James Barker - Reconstruction of Kaige-Quinta
Zechariah 9,9

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In 1952 Bedouin discovered the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hēver (8HevXIIgr). Dominique Barthélémy designated the text as kaige, given its tendency (e. g., Zach 9,2) to translate וְ («also») as καίγε («even», «at least»). He identified the kaige of the Dodekapropheton as the source of Justin Martyr’s non-LXX quotations in Dialogue with Trypho. Barthélémy also posited the equivalence of the kaige and Origen’s Quinta, the «fifth» translation – besides the LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion – occasionally preserved in the Hexapla. Although this position gained initial acceptance, subsequent scholars rejected it because Justin’s quotation of Zach 9,9 in Dial. 53,3 does not match the Quinta of Zach 9,9 in Origen’s commentary on Matthew. The present note resolves the issue by demonstrating that in Dial. 53,3 Justin conflated the Old Greek (henceforth: OG) and the kaige recension of the Dodekapropheton. This reconstruction establishes the equivalence of the kaige and the Quinta in Zach 9,9.

Based on Justin’s agreements with 8HevXIIgr against the OG, Barthélémy identified the kaige as Justin’s source for the quotation of Mic 4,1–7 in Dial. 109,2–3. When Mic 4,3ba (cf. Isa 2,4ba) speaks of beating swords into ploughshares and beating spears into pruning knives, Justin and the kaige use μάχαιρα («short sword», «dagger») rather than ρομφαία («long sword»); also, Justin and the kaige use ζιβύνη/σιβύνη («spear») rather than δόρυ («spear»). Barthélémy generalized that other of Justin’s non-LXX readings – including Zach 9,9 in Dial. 53,3 – come from the kaige.

* I thank L. J. Greenspoon for comments on an earlier draft.

5 Barthélémy, Redécouverte, 20–21; idem, Devanciers, 210–211.
6 For וְ to the LXX uses μάχαιρα 150+ times and ρομφαία 250+ times.
7 In the LXX, שְׁפַיִן stands for זִיבֵה only twice (Isa 2,4; Jer 6,23), yet there are more than thirty instances of δόρυ for שְׁפַיִן.
8 Barthélémy, Devanciers, 211; see p. 221 for the qualification that in Dial. 53,3 Justin took πώλον δνου from John 12,15.
Barthélemy further argued for the equivalence in the Dodekapropheton of the *kaige* and the *Quinta*. Jerome interspersed *Quinta* readings in his commentaries on the Minor Prophets, yet only his citations of Mic 5,5; Hab 2,15; 3,13 can be checked against 8HevXIIgr. There Barthélemy found that the *kaige* scroll and Jerome’s *Quinta* align against the OG, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. The main obstacle for Barthélemy’s equation of the *kaige* and the *Quinta* comes from Origen’s only extant witness to the *Quinta* in the Minor Prophets. Origen transcribes the second half of Zach 9,9 in his commentary on the Gospel of Matthew (16,16, 180–193), but his quotation does not agree with Justin’s. Therefore George Howard concluded that Barthélemy had demonstrated mere kinship between the *kaige* and the *Quinta*. These versions of Zach 9,9 appear below.

| MT | יְרוּשָׁלָא יָבוֹא מִלְּכֵי יְהוָ֨ה | יְרוּשָׁלָא יָבוֹא מִלְּכֵי יְהוָ֨ה |
| OG | χαίρε σφόδρα θύγατερ Σιων—κήρυσσε θύγατερ Ἰερουσαλήμ | χαίρε σφόδρα θύγατερ Σιων—κήρυσσε θύγατερ Ἰερουσαλήμ |
| Dial. 53,3 | χαίρε σφόδρα θύγατερ Σιων—κήρυσσε θύγατερ Ἰερουσαλήμ |
| MT | אַדַּו † νבֶּה יִדֶע נַח נְפָת | אַדַּו † νבֶּה יִדֶע נַח נְפָת |
| OG | ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται σοι δίκαιος καὶ σῶζων αὐτός | ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται σοι δίκαιος καὶ σῶζων αὐτός |
| Dial. 53,3 | ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται σοι δίκαιος καὶ σῶζων αὐτός |
| MT | τοῦ ὅρκος ὑψὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρυθραίας | τοῦ ὅρκος ὑψὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρυθραίας |
| OG | πραξὶς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον | πραξὶς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον |
| Aquila | πραξὶς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον | πραξὶς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον |
| Symmachus | πτωχός καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον | πτωχός καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον |
| Theodotion | πτωχός καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον | πτωχός καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον |
| Quinta | καὶ πρᾶξις καὶ πτωχός ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον | καὶ πρᾶξις καὶ πτωχός ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον |

