72 angel names illustrated. F36v: angel names in a Latin sequence. Chapter 27: *Quod ab operibus nomina angelorum*

The work is interesting in several respects, though it contains no great innovation in its material. First, one notes that though the printed version offers itself for the praise of the Tetragrammaton by all rational creatures, the manuscript versions are specifically dedicated to and apparently prepared for Catholic princes confronting the Turks. The prince in question is in all three shown receiving the book as a weapon from Chrysostomus: its power is acknowledged (though we must, of course, beware magical expectations). The belligerent image of the Ark of the Covenant (containing the Tetragrammaton in the first commandment upon the tablets of the Law, which were deposited in it), which preceded the ancient Israelites into battle, is clear, as is the recollection of the Maccabees and Constantine, who are said to have conquered in the sign of the Tetragrammaton, or *tau*. The isomorphism of the Tetragrammaton with the name of Jesus and all the three- and four-letter names of God used in the tongues of men give the name a universalism appropriate for those infidels who may yet be converted.

Then follows the remarkable *Laudes Ineffabilis ac Gloriosissimi Nominis Tetragrammaton yhwh ad implorandum divinum auxilium contra hostes Catholicae Fidei*.

It begins with a confession of unworthiness to know or utter the name which is only to be sounded as four separate letters. Praise of the name and prayers for victory over enemies are presented on successive pages, again with calligraphed pages making use of the Hebrew names of God. Quotations from the Psalms or other relevant scriptures (Exodus and Isaiah) are presented on pages determined calligraphically by *yhwh*, *allah* (in Arabic letters), *theos* (in Greek), and *Deus*. Similarly, a series of hymns is presented in Latin, of which successive stanzas begin and end with the letters of *Ieve*, *Alla*, *Theos*, and *Deus*. At f47v a Psalm Sequence of stanzas beginning and ending with the fourteen letters of “Tetragrammaton” and the four of *yhwh* asks for mercy upon the afflicted and captured. God is addressed as “*Deus Pater, Deus Filius et Deus Sanctus Spiritus, trinus et unus, Deus Deorum yhwh...God of Abraham, Isaac*

cognoscuntur: specialization and names with *-el*. Chapter 28 f38r/v: angels from the four quarters invite creatures to the praise of the Tetragrammaton, linked to angels of Revelation 7. Nine orders of angels (making 6666). 39r: angels and Tetragrammaton with Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Armenian, and European vernacular. Finally in Chapter 29: *Quod hoc magnum Dei nomen Tetragrammaton per eius attributa in toto terrarum orbe tribus et quatuor litteris expositum*. F40r has divine names of three and four letters from all tongues. Lastly it is remarked that the *prisci patres hebraeorum* used the name in benedictions. Numbers 6 is cited and f41r shows a triangle with a triple blessing of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

and Jacob." A litany of nine divine names (including *Agla*) in Hebrew with a Latin transcription and gloss is found at f_{51r}–f_{54v}. *Adonai* is glossed as *dominus*, *Ehie* as *fui, sum et ero*. Thereafter, a sequence of the holy name *Ego sum qui sum* again picks out the letters of *Ieve*, *Allah*, *Theos*, and *Deus*, as does a latter sequence of Psalm texts (f_{56v}). F60r prays that *ut ergo dixit Jesus persecutoris suis 'Ego sum'* and they fell back overwhelmed, so may the enemies of the Church be vanquished by the holy name of God, as happened in the case of the soldiers of Sennacherib.

The Demystification of Language and the Triumph of Philology

The Question of Hebrew Points

The English poet John Donne (1572–1631) became an Anglican priest in 1615. His *Essays in Divinity being Several Disquisitions interwoven with Meditations and Prayers; before he entered Holy Orders* (Richard Merriot, London, 1651) has a section on the name of God.¹ At the beginning of Essay VII (Of the Name *Jehovah*) we learn that “how this name should be sounded is now upon the anvil, and everybody is beating and hammering upon it.”

The question of the pronunciation and vocalization of the Tetragrammaton to which Donne refers here is but one instance of a wider controversy over the status of the Massoretic vocalization as a whole: were the Massoretic vowels ancient, authoritative, and ultimately inspired? Or was it a mediaeval innovation, the product of later Jewish scholarship? The question was of considerable moment: for Protestants it touched upon the issue of *scriptura sola* none too obliquely. The vocalization of the text reduces its ambiguity and determines a sense. And *scriptura sola* requires a determinate sense.² It was, of course, precisely this ambiguity that the Massorettes themselves had sought to control. Protestants worried about consequences for exegesis, but for Catholics the recent date of the vocalization was an easy way to reaffirm the canonical authority of the Vulgate. Robert Bellarmine in his often quoted *De Controversiis* (1581, 1582, 1593) pointed out that the whole business showed that Church tradition, which was of divine origin, antedated the canonical Scriptures; that the biblical text was imperfect and insufficient; and that it was also obscure. Moreover, Catholic apologists were able to assert that the Jews had introduced their later vocalization to hide prophesies of Christ. The Vulgate simply did not have all these problems.³ The Buxtorfs,

1 For a modern edition: Anthony Raspa, *John Donne Essays in Divinity* (Montreal, 2007), pp. 24–51. *Essays in Divinity*: Ch. 6 on name of God pp. 48–66; Ch. 7 on *Jehovah*; Ch. 8 on *’elohim*.

2 R.A. Muller, “The Debate over the Vowel Points and the Crisis in Orthodoxy Hermeneutics,” in idem, *After Calvin: Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 146–174.

3 This does not entail any less devotion to the Tetragrammaton on the part of Catholic writers. Pierre Victor Palma-Cayet, *Paradigmata de Quator Linguis Orientalibus* (Estienne Prevosteau, Paris, 1596), concludes his work with a Hebrew tetrastich of his own composing in praise of God Three in One: *Jehova*, *Adonay*, *Elohim*, *Tetragrammaton*. His verse begins: “I shall praise *Yhwh* in four languages! Behold the Name which created all souls...”

whom we shall shortly consider, were ardent Protestants, and thus eager to defend what they saw as the certain truth of Scripture. Cappell was also a Protestant, less learned than Buxtorf, but opposed him on the issue of the date of the vowels. The logic of his argument assured him of ultimate victory.

The question of the integrity of the Hebrew Bible Text had occurred to Christian scholars during the Middle Ages.⁴ Raymund Martin thought the vowel points were late, and on occasion were evidence of deliberate Jewish corruption to obliterate prophecies of the Incarnation.⁵ He was followed by Nicholas of Lyra and Petrus Galatinus.

The earlier Reformers had not been terribly exercised over the issue of the vowel points. Luther realized that they must have been invented after Jerome, who did not know them, and were therefore only an imperfect aid.⁶ Zwingli, in addition to Jerome's silence, considered the variety of spellings of Hebrew names in the Septuagint and the Vulgate a clear sign that the translators were doing their own vocalization.⁷ Calvin similarly believed they were an invention of the rabbis but held them in higher regard.⁸

The matter was decisively settled (in our eyes at least) by Elias Levita, whose enormous contribution to Hebrew learning both among Jews and Christians we have already discussed.⁹ His *Massoret ha-Masoret* (Venice, 1538) noted Talmudic ignorance of the written vowels, and discussions of the *qere/kethib* in Eastern or Western vocalizations. The vowels were absent in the *Sepher Yetzirah* alphabet (c.700 A.D.) and were not known before the 8th century. He came to his conclusion while working on *Sepher ha-Zikronot*, a Massoretic commentary finished in 1536, and presented it in a third preface to *Massoret ha-Masoret* in 1538. In 1539 Sebastian Munster printed *Masoret ha-Masoret* and put the prefaces (but not the rest) into Latin, which brought them a wider readership.¹⁰ Wilhelmus Lindanus put the work to polemic purposes but was sharply rebuked by a Johannes Isaac Levita, a Jewish convert who was professor of

4 Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, pp. 173–175.

5 *Pugio* pars iii, dist. iii cap. Xxi. See Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*, p. 204.

6 *Enarratio in Genesin* (1535–1545) WA 4, p. 683.

7 *Complanationis Isaiae Prophetæ...* in H. Zwingli, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 101 (Zürich, 1956), pp. 98–101.

8 *Praelectionum in Duodecim Prophetas Minores* Part 1 in *Opera Omnia...* Cr vol. 72 (Braunschweig, 1890), pp. 98–101.

