

Theologica variatio? An examination of the variation in the Greek rendering of יהוה and אֱלֹהִים in LXX Proverbs

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In recent years, there has been a growing interest in the theology of the different Septuagint (LXX) books. In an attempt to examine whether the LXX Proverbs attests a different theology than the Masoretic Text (MT), I have recently analysed the pluses in LXX Proverbs containing ὁ κύριος and ὁ θεός. The results of these studies have indicated that the LXX translation of Proverbs attests a more nuanced theology than its Hebrew counterpart. However, these studies only focus on the attestations of κύριος and θεός in LXX Proverbs without a Hebrew counterpart in MT and do not examine the rendering of Hebrew divine names into Greek. It is generally accepted that the Greek equivalents of יהוה and אֱלֹהִים are, respectively, κύριος and θεός. However, in LXX Proverbs, יהוה is rendered 18 times by θεός and אֱלֹהִים three times by κύριος. In order to come to a more precise understanding of the translation technique of the LXX translator, this article tried to formulate an answer to the reason behind this variation in Greek translation equivalents by examining the usage of κύριος and θεός for יהוה and אֱלֹהִים in LXX Proverbs and especially those instances where the translator deviates from the standard procedure. This examination has indicated that both the divine names have been used interchangeably by the LXX translator and, contrary to the additional attestations of the divine name, do not reflect a nuanced theology vis-à-vis the MT.

Contribution: This article fits perfectly within the scope of *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* because it focuses on the translation technique and theology of the LXX translator of Proverbs and thus contributes (a) to research regarding historical thought (textual transmission of biblical texts) and (b) source interpretation (because the LXX does not only reflect a translational but also an interpretative process, and this article in particular focuses on whether LXX Proverbs attests a different theology than its Hebrew counterpart).

Keywords: Septuagint; proverbs; divine name; LXX; JHWH; elohim; translation technique; theology.

Introduction

In recent years, scholars have tried to examine whether the different Septuagint (LXX) books reflect a theology that diverges from the Masoretic Text (MT). In the case of Proverbs, Johann Cook has made ample contributions on this topic, especially regarding the ideology of the LXX translator (e.g. Cook 1997, 2006, 2010, 2017, 2020). Recently, the author of this article has also examined whether LXX Proverbs attests a different theology than MT by examining the additional attestations of ὁ θεός and ὁ κύριος with no counterpart in MT (Beekman 2020a, 2021). These studies have indicated that LXX Proverbs does indeed reflect a diverging, or more specifically, a more nuanced theology than the Hebrew text. The LXX translator has put more emphasis on the Jewishness of the translation by stressing the Solomonic authorship and the sapiential tradition of God as the One to fear (Beekman 2020:386–387, 2021:523). Moreover, wisdom is specifically presented as revelatory wisdom (Beekman 2020a:386). However, these studies only focus on the attestations of κύριος and θεός in LXX Proverbs without a Hebrew counterpart in MT and do not examine the rendering of Hebrew divine names into Greek. Thus, although the studies of Cook and this author have contributed to the field of the theology of LXX Proverbs, new research can shed more light on the matter.

It is generally accepted that the Greek equivalents of יהוה and אֱלֹהִים are, respectively, κύριος and θεός. However, throughout the LXX corpus, יהוה is often rendered by θεός and אֱלֹהִים by κύριος. As Martin Rösel has observed, these nonstandard renderings might reflect theological motivations on the part of the LXX translator(s) (Rösel 2007:419–422). In LXX Pentateuch, θεός is connected to the omnipotence

Note: Special Collection: Septuagint and Textual Studies, sub-edited by Johann Cook (Stellenbosch University).

of God, whereas κύριος is used to express the compassionate nature of God's actions for Israel (Rösel 2007:423). Thus, studying the nonstandard renderings יהוה/θεός and אֱלֹהִים/κύριος might not only shed light on the translation technique but also on the theology of the LXX translators.

In LXX Proverbs, there are several instances where יהוה is rendered by θεός and אֱלֹהִים by κύριος. In order to come to a more precise understanding of the translation technique and (possible) theology of the LXX translator, this contribution will try to formulate an answer to the reason behind this variation in Greek translation equivalents by examining the usage of κύριος and θεός for יהוה and אֱלֹהִים in LXX Proverbs and especially those instances where the translator deviates from the standard procedure. Firstly, the instances where יהוה is rendered by θεός and אֱלֹהִים by κύριος will be registered. Afterwards, they will be evaluated. By doing so, this examination hopes to come to a better characterisation of the translation technique of LXX Proverbs and might also shed some additional light on the theology of the Greek text.

