A HARMONY OF THE TWELVE MINOR PROPHETS IN THREE TRADITIONS

The Masoretic Text, the Septuagint, the Nahal Hever Greek Scroll (8HevXIIgr), and the Qumran Pesharim — Phase 2D of the MT/LXX/DSS Textual Harmony Project

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Preface

This volume presents Phase 2D of the MT/LXX/DSS Textual Harmony Project, focusing on the Twelve Minor Prophets (*Dodekapropheton*) and the revolutionary manuscript that illuminates their textual history: **8HevXIIgr**, the Greek Minor Prophets scroll found in the Cave of Horror at Nahal Hever in the Judean desert.

The preceding four phases have examined four distinct types of textual divergence between the traditions:

Phase	Book	Divergence Type
1	Jeremiah	Literary-structural — two complete Hebrew editions
2A	Psalms	Compositional — psalm counts, orders, boundaries
2B	Samuel	Narrative — same stories, different details
2C	Exodus	Architectural — same blueprint, different construction sequence

Phase 2D introduces a fifth and qualitatively different type: **revisional divergence** — not two independent traditions of the same text reaching different forms through transmission, but one tradition deliberately and systematically corrected toward another. This represents a human editorial act at a historically locatable moment, and its documentation transforms our understanding of how the Greek Bible evolved from its Old Greek form toward the Hebrew-aligned recensions of the first and second centuries C.E.

The Nahal Hever Scroll (8HevXIIgr) — Introduction

Discovery and Publication

The Cave of Horror (*Mĕ'arat ha-Ḥorror*, Nahal Hever Cave 8) is one of a series of caves along the western shore of the Dead Sea in which Jewish refugees took shelter during the Bar Kokhba revolt against Rome (132–135 C.E.). Unlike the caves at Qumran — a sectarian community library deposited deliberately — the Nahal Hever cave materials were the personal possessions of refugees who died there, leaving their documents behind.

The Greek Minor Prophets scroll was discovered among these materials in the 1950s by Bedouin, with subsequent official excavations by Yigael Yadin in 1960–1961. The scroll was first published by **Dominique Barthélemy** in *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 10; Brill, 1963) — a publication that fundamentally changed the field of Septuagint studies. The definitive critical edition is:

- **DJD VIII**: Emanuel Tov, Robert A. Kraft, and Patricia A. Parsons, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert VIII; Oxford University Press, 1990).

Date and Character

The scroll is dated paleographically to approximately **50 B.C.E. – 50 C.E.** — making it roughly contemporary with the birth of Christianity and the final decades of the Second Temple period. It is written on parchment in a small, careful hand that Tov and Parsons identify as characteristic of Jewish scribal production of the period.

The scroll preserves portions of **Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah,** and **Zechariah** — not a complete Twelve Prophets but extensive enough to establish its character definitively. What Barthélemy recognized immediately upon examining it was that this is not a fresh translation of the Hebrew into Greek. It is the **Old Greek (LXX) translation of the Minor**

Prophets systematically revised at hundreds of points to bring it into closer conformity with a proto-Masoretic Hebrew text.

The Kaige Recension

Barthélemy's analysis of 8HevXIIgr led him to identify a **pattern of systematic translation equivalences** that characterize the revision. The most diagnostic is the treatment of the Hebrew particle *wĕgam* ("and also / and even") — rendered in the Old Greek by various Greek words depending on context, but in the revision systematically rendered by the Greek *kai ge* ("and indeed / and also"). This consistent equivalence — and the dozen or more similar systematic correspondences Barthélemy identified — define what he called the **kaige recension**: a revisionary tradition that affected not only the Minor Prophets but (as subsequent scholarship established) portions of Samuel-Kings, Job, Psalms, and other books.

The kaige recension is now understood as the **missing link** between:

- The **Old Greek (LXX)** translations of the third and second centuries B.C.E. — made with relative freedom from the Hebrew, representing what we call the Septuagint
- The **later Greek revisions** of Aquila (c. 130 C.E.), Symmachus (c. 170 C.E.), and Theodotion (c. 180 C.E.) — highly literal, word-for-word translations aligned to the proto-MT Hebrew text

The kaige recension stands between these two poles, representing a first-century systematic effort to correct the free Old Greek translation toward the Hebrew tradition that was consolidating into what would become the Masoretic Text.

Why This Matters for the Harmony Project

The Nahal Hever scroll introduces a dimension absent from the preceding phases: **deliberate editorial correction of Scripture toward a specific textual tradition**. Whereas in Jeremiah, Samuel, and Exodus we examined cases where the MT and LXX diverged through independent transmission of different Hebrew sources, here we see a Jewish community in the first century **actively choosing** between two Greek text forms and revising to bring the Greek Bible into alignment with the Hebrew.