9 L. Geiger, *Studium der hebräischen Sprache in Deutschland* (Breslau, 1870), p. 56ff. Aranoff, “Elias Levita”: the viability of Levita's scholarship was no longer contingent solely upon Jewish reception alone, but he availed himself of an increasingly sophisticated sustained discourse on Hebrew not bound by traditional Jewish views.

10 I use extensively Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*, pp. 203–228.

Hebrew in the Catholic University of Cologne.¹¹ The Jewish scholar Azariah de' Rossi wrote against Levita's *Massoret*.¹²

Some seventy or so years later, Levita's work was to provoke a fierce debate between Buxtorf and Cappell. Johannes Buxtorf the Elder (1564–1629), and later his son, opposed the position of Elias Levita on the late Massoretic origin of the Hebrew vowel points.¹³ Levita's position was taken up by the Huguenot Louis Cappell (Ludovicus Cappellus) (1585–1658). The Buxtorfs, father and son, held that the vowel points went back at least as far as Ezra and the Great Synagogue. For Cappell, neither the Fathers of the Church nor the Doctors of the Talmud ever mentioned the vowel signs, simply because they did not yet exist.

Buxtorf had a long excursus on the subject in his *Thesaurus Grammaticus* (1609) but subsequently chose not to reprint this, as (so his son explained) he wished to write a larger work.¹⁴ This was *Tiberias* (1620), published in both quarto and folio as part of a guide to the Basel Rabbinic Bible edition.¹⁵ It was a reference work for Christians wishing to study the Massorah. Here, he set forth at length his arguments.¹⁶

Cappell studied Arabic at Oxford and held the chair of Hebrew at Saumur. He published his *Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum* anonymously. He submitted his work to professors at Basel and sent it to Leiden to Erpenius, who published it (carrying the notice *in lucem edita a Thoma Erpenio*) in 1624 with Io. Maire, Leiden, and wrote an authoritative preface. (At the end of this appeared an *Oratio de SS Dei nomine Tetragrammato ac genuina eius Pronunciacione*.¹⁷) Cappell was in turn opposed by Johannes Buxtorf the Younger (1599–1664),

11 J.I. Levita, *Defensio Veritatis Hebraicae Sacrarum Scripturum adversus Libros...d. Wilhelmi Lindani...* (Jacob Soterem, Cologne, 1559).

12 Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*, p. 208. Also: A.D. Rubin, "Samuel Archivolti and the Antiquity of the Hebrew Vowel Points," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 101.2 (2011), 233–243. Samuel was one of the earliest Jewish critics of Elias Levita on the topic.

13 B. Pick, "The Vowel Points Controversy in the XVI and XVII Centuries," *Hebraica* 8.3–4 (1892), 150–173.

14 *ad rad. Hwh.*

15 S.G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*, and idem, *Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 212–216.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 217–228.

17 E. Relandi, *Decas Exercitationum Philologicarum*, pp. 267 ff. Twenty years later, in refutation of the Englishman Thomas Gataker, who favoured *Jehova*, he wrote *Superioris Diatribae de Nomine Dei Tetragrammato adversus Thomae Gatakeri...* (*Decas Exercitationum Philologicarum*, pp. 320–382), at the end of which he engaged this time with D. Wolphius, whom he convinced to change his mind though he did not come to agree that the ancient pronunciation ever spread among the nations.

who championed his father's position in his *Tractatus de Punctorum...Origine et Autoritate Oppositus Arcano Punctuationis Revelato Ludovivi Cappelli* (1648).¹⁸

The debate over the vowel points—with its inevitable consequences for the question of pronunciation of *Jehovah*—was long running. Later contributions appeared well into the 19th century.¹⁹ But the secret was out: whether one read the Tetragrammaton as *'adonai* or *Jehovah*, the vocalization itself was mediaeval.

The Demystification of Language

The 17th century produced a large number of University disquisitions or disputations upon the Tetragrammaton which generally summarize the material we have now met, offering opinions but doing little to change the issues. They are symptomatic of a discourse on the Tetragrammaton that had now become commonplace. It rejected the notions of language and naming characteristic of the Christian Kabbalists and the historical fantasies of the Hermetic tradition.

We have alluded to Casaubon's ultimately devastating demonstration of the fabulous nature of the Hermetic tradition. We may illustrate here changing attitudes to notions of writing characteristic of the 17th century by consideration of the *De Prima Scribendi Origine* of 1617, written by the Dutch Jesuit Herman Hugo.²⁰ The work is arguably the first work on the history and nature

18 G. Schneidermann, *Die Controverse des Ludovicus Cappellus mit den Buxtorfen über das Alter der hebr. Punctuation* (Leipzig, 1879).

19 Among others: Heinrich Wonstrop, *Utrum puncta quibus utuntur Hebraei, initio coeperint cum ipse lingua; an vero a Masoritis demum fuerint inventa? Exercitii gratia affirmabimus prius.* (J. Schroeterus, Basel, 1620); Arnold Bootius, *De Textus Hebraici Veteris Testamenti Certitudine et Authentia contra Ludovic Capelli Criticam Epistola* (Vidua T. Pepingue & S. Mavcroy, Paris, 1650), addressed to James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh; M. Wasmuthus, *Hebraismus Facilitati & Integritati suae Restitutus* (3rd ed. Leipzig and Frankfurt, 1714), defending the original and divine origin of the vowels and accents against Cappell, Walton, and Vossius; P. Whitfield, *A Dissertation on the Hebrew Vowel-points* (Liverpool, 1748). John Gill wrote *A Dissertation concerning the Antiquity of the Hebrew Language, Letters, Vowel Points and Accents* in 1769. Even later, in 1826, there appeared John Owen's *Of the Integrity and Purity of the Hebrew and Greek Text of the Scriptures*, again asserting the antiquity of the vowels. See T. Russell, ed., *Works of John Owen D.D.*, vol. 4 (London, 1826), pp. 477–540. John Moncrieff, *An Essay on the Antiquity and Utility of the Hebrew Vowel Points* (London), appeared in 1883.

20 Nicholas Hudson, "The Demystification of Writing in the Seventeenth Century," in idem, *Writing and European Thought (1600–1830)* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 32–54.

of writing and takes scant interest in the Kabbalistic and Hermetic notions of the Renaissance. Speech is said, in Chapter 1, “to put the voice or parts of the voice before the eyes by means of letters” (*voce[m] aut vocis partes ob oculos ponere per literas*), and there is no interest in magical writing, the role of letters in creation, natural languages, or any of the linguistic manipulations which underlie so many of the works we have discussed. The script of the first language was not necessarily revealed from Heaven. Perhaps it was created by Adam or Seth. But regardless, it was far from being divine or even the most perfect in existence. The retrograde nature of Hebrew script, writing everything backwards, was itself an indication of its rude and uncultivated state.²¹ Hebrew may have originally had only ten letters, which were subsequently increased to twenty-two. Thus, it evidently had improved rather than remained timelessly static or even declined. Its claim to be the most ancient language was supported by its very crudeness. Hugo marks clearly the demystification of language and the rejection of any deeper hieroglyphic meanings. In this light Kircher, for example, looks merely ridiculous.

Christian knowledge of post-biblical Hebrew was also now discerning enough to question the presence of the Trinity in the mysteries of the Tetragrammaton. Historically contextualized comparative etymology and grammar characterized an approach increasingly approximating that which we recognize today as philological.

Ten Philologists

A convenient approach to the more specific issue of the Tetragrammaton is an edition of ten short works on the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton that were gathered together in Utrecht in 1707 by the professor of Oriental languages there, Adriaan Reland (1676–1718). The work is *Decas Exercitationum Philologicarum De Vera Pronuntiatione Nominis Jehova...cum praefatione Hadriani Relandi*, printed by J. Coster. Reland, a careful and learned philologist and comparative linguist (as we would say today), drew together ten works

21 Several scholars (Scaliger, Vossius, Walton) came to consider Samaritan rather than Hebrew to be the primitive language on account of the greater simplicity of its characters. John Wilkins (who was by no means a Kabbalist) defended the priority of Hebrew lest atheists claim there was no original Scriptural revelation. He nonetheless considered its original, highly primitive script had been improved by later additions and held no brief for veneration of Hebrew as a script conveying occult meanings: *An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (Royal Society, London, 1688).

from throughout the 16th century, and in a helpful but fairly eirenic introduction he set out the arguments offered either for or against the pronunciation *Jehova*. “Do the vowels which are written with the Tetragrammaton belong to it, or as is the case with many words in the Hebrew Scriptures to another word which should be read instead?” Five of the works were for the pronunciation and five against. His own view was that *Jehova* was not the true vocalization of the Tetragrammaton (which was not known), and moreover he was content with the common Christian practice of translating the word as *kurios*. But he places his own calmness in contrast with those who accuse their opponents of corrupting the text and following Jewish superstition, or, on the other hand, considering their views superior to the practice of Christ and the Apostles, rashly introduce the error of Petrus Galatinus into Scripture, for Drusius (one of the ten authors), at least, blamed Galatinus for the form *Jehova* (though we have seen he was not the first).