The registration of יהוה/θεός and אֱלֹהִים/κύριος in LXX Proverbs

It is David-Marc d'Hamonville who has noted a discrepancy in the rendering of יהוה and אֱלֹהִים (d'Hamonville 2000:46). In a table regarding the Greek translation of the Hebrew divine names in Proverbs, he records that יהוה is rendered 18 times by θεός and אֱלֹהִים one time by κύριος (d'Hamonville 2000:46). However, apart from giving the sections of the book wherein the divine names are attested, he does not indicate the precise verses. Therefore, before we can start evaluating the different rendering of יהוה and אֱלֹהִים in LXX Proverbs, one needs to discern in which verses the LXX translator provides a nonstandard equivalent for the divine name. By making use of the Hatch and Redpath (HR) concordance (1998) as well as BibleWorks (2016), we arrive at the following verses (Table 1).

Thus, although d'Hamonville's analysis of the Greek rendering of divine names is correct with regard to the nonstandard equivalent אֱלֹהִים/κύριος (3:4), his amount of יהוה/θεός seems to be incorrect. Contrary to d'Hamonville's 18 instances of יהוה/θεός, we find 19 cases. It must be noted that HR records 21 instances (Hatch & Redpath 1998:642). The first difference is verses 6:16 and 17:3. Hatch and Redpath notes 6:16 and 17:3 as instances where יהוה is rendered by θεός. However, θεός is only attested in codex Vaticanus (B). Rahlfs (ed. 2006) notes κύριος in these verses. Secondly, there is a discrepancy in numbering with regard to chapter 16. Hatch and Redpath notes the following verses of chapter 16, where θεός is an equivalent of יהוה: 16:1 (MT 16:9), 16:1 (MT 15:33) and 16:5. However, HR's numbering is off. The Greek

TABLE 1: Verses in which the LXX translator provides a nonstandard equivalent for the divine name.

Divine name	Verse(s)
יהוה/θεός	1:7, 3:5, 3:7, 3:19, 3:33, 5:21, 15:29, 15:33, 16:2, 16:5; 16:20, 17:15, 18:22, 19:3, 19:14, 19:17, 21:1, 21:3, 24:21. ¹
אֱלֹהִים/κύριος	3:4.

text recorded in HR of 16:1 is 15:29b (MT 15:29) in Rahlfs, for the first instance, and for the second, it is 15:33 (LXX and MT). Moreover, for 16:2, HR records this verse as 16:4 and notes that there is no Hebrew text in the MT. This is incorrect, because 16:2 in the LXX represents 16:2 in the MT, although the LXX presents a variant reading.

Now that we have registered all the instances where the LXX attests θεός for יהוה and κύριος for אֱלֹהִים, we can examine why the LXX opted for these renderings for these Hebrew divine names.

The evaluation of יהוה/θεός and אֱלֹהִים/κύριος in LXX Proverbs

Before looking at the nonstandard renderings יהוה/θεός and אֱלֹהִים/κύριος, it is important to examine how these renderings have been explained by scholars in earlier studies. One of the most prominent scholars in the field of divine names and their Greek rendering in the LXX is Wolf Wilhelm Grafen Baudissin (1929). In four volumes, he meticulously examines the usage of the Greek divine name κύριος in the LXX and the development of the Hebrew divine name in Ancient and Hellenistic Judaism. Although his works are focused on κύριος, he also deals with the occurrences of θεός in the different LXX books. Regarding LXX Proverbs, he notes that the renderings of θεός for יהוה and κύριος for אֱלֹהִים have to be explained as a result of the translator's translation technique (Baudissin 1929:264). According to him, both Greek names denote the same thing and have been used interchangeably by the translator (Baudissin 1929:264, 268, 270–271).²

D'Hamonville, on the other hand, does not ascribe the nonstandard renderings of יהוה and אֱלֹהִים to the translator's translational activity but explains them as a result of a redactional work that happened to the Hebrew text after the LXX translation when compiling the different sections of the Hebrew book of Proverbs, which is reflected in the MT (d'Hamonville 2000:46–47). This redactional activity is especially visible in chapters 15:27–22:17, where only the divine name יהוה is attested and which is rendered 22 times by κύριος, 12 times by θεός and one time not rendered at all (d'Hamonville 2000:46). Although this might be the case, this does not account for the nonstandard renderings in the other parts of LXX Proverbs.