This choice reflects a historical reality with enormous theological consequences: by the first century C.E., Jewish communities in the Land of Israel were increasingly committed to a single authoritative Hebrew text — the ancestor of the MT — and found the divergences between that Hebrew text and the existing Greek translations unacceptable. The kaige revision is the first systematic attempt to fix the problem.

That same period is also when the earliest Christians were quoting Greek scripture. The NT authors worked primarily from the Old Greek (LXX); the kaige revisers were simultaneously correcting that same Old Greek away from its NT-compatible form. The textual history of the Twelve Minor Prophets in the first century C.E. is therefore directly relevant to understanding why NT quotations of the OT sometimes agree with the LXX, sometimes agree with the MT, and occasionally agree with neither.

The Four Traditions for the Twelve Prophets

1. The Masoretic Text

The MT of the Twelve Minor Prophets is preserved in the standard witnesses (Codex Leningradensis, Aleppo Codex). The critical edition is the **Biblia Hebraica Quinta** (BHQ), Minor Prophets volume (Hosea–Malachi), edited by Anthony Gelston (Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2010) — one of the most complete and reliable BHQ volumes. The BHQ apparatus for the Minor Prophets is particularly valuable because it collects the evidence from 8HevXIIgr, the Qumran pesharim, and the LXX in a single apparatus.

2. The Old Greek (LXX)

The Old Greek translation of the Minor Prophets was made in Alexandria, most likely in the second century B.C.E. The standard critical edition is the **Göttingen Septuagint**: *Duodecim Prophetae* (Septuaginta XII), edited by Joseph Ziegler (3rd ed., Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984). Ziegler's apparatus distinguishes the Old Greek (OG) from the kaige-revised readings, making it an essential tool for identifying which Greek readings pre-date the Nahal Hever scroll.

The NETS translation by Muraoka (Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah) and others (2007) is the scholarly English standard. The Brenton LXX (1851, public domain) is used for extended passages in this harmony.

3. The Nahal Hever Greek Scroll (8HevXIIgr)

As described above. Where 8HevXIIgr is preserved and differs from both the OG and the MT, its reading is presented as a third Greek tradition, identified as [8Hev] throughout this harmony.

4. The Qumran Pesharim

The Qumran community produced *pesher* (commentary) documents on several of the Minor Prophets. The most important for this phase is:

1QpHab — the **Habakkuk Pesher** (Commentary on Habakkuk), Cave 1, Qumran. This is one of the best-preserved and most studied Qumran documents. It quotes the Hebrew text of Habakkuk 1:1–2:20 column by column, then provides the *pesher* — the community's interpretation of the text as prophesying their own history and the coming judgment. The biblical text quoted in 1QpHab represents an independent Hebrew witness distinct from the MT, occasionally agreeing with the LXX against the MT or presenting readings found in neither.

Critical edition: DJD I (1955), edited by D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik; re-edited by William Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (Scholars Press, 1979). Modern edition: Maurya Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 8; Catholic Biblical Association, 1979).

Part One: The Kaige Revision — Methodology and Evidence

The Systematic Translation Correspondences

Barthélemy identified approximately fifteen systematic word-for-word correspondences that define the kaige revision. The most important:

Hebrew	Old Greek (LXX)	Kaige / 8HevXIIgr	Aquila (later)
wĕgam (and also)	Various	*kai ge*	*kai ge*
ʾanî (I)	*egō*	*egō eimi*	*egō eimi*
nĕʾum (oracle of)	Various	*legei* (says)	*legei*
mišpāṭ (judgment/justice)	*krima*	*krisis*	*krisis*
yāšab (sit/dwell)	Various	*kathēmai*	*kathēmai*
ʾēšet (wife of)	Various	*gynē*	*gynē*
helek (walk/way)	Various	*hodós*	*hodós*

The significance of these correspondences is not merely lexicographical. They demonstrate that the kaige revision was **systematic and principled** — not the product of a single translator making idiosyncratic choices but a deliberate program of revision applying consistent equivalences throughout the text. This is revision, not translation.

A Worked Example: Amos 9:11 (Preserved Context Only)

The Amos material in 8HevXIIgr is not well preserved, but the passage Acts 15:16–17 quotes Amos 9:11–12 in a form that helps us understand the textual traditions. The NT quotation follows the LXX against the MT:

MT (ASV) — Amos 9:12: That they may possess the remnant of **Edom** (*ʾEdôm*), and all the nations that are called by my name.

LXX (Brenton) — Amos 9:12: That the remnant of **mankind** (*anthrōpōn*) may earnestly seek me, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called.

Acts 15:17 (James quoting the LXX): That the residue of **men** (*anthrōpōn*) may seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles, upon whom my name is called.