If we briefly summarize the common arguments of these works we shall find the balance of philological weight against the pronunciation. Those opposed to *Jehova* argued that if this was the real vocalization of the word it would be consistent and not change to *’elohim* after *’adonay* (to avoid *’adonay ’adonay*); that prefixed prepositions (*m, k, l, b*) presuppose a pronunciation *’adonay* and thus behave differently from those prefixed to, say, the names Jehuda, Jehoshua, etc.; the *Begadkephat* letters after *yhwh* take a *dagesh lene*, which would not be possible for a pronunciation of *Jehova* which would end in a quiescent letter; that Christ, the Apostles, and the New Testament read *’adonay* or *kurios* for the Tetragrammaton and never said or wrote *Jehova*; that contemporary Jewish ignorance of the proper vocalization of the word—something they were hardly likely to be feigning—means it was “ineffable,” not through superstition but precisely because of real ignorance.

Those arguing for *Jehova* asserted that every word in the Hebrew Bible ought to be read as vocalized; that for Christians to read *’adonay* is merely an *imitatio superstitionis Judaicae*; that proper names made up from *yhwh*, like *Jehoshaphat* or *Jehonathan*, have the same vowels as are added to *yhwh*, which are therefore genuine; that to read *’adonay* for *yhwh* may introduce a false meaning into Scripture (e.g. Hos. 12:5, Exod. 6:2); that the first vowel in *’adonay* is a *hateph patach*, but in *Jehova* it is a simple *shewa*—thus the latter simply *does not* have the vowels of the former. Finally, it was argued that the old Latin deity *Jove* got his name from *Jehova*, which obviously could not have happened if the Jews had not at some time said *Jehova*.

The arguments over the course of the century are, to say the least, repetitious. This is especially the case in those treatises which take up and respond to the previous arguments of others. I shall consider only some of the works in

detail. The debate was also long running: Didymus Taurinensis's *De Pronunciatione Divini Nominis Quatuor Literarum* appeared in Parma in 1799. For some the issue remains alive even today.

The first of the scholars against the pronunciation is J. Drusius (Johannes Van den Driesche) (1550–1616). Drusius was a Flemish Protestant divine and Christian Hebraist. He was taught Hebrew by A. Chavallier at Cambridge and in 1572 became professor of Oriental Languages in Oxford. Thereafter he was professor of Oriental Languages in Leiden, and finally professor of Hebrew in Franeker. Sixtinus Amama (1593–1659) was Drusius's pupil, and subsequently was himself professor of Hebrew in his native Franeker, in Friesland.²² He was attracted to Oxford and Exeter College by John Prideaux. He took up Arabic in Leiden in 1614, where he knew Thomas Erpentius. He returned to Franeker but was apparently later suspected of Arianism. He in turn wrote his *De Nomine Tetragrammato* in 1628 to make Drusius's work more accessible and to supplement it with more illustrative material, including rabbinic teaching. He also offers a response to the work of Nicholas Fuller (1557–1626), which also appears in Reland's collection and was written against Drusius.

Drusius dedicated his work of 1604, *Tetragrammaton*, to the Estates General, who had been paying him a salary of 400 florins since 1600 to work on knotty problems of Old Testament exegesis.²³ He considered the real pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton unknown but *Jehova* or *Jehovi* (when the Tetragrammaton has the vowels of *'elohim*) as a product of simple ignorance,

22 J.E. Platt, "Sixtinus Amama (1593–1629): Franeker Professor and Citizen of the Republic of Letters," in *Universiteit te Franeker: 1585–1811. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Friese hogeschool*, eds. G. Th. Jensma et al. (Leeuwarden, 1985), pp. 236–248.

23 Brief mention may be made of the companion work, so to speak. Drusius's *De Nomine Elohim* (Aegidius Radaeus, Franeker, 1604) debated the question *An eo nomine significetur pluralitas in divinis*, a question which had admittedly agitated theologians for about 600 years, during which period many answered in the affirmative. But Drusius, along with some other distinguished names, believed otherwise and had previously both spoken and written to that effect. The word is used of angels, judges, and false gods which are multiple without any commonality, so how can the word be thought to denote the Trinity? Admittedly, in these senses the noun takes plural verbs, whereas a singular verb is always used of God, but it still does not follow that the word indicates three *hypostaseis*. Second, it is said of the *one* Golden Calf, "These be your gods, Israel" and "Let us make us gods." These were better rendered "This is your god" and "Let us make us a god." Thirdly *'elohim* is used of the Father alone in Psalm 45:8 et al. Fourth, Scripture insists that there is only one God, not three. Fifth, when *'elohim* is used of the true God, the versions always translate it as "God" not "gods." Sixth, it generally takes a singular verb (but 2 Sam. 7:23 *iverunt 'elohim*). The use of the plural *honoris causa* seems, on the other hand, plausible.

characteristic of times when biblical language studies were not held in high enough esteem. Why, it is as if one added the vowels of *dominus* to the consonants of *deus* and produced *doius*! He considered it particularly unfortunate that this ignorance has deformed with errors translations of the Bible into the vernacular. Drusius can be blunt: “this is a barbarism, no less, which defaces Scripture.” An acerbic tone is also found in the *Preface to the Reader*, where Drusius warned (rather ominously) of calumnies from the champions of the pronunciation *Jehova*—the *Jehovistae*—that await those who write on these matters. He made a powerful appeal for a sound linguistic grasp of the Classical and biblical languages, including Arabic and Chaldaean (in which he includes Syriac), as a basis for good theology.

Sixtinus Amama was more understanding than his teacher: not everyone, he knew, cared for philological arguments, and the adoption of *Jehova* by the Tremellius-Junius translation had contributed to the torrent of established practice (*hunc inveteratae consuetudinis torrentem*). He himself was content to use the word when he cites the Tremellius version. This is not a question upon which salvation or the peace of the Church depends. Sixtinus is peaceable. He brings no charge against those who disagree with him and is happy to be corrected if in error. He would in return, however, prefer not to be accused of Jewish superstition just because he believes the form *Jehova* is an error.

Drusius’s work was exceptionally thorough and learned. He considered the philology of the case, rabbinic and patristic material, ancient versions, and the opinions of previous scholars, both Christian and rabbinic. *Jehova* is not found anywhere in their evidence, though Psalm 8 in Jerome’s commentary appears an exception. There, the text *Domine Dominus noster* has its first *Domine* identified as the Tetragrammaton, “which may be pronounced *Jehova*” (*et legi potest Jehova*)! Drusius first disputes Jerome’s authorship, but then contrasts the reading of the *editio Plantiniana* ‘*Jehova*’ unfavourably with that of the superior *editio Frobeniana* ‘*Jao*’. The latter being no doubt the correct reading. *Judicent eruditi*.

The real culprit for Drusius and for Sixtinus Amama was Petrus Galatinus, who first created the form *Jehova* (though Reland knew better, drawing attention to Porchetus). Galatinus was followed by Paul Fagius on Exodus 6 *ad loc*:

My name is Adonai: Thus is written the Tetragrammaton according to its letters and points it is pronounced *Jehova*, but the Jews from some ancient religious inhibition say *Adonai*.²⁴

24 *Decas Exercitationum Philologicarum* p. 90: *Nomen meum Adonai. ita scribit Tetragrammaton, juxta elementa quidem & puncta Jehova sonat, a Judaeis vero veteri quadam religione Adonai profertur.*

Thereafter there followed a multitude almost without number: Cajetanus, Lipomanus, Jerome of Oleander, Marinus Victorius, Marcus Marinus, and almost all the Reformed theologians, including Tremellius and Beza.