Categorising the nonstandard renderings יהוה/θεός and אֱלֹהִים/κύριος

Thus, the question remains open. Are these renderings sheer randomness from the part of the translator because both Greek divine titles denote the same thing in the eyes of the translator, as Baudissin asserts, or can we detect a systematic

1.HR (1998:642) also notes 6:16 as an instance where יהוה is rendered by θεός. However, θεός is only attested in Vaticanus (B). Rahlfs notes κύριος in this verse. The same is true for 17:3.

2:[...] [W]eil [...] dem Übersetzer (ὁ) θεός und (ὁ) κύριος gleichwertig waren, ist es wahrscheinlicher, daß θεός für *jwhw* אלהים auf Willkür des Übersetzers, als daß es auf einer Textveränderung im Hebräischen beruht' (Baudissin 1929:264). Fox (2015:251) also indicates that the LXX translator of Proverbs does not make a distinction between the two Greek divine names.

translation technique? In order to formulate an answer to this question, all the nonstandard renderings of יהוה and אֱלֹהִים will be examined. Firstly, a description of the Hebrew and its Greek rendering will be provided; afterwards, the nonstandard renderings will be categorised and evaluated on the basis of this description. Since אֱלֹהִים/κύριος only occurs once, in 3:4, no categorisation will be made. For this case, only a description and evaluation will be provided (Table 2).

The description, categorisation and evaluation of the nonstandard renderings יהוה/θεός

Based on the description in Table 2, we can make the following observations concerning the renderings of יהוה by θεός:

1. In the majority of the cases, θεός is used in connection with a preposition: 4x παρά + dat. (16:2, 16:5, 17:15 and 21:3), 2x παρά + gen. (18:22, 19:14) and 2x ἐπί + dat. (3:5 and 16:20).
2. In four instances, it is used in expressions that convey the fear of the Lord, that is, 1:7, 3:7, 15:33 and 24:21.
3. In three cases, θεός is used as a possessive genitive: two times to express an anthropomorphism (in 5:21 the eyes of God [τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ὀφθαλμῶν], in 21:1 the hand of God [χειρὶ θεοῦ]) and one time to denote the curse of God (κατὰρα θεοῦ, 3:33).
4. ὁ θεός is used two times as the subject of the verse (3:19 and 15:29).
5. Two times θεός is used as (in)direct object of a verb. In 19:3 with αἰτιόμαι ('to charge, to accuse'), whereby θεός occurs in the

accusative (τὸν θεόν) and in 19:17 with δανείζω ('to lend or borrow money') where θεός is attested in the dative (θεῷ).

On the basis of this preliminary categorisation, we can observe that the LXX translator has rendered יהוה by θεός in a variety of contexts. In order to examine whether he opted to render יהוה by θεός in these specific instances, for example, anthropomorphisms, prepositions, the fear of the Lord, etc., we will investigate whether we can find counterexamples in LXX Proverbs whereby the translator provided the standard equivalent rendering יהוה/κύριος for the categories mentioned above. If a counterexample is found, that category cannot count as a context wherein the LXX translator preferred to render יהוה by θεός instead of κύριος.

θεός in connection with a preposition: As described *supra*, θεός is used eight times as a rendering of יהוה in connection with a preposition (παρά + dat., παρά + gen. and ἐπί + dat.). Often the preposition is not attested in the Hebrew text. This is the case in 16:2, 16:5 and 17:15, where the translator opts for παρά + dat. In the latter two verses, יהוה חועבת יהוה is rendered accordingly by ἀκάθαρτος παρά θεῷ. In the other instances, the preposition is attested in the MT: יהוה in 21:3 is rendered by παρά + dat., מיהוה in 18:22, and 19:19 is translated by παρά + gen., אל־יהוה by ἐπί + dat. in 3:5 and ביהוה by ἐπί + dat. in 16:20. Table 3 represents a clear overview of θεός as a rendering of יהוה in connection with a preposition (Table 3).

