# JESUS' GENEALOGIES

## A Critical Survey of Ideas and Solutions

BY

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# Preface

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration. I readily acknowledge, however, the extent to which I have utilized the writings of other scholars, and I hope I have done justice to these sources in the course of the work.

Throughout the dissertation references to scholarly works have been made in an abbreviated form. This has eliminated the need to use *op. cit.*, *ibid.*, *idem.*, etc. Sources are indicated in round brackets by the date of publication followed by the volume number in Roman capital numerals, followed by the first page only, even though the source may extend into two or more pages; thus (E. H. Plumptre, 1897 III, 79). Where an author has two or more works published in the same year a lower case letter (a, b, c) follows the year of publication, thus (C. Gore, 1895b:462).

This dissertation was begun in 1984 as a part-time commitment and it could not have been executed without the encouragement of my good wife (now deceased) and my daughter, Rachel, who showed unselfish understanding, beyond her young years, in the final stages of this work.

I wish also to thank my supervisor for the first five years of research, Rev. Prof. Robert Davidson. Sometimes it is better to let one have one's own head and I am grateful to him for not applying a heavy hand to my endeavours!

The daily work of research would have been immeasurably less convenient without the rich resources of Queen's University Belfast and Glasgow University for the first two years of my research. But it was my move to Cambridge in 1986 that opened up the richer stores of knowledge held in the University Library and the facilities of Tyndale House Research Library (supplemented with occasional visits to the British Library) that enabled me to obtain a comprehensive grasp of the magnitude of the task I had embarked upon.

I am grateful to the Rev. Martin Smyth, MP, for the use of facilities in London while I was at the British Library. Lastly, special mention must be made of my dear frail mother, who saw so little of me during the past years but who always took an interest in my work. To the many friends who took an interest in the nine-year progress of this dissertation, I trust that they, and all who have an interest in the subject of Jesus' genealogies, will derive some benefit from reading it.

October 1993

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# Introduction

The New Testament is clear that Jesus is the Seed promised to Adam and Abraham, and the King promised to David. All of God's promises terminated in Jesus. He is the Prophet Moses prophesied would come; the High Priest of the New Covenant, and the promised Messiah.

The life of Jesus alone would have been sufficient attestation of who he was. His self-resurrection from the dead put his claim to have come from God on a footing that no man had ever claimed before. Prophets had raised people from the dead, but none had raised himself from the dead. The literal rising from the dead is held by the New Testament writers to be Jesus' crowning claim to, and demonstration of, deity—to be the only begotten Son of God.

All would have been harmonious had it not been for two conflicting genealogies given by Matthew and Luke, and the complication of an unusual method of being born into the royal house of David. This latter problem has been held by some to be incompatible with the attribution of a human father to Jesus. However, the Gospels' texts permit the two facts to stand alongside one another without cancelling each other out: the virgin conception happened, and Jesus was born into a human family. Facts are facts.

The former problem, the presence of two different genealogies for Jesus, is the subject of this dissertation. The first chapter is taken up with the central problem of why there are two genealogies given for Jesus, or rather, for his father, Joseph, and how commentators and writers through the ages have attempted to resolve this problem. Chapters two and three are taken up with internal problems within Matthew's genealogy, namely, why he has omitted three Davidic kings, and why he has omitted Jehoiakim who is needed to make up the fourteenth generation in the second series of fourteen names. Chapter four is taken up with the difficult phrase "as was supposed" which Luke uses when he introduces Jesus' genealogy.

The central difficulty with Jesus' genealogies lies in the relationship of his human father with his two grandfathers, and the relationship of Zerubbabel with his two human grandfathers. On these two relationships hang Jesus' claim to be Israel's Messiah.

One of the first issues to be resolved (but not dealt with in this thesis) is whether the Covenant Promise made to David made it clear that the future King (who would issue from his posterity) would, indeed, *must*, be a descendant of Solomon. Some think that the future Messiah could be a descendant of any one of David's fourteen wives. Others restrict it to one wife—Bathsheba. But even if Bathsheba is the mother, which of her children is he to spring from? Some say it could be from any of her four children, and so he could come from Nathan, which Luke's genealogy would seem to endorse. Others restrict it to Solomon's line. It would take this thesis beyond its limits to set out the debate in detail. The belief of mainstream Judaism,

ancient and modern, and the biblical texts, including the pivotal text of 2 Sam 7:12-16, unite to settle the question in favour of Solomon, and this understanding will be assumed to be correct for the purposes of this dissertation.