Whether the *kaige* and the *Quinta* are to be equated for all the Dodekapropheton lies beyond the scope of this note. The ensuing reconstruction does show that Justin’s *kaige* and Origen’s *Quinta* would be identical in Zach 9,9. Moreover, the differences between their quotations result from Justin’s own redactions. This recognition overturns the prevailing assumption that Justin exactly reproduced the *kaige* when quoting Zach 9,9 in Dial. 53,3. Justin’s differences from the

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10 Jerome does not include *Quinta* variants for Jonah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. On the *Quinta* of Amos, see J. M. Dines, Jerome and the Hexapla: The Witness of the Commentary on Amos, in A. Salvesen (ed.): Origen’s Hexapla and Fragments, TSAJ 58, 1998, 421–436, 432 n. 34.
11 Howard, Quinta, 21–22; 8HevXIIgr breaks off at the beginning of Zach 9,5.
12 Editions: BHS (MT); J. Ziegler, Götttingen Septuaginta 13 (OG); E. Klostermann, Matthäuserklaırung I, GCS 40, 1935 (Origen’s Hexapla); M. Marcovich, Justini Martyris Dialogue cum Tryphone, PTS 47, 1997 (Dial. 53,3).
OG are as follows: (1) ηξει («he will have come») rather than ἔρχεται («he comes»); (2) the »doublets« ἀλαλάζω («shout») and κηρύσσω («proclaim») as well as πραΰς («humble») and πτωχός («poor»); (3) πῶλον ὄνου («a colt of an ass») rather than πῶλον νέον («a young colt»).

Justin's first difference is putting ηξει in place of ἔρχεται. Morphologically ηκω is in the present tense («I am here»), but the sense is that of a perfect («I have come»). In effect, Justin's use of ηξει has Zechariah predict that the king «will have come». Although Hebrew cannot represent it, such prophetic future perfects appear in the LXX. In a passage Justin quotes elsewhere, Isaiah says that «the Lord himself will have come into judgment» (Isa 3,13–14a; Dial. 133,3b); there ηξει represents יבאו («he comes», «he will come»).

The question is whether Justin encountered ηξει in his kaige text of Zach 9,9. The LXX evenly translates יבאו as ἔρχομαι and as ήκω throughout the Dodekapropheton,14 and 8HevXIIgr nowhere appears to have changed ἔρχομαι to ήκω. The only verifiable evidence are the scroll's two occurrences of ηξει.15 In the OG and in 8HevXIIgr, ηξει stands for יבאו to denote the impending arrival of the Chaldeans in Hab 1,9. Then in Hab 2,3, where the MT uses an emphatic infinitive absolute to say that a vision »will surely come« (יִבְאוּ אֱלֹהִים, the OG and 8HevXIIgr say that »a coming (vision) will have come« (ἔρχομενος ήξει)). Since 8HevXIIgr maintains the OG's juxtaposition of ἔρχομαι and ήκω in Hab 2,3, the probability is that the kaige left ἔρχεται unchanged from the OG in Zach 9,9.

There is also positive evidence to suggest that Justin altered ἔρχεται to ηξει in the quotation of Zach 9,9. Elsewhere in Dialogue with Trypho (49,3) Justin described John the Baptist as a prophet who cried out that one stronger than he »will have come« (ηξει). Justin's Vorlage(n) would have said either that someone »comes« (ἔρχεται; Mk 1,7b; Luk 3,16c) or »is coming« (ἔρχόμενος; Mt 3,11a; Joh 1,27). I infer that ηξει in Dial. 53,3 represents Justin's redactional preference for the prophetic future perfect.