As to the meaning of the Tetragrammaton, of which he wished to treat as much as of its pronunciation, Drusius gave a succinct summary of the meanings the Fathers found in *hwh* (or *hyh*) used of God.²⁵ According to Eusebius, the phrase “Who is” means the fact of God, not his name (*...rem, non nomen Dei significat*), that is, “Who is of himself (*per se*),” and “Who has his being from no other.” Ambrose says: “The real name of God is Eternal Existence” (*Hoc est verum Dei nomen, Esse semper*). Cyril similarly said God’s true name means that He exists eternally (*nomen Tetragrammaton Deum semper vivere significat*). Hesychius, to turn to the Greeks, glosses *ho on* as God who always subsists (*huparchon*). Drusius also adduces texts which speak of God as the fount of all being—“in whom we live and move....” Other quotations assert rather God’s immutability. So Jerome on 2 Corinthians 3: “He who really exists is everlasting,” *Ille solus vere est qui semper est*. Drusius in this last respect and for these reasons commended contemporary French translators of the Scriptures who used the *l’Éternel* of God and for the Tetragrammaton. This is more correct and acceptable than the simple error, *Jehova*. From our point of view, there is nothing here that moves beyond the Fathers and Thomas Aquinas

For Amama, similarly, the Tetragrammaton is one of the three divine names (*yhw*, *’ehyeh, yh*, but not the pronoun *hw*) which are taken from God’s essence and thus *propriissime conveniunt*. Some think that the first-person *’ehyeh* is the Tetragrammaton on the basis of Exodus 3:14. The shortened form *yh*, Theodoret said, the Samaritans pronounced *Jave*. It may be disputed whether this is quite the same as the *-yh(w)*, which we know ends some Hebrew proper names, but not that it occurs in the acclamation *Halleluyah*. Theodotion rendered this “praise to on.” Thus, *yh* means to on—*ens entium, principium essendi*. Some have wrongly seen this shortened form as denoting *Deum decurtatum et immunitum*, that is, Christ made man and having suffered for our sins. The Tetragrammaton itself derives from *hwh*. God not only is but also causes to be, and this name denotes His eternity, independence, creativity (*efficacitatem*), and truthfulness. His eternity is shown in Revelation 1:4, 8, and now (after Beza’s new reading) in Revelation 16:5. Amama interprets “and is to come” in these phrases as obviously analogous to the Hebrew *ymym hb’ym* or *’wlm hb’* (“the days to come” and “the world to come”), which seemed very apposite. He cited Pausanias, who as we have seen uses a similar *Dreizeitformeln* of Zeus.

25 Ibid., p. 99.

God's independence arises from the fact that he truly is because his existence comes from himself (*quia a se ipso est*) and his creativity from the fact that all creatures have their *esse* from him. God's truthfulness arises because he brings into being all that he has promised. God appeared to the Patriarchs as God Almighty (*'el shaddai*) (so Exod. 6:2), indicating he was able to offer the promise of Canaan, but his name *yhwh* declares he is able to bring that promise into existence.²⁶ Again this is not innovative doctrine.

Drusius treats us to a defence of his previous work *De nomine Elohim* before moving to reprint and annotate with his own scholia *Pauli Burgensis Episcopi de Nomine Tetragrammaton, Quaestiones Duodecim*. This work we have discussed previously in an earlier chapter and shall not further tarry over it here. Finally and with some decisiveness Drusius asserts that the name of Jesus is not formed from the Tetragrammaton *Nomen Jesu non esse ductum ex nomine Tetragrammaton*.²⁷

Drusius begins here by setting aside Reuchlin and others to concentrate upon a recent remark of Sebastian Castellio (1515–1563) (who, in fact, merely refers the reader to Andreas Osiander's *Annotationes in Harmoniam Evangelicam*, whose views he has adopted): that the name *Jesu* comes from *Jova* with a *shin* (s) inserted. Why a *shin*? Citing the designation of God in Exodus 15 as "a man (Hebrew: *'ish*) of war," the *shin* is said to be added to *Jova* because Jesus is not *Jova* (i.e. the Father) but *Jova-Homo*, i.e. *Jova corporatum*, and made man. Moreover, as Erasmus (in *Encomio Moriae*) points out, *shin* in English (*in lingua Scotica*) means *peccatum* (sin), which chimes in nicely with The Lamb who bears the sins of the world.

This is not just rubbish, it's completely ridiculous, said Drusius. The name Jesus in Hebrew in *plene* spelling is the quadrilateral *yshw'*, *Jesua*, or *yhwsh'*, whence the Greek *iesus*. A defective three-letter spelling is *yshw*, the final *'ain* being dropped as in Aramaic. Nor is this abbreviation an indication of contempt: as one reads in *Aruch*, "it is the Syrian fashion to elide the letters *heth* and *'ayin*." So *plene*, *Jeshua: defectum, Jesu*. The Greek then adds a final sigma, as in *Juda, Judas; Jose, Joses*; etc. One does not need an Oedipus to sort out these enigmas.

Amama held the same views, but these are not the only common errors around. Among unfortunate explanations of the Tetragrammaton he considered the oft-repeated Jewish contention that *'elohim* represents God's quality of judgement and *yhwh* his quality of mercy. Jerome Oleaster (1545–1563),

26 The 1594 English Bible printed by Christopher Baker has this interpretation of Jehovah in the margin at Exodus 6:3.

27 *Decas Exercitationum Philologicarum*, pp. 148–150.

the Portuguese Dominican who became an Inquisitor, had offered in turn a most unhappy interpretation in his *Commentaria in Pentateuchum Mosi...* (Lisbon, 1556; Lyon, Pierre Landry, 1586). Commenting on Chapter 2 he explained *Jehova* (which he believed to be the correct pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton) as from a second root *hwh* and meaning calamity, harm, or an evil that befalls one. Finally, attempts to find the Trinity in the three letters of *yhw*, or the two natures of Christ in the repeated *hes* of the Tetragrammaton, or even, as Drusius points out, to see the name of Jesus as derived from the insertion into the Tetragrammaton of a mortal *s(h)in* are indeed ridiculous.

Amama recounted the history of the name: it was initially held in great reverence among the Jews, not, then, for superstitious reasons, but because they recognized therein the mystery of Christ, hence their reservation in using it. The New Testament Church was similarly reserved. Had we followed their practice we would have had less contention and scandalous dispute over it now. The priestly use of the Name in the Temple is established, and the subsequent restrictions upon its use are from the Talmud, Maimonides, Philo and Josephus. These later inhibitions are now dismissed as *superstitio*—why, now the Jews will not even write *'elohim* outside of the Bible but use *'elodim* instead! The early Church was ignorant of the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton because the only people who might have told them were Jews who themselves either did not know or were prevented from telling them by religious scruple. Hence the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, repeatedly describe the Tetragrammaton in various words as ineffable—which could mean impossible to pronounce, forbidden to pronounce, or not customarily pronounced.

When the Jews came to read the Tetragrammaton they did not say it—whether for reverence before the destruction of the Second Temple or *superstitio* thereafter—they resorted to several strategies. In courts inquiring into blasphemy which required knowing whether the Tetragrammaton was spoken, a substitute Jose *ywsy* (with a numerical value of 86, like *'elohim*) was used according to Mishnah Sanhadrin 7 (Sextinus provides a *scholium* to explain the passage). In later times they also used the twelve-letter and seventy-two-letter names as *periphraseis* which had once been used alongside the Tetragrammaton but later rather replaced it. The relevant Talmud and Maimonides passages are cited for the reader, together with some pertinent observations on the text of Maimonides where some editions omit injunctions against magical amulets.²⁸

Sextinus digressed here. He believed the Jews of his day had rushed headlong into this type of magical impiety. He had a 1556 edition of the Hebrew Psalter from

28 *Decas Exercitationum Philologicarum*, p. 198.

Sabionetta, with which was bound a little Hebrew book on the *Use of the Psalms* (we have already encountered this volume), which was full of spells and little rituals involving the appropriate Psalms for headaches, storms at sea, self-defence or putting one's enemies to flight, repelling scorpions and serpents, etc. Who can be surprised that these superstitious people attribute a miraculous power to the Tetragrammaton?²⁹

But before leaving Amama it is interesting to note that he could not believe that Galatinus got from any Hebrew source his statements that the twelve-letter name meant "Father, Son and Holy Ghost," nor that the forty-two-letter name meant "The Father is God, The Son is God, the Holy Ghost is God, but not three Gods but one God." Buxtorf, Scaliger Drusius, and other expert Hebraists denied such an interpretation was anywhere to be found today in Jewish sources. He suspected Galatinus did not quite find it there either, but may have allowed his imagination to come to the aid of heavenly truth. Besides, Galatinus only said that the Tetragrammaton could be read as *Jehova*, which is not the same as saying it should be. His own practice was to use *Dominus* or the word *Tetragrammaton*.