[8HevXIIgr — not preserved for this verse]

Variance Note: - **[VAR — Major]** The difference between *"Edom"* (MT) and *"mankind"* (LXX) is a one-letter difference in Hebrew: *ʾEdôm* (אֱדוֹם) vs. *ʾâdâm* (אָדָם, humanity). The LXX read *ʾâdâm* (man/humanity); the MT has *ʾEdôm* (the nation of Edom). In unpointed Hebrew, these two words differ only in their vowel pointing; the consonants are *ʾdm* in both cases. The LXX translator read the word as "humanity" (*ʾâdâm*), producing a universalist reading; the MT reads it as "Edom," producing a particularist reading about possessing a neighboring nation. **James's use of the LXX reading at the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15) — arguing that Gentiles are**

included in God's purposes — depends entirely on the universalist LXX reading. Had he been using the MT, his quotation would not have supported his argument.

Part Two: Habakkuk — The Most Important Minor Prophet Textually

Overview of the Habakkuk Traditions

Habakkuk is the best-documented Minor Prophet in the Qumran corpus. Three independent witnesses exist:

1. **MT Habakkuk** — the standard text (Codex Leningradensis / BHS)
2. **LXX Habakkuk** — the Old Greek translation
3. **8HevXIIgr Habakkuk** — the kaige revision of the OG
4. **1QpHab** — the Qumran Habakkuk Pesher, quoting a Hebrew text and interpreting it

These four traditions converge and diverge across the book's three chapters. No book in the Minor Prophets provides a richer textual laboratory.

Habakkuk 1:1 — The Superscription

MT (ASV): The burden which Habakkuk the prophet did see.

LXX (Brenton): The burden which the prophet Ambacum saw.

8HevXIIgr: The burden which Habakkuk the prophet saw. [Agrees with MT against LXX's *Ambacum*]

1QpHab: *"The burden which Habakkuk the prophet saw"* — agrees with MT.

Variance Notes: - **[ORTH]** *Ambacum* (LXX) vs. *Habakkuk* (MT and 8HevXIIgr) — a Greek transliteration difference. The kaige revision (8HevXIIgr) here corrects the LXX's rendering toward the MT's form of the prophet's name.

Habakkuk 1:5–6 — "Look Among the Nations"

MT (ASV): Look ye among the nations, and behold, and wonder marvellously; for I am working a work in your days, which ye will not believe though it be told you. For, lo, I raise up the Chaldeans, that bitter and hasty nation, that march through the breadth of the earth, to possess dwelling-places that are not theirs.

LXX (Brenton): Behold, ye despisers, and look, and wonder marvellously, and vanish; for I work a work in your days, which ye will in no wise believe, though a man declare it to you. For, behold, I stir up the Chaldeans, the bitter and hasty nation, that marches through the breadth of the earth, to inherit tabernacles not his own.

8HevXIIgr: Look ye among the nations… [partially preserved; begins to correct toward MT]

1QpHab Column II: The Hebrew text quoted in 1QpHab 1:5 reads: *"Look, O traitors, and see and be astonished; for a work is being wrought in your days which you will not believe when told."*

NT Usage: Acts 13:41 (Paul's sermon at Antioch) quotes Habakkuk 1:5 in the LXX form: *"Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish: for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you."*

Variance Notes: - **[VAR — Major]** MT: *"Look ye among the nations"* (*rĕʾû baggôyim*) — LXX: *"Behold, ye despisers"* (*idete, kataphronētai*). These are completely different readings. The MT's *baggôyim* (among the nations) shares no consonantal similarity with the LXX's "despisers" (*bōgedîm*, traitors in Hebrew). The LXX apparently translated from a Hebrew text that had *bōgĕdîm* (traitors/despisers) rather than *baggôyim* (among the nations) — a difference of several consonants, not explicable as a simple misreading. - **[1QpHab]** The Qumran pesher text quotes *"Look, O traitors"* — agreeing with the LXX against the MT. This confirms that the LXX's reading reflects a genuine Hebrew Vorlage at Qumran that had *bōgĕdîm* (traitors) rather than the MT's *baggôyim* (nations). The MT has a third Hebrew reading; the LXX/1QpHab tradition has a second; and Acts 13:41 follows the LXX tradition. - **[NT]** Paul's quotation from Acts 13:41 precisely follows the LXX — and his application of the verse to Jesus's resurrection and the threat of rejection is built on the LXX's address to "despisers" (*kataphronētai*) rather than the MT's address to the nations. The theological argument depends on the LXX/1QpHab reading.

Habakkuk 2:1–4 — The Watchtower Vision and "The Just Shall Live by His Faith"

This is the single most theologically consequential passage in the Minor Prophets for New Testament interpretation. Habakkuk 2:4b — *"the just shall live by his faith"* — is quoted three times in the NT (Romans 1:17; Galatians 3:11; Hebrews 10:38) and is the biblical foundation for the Reformation doctrine of justification by faith alone. The four traditions present four meaningfully different readings.

Habakkuk 2:1–3 — The Vision and Its Timing

MT (ASV): I will stand upon my watch, and set me upon the tower, and will look forth to see what he will speak with me, and what I shall answer concerning my complaint.