Chronologically, the second major issue is whether Jehoiachin was childless or not. Depending on one's answer to that, the relationship between Zerubbabel and his two grandfathers will be established, and will determine how the two genealogies are to be reconciled for that section of the two genealogies.

The third major issue is whether Joseph was the natural son of Jacob or not. Depending on one's answer to that, the relationship between Joseph and his two grandfathers will be established, and will determine how the two genealogies are to be reconciled for that part of the two genealogies.

Consequently, the resolution of Jesus' genealogies hinges on two relationships, that between Shealtiel and his father Jehoiachin, and that between Joseph and his father Jacob. Resolve these two relationships and the enigma of Jesus' genealogies disappears.

Apart from the nature of these two relationships, when the two genealogies are compared a number of other discrepancies appear. For instance, Matthew has only twenty-eight generations between David and Jesus whereas Luke has forty-three. Matthew has only five names, David, Shealtiel, Zerubbabel, Joseph, and Jesus in common with Luke. These are not critical issues and to some extent become irrelevant once the main issues are resolved.

Then again, the two genealogies have their own internal difficulties. Thus Matthew has omitted three kings from his list; he gives a total of forty-two generations, but lists only forty-one generations; he also omits Jehoiakim.

In Luke 3:36 we have an extra Cainan who is not included in Genesis 11:12, and finally we have in Luke 3:23 the phrase "as was supposed" which seems to negate the value of the genealogy. It is the intractable, and sometimes contradictory, nature of these discrepancies that threatens to destroy the categorical position of the NT writers that Jesus was indeed the terminus of the OT genealogies, its prophecies, and its types.

Without a clear resolution of the central difficulty these discrepancies create an impression of confusion, and in the absence of an immediate, obvious explanation, they have been used to disparage the genealogies, or by piling difficulty upon difficulty they have been used to discourage the reader from ever attempting to understand the purpose of the genealogies.

The aim of this dissertation has been to collect as many views as possible on the four chosen topics and then to come to some positive decision about each of the difficulties in the light of that research.

The four chosen topics are:
1. The reconciliation of the two genealogies of Jesus
2. The omission of three kings in Matthew
3. The omission of Jehoiakim in Matthew
4. The meaning of "as was supposed" in Luke 3:23

# Contents of Chapter one

# The reconciliation of the two genealogies of Jesus

# Chapter one

## I. The reconciliation of the two genealogies of Jesus

### Introduction

The diagram below represents the standard chart for reconciling the genealogies. Matthew gives the line of descent to the left of David through Solomon; and Luke gives the line of descent to the right of David through Nathan. The five names occupying the middle portion are common to both genealogies. The five are David, Shealtiel, Zerubbabel, Joseph and Jesus.

The two boxes are joined together by Shealtiel and Zerubbabel, and it is the relationship of Shealtiel to the two fathers above him that is the focus of attention and difficulty, and the first of the two main disputed points. The other disputed point is the relationship of Joseph to the two fathers above him. To complicate matters there are at least five main meanings given to the term "son," so that the number of combinations is increased when they are applied to these two disputed relationships in the standard diagram by those who have attempted to explain why there are two genealogies of Jesus in the Gospels.

**David**

Solomon      Nathan

Jechoniah      Neri

Shealtiel
Zerubbabel

Abiud      Rhesa

Jacob      Heli

Joseph m. Mary

**Jesus**
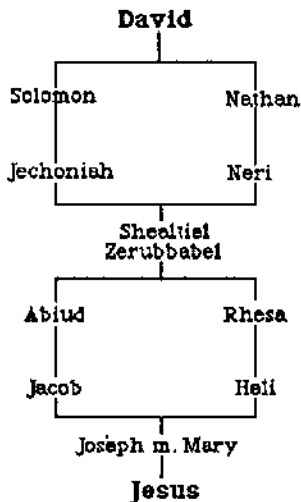
There are at least twenty ways of interpreting the diagram on the left. The permutations relate to the relation that Shealtiel sustains to Jechoniah and Neri, and the relation that Joseph sustains to Jacob and Heli.