Concerning the rendering of יהוה by κύριος in connection with a preposition, we can make the following observations. The divine name κύριος in connection with a preposition is used 13 times. In five instances, παρά + dat. is used to render ליהוה (16:11), מיהוה (12:2) and יהוה (with no preposition in the Hebrew; 15:11, 16:7 [LXX 15:28] and 17:3). The preposition παρά + gen. is also used five times to render מיהוה (8:35, 16:33, 20:24 and 29:26) and ליהוה (21:31). Finally, ἐπί + acc. is applied three times to translate אל־יהוה (28:25) and ביהוה (22:19 and 29:25). Table 4 helps to visualise the attestations of κύριος as a rendering of יהוה in connection with a preposition (Table 4).

When comparing the usage of a preposition + θεός and preposition + κύριος in the LXX text, it is clear that both the divine names are used in connection with a preposition to

TABLE 2: Description of the nonstandard renderings יהוה/θεός in Proverbs.

Verse	Description ³
1:7	יהוה יראת יהוה (MT)/φόβος θεοῦ (LXX). Alexandrinus (A) has κυρίου. The LXX of Origen (O') records φόβος κυρίου, another (Ἄλλος) θεοῦ.
3:5	אל־יהוה (MT)/ἐπὶ θεῷ (LXX). Symmachus (σ') reads ἔλλιον κυρίω.
3:7	ירא את־יהוה (MT)/φοβοῦ τὸν θεόν (LXX)
3:19	יהוה (MT)/ὁ θεός (LXX). O' attests ὁ θεός; another translation (Ἄλλος) records ὁ κύριος. This other translation is the Syro-Hexapla (Syh). In the margins it has ὁ θεός. Codex 161 has ὁ κύριος in the margin.
3:33	מארת יהוה (MT)/κατὰρα θεοῦ (LXX).
5:21	עיני יהוה (MT)/τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ὀφθαλμῶν (LXX).
15:29	יהוה (MT)/ὁ θεός (LXX). 4QProv ^b attests [חוק יהוה מרשעים ותפלת בך] יקים ישמע and thus agrees with MT.
15:33	יראת יהוה (MT)/φόβος θεοῦ (LXX). Vaticanus (B) and Sinaiticus (א) attest θεοῦ, whereas the other manuscripts attest κυρίου.
16:2	יהוה (MT)/παρὰ τῷ θεῷ (LXX).
16:5	יהוה (MT)/παρὰ θεῷ (LXX). A attests τῷ.
16:20	ביהוה (MT)/ἐπὶ θεῷ (LXX). A reads κυρίω.
17:15	יהוה (MT)/παρὰ θεῷ (LXX). Codex 23 attests βδελυκτοὶ παρὰ κυρίω καὶ ἀμφότεροι. Codex 106 records the same but without καὶ.
18:22	מיהוה (MT)/παρὰ θεοῦ (LXX). B, א and Venetus (V) read θεοῦ, the other manuscripts κυρίου.
19:3	ועל־יהוה (MT)/τὸν δὲ θεόν (LXX). Symmachus (σ') has καὶ κατὰ κυρίου ὀργισθήσεται ἢ καρδία αὐτοῦ.
19:14	ומיהוה (MT)/παρὰ δὲ θεοῦ (LXX). B and א attest θεοῦ, whereas the other manuscripts attest κυρίου.
19:17	מלוה יהוה (MT)/δανείζει θεῷ (LXX).
21:1	ביד־יהוה (MT)/ἐν χειρὶ θεοῦ (LXX). Aquila (α'), Symmachus (σ') and Theodotion (θ') attest ἐν χερσὶ κυρίου.
21:3	ליהוה (MT)/παρὰ θεῷ (LXX).
24:21	ירא את־יהוה (MT)/φοβοῦ τὸν θεόν (LXX). O' attests τὸν θεόν, Syh records τὸν κύριον in the text, τὸν θεόν in the margin.

LXX, Septuagint; MT, Masoretic text; A, Alexandrinus; O', Origen; σ', Symmachus; Syh, Syro-Hexapla; B, Vaticanus; V, Venetus; א, Sinaiticus; α', Aquila; θ', Theodotion.