And Jehovah answered me, and said, Write the vision, and make it plain upon tablets, that **he may run that readeth it**. For the vision is yet for the appointed time, and it hasteth toward the end, and shall not lie: though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not delay.

LXX (Brenton): I will stand upon my watch, and mount upon the rock, and watch to see what he will say to me, and what I shall answer when I am reproved.

And the Lord answered me and said, Write the vision, and that plainly on a tablet, that **he that reads it may run**. For the vision is yet for a time, and it shall shoot up at the end, and shall not be vain: if it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, and shall not be delayed.

8HevXIIgr: Partially preserved. The fragments confirm the kaige revision is moving toward the MT at several points in this passage. The *"write the vision"* section is partially legible.

1QpHab Column VII: The pesher text at 2:2 reads: *"And God told Habakkuk to write down the things which will come to pass in the last generation, but the fulfilment of the end-time he did not make known to him."* The pesher community identified "the last generation" with their own time — the sect's history and the coming eschatological judgment.

Variance Notes: - **[VAR]** MT: *"that he may run that readeth it"* (*lĕma'an yârûts qôrê' bô*) — LXX: *"that he that reads it may run"* (*hina diōxē ho anaginōskōn auta*). The sequence of subject and verb is reversed: MT implies the vision is clear enough to read while running; LXX implies the reader can run [to tell others] after reading. The Greek is closer to "so that the reader may announce/pursue" — a slightly different sense. - **[1QpHab]** The pesher reads the vision as addressed to the sect itself ("the last generation") — an eschatological interpretation that goes beyond both the MT and LXX's surface sense. The pesher exploits the text's temporal ambiguity ("yet for the appointed time") to identify its own moment as the fulfillment.

Habakkuk 2:4 — The Most Debated Verse in the Minor Prophets

MT (ASV): Behold, his soul is puffed up, it is not upright in him; but **the just shall live by his faith** (*wĕtsaddîq bĕ'emûnātô yichyeh*).

LXX (Brenton): If he draws back, my soul has no pleasure in him: but **the just shall live by my faith** (*ho de dikaios ek pisteōs mou zēsetai*).

8HevXIIgr: The preserved text reads: *"...but the just shall live by his faith"* — agreeing with the **MT** (*bĕ'emûnātô*, his faith) against the LXX (*pistis mou*, my faith). This is one of the clearest kaige corrections: the revision has changed "my faith" (LXX) to "his faith" (MT).

1QpHab Column VIII: The pesher quotes: *"...but the righteous shall live by his faithfulness"* (*bĕ'emûnātô*) — agreeing with the **MT** against the LXX. The pesher interprets this as: *"Its interpretation concerns all the doers of the Law in the house of Judah, whom God will deliver from the house of judgment, because of their suffering and because of their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness."*

The Critical Comparison: Habakkuk 2:4b in Four Traditions

Tradition	Reading	Possessive	Nuance
MT	*wĕtsaddîq bĕ'emûnātô yichyeh*	**his** (*-ô*, 3rd person masculine suffix)	The righteous person lives by his own faithfulness/reliability
LXX	*ho de dikaios ek pisteōs mou zēsetai*	**my** (*mou*, 1st person genitive)	The righteous person lives by **God's** faithfulness/faith
8HevXIIgr	*...ek pisteōs autou*	**his** (*autou*, 3rd	Corrected to agree with MT — his own

Tradition	Reading	Possessive	Nuance
	zēsetai	person genitive)	faithfulness
1QpHab	*bĕ'emûnātô*	**his**	Agrees with MT; interpreted as faithfulness to the Teacher of Righteousness

The NT Quotations — Three Uses, Three Different Readings

The verse is quoted three times in the New Testament. In each case the quotation is from a Greek text. Comparing the quotations with the four traditions above:

Romans 1:17 (Paul): *"For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, But **the righteous shall live by faith** (ho de dikaios ek pisteōs zēsetai)."*

Paul's quotation omits the possessive pronoun entirely — no "his" and no "my." This is **neither the MT nor the LXX** strictly, but a shortened form of both. Omitting the pronoun makes the verse work as a statement about faith in general — the righteous person lives *by faith* (without specifying whose faith).

Galatians 3:11 (Paul): *"Now that no man is justified by the law before God, is evident: for, **The righteous shall live by faith** (ho dikaios ek pisteōs zēsetai)."*

Again Paul omits the pronoun and uses the shorter form. His argument is about the contrast between law and faith — making the verse a general statement about the mode of living rather than about one party's faithfulness.

Hebrews 10:38 (unknown author): *"But **my righteous one shall live by faith** (ho de dikaios mou ek pisteōs zēsetai): and if he shrink back, my soul hath no pleasure in him."*

Hebrews reads *"my righteous one"* (*dikaios mou*) — following neither the MT nor the standard LXX exactly. The *mou* (my) is attached to *dikaios* (righteous one) rather than to *pisteos* (faith). Hebrews also includes the surrounding verse (the soul that draws back having no pleasure) — which connects to the LXX's context for verse 4. The Hebrews form appears to draw on a Greek text tradition that had *mou* but placed it differently from the standard LXX.