There are five ways in which the term "son" can be understood.
1. By birth, and so in the natural sense a "son".
2. By marriage with a daughter, and so a "son-in-law".
3. By adoption.
4. By levirate marriage.
5. By succession.

Each of these options and combinations have been advocated at one time or another. In the case of no. 2 Joseph is regarded as having married Heli's daughter, Mary.

Every solution covered in the present work can be placed somewhere on the grid below using one or more marked squares to indicate the writer's preferences as regards the two initial, and crucial, decisions that must be made. The two squares already on the grid indicate the present writer's preferences. One square indicates that Shealtiel was the *natural* son of Jehoiachin, but that he was also (or became) the adopted son of Neri. The other marked square indicates that Joseph was the *natural* son of Jacob, but he was also (or became) the adopted son of Heli. The explanation for this solution will be set out at the conclusion of this chapter.

The test of any solution is the relationship between Shealtiel and Neri on the one hand, and between Joseph and Heli, on the other, and the following diagram sets out the wide range of options available.

PERMUTATIONS ON JESUS' GENEALOGIES
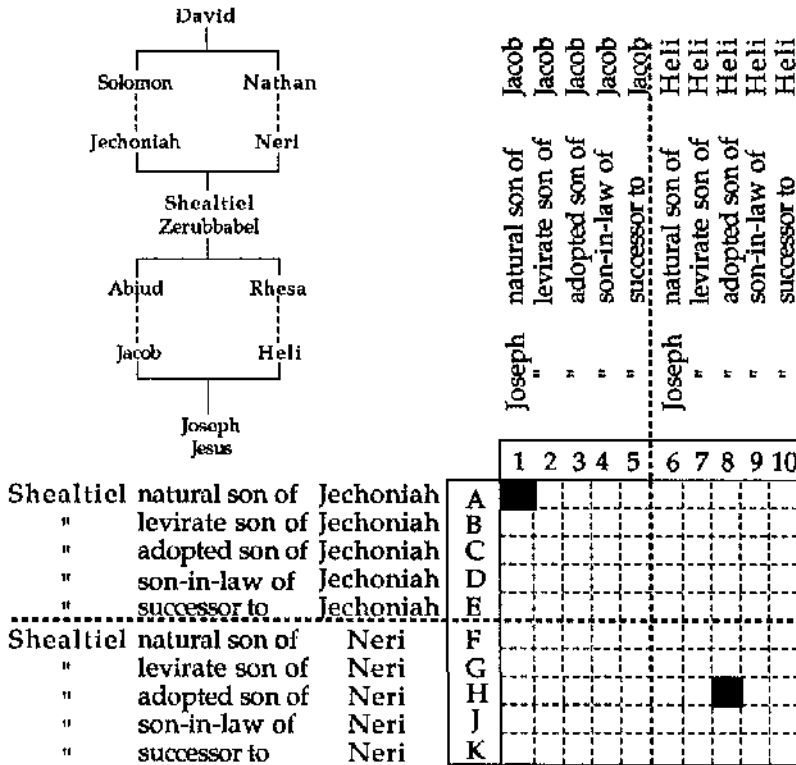


In the following section I shall set out the main disputed points that have a direct bearing on a resolution of the difficulty.

There is the relationship term "son" with its latitude of meaning (Diagram 1). This has has been exploited in all sorts of ways. Probably the meaning "son-in-law" is the preferred interpretation of the relationship between Shealtiel and Neri and between Joseph and Heli.

There is some doubt hanging over Solomon's line (Diagram 2). Did it ever become extinct? And if so, at what point? Some have suggested that it became extinct as far back as Joash, but most prefer to see its failure in Jehoiachin. The point at which it became extinct is not important. What is crucial is whether it did become extinct or not.

Those who favour a levirate marriage solution (Diagrams 3 and 4), have at least four strategic points where such a practice has been assumed to have taken place. Not everyone agrees on these points. The decided preference is for the two-levirate solution in the case of Shealtiel and Joseph.

Others have abandoned the idea that both genealogies are Joseph's, and assume that one is Mary's and the other is Joseph's (Diagram 5). But here the question is, which one is Mary's? The preponderant view is that Luke gives Mary's genealogy and Matthew gives Joseph's genealogy.