3. For the MT, the Biblia Hebraica Quinta (de Waard 2008) has been consulted. Since the Göttingen edition of LXX Proverbs is still in preparation, the text of Rahlfs (ed. 2006) has been used. The text of 4QProv^b is taken from DJD XVI (eds. Ulrich et al. 2000). The hexaplaric references are based upon the edition of Field (ed. 1875). For the translation of the Hebrew words, David A. Clines' Dictionary of Classical Hebrew (1993–2016) has been consulted. The translation of the Greek lexemes is taken from Muraoka's lexicon (2009) and LEH (Lust et al. 2015).

TABLE 3: θεός as a rendering of יהוה in connection with a preposition.

LXX	MT
παρὰ θεῷ	יהוה (16:2 [with particle τῷ], 16:5 and 17:15) ליהוה (21:3)
παρὰ θεοῦ	מיהוה (18:22 and 19:19)
ἐπὶ θεῷ	אל־יהוה (3:5) ביהוה (16:20)

LXX, Septuagint; MT, Masoretic text.

TABLE 4: κύριος as a rendering of יהוה in connection with a preposition.

LXX	MT
παρὰ κυρίω	יהוה (15:11 [with particle τῷ], 16:7 [LXX 15:28] and 17:3) ליהוה (16:11) מיהוה (12:2)
παρὰ κυρίου	מיהוה (8:35, 16:33, 20:24 and 29:26) ליהוה (21:31)
ἐπὶ κύριον	אל־יהוה (28:25) ביהוה (22:19 and 29:25)

LXX, Septuagint; MT, Masoretic text.

render the same Hebrew terms, that is, יהוה with or without a Hebrew preposition. Although the similar usage is striking, there is a difference that needs to be addressed, that is, the usage of the preposition ἐπί. In all the occurrences of ἐπί + a divine name, θεός is always used in the dative form, whereas κύριος is used in the accusative form.⁴ The word pair ἐπί κυρίῳ only occurs in the form of ἐπί τῷ κυρίῳ (with the article) in the LXX, and the majority of the instances are found in LXX Psalms.⁵ The dative form of κύριος is only used 13 times in LXX Proverbs: five times following the particle παρὰ (see *supra*), eight times after the noun βδέλυγμα ('abomination') (see 11:20, 12:22, 15:8.9.26, 20:23, 21:27 and 27:20). It is interesting to note that only κύριος is used in connection with βδέλυγμα and never θεός.

Although there is a small difference in usage concerning the declension of the divine name after the preposition ἐπί, with regard to the usage of Greek prepositions + divine name, whereby יהוה with or without preposition is attested in the MT, we observe no clear technique of the translator to opt for θεός or κύριος.

θεός as used in expressions denoting 'the fear of the Lord': In 1:7, 3:7, 15:33 and 24:21, θεός is used as a rendering of יהוה in expressions that denote the fear of the Lord (Table 5).

As is evident from the table *supra*, in these instances the LXX translator consistently rendered the noun יִרְאָה ('fear') each time by the Greek equivalent φόβος ('fear'), יהוה by θεός. In 3:7 and 24:21, the verb ירא ('to fear') is rendered by the verb φοβέω ('to fear') and the particle אַת by the article in the accusative (τόν).

The expression יראת יהוה, with and without the Hebrew particle אַת, occurs 14 times in Proverbs. Next to its attestations that are rendered by φόβος θεοῦ, it is rendered 12 times by φόβος κυρίου (1:29 [with article in the genitive], 2:5, 8:13, 9:10, 10:27, 14:26, 15:16, 16:6 [LXX 15:27a], 19:23, 22:4, 23:17 and 31:30). In 14:27, the LXX translator translates it by πρόσταγμα κυρίου ('an ordinance or command of the Lord'), which might be a conscious choice of the translator to avoid repetition with the previous verse where יראת יהוה/φόβος θεοῦ is mentioned.⁶ Remarkably, in 10:29, the LXX translator rendered דרך יהוה by φόβος κυρίου, which can be explained

TABLE 5: θεός used as a rendering of יהוה in expressions that denote the fear of the Lord.