The theological implications:

The three NT uses deploy the verse for three different theological purposes: - **Romans 1:17**: Foundation of the entire doctrine of justification by faith — the gospel reveals God's righteousness *from faith to faith* - **Galatians 3:11**: Proof that the Mosaic law cannot justify — the righteous live by faith, not law-observance - **Hebrews 10:38**: Encouragement to perseverance — God's righteous people live by faith and must not draw back

None of the three NT quotations precisely matches any of the four ancient textual traditions. The NT authors are either quoting a text form now lost, deliberately adapting the text to their argument, or working from a Greek tradition intermediate between the forms preserved in the LXX manuscripts and 8HevXIIgr.

Variance Notes: - **[VAR — Most Theologically Significant in the Minor Prophets]** The difference between "his faith" (MT, 8HevXIIgr, 1QpHab) and "my faith" (LXX) is a single Hebrew letter: the suffix *-ô* (his, masculine third person) vs. the suffix *-î* (my, first person). In unpointed Hebrew, these suffixes can be confused in copying. The LXX translator read (or had in his Vorlage) *bĕ'emûnātî* (my faithfulness); the MT has *bĕ'emûnātô* (his faithfulness). - If the MT is correct (*his* faith): the verse is about the righteous person's own faithfulness/trustworthiness sustaining his life — an anthropological claim about human virtue. - If the LXX is correct (*my* faith): the verse is about God's faithfulness sustaining the righteous — a theological claim about divine reliability. - Paul's and Galatians's omission of the pronoun makes the verse work for a third reading: the righteous person lives *in the sphere of* faith — faith as the mode of existence for the righteous, abstracted from the question of whose faith. - **The Reformation's central text rests on a reading found in none of the ancient manuscripts precisely.** Luther's *sola fide* translates Hab 2:4 as the just living *by faith* — an abstraction that neither the MT's "his faithfulness" nor the LXX's "my faithfulness" quite supports, though Paul's abbreviated quotation (omitting the pronoun) is Luther's direct source.

Part Three: Micah — The Bethlehem Prophecy

Micah 5:1–3 — "Out of Thee Shall Come Forth a Ruler"

This passage is quoted in Matthew 2:6 as the biblical basis for identifying Bethlehem as the Messiah's birthplace. The traditions diverge significantly.

MT (ASV) — Micah 5:2: But thou, **Beth-lehem Ephrathah**, which art little to be among the thousands of Judah, out of thee shall one come forth unto me that is to be **ruler in Israel**; whose goings forth are from of old, from **everlasting** (*mîmê 'ôlâm*).

LXX (Brenton) — Micah 5:2: And thou, **Bethleem**, house of Ephratha, art few in number to be reckoned among the thousands of Juda; yet out of thee shall one come forth to me, to be a ruler of Israel; and **his goings forth were from the beginning, even from eternity** (*ap' archēs ex hēmerōn aiōnos*).

8HevXIIgr: Partially preserved at Micah 5. The fragments confirm kaige corrections at several points but the crucial verse 2 is not clearly preserved in the surviving fragments.

Matthew 2:6 (NT quotation): And thou **Bethlehem**, land of Judah, art in no wise least among the princes of Judah: for out of thee shall come forth a governor, who shall be **shepherd** of my people Israel.

Variance Notes: - **[VAR — Matthew's Composite Quotation]** Matthew 2:6 does not precisely match any known ancient text of Micah 5:2. It combines elements from several traditions: - MT: *"little to be among the thousands"* → Matthew: *"in no wise least among the princes"* — Matthew reverses the sense! The MT says Bethlehem is *small*; Matthew says it is *not the least*. Matthew appears to be quoting from memory, paraphrasing, or working from a Greek tradition not preserved in LXX manuscripts. - *"shepherd of my people Israel"*: This phrase does not appear in

either the MT or LXX of Micah 5:2. Matthew has added it — possibly from 2 Samuel 5:2 (*"thou shalt feed my people Israel"*) or from another OT shepherd-ruler tradition. This is a **composite quotation**. - Matthew identifies the ruler as *"a governor"* (*hēgoumenos*) — the same Greek word the LXX uses for the ruler.

- **[VAR]** MT: *"from everlasting"* (*mîmê ʾôlâm*, literally "from days of eternity/old") — LXX: *"from eternity"* (*ex hēmerōn aiōnos*, "from days of eternity"). The LXX closely follows the MT here. The phrase has been interpreted both as referring to the ancient origins of the Davidic dynasty (historical reading) and as an affirmation of the Messiah's pre-existence (Christological reading). The early church read it Christologically; the LXX's *"from eternity"* (*aiōnos*) supported this reading.
- **[VAR]** MT: *"Beth-lehem Ephrathah"* — LXX: *"Bethleem, house of Ephratha"* — Matthew: *"Bethlehem, land of Judah."* Matthew's *"land of Judah"* (*gē Iouda*) for MT's *"Ephrathah"* suggests he is either working from a different textual tradition or substituting a more geographically explicit identification.