Sometimes connected with the above is the suggestion that the two names common to both genealogies, namely, Shealtiel and Zerubbabel, are not the same persons (Diagram 6). But this is a minority view.

### Son-in-law

```
              David
        ┌───────┴───────┐
     Solomon          Nathan
        ┊                ┊
    Jechoniah          Neri
        └──── son-in-law ──┘
            Shealtiel
            Zerubbabel
        ┌───────┴───────┐
     Abiud             Rhesa
        ┊                ┊
     Jacob             Heli
        └──── son-in-law ──┘
             Joseph
             Jesus
```

### Failure of Solomon's line

```
              David
        ┌───────┴───────┐
     Solomon          Nathan
        │                ┊
   Rehoboam             ┊
        ┊                ┊
     Joash              ┊
      ╪╪                ┊
       └──→ Ahaziah     ┊
                ┊       ┊
            Jechoniah   ┊
              ╪╪        ┊
               └──→ Neri
                    │
                 Shealtiel
                 Zerubbabel
```

### Four Levirate marriages

```
              David
        ┌───────┴───────┐
     Solomon          Nathan
        ┊                ┊
    Jechoniah          Neri
        └── levirate ──┘
     Shealtiel       Pedaiah
        └── levirate ──┘
            Zerubbabel
        ┌───────┴───────┐
     Abiud             Rhesa
        ┊                ┊
    Eleazar            Levi
        └── levirate ──┘
             Matthan
            (=Matthat)
        ┌───────┴───────┐
     Jacob             Heli
        └── levirate ──┘
             Joseph
             Jesus
```

### At least Two Levirate marriages

```
              David
        ┌───────┴───────┐
     Solomon          Nathan
        ┊                ┊
    Jechoniah          Neri
        └── levirate ──┘
            Shealtiel
               │
            Zerubbabel
        ┌───────┴───────┐
     Abiud             Rhesa
        ┊                ┊
    Eleazar            Levi
        │                │
     Matthan           Matthat
        │                │
     Jacob             Heli
        └── levirate ──┘
             Joseph
             Jesus
```

### Luke is Mary's genealogy

```
            Zerubbabel
        ┌───────┴───────┐
     Abiud             Rhesa
        ┊                ┊
    Eleazar           Joseph
        ┊                │
        ┊              Jannai
        ┊                │
     Matthan           Melki
        ┊                │
        ┊              Levi
        ┊                │
        ┊             Matthat
     Jacob             Heli
        │                │
     Joseph            Mary
        └───────┬───────┘
              Jesus
```

### Two Zerubbabels

```
              David
        ┌───────┴───────┐
     Solomon          Nathan
        ┊                ┊
    Jechoniah          Neri
        │                │
    Shealtiel         Shealtiel
    Zerubbabel        Zerubbabel
        │                │
     Abiud             Rhesa
        ┊                ┊
     Jacob             Heli
        └───────┬───────┘
             Joseph
             Jesus
```