Justin's second difference from the GG concerns what Barthélémy calls doublets.16 These are quintessential text-critical conflations. I posit that Justin encountered the imperatives »proclaim« (κήρυσσε) in the OG and »shout« (ἀλαλάζον) in the kaige and that Justin incorporated both. Likewise »meek« (πραΰς) would come from the OG and »poor« (πτωχός) from the kaige.

The kaige would have contained no conflations, for it represents the earliest known revision of the OG.17 In other words, there was no Vorlage to provide a variant (vis-à-vis the OG) for the kaige to incorporate. The kaige instead conformed the OG to the Hebrew. For example, whereas the OG translates צבאות יוזוה («Lord of hosts/armies») as κύριος παντοκράτωρ («Lord almighty»), without exception 8HevXIIgr prints the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew followed by τῶν δυνάμεων («of the forces/troops»). The kaige was even concerned to match the word

14 Cf. twenty occurrences of ἔρχομαι and twenty-two of ήκω.
15 A third instance in 8HevXIIgr presumably stood in Mic 4,8 as in the OG.
16 Barthélemy, Devanciers, 211, 221; see also H. Köster, Septuaginta und Synoptischer Erzählungsstoff im Schriftbeweis Justins des Märtyrers, Habilitationsschrift, Heidelberg, 1956, 93 n. 6.
17 Kraft (review, 477) initially questioned whether the kaige would show systematic dependence on the OG, but Tov (8HevXIIgr, 99–158, esp. 102–106, 145–153) has settled the question. Some renderings would be impossible were the kaige an independent translation: Nah 3,12 MT compares fortresses to »a fig tree with first fruits» (συκαί σκοπ... (Τον, 8HevXIIgr, 104).
count of its proto-Masoretic Vorlage. In Zach 1,3 MT  צבאות יהוה appears three times. The OG writes כּוּרִiOS פָּנְטָקְרָתָּו in the first instance, omits the second phrase altogether, and abbreviates the third as כּוּרִiOS. By contrast 8HevXIIgr writes יָהֹה תְּזֵי דּוּנְיָמֶאֵּו all three times. Such concern for accuracy further diminishes the likelihood of conflations in the kaige.

Indeed no conflations occur in 8HevXIIgr. For example, its rendition of Mic 4,3 replaced long swords (ῥομφαία) with short swords (μάχαρα); a conflation would have included both. Corresponding to Origen's presentation of the Quinta, then, the kaige must have preferred πτωχός (»poor«) to πρά́υς (»humble«) for יָעָ (»poor«, »humble«) in Zach 9,9.18 Thus Justin would have read »humble and mounted« in the OG, as compared with »poor and mounted« in the kaige. Justin's awkwardly worded »and humble and poor, mounted« likely indicates his use of separate source texts. The most probable conclusion is that Justin conflated two Vorlagen.

Justin's final divergence from the OG concerns faunal terminology.19 According to the MT, Zach 9,9 placed the king upon »a he-ass« (ךְָּשָׁר) and »a male ass, an offspring of she-asses« (רֻצָּרוּשָׁר), which the OG translated loosely as »a yoke animal and a young colt« (ὑπόζυγιόν καὶ πῶλον νέον). Later renditions by the Evangelist Matthew as well as Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion changed ὑπόζυγιόν to ὄνος (»ass«); however, the Quinta maintained ὑπόζυγιόν for τὸν πῶλον τῆς ἀρνίν. Finding no disagreement between the OG and the Quinta in this instance, Justin wrote ὑπόζυγιόν.20

The final words πῶλον ὄνου (»a colt of an ass«) match neither the OG nor the Quinta, but the words do match the paraphrase of Zach 9,9 in Joh 12,15. Barthélemy concluded that Justin copied John's Gospel directly.21 Although Justin's use of John remains debated, of all known renditions of Zach 9,9 down to Origen's era, the final phrase »a colt of an ass« (πῶλον ὄνου) appears only in Joh 12,15 and Justin's writings.22 Also, the Fourth Gospel's influence – whether direct or indirect – is less complicated than Justin and John independently adapting the anarthrous πῶλον ὄνου from τὸν πῶλον τῆς ἀρνίν in Gen 49,11.23