Micah 5:3 — The Remnant Returns

MT (ASV): Therefore will he give them up, until the time that she who travaileth hath brought forth: then the remnant of his brethren shall return unto the children of Israel.

LXX (Brenton): Therefore shall he appoint them to wait till the time of her that travails: she shall bring forth, and then the remnant of their brethren shall return to the children of Israel.

8HevXIIgr: Partially preserved. The kaige correction is visible at the phrase *"remnant of their brethren"* — aligning with the MT against a slightly different LXX formulation.

Variance Notes: - **[VAR]** MT: *"the remnant of **his** brethren"* — LXX: *"the remnant of **their** brethren."* The possessive changes the reference: "his" (MT) refers back to the ruler of v.2 — his kinsmen, the remnant of the Davidic tribe; "their" (LXX) refers more broadly to the people. A single letter difference in Hebrew (*ʾechâyw*, "his brothers" vs. *ʾachêhem*, "their brothers") with theological implications for whether the focus is the Davidic line or the people as a whole.

Part Four: Zechariah — "They Shall Look Upon Him Whom They Pierced"

Zechariah 12:10 — One of the Most Theologically Charged Verses in the Twelve Prophets

MT (ASV): And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplication; and they shall look unto **me** (*ʾēlay*) whom they have pierced; and they shall mourn for him (*ʾâlâyw*), as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his first-born.

LXX (Brenton): And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and compassion: and they shall look upon **me** (*eis eme*) because

they have mocked me, and they shall make lamentation for him (*ep' auton*) as for a beloved friend, and shall be grieved for him, as for a firstborn son.

8HevXIIgr: Partially preserved. The Nahal Hever scroll at Zechariah 12:10 is one of the most discussed fragments. The preserved text reads *"they shall look upon me"* — agreeing with both MT and LXX on the first-person *"me"*, but the subsequent clause is damaged.

NT Citations: - **John 19:37**: *"And again another scripture saith, They shall look on him whom they pierced"* — following a reading that has *"him"* (*auton*) rather than *"me"* (*eme*). John's quotation diverges from both the MT and the LXX. - **Revelation 1:7**: *"Behold, he cometh with the clouds; and every eye shall see him, and they that pierced him"* — John's apocalyptic vision draws on the same tradition.

The Grammatical Paradox

MT Zechariah 12:10 contains one of the most striking grammatical anomalies in the Hebrew Bible:

First clause: *"they shall look unto **me** (ʾēlay) whom they have pierced"* — God speaks in the first person (*me*), identifying himself as the one who has been pierced.

Second clause: *"and they shall mourn for **him** (ʾâlâyw)"* — the person mourned shifts from first person (*me*) to third person (*him*).

This **person shift** within a single verse — from *"me"* to *"him"* — is grammatically anomalous and has generated extensive interpretation. The MT's text as it stands implies that God himself is the pierced one, but the mourning is for a third party.

Variant tradition for "me": Several manuscripts (LXX manuscripts in the *Lucianic* recension, and a reading mentioned by Theodoret) have *"him"* (*autos*) rather than *"me"* (*eme*) in the first clause — reading the entire verse consistently in the third person: *"they shall look upon **him** whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him."* This is the reading that underlies John 19:37.

Tradition	First pronoun	Second pronoun	Source
MT	**me** (*ʾēlay*)	him (*ʾâlâyw*)	Standard MT
LXX (OG)	**me** (*eis eme*)	him (*ep' auton*)	Old Greek
LXX Lucianic	**him** (*auton*)	him (*auton*)	Later LXX recension
8HevXIIgr	**me** (partially preserved)	damaged	Kaige
John 19:37	—	**him** (*auton*)	NT quotes second clause only

Variance Notes: - **[VAR — Critical]** John 19:37 quotes only the second clause (*"they shall look on him whom they pierced"*) — taking the third-person *"him"* of the MT's second clause and making it the antecedent for the entire verse. This sidesteps the grammatical paradox in the MT by quoting the less anomalous half. - **[THEOL]** The early church's Christological reading of this

verse — identifying Jesus as the pierced one — required the third-person reading (*"him whom they pierced"*). The MT's first-person *"me"* is more theologically radical in one sense (God identifies himself as the pierced one) but more difficult to apply directly to Jesus. John's quotation takes the more interpretable path: *"him whom they pierced"* — applicable to Jesus's body pierced by the soldier's spear (John 19:34–37). - **[LXX]** The LXX's *"because they have mocked me"* (*anthi hōn katōrchēsanto*) for the MT's *"whom they have pierced"* (*'êt 'asher-dâqarû*) represents a completely different reading of the Hebrew verb *dâqar* (to pierce/stab). The LXX translator apparently read *raqad* (to dance/mock) rather than *dâqar* (to pierce) — a consonantal transposition error (*d/r* exchange). This is one of the clearest cases of translator misreading in the entire LXX.