One of the first decisions that has to be made concerns the prophecy of Jeremiah 22:30 that Jehoiachin would be "childless." There are two possible avenues to pursue. If he was childless, then Shealtiel was not a direct descendant of Solomon despite Jer 33:30, "David shall never lack a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel." If he was not childless then Shealtiel may have been a direct descendant of Solomon, which Matthew's genealogy seems to imply.

```
        David                              David
    ┌─────┴─────┐                     ┌──────┴──────┐
Solomon       Nathan              Solomon         Nathan
   │            │                    │               │
Jechoniah      Neri              Jechoniah         Neri
┌────────┐      │                    │          ┌────────┐
│childless│     │                    │          │childless│
└────────┘  Shealtiel             Shealtiel     └────────┘
           Zerubbabel            Zerubbabel
        ┌─────┴─────┐            ┌─────┴─────┐
     Abiud        Rhesa       Abiud        Rhesa
       │            │           │            │
     Jacob         Heli       Jacob         Heli
        └─────┬─────┘            └─────┬─────┘
         Joseph m. Mary          Joseph m. Mary
              │                        │
           Jesus                    Jesus
```
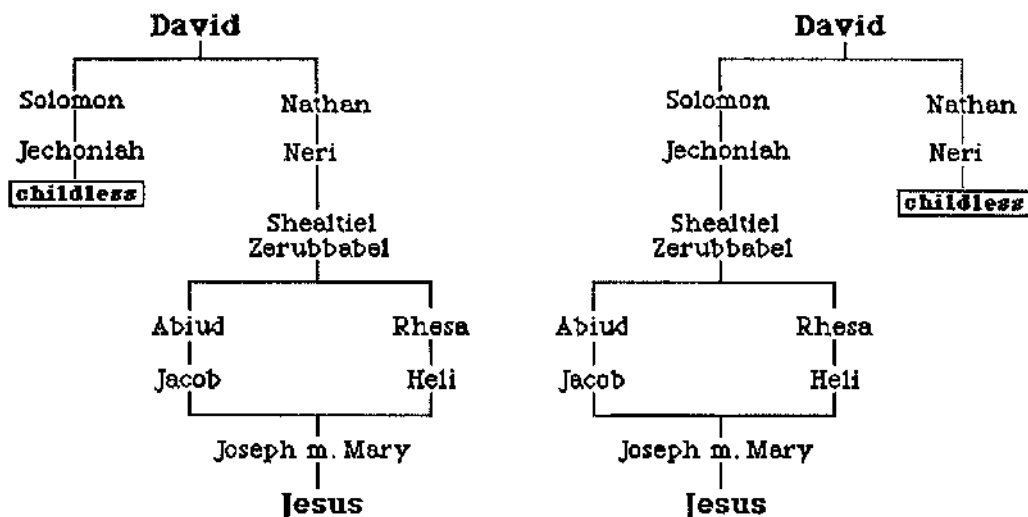
The second decision that has to be made concerns the father of Joseph. Here again there are two choices. Either he was the natural son of Jacob (Matthew) or the natural son of Heli (Luke). But in either case Joseph would be a direct descendant of Solomon *if*, higher up the genealogy, Shealtiel was the natural son of Solomon. It is Shealtiel's connection with Jehoiachin that determines whether Joseph has a direct connection with Solomon or not.

## 1.    Reconciling the two genealogies of Jesus

Matthew states that Jacob was Jesus' grandfather, whereas Luke states that it was Heli. Which of them is correct? There are three main solutions. First, Jacob and Heli may have been half brothers—sons of the same mother—by different fathers, Matthan and Matthat, or these two may be different forms of the name of the same person, and one of the two brothers may have died without issue, and the other married his widow to raise up seed unto his brother. This is commonly known as Africanus' solution.

The second solution is that Joseph was the natural son of Jacob and the son of Heli by adoption, or vice versa. On either of these assumptions, both the genealogies give Joseph's descent. This would be sufficient, as Matthew's record shows, to place the son of Mary in the position of being heir of the house of David.

We have, however, on these two theories, to account for the fact that two different genealogies were carefully preserved in the family of Joseph; and the explanation offered is natural enough. Matthew it is said, gives the line of kingly succession, the names of those who were one after another the heirs of the royal house; while Luke gives those who were Joseph's natural parents, descending from David as the parent stock, but through the line of

Nathan, and taking by adoption its place in the royal line when that had become extinct. The fact that from David to Salathiel (=Shealtiel) Matthew gives us the line of kings, and Luke that of those who were outside the line, is so far in favour of this hypothesis (so says E. H. Plumptre, 1897:2-4, 262-63).

The third solution is that Matthew gives Joseph's genealogy and Luke gives Mary's genealogy through her father Heli, or vice versa. Most solutions are modifications of one or other of these three solutions.

Every term relating to family relationships has been explored, exploited, and exhausted. Matthew's use of the verb "to beget" has been given meanings such as "to adopt," "to succeed," as well as the usual "to father a son." So, for example, V. Taylor (1920:89 n. 2) contended that "the verb ἐγέννησεν is used throughout [Mt 1:1-17] of legal, not physical descent."

I have chosen to present the various solutions in their chronological order and to include with them any modified schemes, so that the same diagram, and/or objections, and support, can be brought together with the minimum of repetition.