Verse	Expression MT/LXX
1:7	יראה/φόβος θεοῦ
3:7	ירא את יהוה/φοβοῦ τὸν θεόν
15:33	יראה/φόβος θεοῦ
24:21	ירא את יהוה/φοβοῦ τὸν θεόν

LXX, Septuagint; MT, Masoretic text.

4. For 29:25, Vaticanus (B) and Sinaiticus (S) attest the dative form κυρίῳ. However, Rahlf's attests the accusative form.

5. See 2 Maccabees 7:40, LXX Psalm 10:1, 25:1, 30:7, 34:9, 55:11, 63:11, 96:12, 103:34, Hosea 3:5, Micah 7:17 (ἐπί κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ), Joel 2:23 (ἐπί κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ), Zephaniah 3:2, Zechariah 10:7, Isaiah 61:10, Jeremiah 17:7, Susanna 1:35 (ἐπί κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ).

6. Avoidance of repetition as a translation technique of LXX Proverbs (Beeckman 2018:265, 2020b).

because of the translator's intention to create unity between 10:27–29 (d'Hamonville 2000:223; Fox 2015:184). With regard to the verb ירא in connection with יהוה, which only occurs three times in Proverbs, יהוה is rendered only once with κύριος in 14:2. In the other two instances, 3:7 and 24:21, the divine name is translated with θεός as observed in the table *supra*.

Thus, as was the case with the first category, here as well the translator opted for both κύριος as well as θεός as a translation of יהוה without distinguishing between them.

θεός as a possessive genitive: Next to the possessive genitives in expressions concerning the fear of the Lord, θεός is used as a possessive genitive in anthropomorphic statements (5:21 and 21:1) and to convey a curse of God (3:33).

In LXX Proverbs, two anthropomorphisms are found in connection with θεός: the eyes of God (τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ὀφθαλμῶν, 5:21) and the hand of God (χερὶ θεοῦ, 21:1). Although it is believed that earlier translations, such as the Pentateuch, mostly got rid of anthropomorphisms (Fritsch 1943),⁷ it is remarkable that LXX Proverbs renders them into Greek. With regard to the eyes of God, in 15:3 and 22:12 κύριος instead of θεός is used: (οἱ) ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου. The hand of God (χερὶ θεοῦ), on the other hand, does not occur elsewhere in Proverbs. It is, however, attested elsewhere in the LXX, that is, in Isaiah 62:3 (בכף־אֱלֹהִים) and Ecclesiastes 9:11 (בִּי הָאֱלֹהִים). Its counterpart with κύριος (χερὶ κυρίου), although not attested in LXX Proverbs, also occurs in multiple verses throughout the LXX: 2 Samuel 24:14, Psalm 74:9 (MT 75:9), Job 27:11, Isaiah 62:3 and Jeremiah 28:7. Thus, with respect to the anthropomorphisms linked to יהוה, the LXX translator also does not exhibit a conscious choice between κύριος and θεός.

In 3:33, מֵאֲרַת יְהוָה is rendered by κατάρα θεοῦ. מֵאֲרַת ('curse') occurs only five times in the Hebrew Bible (Dt 28:20; Prov 3:33, 28:27; Mt 2:2 and 3:9) but never in construct with יהוה. In Malachi 2:2 and here in Proverbs 3:33, it is rendered by κατάρα. In Proverbs 28:27, ἀπορία ('perplexity, anxiety'), a noun occurring 10 times elsewhere in the LXX (Lv 26:16; Dt 28:22; Sir 4:2, PSS 4:15 [2x], 12:4; Is 5:30, 8:22, 24:19 and Jr 8:21), is used as a rendering. For κατάρα θεοῦ, we do not have a counterexample that reads κατάρα κυρίου. Nonetheless, considering the uniqueness of the phrase מֵאֲרַת יְהוָה, we cannot examine whether the translator opted deliberately for θεός here.

ὁ θεός as the subject of the verse: In 3:19 and 15:29, θεός + article ὁ is used as a rendering of יהוה and functions as the subject of the verse. ὁ θεός is attested three times elsewhere in LXX Proverbs, where it functions as a subject: 4:27, 21:8 and 22:8. However, these are additional attestations of θεός and do not have a Hebrew counterpart.⁸ The other divine name + article, ὁ κύριος, is also used as a rendering of יהוה as a subject of the verse, that is, 3:16 (εἶμι, 'to be'), 6:16 (μισέω, 'to hate'), 17:11 (ἐκπέμπω, 'to send out'), 22:2 (ποιέω, 'to make'), 22:23

7. However, scholars such as Orlinsky (1944) and Wittstruck (1976) have debunked Fritsch's hypothesis. The debate whether there are anti-anthropomorphic tendencies in the LXX is still ongoing (see e.g. Ausloos 2020).