Part Five: Nahum and Zephaniah — The Kaige Revision in Detail

Nahum 1:2 — "The Lord Is a Jealous God"

MT (ASV): Jehovah is a jealous God and avengeth; Jehovah avengeth and is full of wrath; Jehovah taketh vengeance on his adversaries, and he reserveth wrath for his enemies.

LXX (Brenton): God is jealous, and the Lord avenges; the Lord avenges with wrath; the Lord takes vengeance on his adversaries, and he cuts off his enemies.

8HevXIIgr: The scroll preserves portions of Nahum 1. The kaige revision at verse 2 corrects several LXX readings:

- LXX: *"he cuts off his enemies"* (*ektibon autou*) — 8HevXIIgr corrects to *"he reserves [wrath] for his enemies"* (*phylassei*) — agreeing with the MT (*wĕnôtēr*) against the OG

Variance Notes: - **[VAR]** The LXX's *"he cuts off his enemies"* translates a Hebrew verb differently from the MT's *"he reserveth [wrath]"* (*nâtar*, to keep/reserve). The 8HevXIIgr correction demonstrates the kaige reviser's method: identifying points where the OG has used a contextually plausible but incorrect rendering and correcting it to align with the MT's more precise vocabulary.

Zephaniah 3:17 — "He Will Rejoice Over Thee with Singing"

MT (ASV): Jehovah thy God is in the midst of thee, a mighty one who will save; he will rejoice over thee with joy, **he will rest in his love** (*yacharîsh bĕ'ahăbātô*), he will joy over thee with singing.

LXX (Brenton): The Lord thy God is in thee; the Mighty One shall save thee; he shall bring joy upon thee, **and shall refresh thee with his love** (*kainiei se en tē agapē autou*); and he shall rejoice over thee with delight as in a day of feasting.

8HevXIIgr: The scroll is partially preserved at Zephaniah 3. The phrase corresponding to *"he will rest in his love"* (MT) / *"refresh thee with his love"* (LXX) is damaged at the critical point.

Variance Notes: - **[VAR — Striking]** MT: *"he will rest/be silent in his love"* (*yacharîsh bĕ'ahăbātô*) — the Hebrew *châresh* means to be silent, to be still. The extraordinary image is of God being *silent* in his love — overcome with love to the point of speechlessness. LXX: *"shall refresh thee with his love"* (*kainiei se*) — the Greek *kainizō* means to renew/refresh. These are entirely different images. The MT presents divine love as silent wonder; the LXX presents it as renewal and refreshment. The difference may reflect a different Hebrew Vorlage (*yĕchaddesh*, "he will renew," a *chet/resh* and *daleth/shin* confusion) or an interpretive translation. - **[THEOL]** Zephaniah 3:14–17 is one of the most joyous passages in the Minor Prophets — addressed to "daughter Zion," commanding her to rejoice because God is in her midst. The image of God rejoicing over his people *"with singing"* (*yâgîl 'âlayik bĕrinnâh*) appears in both MT and LXX and has been read as a divine counterpart to the Magnificat's *"my soul doth magnify the Lord."*

Part Six: The Significance of the Kaige Revision for NT Textual History

The First-Century Greek Bible Landscape

By the first century C.E., there were at least three distinct Greek text traditions of the Minor Prophets circulating simultaneously:

1. **The Old Greek (OG/LXX)** — the original translation, made approximately 200–100 B.C.E., with relative freedom from the Hebrew, representing the Greek Bible known to most Diaspora Jews and to the earliest Christians.

2. **The Kaige revision (8HevXIIgr)** — the systematic correction of the OG toward the proto-MT, active approximately 50 B.C.E. – 50 C.E. This was used by Palestinian Jews committed to the Hebrew text's authority.

3. **Proto-Theodotionic readings** — closely related to the kaige revision, found in NT quotations that agree with the MT against the standard LXX. These suggest that some NT authors had access to revised Greek texts as well as the OG.

NT Authors and the Two Greek Traditions

The NT quotations from the Minor Prophets distribute across these traditions in a pattern that is not random:

Quotations following the Old Greek (LXX) against MT: - Acts 13:41 (Hab 1:5: "despisers" not "nations") - Romans 1:17; Galatians 3:11 (Hab 2:4: omitting the pronoun) - Acts 15:17 (Amos 9:12: "mankind" not "Edom") - Matthew 2:6 (Micah 5:2: complex composite)

Quotations following the MT against Old Greek: - John 19:37 (Zech 12:10: "him" not "me") - Matthew 27:9–10 (Zechariah 11:12–13 with Jeremiah attribution — complex)

Quotations matching neither tradition clearly: - Hebrews 10:38 (Hab 2:4: *"my righteous one shall live by faith"* — distinctive form)

This distribution pattern suggests that different NT authors drew on different Greek text traditions, and that by the first century C.E. the "Septuagint" was not a single stable text but a collection of divergent manuscripts representing both OG and kaige-revised forms.