## 1.1. Julius Africanus (Levirate marriage)

The earliest solution for the two discrepant lists in Matthew 1 and Luke 3 was that given by Africanus (AD 240). F. H. Dunwell (1876:604) has summed up the essence of Africanus' solution which was contained in a letter to Aristides. Africanus states that the solution he received was handed down to him as the explanation given by Jesus' own kinsmen (Euseb. *H. E.* i. 7; cf. M. J. Routh, 1846 II, 233). According to this received tradition, Matthan and Matthat successively married the same woman, and had each a son by her. Matthan had by her a son Jacob. On Matthan's death, Matthat married Estha, and had by her a son Heli. Thus, through their mother, Jacob and Heli, though of different families, were half-brothers. Again, Heli having married and having died without issue, his brother Jacob married his widow, and had by her a son Joseph, who, by nature was Jacob's son, but, by the Jewish law of levirate, was reckoned the son of his deceased brother Heli. This solution was accepted by Eusebius (AD 339), Gregory Nazianzus (AD 390), Ambrose (AD 397), Jerome (AD 420), Augustine (AD 430), V. Bede (AD 673-735) (1843 X, 357), Euthymius (12th. cent.), and Thomas Aquinas (1225?-1274).

The actual text of Africanus' view is given below. It has been taken from H. L. Lawlor & J. E. L. Oulton, (1954 I, 19-21). Underlined words are translated differently in the Loeb edition by Kirsopp Lake (1926) whose translation is sometimes set within square brackets. My own comments are in bold type. The words of Africanus are as follows:

I.VII.1] But since Matthew and Luke in writing their Gospels have presented to us the genealogy of Christ in different forms, and most people imagine that they are discordant; and since every believer through ignorance of the truth has been eager to multiply words on these passages, <u>we must quote</u> [come, let us set out] the account of them that has come down to us, which Africanus, of whom we spoke a short time ago, mentions in a letter he wrote to Aristides on the harmony of the <u>genealogy</u> in the Gospels. Having refuted the opinions of the others as unnatural and utterly mistaken, he *sets forth the account* he himself had received in these very words:

[I.VII.2] For inasmuch as the names of the families in Israel used to be numbered either by nature or by law: by nature, when there was actual offspring to succeed; and by law, when another begat a son in the name of his brother who had died childless (for as no clear hope of a resurrection had as yet been given, they represented the future promise under the figure of a mortal resurrection, so that the name of the departed one might never cease to exist)—since, then, as regards those included in this genealogy, **[He is not thinking in terms of 'Christ's genealogy' inclusive of Matthew and Luke, but of the case of a genealogy ensuing from the operation of the above law.]** some succeeded by natural descent, the son to the father, while others, though born to one father, were assigned by name to another, mention was made of both, those who had [actually] begotten sons, as well as those regarded as having begotten them. **[At this point he makes a sudden switch to the problem of the Gospel genealogies.]** Thus neither of the Gospels says what is untrue, since there is reckoned both by nature and by law. For the families, namely that which took its descent from Solomon and that from Nathan, became so mutually involved, by <u>resurrections</u> of childless men and second marriages and <u>resurrection</u> of offspring, that the same persons were justly considered to belong at one time to one, at another to another: now to their reputed fathers, now to their actual. **[If this is so in the case of Christ's genealogy then we would expect to find some names common to both descents but the fact that there are no names common to the post-Exilic and pre-Exilic lists shows that there is no randomness in listing the fathers, as Africanus suggests. The only example that illustrates his idea is Joseph. He appears to be applying theoretical possibilities to a specific genealogy (Christ's) which may not be valid.]** So that both accounts are in accordance with the exact truth, and descend to Joseph in a complex, yet accurate, manner.

But to make clear what has been said, I shall give an account of the interchange of the families. <u>If</u> **[Why does he say 'If' here? Is he presenting a theoretical situation that might be plausible? "If' is not in the Greek text.]** we reckon the generations from David through Solomon, the third from the end is found to be *Matthan*, who *begat Jacob*, the father of Joseph. But <u>if</u> **[Again "If' is not in the Greek.]** from *Nathan the son of David* according to Luke <u>the third from the end</u> **[The Loeb edition has: 'the corresponding third from the end' which would allow Levi and Matthat to remain in the text Africanus used.]** was, similarly, Melchi. For *Joseph* was *the son of Heli, the son of Melchi.* Joseph being, then, the object at which we aim, we must show how each of the two is recorded to be his father: namely Jacob, tracing his descent from Solomon, and Heli from Nathan; and, before that, how these same persons, namely Jacob and Heli, were two brothers; and, before that again, how their fathers, Matthan and Melchi, though of different families, are declared to be Joseph's grandfathers. Well then, both Matthan and Melchi, marrying in turn the same wife, begat children who were brothers <u>by the same mother,</u> for the law does not prevent a widow marrying another, whether she be divorced or her husband is dead. So then from Estha (for tradition asserts that this was the woman's name) **[The mention of this tradition takes his narrative out of the realm of the theoretical and brings us face to face with purported fact.]** first Matthan, who traced down his family from Solomon, begat Jacob; and, on the death of Matthan, Melchi, who traced