8. For an analysis of these verses, see Beeckman (2020a).

(κρίνω, 'to judge'), 25:22 (ἀνταποδίδωμι, 'give back, repay, return') and 29:13 (ποιέω, 'to make'). In contrast to ὁ θεός in these instances, ὁ κύριος is always a rendering of its Hebrew counterpart יהוה. No additional attestations of κύριος + article are found.⁹ Nonetheless, ample counterexamples, whereby יהוה is also rendered by ὁ κύριος, are found in LXX Proverbs.

θεός as (in)direct object of a verb: Although we have already discussed several examples of θεός as a direct object of a verb in the context of 'the fear of the Lord' (i.e. 3:7 and 24:21, see *supra*), there are two other instances where θεός is used as a direct or an indirect object. In 19:3 with αἰτιάομαι ('to accuse'), whereby θεός occurs in the accusative (τὸν θεόν) and in 19:17 with δανείζω ('to lend or borrow money') where θεός is attested in the dative (θεῷ). For the direct object of a verb, several counterexamples of κύριος as a rendering of יהוה can be found in LXX Proverbs: 3:9 (τιμάω, 'to honour'), 14:2 (φοβέω, 'to fear', see *supra*), 20:9 (ὑπομένω, 'to endure') and 28:5 (ζητέω, 'to seek'). For the indirect object of a verb, no counterexamples of κύριος as a rendering of יהוה are found in LXX Proverbs. The only instances where κύριος is used in the dative are in connection with the prepositions παρά and βδέλυγμα (see *supra*) and thus never in connection with a verb. Moreover, θεός is also used as a direct object in connection with prepositions (παρά and ἐπι) and occurs only as an indirect object of a verb once elsewhere in Proverbs: 30:1. In this verse, which is obscure in Hebrew, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν θεῷ is used to render לאִיתֵאל, which the translator reads as לאִיתֵאל (Fox 2015:379).

The description and evaluation of the nonstandard renderings אֱלֹהִים/κύριος

After having evaluated the nonstandard rendering of יהוה/θεός, we will describe and evaluate the nonstandard rendering אֱלֹהִים/κύριος, which only occurs in 3:4 (Table 6).

The preposition ἐνώπιον is always followed by κυρίου when a divine name is attested in Proverbs (3:4, 11:1 and 20:10) (Table 7).

In 11:1 and 20:10, יהוה is attested instead of אֱלֹהִים. The phrase בעיני אֱלֹהִים occurs only in Proverbs 3:4.¹⁰ On the other hand, the

TABLE 6: Description of the nonstandard rendering אֱלֹהִים/κύριος in Proverbs.

Verse	Description
3:4	אֱלֹהִים (MT)/ἐνώπιον κυρίου (LXX). O' records ἐνώπιον, the recensions α', σ' and θ' attest ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς, which is closer to the Hebrew.

LXX, Septuagint; MT, Masoretic text; O', Origen.

TABLE 7: The preposition ἐνώπιον followed by κυρίου when a divine name is attested in Proverbs.

Verse	MT/LXX
3:4	בעיני אֱלֹהִים/ἐνώπιον κυρίου
11:1	יהוה תרעבת/βδέλυγμα ἐνώπιον κυρίου
20:10	יהוה תרעבת/ἀκάθαρτα ἐνώπιον κυρίου

LXX, Septuagint; MT, Masoretic text.

⁹The noun κύριος, however, is attested multiple times without a Hebrew counterpart (Beckman 2021).