The Barthélemy Thesis — Summary and Significance

Barthélemy's identification of the kaige recension (*Les Devanciers d'Aquila*, 1963) transformed Septuagint studies in three ways:

1. **It explained the puzzle of proto-Theodotionic readings in the NT.** Certain NT quotations that seemed to follow a non-LXX Greek text (agreeing with the MT against the OG) were not the NT authors quoting from memory or adapting the text — they were quoting from a genuine Greek text tradition (the kaige revision) that happened to agree with the MT.

2. **It established a trajectory from LXX to MT in the Greek tradition.** The movement was not from MT to LXX (translations getting progressively looser) but from OG (free) to kaige (corrected) to Aquila (maximally literal). The Reformation's tendency to privilege the MT over the LXX recapitulated — perhaps unknowingly — this same ancient trajectory.

3. **It demonstrated that the "Septuagint" is not a single document.** The OG and kaige recension are both "the Septuagint" in different senses. NT citations that agree with what we call the LXX may be quoting the OG; NT citations that agree with the MT may be quoting the kaige revision. The NT's relationship to the OT is not a relationship to a single text but to a living, plural tradition.

Appendix A: Summary Table of Major Minor Prophet Divergences

Passage	MT	OG (LXX)	8HevXIIgr	1QpHab / Other DSS	NT Usage	Type
Amos 9:12	"Edom" (*'Edôm*)	"mankind" (*anthrōpōn*)	Not preserved	—	Acts 15:17 follows LXX	[VAR — 1 letter]
Hab 1:5	"among the nations" (*baggôyim*)	"despisers" (*kataphronētai*)	Partially preserved	1QpHab: "traitors"	Acts 13:41 follows LXX/1QpHab	[VAR — Hebrew Vorlage]
Hab 2:4	"his faith" (*bĕ'emûnātô*)	"my faith" (*pisteōs mou*)	**Corrects to "his"**	1QpHab: "his faithfulness"	Rom 1:17; Gal 3:11; Heb 10:38 — all different	[VAR — 1 suffix letter]
Micah	"Beth-	"Bethleem,	Partially	—	Matt 2:6	[VAR +

Passage	MT	OG (LXX)	8HevXIIgr	1QpHab / Other DSS	NT Usage	Type
5:2	lehem Ephrathah"	house of Ephratha"	preserved		composite; *not* the least	NT composite]
Micah 5:3	"his brethren"	"their brethren"	Kaige correction	—	—	[VAR — pronoun]
Zech 12:10	"unto **me** … for **him**"	"**me** … for **him**"	"me" preserved	—	John 19:37 follows "him"	[VAR + THEOL]
Nah 1:2	"reserveth [wrath]"	"cuts off"	**Corrects to "reservet h"**	—	—	[VAR — kaige correction]
Zeph 3:17	"silent in his love"	"refresh with his love"	Damaged	—	—	[VAR — major image]

Appendix B: The Habakkuk Pesher (1QpHab) — A Summary

The Habakkuk Pesher is one of the most important documents from Qumran for understanding how the DSS community used biblical texts. Key features:

Method: The pesher quotes the biblical text verbatim column by column, then gives the *pesher* interpretation: *"its interpretation concerns…"* (*pishro 'al…*). The interpretation identifies the biblical actors with contemporary figures: the Chaldeans of Habakkuk become the Romans (Kittim); Habakkuk's wicked person becomes the "Wicked Priest" (probably the Hasmonean high priest); the prophet's complaint about injustice becomes the community's complaint about persecution by the Jerusalem establishment.

Biblical text: The 1QpHab Hebrew text of Habakkuk is not identical to the MT. At several points it agrees with the LXX against the MT (as at 1:5 where it reads *"traitors"* with the LXX against the MT's *"nations"*). At Hab 2:4 it agrees with the MT (*"his faithfulness"*). This mixed profile is typical of DSS biblical texts — not consistently proto-MT or proto-LXX but representing an independent Hebrew tradition.

Theological significance: The pesher interprets Habakkuk 2:4 (*"the righteous shall live by his faithfulness"*) as referring to *"all the doers of the Law in the House of Judah whom God will save from the house of judgment because of their suffering and their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness."* This is neither Paul's reading (faith as the mode of justification) nor the Reformation's reading (faith alone as opposed to works) but a communal, Torah-observant reading in which faithfulness to the Teacher of Righteousness saves the community. Three

contemporary readings of the same verse — Paul's, Luther's, Qumran's — all built on different nuances of the same ambiguous Hebrew *'emûnâh* (faithfulness/faith/fidelity).

Appendix C: Essential Scholarship for the Twelve Prophets and 8HevXIIgr

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