In these remarks we mark the passing of much of the Trinitarian lore of the name and the encroachment of a set of philologically disciplined assumptions into the traditional, rather fanciful legacy of the Christian Kabbalists.

To consider the other side of the argument over the vocalization of the name, we may turn by contrast to Nicholas Fuller (1557–1626), who graduated from Hart Hall, Oxford, in 1586, and became MA in 1590. He was presented to the living of Allington in Wiltshire and devoted his time to Hebrew philology. In 1612 he published his *Miscellaneorum Theologicorum* in Heidelberg, with a second, enlarged Oxford edition in 1616, and a third edition at Leiden in 1622. This last edition contained an *Apologia* against Drusius, who had attacked him in his *Notes on the Pentateuch*. An expanded edition appeared in 1650, after Fuller's death. The *Dissertatio de Nomine YHWH* appears in Reland's collection, as does Sixtinus Amama's *Responsio ad ea quae...Nicolaus Fullerus...pro nomine JEHOVA disputavit*.³⁰ Fuller takes the opposite side of the argument and seeks to promote the pronunciation *Jehova*.

The substitution of *yhw* by *kurios* in the Septuagint arose from neither the superstition nor the ignorance of the translators, but in order to accommodate the weakness of the common mind which they knew Scripture was destined eventually to reach and which finds it difficult to contemplate pure being, or *ousia*. "Lord" best catches the divine essence and promotes piety. That is why

29 Ibid., p. 199.

30 Ibid., pp. 435–474, for Fuller and pp. 232–264 for Amama. Sixtinus responds to Fuller, *Miscell* II.6; IV.13, 14; VI *ad calcem*.

they rendered *Jehova* (whose essence is of himself) absolutely and properly “Lord.” Also, they saw how difficult, if not impossible, it would be to give an exact translation of the name—which expresses essence in the past, present, and future, and thus denotes the eternal and immutable. Zanchius is quoted with approval when he explains (as we have seen in a previous chapter) that the root of *yhw* means simply to be himself (*ipsum esse*), but the addition of an initial *camets* makes it past tense, the addition of an initial *cholem* present tense, and an initial *yod* future tense, as is confirmed by the *Dreizeitformeln* of Revelation 1:4 et al.³¹ This (therefore) inspired translation, which agrees so well with the imagined significance of the vowels of the now commonly read *Jehova*, inclined Fuller to believe that the Tetragrammaton is, in spite of Jewish and some Christian views, vocalized with its own proper and original vowels.

Why was the form *Jehova* not then merely transcribed into Greek? Because it could not be transcribed and copied accurately. Not only would it sound odd, but also the medial aspirate could not be written, which is why it is of old called “ineffable” (Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist. V in prooemio*) uses the same word—*ineffabilia*—when speaking of transcriptions into Latin of Punic words). The Jews did not suppress the name of their God as the Romans did, for fear that if his name were to be evoked by an enemy he might be persuaded to migrate elsewhere. The name of their God was well known, especially to their neighbours, as the Old Testament makes clear, as does the Oracle of Apollo quoted by Macrobius (*Saturnal. I.18*), which declared *Jao* to be the highest god of all—though in a context which is clearly and diabolically polytheist—and Diodorus Siculus (I.2), who refers to Moses’ God as *Jao*. This was *Jehova* and was commonly known to the Greeks. The trisyllabic *Jao* is emphatically not the Hebrew divine name *yh*, which would of course be *Ja*, as in *Hallelu-ja*.

Fuller suspected, however, that *Jao* was the product of metathesis for euphony in Greek ears and that *Joa* is the correct original order and pronunciation, which not only preserves the number of syllables but is as near as one can reasonably get in Greek to *Jehova*—and, of course, the Alpha and Omega in the name designate the divine nature as in Revelation (1:8). Another reason: Porphyry (in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang. I.5*) speaks of the Phoenician historian Sanchuniathon, “who lived before the Trojan War” and who refers to “a certain priest of the god *Jevo*.” Clearly this is a Greek transliteration of *Jehova*. The Syrians’ dialect regularly changed /o/ into /u/ and /a/ into /o/, so *Jehova* became *Jehuvo* and the Greeks, not having a consonant /v/ nor being able to cope with the medial aspiration, wrote *Jevo*.

31 *De Divinis Attributis* I.13.

Given Satan's usual practice of decking himself out in the titles and majesty of God (remember how Apollo's Oracle—or rather the Devil's—acknowledged *Jao* but only in a polytheistic context), it may also be that the cries of the Bacchic maenads in their orgies—*euios, euoi sabaoi*—parody *Jeo* and *Jeuo*. The last two words are surely derived from *Jehova Sabaoth*.

Epiphanius (*Adversus Haeres* I.30) has a third pronunciation, *iobe*, but this an almost universal error in the manuscripts for *ioba* and a common corruption given the similarity of the two letters. Epiphanius was not ignorant of Hebrew, but what Hebrew divine name could possibly hide behind the unamended *iobe*? It certainly does not mean “He who was and is and exists for ever,” as he so vehemently insists, but rather “He who was and will be and exists for ever,” which is precisely the subtle meaning we have seen Zanchius propose for *yhwh*. Epiphanius was attempting to reproduce *yhwh* in Greek: he kept /o/ and /a/, and transcribed /v/ by /b/, as is often done. *Joba* is *yhwh*. Theodoret, however, does not merely mention this word like Epiphanius, but tells us that for the Tetragrammaton the Samaritans said *iabe* and the Jews *ia*. Fuller explained how *Jao* become *Ja*, but *iabe* arises from the Samaritans' determination to distinguish themselves from the Jews, to the extent that they were prepared to change the pronunciation of the name. In Exodus 3:14 they do not read *yhwh* as *Jehova* but as *Jehve*, as if conjugating *'ehyeh*, and hence—with the aspirate *he* dropped and the *waw* becoming a *beta*—precisely the Greek form Theodoret gives, namely, *Jabe*. But for the Jews the name is *Joba* and it is they whom good Catholics will follow rather than the Samaritans.

Now to Latin. *Jupiter* (or *Jovis*, an ancient nominative according to Priscian) surely comes from the Hebrews.³² *Jovis* comes not from *Jehova* but rather *Jehovih*, as the Tetragrammaton is often vocalized (as we would say, when it carries the vowels of *'elohim*). The Latins derived the word *a juvando* and thus corrupted the first syllable. The doubled *p* of *Juppiter*, commonly found in the poets, is not original, for the word derives from *yhwh*, becoming first *Jovas* or *Jovis*. To this was added the god's principal epithet (Father) to produce *Jovispiter*, which lost the syllable /is/ to become *Joupiter* or *Jupiter*. The consonantal /u/ after the /o/ became assimilated to the following /p/, and *Juppiter* emerged. This is confirmed from epigraphical and numismatic evidence. Thus superstition took the name of the true God and gave it to a foul idol.

We have here a fairly disciplined comparative etymology working according to emerging rules and using different types of historical evidence.

32 Augustine, *De Consens. Evang* I.22: *Varro deum Judaeorum Jovem putavit* and *Nam, quia nihil superius solent colere Romani, quam Jovem, eumque Deorum omnium regem arbitrantur, cum animadverteret, Judaeos summum deum colere, nihil aliud potuit suspicari quam Jovem.*

But Fuller had further observations: this one name *yhwh* is, as is universally recognized, that most proper to God and refers to the essence of the divine majesty; hence it is called *hmphorsh: disticte, expositum, sive explicatum*. Fuller dissented from the Kabbalists who claimed the name is so called because it is expanded by other terms. It is alone the original name of God. The Israelites were not to mention the names of other gods, like *Jovis* (Exod. 23:13), but *Yhwh* wanted this, his special name, in their minds and mouths and before their eyes forever (Exod. 3:15), with no suggestion that such use would render it common. Why, then, did this name come to be feared rather than the others—including *yh*, which Mercerus explained as merely a shortened form of *yhwh*, Euthymius glossed as “He who is,” and Origen took to make a reference to the same divine essence (*Expos. in Psalmos CXI.1*). The name would become more known, glorious, and illustrious by greater use—as the proverb says, *bonum eo communius, eo melius*. No. Keeping the name secret was a human innovation contrary to Scripture—consider how widely it is used as part of Hebrew proper names, keeping it always remembered and before the eyes of the Jews. So it is unlikely that people who say that the Jews stopped using it when they realized that nations around them had applied it to idols are right—why should that have encouraged the Jews to stop using it rather than proclaim it yet more reverently? The pagan use of *’elohim*, *’el*, and *’adonai* of their gods (e.g. Helion) did not stop the Jews from using those terms. So the name did not become “ineffable” for these reasons. Surely we have already seen the real reason—the difficulty of enunciating it exactly and in a way so as not to cause levity when it fell on Greek ears. A form like *ieôoua* is scarcely acceptable Greek. It was wise of Hellenistic Jews to declare such an odd form ineffable in order to remove it from the mockery of non-Jews.