In summary, the simplest explanation of the Zach 9,9 quotation in Dial. 53,3 is that Justin combined the OG and the kaige and that the Fourth Gospel influenced Justin. These conclusions yield the following reconstruction of kaige Zach 9,9:

18 Hab 3,14 uses πτωχός for יָעָ in 8HevXIIgr and the OG; the other verses containing יָעָ in the Dodekapropheton (Zeph 3,12; Zach 7,10; 9,9; 11,7,11) are not in 8HevXIIgr, so it is indeterminable whether the kaige consistently translated יָעָ as πτωχός.
19 F. Albrecht's recent work on Zach 9,9 is limited to these animal terms (F. Albrecht, Das Zwölfprophetenbuch und seine Rezeption im frühen Christentum am Beispiel Justins des Märtyrers, in: J. de Vries/M. Karrer [eds.], Textual History and the Reception of Scripture in Early Christianity, 130, 2013, 349–357, 354).
20 Justin's agreement with the Quinta against Aquila nullifies the supposition that later scribes conformed Justin's text to Aquila's recension; pace P. Katz, Justin's Old Testament quotations and the Greek Dodekapropheton Scroll, in Studia patristica, vol. 1, pt. 1, 1957, 343–353, 348.
21 Barthélemy, Devanciers, 221.
22 The phrase πῶλον ὄνου also appears in Justin's only other quotation of Zach 9,9 (1 Apol. 35,11), which shows no influence of the kaige.
"χαίρε σφόδρα, θύγατερ Σιων· ἀλάλαξον, θύγατερ Ἱεροσολύμων· ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς σου ἔρχεται σοι, δίκαιος καὶ σῶτερ αὐτός, πτωχὸς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκώς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον ὑλὸν δνων.«

"Rejoice greatly, daughter Zion! Shout, daughter Jerusalem! Look, your king comes to you: righteous and salvific is he, poor and mounted upon a yoke animal and a colt, an offspring of asses."

This reconstruction reveals Justin's scribal role in the transmission of Zach 9,9. In Dial. 53,3 Justin changed »comes« (ἔρχεται) to »will have come« (ηξει) to emphasize the certainty of Zechariah's prediction; the prophetic future perfect is a redactional Tendenz that Justin shows elsewhere (e.g., Dial. 49,3). Utilizing the OG and the kaige, Justin then conflated »shout« and »proclaim« (ἀλάλαξον, όρυσσε) as well as »poor« and »humble« (πτωχός καὶ πραός); the kaige would have contained no such conflations. Last, Justin's phrase »a colt of an ass« (πώλον ὁνων) was influenced by John 12,15. In conclusion, the idiosyncrasies of the quotation of Zach 9,9 in Dial. 53,3 result from Justin's careful redaction of multiple, extant biblical texts – hardly from his »characteristic carelessness« when quoting Scripture. Most importantly, the differences between Origen's and Justin's quotations of Zach 9,9 do not entail that the kaige and the Quinta represent altogether different revisions of the OG.

Abstract: Some of the non-LXX quotations from the Dodekapropheton in Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho match the kaige recension exactly. On that basis, the kaige has long been presumed to be the source behind Justin's quotation of Zach 9,9 in Dial. 53,3. This short note clarifies that in Dial. 53,3 Justin was actually conflating the Old Greek and the kaige. When Justin's redactions are removed, it can be seen that the reconstructed kaige of Zach 9,9 is identical to Origen's Quinta.

Résumé: Certaines des citations non-LXX du Dodéca prophéton dans le »Dialogue avec Tryphon« de Justin Martyr correspondent exactement à la Recension kaigé. Pour cette raison, la Recension kaigé a longtemps été considérée comme la source de la citation par Justin de Zach. 9,9, en Dialogue, 53,3. Cette brève note établit qu'en réalité les recensions Old Greek et kaige sont ici mélangées. Si l'on écarte la rédaction de Justin, la citation kaige reconstituée de Zach. 9,9 est identique à la Quinta d'Origène.

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