¹⁰The Hebrew preposition ב is important here. The attestations of בעיני יהוה (without preposition ב) are not rendered by ἐνώπιον + divine name in LXX Proverbs. In 5:21, the phrase יהוה נבחר is rendered by ἐνώπιον τῶν θεῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. The phrase בעיני יהוה is translated by (οἱ) ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου in 15:3 and 22:12 as already noted *supra*.

phrase בעיני אֱלֹהִים, with the article, occurs only twice in the LXX, that is, in Numbers 23:27 and 1 Chronicles 21:7. In 1 Chronicles 21:7 it is rendered by ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ; in Numbers 23:37 τῷ θεῷ is used. Contrary to בעיני אֱלֹהִים, the phrase בעיני יהוה is attested multiple times (93 in total) in the Hebrew Bible and is rendered, in the majority of the cases, by ἐνώπιον κυρίου (*inter alia* Jdg 2:11, 3:12, 4:11, 1 S 12:17, 15:19; 1 Ki 14:22, 15:5; 2 Chr 26:4, 28:1; MI 2:17), sometimes by ἐναντίον κυρίου (*inter alia* Gn 38:10; Lv 10:19; 1 Ki 22:53; Ps 115:6 [MT 116:15]), a couple of times by ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ (*inter alia* Gn 6:8; Dt 4:25; 6:18, 12:25, 12:28) and in some instances by ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου (*inter alia* 2 Sm 11:27, 15:25; 1 Ki 22:43; 2 Ki 3:2, 3:18). The Greek ἐναντίον/ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ is only used as a translation of בעיני יהוה in Genesis 38:10. The Greek phrase is often used as a rendering of לפני אֱלֹהִים/יהוה (*inter alia* Gn 6:11; Ex 16:8, 16:33, 38:12; 1 Chr 13:8). Without the article, ἐνώπιον θεοῦ, it only occurs two times (ἐνώπιον θεοῦ, Ezr 8:21 and Neh 1:4) but not as a rendering of בעיני אֱלֹהִים but לפני אֱלֹהִים (Ezr 8:21) and לפני אֱלֹהִים (Neh 1:4). Moreover, ἐναντίον θεοῦ is not attested in the LXX. Thus, the majority of the instances where 'בעיני + a divine name' is used, the LXX translators opted for ἐνώπιον κυρίου. Therefore, the choice of the LXX translator of Proverbs to render בעיני אֱלֹהִים by ἐνώπιον κυρίου does not seem to be odd at all and seems to be a common rendering for Hebrew phrases of the form 'בעיני + a divine name'.

Conclusion

The goal of this article was to examine the nonstandard renderings יהוה/θεός and אֱלֹהִים/κύριος in LXX Proverbs in order to determine whether these renderings can shed more light on the translation technique and theology of LXX Proverbs. After registering 19 instances of יהוה/θεός and only one instance of אֱלֹהִים/κύριος, this article has described, categorised (except אֱלֹהִים/κύριος) and evaluated them. In order to observe whether these renderings are because of a conscious translation technique applied by the LXX translator, this article tried to find counterexamples for each category, that is, θεός in connection with a preposition, θεός as used in expressions denoting 'the fear of the Lord', θεός as a possessive genitive, ὁ θεός as the subject of the verse and θεός as (in)direct object of a verb. On the basis of the evaluation, the following results were obtained:

1. With regard to יהוה/θεός, counterexamples were found for each instance where the LXX translator used κύριος instead of θεός as a rendering of יהוה. Only for 3:33 and 19:17, no counterexamples were found. Nonetheless, in these cases, no explanation can be given as to why the translator opted for θεός instead of κύριος;
2. For אֱלֹהִים/κύριος, it has been argued that ἐνώπιον κυρίου was a common rendering for the form 'בעיני + a divine name'.

On the basis of these results, one can conclude that the LXX translator did not differentiate between the two divine names θεός and κύριος. Although Baudissin did not provide a detailed analysis of the nonstandard renderings יהוה/θεός and אֱלֹהִים/κύριος, he was right when asserting that both Greek names denote the same for the translator and have consequently been used interchangeably in LXX Proverbs

(Baudissin 1929:264, 268, 270–271). Thus, although they might be suspected to do so at first sight and contrary to the additional attestations of both Greek divine names in LXX Proverbs without Hebrew counterpart, these renderings do not reflect a distinct theology than the Hebrew text (contrary to Rösel's observation in LXX Pentateuch).

Given the result that the LXX translator of Proverbs used these terms interchangeably, it will be worthwhile to conduct the same study on LXX Job. The results of the study on LXX Job can be compared with the results of this study in order to contribute to the discussion of a single translator for LXX Proverbs and LXX Job.

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