And another thing: in the ineffable name articulated in Greek you find all of their five vowels (long */o/* and */e/* are not different sounds but merely prolongations of sound). Pliny the Elder (VII.56) tells us that the longer forms were not distinguished by special signs before Simonides. We are told that the ancient Jewish scholars called vowels *tn’wth*—*motus*, or “movements”—which denotes life, the universal life and its inexhaustible source. This is symbolized by this most holy name, but Fuller does no more than mention this, lest his little observation be decried as Kabbalistic. Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* XI.29) is quoted speaking of the seven vowels in one ineffable and hidden name of four letters. Eusebius then gives some verses of the Jewish doctors:

Me septem celebrant elementa vocalia magnum,
 Aeternumque Deum, perpetuumque Patrem,
 illa ego sum mundi Chelys incorrupta, suaves
 Quae motus Coeli tempero sola modos.

Thus *Jeoua*, whose providence administers the immense machine of the heavens, is called *Chelys heptaton* not as the philosophers think, from the number seven planets, but from the seven Greek vowels (now including the longer /e/ and /o/) of his name). Finally the Septuagint translators, not unlike the English Bible (*non secus atque in vulgari nostra Anglicana*) did once let slip, whether by design or accident, the Tetragrammaton. In 2 Samuel 1:12, the Hebrew (*l'myhw*) is rendered in the Latin as usual as *super populum Domini*. But the Greek has here *epi ton laon iouda*. *iouda* is clearly out of place here and is a corruption of *ioua* by the insertion of the *delta*. But here the holy and August name shines through.

Johannes Buxtorf's *Dissertatio de Nomine yhw* (1620) derived the Tetragrammaton from the root *hwh/hyh* with an initial *yod* to form the proper name, which is thus derived from the third-person future of the verb.³³ The work displays a grasp of rabbinic and Hebrew grammarians, but the material is scarcely new. The Tetragrammaton means eternal existence, existing in itself, communicating its existence, etc. Thus in Revelation 1:4, 8, we have an example of this expressed in the *Dreizeitformeln* because "Lord" (*kurios*) in that verse cannot do this. Citing *Schmoth Rabba* he translates *'ehyeh* as "I was, I am now and I am coming." Hence *erchomenos* (I shall come) at 16:5, but not *esomenos* (I shall be), for which Beza now has manuscript evidence. In Revelation 19:12, "the name which no man knows" suggests that Jesus did not use the name, not out of ignorance *sed quia ita vulgo proferri solebat*, e.g. Matthew 4:7—a circumstance which perhaps John hints at *uno oculo respexit*.

He discusses the vowels, pronunciation, and longer forms of the divine name, attending to the Massorah, Rabbi Afarias, Samuel Arcivolti, and the ancient versions. Joh. Buxtorf Junior produced his own *Dissertatio de Nominibus Dei Hebraicis* (Heirs of Ludovic König, Basel) in 1645.

Thomas Gataker (1574–1654) was another Englishman, educated at St John's, Cambridge, and sometime preacher at Lincoln's Inn. In 1642 he was chosen to be a member of the Westminster Assembly. He approved of the episcopacy but disapproved of the trial of Charles I. His work *De Nomine Tetragrammato Dissertatio qua vocis Jehovah apud nostros receptae usus defenditur...* of 1645 was written in the enforced leisure occasioned by illness.³⁴ He wrote with Drusius, Fuller, Cappellus, Sixtinus Amama, and Générard all before him, as well as the two Buxtorfs, and so was able to offer his own balanced opinion. While accepting the vowels of *'adonai* and *'elohim* were added to the Tetragrammaton by the Massorettes, he felt nonetheless that *Jehova* cannot be too far away from the original. The Latin evidence he finds convincing, and he can argue for

33 *Decas Exercitationum Philologicarum*, pp. 385–412.

34 *Decas Exercitationum Philologicarum*, p. 479ff.

Jehova from *Jova* as Cappell argued for *Jahvoh* from *Jao*. Moreover, surely *Jehova* is preferable to *Jahavoh* or *Jahvoh*? If we are to have Scripture in languages other than Hebrew, then we need a word to mark the presence of the Tetragrammaton, especially in places like Exodus 6:3, where specific reference is made to it. Otherwise it will be suppressed under a perpetual silence.

Edward Leigh, MA of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1650 offered observations on all the Hebrew roots of the Old Testament.³⁵ The material is now entirely known to us. After explaining the meaning of the root as existence, the three tenses represented by three syllables as used of Christ (Revelation 1:5), he tells us that the pagans copied the name of *Jove* from the Tetragrammaton. There is a consensual received wisdom here which remains rather unreflectively passed down for the next few centuries. Leigh quotes the substance of the discussions we have encountered in this chapter. He concludes with the more singular observation that all the letters of the Tetragrammaton are “letters of rest (as the Hebrews call them) to show that there is no rest till we come to Jehovah and that in him we may safely and securely rest.”³⁶

This extensive philologically based literature marks the end of the story we have to tell. The issues it raises and the methods it exemplifies have been sufficiently exposed in this chapter to make further detailed commentary not only superfluous but also tedious. Nevertheless, it is precisely the commonplace and undisputed grounds upon the question is discussed, even among those who debate specific arguments which mark the final stage of the Western Christian discovery of the Tetragrammaton. The philosophies of language underlying the earlier expositions of the Tetragrammaton, however implicit and unformalized

35 *Critical Sacra...The First containing Observations on all the Radices or Primitive Hebrew Words of the Old Testament...*(for Thomas Underhill, London, 1650).

36 James Altingius (1618–1679) was born in Heidelberg and studied with a rabbi in Embden. He was admitted as a priest in the Church of England by John Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, in 1649, but subsequently in 1643 became professor of Hebrew at Groningen. His popular grammar focusing on vocalization, *Fundamenta Punctuationis Linguae Sanctae*, achieved an eighth edition in 1730 (Knochius, Frankfurt-am-M.). Altingius's work on the Tetragrammaton, *Exercitatio Grammatica de Punctis ac Pronuntiatione Tetragrammati* (Reland, p. 415) is critical of the pronunciation *Jehova* but adds little to the debate. I also omit for the same reason of consideration of space, Joh. Leusden's *Dissertationes Tres De Vera Lectione Jehova* (Reland, pp. 517–564). Leusden (1624–1699) was a distinguished professor of Hebrew at Utrecht and author of several philological works—*Philologus Hebraeus* (1656); *Philologus Hebraeo-Mixtus* (1663); *Philologus Hebraeo-Latino-Belgicus* (1668); *Philologus Hebraeo-Graecus* (1670)—and who brought out a *Biblia Hebraica* in 1656 with Rabbi Joseph Athias, the first with numbered verses. The *Dissertationes Tres* argue for the pronunciation *Jehova*.

they may have been, are passing from favour. From Origen to the later Christian Kabbalists, Hermeticists, and magicians (as for the Jewish sages), the name of God was effective and powerful—in short, a wonder-working name. A substantial tradition passed when underlying notions of language changed.

Not that all was lost. The name (however pronounced) remained that of the one Christian God. The ontological interpretation of its meaning generally persisted and the Patristic observations remained well known. The emerging philological discourse (though divided over pronunciation) chewed the cud of a growing body of grammatical and historical material, presented in the light of demystified notions of language. The evidence was reassessed in this light, and its clarification was the work of a very large number of university dissertations and disputations. With a philological perspective and enriched by a growing familiarity with the relevant languages, these works set about establishing the linguistic and theological significance of the Hebrew name of the God of the Old Testament. This material, in spite of its formally disputational genre, is fairly homogeneous and, dare one say it, increasingly commonplace.

For this reason I have thought to list (without any aspiration to completeness) as an appendix to this chapter some of the published works of this nature. The purpose is to document the ubiquity of the modern approach, which marks the end of our story of the Christian (re)discovery of the Tetragrammaton. There remain differences between the philology of the 17th century and modern scholarship, not least that due to the far more extensive knowledge of ancient Semitic languages we now enjoy, but the foundations of modern disciplines are clearly seen to be emerging in these studies. Theologically, one also will note an orthodox conformity removed from the innovative possibilities once offered to the early Christians and suggested to at least some of the radical reformers or the later Christian Kabbalists speculating upon the Kabbalistic *Adam Kadmon* in relationship to the Christian Christ, albeit of an Arian hue.

Appendix to Chapter 13

Some Later University Dissertations and Disputations et al. on the Name of God

1580

Johann Jacob Grynaeus, the Academic Dean of the Basel Theology Faculty, published his *Theses Theologicae de uno Iehouah e tribus Elohim* in 1583 (Oporinus, Basel).

1590

Ioannes Turnvius Polonus, *Theses Theologicae de Deo...*(Ioannes Wolphur, Zürich, 1592).

Lucas Stoeckle Spirensis, *Theses Theologicae de Deo. Uno Iehoua et tribus Elohim* (Zürich, 1596).

Nikolaus Gärtner Caspar Pfaffrad, *Disputatio De Deo Iehoua, Patre, Filio et Spiritu Sancto* (Helmstadium, 1599).

1600

Daniel Schwenter, *Oratio de Sancto et Magno Nomen Jehova* (Nuremberg, 1605).

1620

Heinrich Wonstop, *Benefavente et Auxilium Conferente Iehova Triuno: positiones hasce philosophias miscellaneas.* (J. Schroeter, Basel 1620).

Johannes Mochinger, *Discursus Philologus de Nominibus Dei Hebraicis Biblicis & Rabbinicis* (Wittenberg, 1623).

Johannes Mochingen (1603–1652), professor of eloquence at the Gymnasium of Danzig, wrote *Discursus philologicus de Nominibus Dei hebraicis, Biblicis...* (Tham, 1625).

The Catholic Bishop of Ricanti and Loreto, Rutilio Benzoni, in his *Dissertationes et Commentaria in b. Virginis Canticum Magnificat*, dedicated to the bishop of Ypres (Baltazar Beller, Douai, 1626) raises several *dubia*. He asks *An idem sit Nomen Tetragrammaton et Iehovah?* and *Nomen Dei Ego Sum, Qui Sum seu Qui Est sit idem quod Tetragrammaton?* (pp. 290–294).

1640

Theodor Hackspan (1607–1659), professor of Hebrew at Altdorf, sported a pleasing Arabic font in his *Triga Disputationum De Nominibus Dei Angelorum Daemonum* (Balthasar Scherf, Altdorf, 1641).

The Jesuit L. Lessing, *Quinquaginta Nomina Dei sive Divinarum Perfectionum* (Dillingen, 1641), provides a list of virtues or attributes of God without any Hebrew at all.

Professor J.G. Dorscheus's *Dissertatiuncula Philogico-Theologica De Nomine Dei...* came out from J.P. Múlsius (Strasbourg, 1642).

1650

Paul Scherlock, S.J.'s *Antiquarum Hebraicarum Dioptra* came out posthumously in 1651 (Sumptibus P. Borde, L. Arnaud, C. Rigaud, Lyon) His first dissertation deals with naming God, *Qui Sum*, the Tetragrammaton and other divine names. He asks whether the heathen knew the Tetragrammaton.

L. Lessius, *Quinquaginta Nomina Dei seu Divinarum Perfectionum Compendarium Expositio* (Paris, 1654).

Christopher Cartwright's *Electa Thargumico-Rabbinica sive Annotationes in Exodum* brings rabbinical and Targumic material to Exodus 3:14 (pp. 28–32). In 6.3 *Jehova* is used. (Matt. Keinton, London, 1658).

1660

J.A. Osiander (1622–1697), *Exercitationes de Nominibus Divinis Revisae et Auctae* (G. Kerner, Tübingen, 1665), has as a frontispiece a plate with the legend “As the hart panteth...” in both Latin and Hebrew in an oval. Inside is a fountain with a radiant Tetragrammaton above.

P.G. Berlichius, *Dissertatio Philogica Prior de Tetragrammato...* (Nisian, Dresden, 1665).

Joannes Frischmuth (1619–1687), *De Nomine Messiae Glorioso Jehova Iustitia Nostra Dissertatio ex Jeremiah XXIII.6* (S. Krebius, Jena, 1669).

1670

Georgius Söhlinus, *Ex Philologicis Disputationem Publicam de Nomine Dei Tetragrammato YHWH* (J. Röhne, Tauber, 1670).

Johann-Benedict Carpovius (1595–1661) gave his *Dissertatio Philogico de Legitima Tetragrammatou YHWH Lectione* in 1672 (Literis Coleranis, Leipzig) and sports lots of Syriac type.

J.H. Florinus, *BSHM Dissertatio Philosophico-Theologica de Nomine Tetragrammato* (T. Jacob, Herborn, 1677).

Georg Schwartze, *Dissertatio Philogica de Nominibus Divinis* (Schröder, Wittenberg, 1679).

The Lutheran Rector of the Academy at Wittenberg, Joannes Schafius (1595–1660), in his work *Tetragrammaton yhwh* (Literis Hakianis, Wittenberg,

1674) was able to compete with Arabic, Syriac, Samaritan, and Ethiopic fonts.

As a candidate for the ministry, J.H. Florinus wrote *Dissertatio Philologico-Theologica de Nomine Tetragrammato...JEHOVA* (Typis Tobiae Jacobi, Herborn, 1677).

1680

William Robertson, *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae* (S. Roycroft, London, 1680). The Lexicon itself is prefaced by *Dissertatio Philologico-Theologica: de Decem Nominibus Hebraicis Quorum D Hieronymus Meminit in Quibus Non Pauca Se Offerunt Philologiae Theologiae & Antiquitatis Studiosorum Disquisitione Digne*.

Bernhard Sanden, *Dissertatio Theologica de Divinitate Christi ex nomine Tetragrammato...*(F. Reusner, Königsberg, 1684).

B.D. Gebhard Tessarazetema, *De Nomine Dei Tetragrammaton* (D.B. Stark, Wald, 1689).

1690

Sebastian Schmid, *JEHOVAH Exercitationes Theologicae de Deo et Ejus Attributis* (Sumptibus H.F. Hoffman, Strasbourg, 1690).

1700

Andreas Martin's *Dissertatio Philologica de Nomine Dei Proprio et Sanctissimo Jehovah* (Typis Keyserianis, Uppsala, 1700) is enlivened by a plate showing posture during the High Priestly blessing in the Temple with a Tetragrammaton with rays above.

J. Palmroos, *BSHM Dissertatio Philologica De Nomine Dei Proprio & Sanctissimo Jehovah...*(Keyser, Uppsala, 1700).

The Lutheran theologian and Orientalist Nicolaus Nieremberger (1648–1705) wrote *Dissertatio de Magno Illo Dei Nomine YHWH, Quatenus ut Tetragrammaton Celebratur* (Regensberg, 1701), followed the following year by *Dissertatio de Pentagrammato...Jesus, cuius ope ineffabile Tetragrammaton... JHVH tandem sit effabile factum*.

1710

Andreas Adam Hochstetter, Lutheran professor and pastor in Tübingen, *Dissertatio Theologica de Nominibus et Natura Dei* (J. Cunradreis, Tübingen, 1711).

Recueil de Dissertations critiques sur des Endoits difficiles (Pierre Witte, Paris, 1715). Dissertation VI on the Tetragrammaton (pp. 232–294), Dissertations VII–X (pp. 295–547) on exegesis of Exodus 3:14.

1720

Gustav Georg Zeltner (1672–1738), a Lutheran theologian, *Disquisitio Evangelium Tetragrammaton E Novo Testamento Exulans* (I.G. Kohlesius, Altdorf, 1722). Stress on the future and prediction of Messiah.

J.C. Weber, *Schediasma Philologicum de Nomine Domini Supremi Numinis Proprio* (Coelerian, Nordhausen, 1726).

H. Frieder Brauns, *Nodus Gordius Aenigmatis Sibyllini de nomine Dei Enneagrammato Tetrasyllabo* (W. Derr, Leipzig, 1728). The Tetragrammaton is part of the solution.

1730

J.A.G. Schetig, *Bibliotheca Disputationum Theologico-Philologico-Exegetica* (Part I in *V.T.*) (Litteris Salicathianis, Hamburg, 1736), gives some twenty-odd Disputations on Genesis (pp. 24–25) and another fifteen or so on Exodus (pp. 83–86).

1750

M.L.G. Jahnius, *Q.D.B.V. de Voce YHWH...* (Schlomachiano, Wittenberg, 1755).

1760

Franciscus Zeleny, S.J., Regius Professor of the Sacred Language in Prague, *Dissertation de Pronuntiatione Nominis Divinis Jehova*, at pp. 1–10 of *Thesaurus Theologicum tomus secundus* (Nicholaus Pezzano, Venice, 1762) offers a rich, Rabbinic, Kabbalistic, and Trinitarian tradition.

Conclusion

When considering the long trail of research [this study] involved, I remember experiencing a sensation vaguely resembling vertigo. I naively asked myself whether I would one day have the competence to tackle so vast and complex a theme. Today I know I never will.¹

The history of the Christian reception of the Tetragrammaton has been determined fundamentally by Christian access to Hebrew and post-biblical Hebrew literature. The emergent linguistic differentiation between early Christian groups using Greek and Jewish scholars working in Hebrew increasingly isolated the Christians from the Hebrew language, the Hebrew Bible, and rabbinic tradition. The Scriptures of the Christians were in Greek and it was essentially the Jewish Greek Scriptures which became the Christian Old Testament. Within the Christian tradition those Scriptures substituted *kurios* and, later in Latin, *dominus* for the Tetragrammaton of the Hebrew Bible. Though there is no doubt that some pre-Christian Greek Scriptures marked the Tetragrammaton by *iaô*, and others by the presence in the Greek text of various Hebrew forms of the Tetragrammaton, these latter Hebrew forms may well have been due to progressive adjustment of the Greek text towards the Hebrew and a wider Jewish preference for the *Hebraica Veritas*. Though no indubitable case of *kurios* is found in a pre-Christian manuscript, there are significant arguments for its presence in the pre-Christian text, and perhaps also as the initial Old Greek rendering of the Tetragrammaton. Conversely, it is also possible to defend *iaô* as the original Greek translation of the Tetragrammaton.

Whatever was written in the Jewish Greek Scriptures for the Tetragrammaton, there is little doubt that the Old Greek translation of Exodus 3:14 replaced the explanation of the Tetragrammaton found in the Hebrew text with a statement that God was *ho ôn*, the Existent One. Whether this translation was philosophically motivated or merely the product of a search for an intelligible translation, it certainly profoundly influenced subsequent Christian notions of God and ontology. Christian Greek and Latin versions of the Old Testament had no mention of the Tetragrammaton, nor did they have an explanation of its meaning, but rather an authoritative self-description of God as the One Who Is.

Such a description was firmly located in the Platonic tradition by Philo and the Church Fathers, and Thomas Aquinas elaborated his ontology around God

1 Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath* (Chicago UP, 1991) p14.

as the One Who Is. The Platonic tradition rejected the notion that God might have a name; on the other hand, even without the presence of the Tetragrammaton, the Old Testament clearly and frequently names God. Subsequent Christian discussion of the name of God frequently addressed the problem of naming the unnameable.

Though in Greek and with no trace of Hebrew Tetragrammata in its textual tradition, the Christian New Testament shows considerable interest in the Tetragrammaton and evidence of Christological creativity in the broader context of Jewish notions of mediating figures bearing the name of God. Similar interest in the Tetragrammaton is evident in Gnostic texts, suggesting again rich currents of Jewish and Christian interest in the name of God. This evidently was a period when the Tetragrammaton was “good to think with.” This may to some extent be contrasted with more orthodox pre-Nicaean authors who were interested in the question of the nature of God’s being, how he may be named, and just which divine person was revealed in the theophany of the Burning Bush.

Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages were characterized by an almost total eclipse of Hebrew learning among Western Christians. The rich developments of Talmudic learning, Jewish mysticism and magic, and Massoretic textual scholarship were not accessible at the time. The magical traditions of Late Christian Antiquity within which the Tetragrammaton was a powerful name seem, however, to have preserved their vigour, and the Tetragrammaton is met in mediaeval charms, though it is the word “Tetragrammaton” itself rather than *y/hwh*, which is often in question. The magical powers of the Tetragrammaton remain in view in much Renaissance discussion, and a constant theme is the propriety of its use in coercing daemons or working wonders.

Throughout its history Christian reception of the Tetragrammaton has been strongly conditioned by the implicit philosophies of language entertained by Christian scholars. Origen was convinced of the particular power of Hebrew divine names in a manner we may wish to characterize as magical, or at least as a natural language philosophy. Natural language explanations were, of course, facilitated by the conviction that Hebrew was the primal language. The Christian Kabbalists, like many of their mediaeval predecessors, considered that the world was created by divine language and through the divine name, which retained its creative and magical power. Mercury van Helmont found the letters of the Holy Language in the very organs of human speech. The decline of such effectively hieroglyphic views of Hebrew script and all writing effectively marked the transition to the demystified views of language which came increasingly to characterize the 17th century.

Such knowledge of Hebrew and Hebrew literature as Christians were subsequently but slowly able to acquire was received within the competitive

relationship of the two faiths and generally put to polemical purpose. The main source of knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish literature was Jewish converts, who no doubt gained in status from being experts in Hebrew and Jewish scholarship, but also from being experts in what was wrong with it. Hebrew Scripture had been exploited as testimony to Christ by the writers of the New Testament, all or many of whom may have been Jews. Subsequently, mediaeval converts brought accounts of the Talmud, which were both deployed in hostile accounts of Judaism and used to find therein testimony to the Trinity and Incarnation. These range from the fraudulent to no further than the improbable. But they frequently brought Christian censure and destruction upon Hebrew books, which scarcely promoted scholarship. The third movement of appropriation was the discovery of Jewish mystical writings and their exploitation by the Christian Kabbalists. The Tetragrammaton figures centrally in their ever more elaborate synthesis of Jewish Kabbalistic techniques, Hermetic tradition, Neoplatonism, and magic. Such syntheses were no doubt creative and imaginative, as we have seen, and arguably stimulated theological and devotional diversity. They did not, however, survive the change in fundamental assumptions in philosophy of language and the demystification of writing.

The early modern period brought printing, and therewith the beginnings of independent Christian Hebrew scholarship, often deployed in the interests of the Protestant or Catholic Reformations. The rise of Christian Hebraism provided the context in which Christians re-evaluated notions of Scripture and authority and doctrine. Though the major Reformers remained Trinitarian, their responses to the tradition can be distinguished, as can the variety of uses they made of the Tetragrammaton in the articulation of their doctrines: Servetus, for one, was to fashion his own view of divinity within a framework easily derided as Judaizing. For Calvinists and Zwinglians the Tetragrammaton also served as a useful iconic device suitable for replacing anthropomorphic images of God.

Printing facilitated the spread of vernacular Bibles, and thereby introduced less scholarly readers to the personal name of God in those cases where they used some form of *Jehovah*. The form thus spread not only in learned literature, and became popular and widespread. The Christian discovery of the Tetragrammaton finally achieved ubiquity with the development of broad academic consensus around what evidently became a commonplace understanding and a restricted set of debatable issues.

The history of Christian reception of the Tetragrammaton is thus both an index of the contribution of Judaism to the faith, and a measure of the differences between the two religions expressed apologetically and polemically. The Tetragrammaton was a stimulus in early Christology and in the Renaissance

synthesis of Neoplatonism, Hermeticism, Kabbalah, and magic. The Early Greek “He Who Is” which replaced the Tetragrammaton in the Christian Greek and Latin Bibles’ account of the Burning Bush was even more fruitful. Articulated in the Platonic and later Aristotelian traditions, it determined the foundation of mediaeval theology.

These two traditions—that of the named God of the Hebrew Bible and that God as being—remain still in tension if not competition. Both may claim at least some grounding in the Hebrew text of Exodus 3:14, but their subsequent separate development and their mutual interaction have been both complex and stimulating, and that has been the story we have sought to tell here.

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