his descent back to Nathan, married the widow, being of the same tribe but another family, as I said before; and of her had a son Heli. Thus we shall find Jacob and Heli brothers with the same mother, though of two different families; of whom the former, Jacob, on the death without issue of his brother Heli, took his wife and from her in the third place [from Estha] [The Loeb edition has: "and begat of her the third, Joseph, . . . "; and in a footnote says: 'That is, the third from Estha.' This could mean the third generation from Heli which would be correct because Melchi is the third generation back from Heli.. Or it might mean that Joseph was Jacob's third natural son. The Greek is: ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τρίον τὸν Ἰωσήφ.] begat Joseph, who according to nature was his own son [Loeb: "and begat of her the third, Joseph, according to nature, for himself"] (and also according to Scripture: for it is written, *and Jacob begat Joseph*); but according to law he was the son of Heli. For Jacob, being his brother, *raised up seed* to Heli. Therefore also the genealogy traced through him will not be rendered void, though in reckoning it Matthew the evangelist says: *and Jacob begat Joseph;* and Luke on the other hand: Who was, *as was supposed* (for indeed he adds this), *the son of Joseph, the son of Heli, the son of Melchi.* For he could not express more distinctly the descent according to law, and he abstains from using the word "begat" with reference to this kind of procreation right up to the end, tracing the genealogy up to *Adam, the son of God,* backwards.

Nor is this a rash interpretation or incapable of proof. At all events, the Saviour's kinsmen according to the flesh, whether stirred by the love of advertisement or by the single desire to instruct—in any case telling the truth—have handed down this tradition also. [The use of 'also' here suggests that Africanus is not quoting the kinsmen's version directly but a report from a third party which he believes coincided with what the Lord's kinsmen have handed down. [Eusebius says: "from an account that came down to him [Africanus]" see a few lines further down] (End of quote from Eusebius.)]

Now, whether the two traditions tallied in every detail is open to doubt because Africanus does not mention any person between himself and these kinsmen to verify that what they handed down is the same version as he has related above. According to the Loeb translation there is no 'also' but it could well be inherent in the words 'παρέδοσαν καὶ ταῦτα.'

### The Bryennios Manuscript

The Bryennios edition of the Didache contains an interesting fragment which attempts to reconcile the two debated points in Jesus' genealogies, namely, the paternity of Joseph and Mary's Davidic descent. The editor of the work containing the fragment was Philotheros Bryennios, Metropolitan of Nicomedia (1883:148-49).

On the origin of the composition of the fragment little is known except for the note which Bryennios made at the beginning of the Greek text, which reads: "At the end of the manuscript on pages 120a-120b, after the 'completed in the month of June on the eleventh, the third day [of the week, i.e. Tuesday], during the ninth indication, during the year 6564, by the hand of Leon the notary and the sinner', there is written in the same hand of the same Leon: "Joseph, the husband of Mary. . . . etc." This is simply a notice of

who copied out the work. The work is very much older than AD 1056, but by how much it is not possible to guess.

The date put on the copy by the scribe is given according to the Byzantine system of dating whereby events are dated from 5508 BC, so that 6564 corresponds to AD 1056. The indiction refers to the fifteen-year cycle of taxes, and AD 1056 was indeed year nine in this cycle.

J. Rendel Harris (1885) was permitted to photograph three pages of the original manuscript which Bryennios had edited. Fortunately he chose as one of the pages to photograph folio 120a which contained 148 words (or 61%) of the fragment on Jesus' genealogy. The anonymous fragment is 242 words long and written in a very untidy hand with an inordinate number of abbreviations. Harris published a 12-page pamphlet of his work in 1885.

His transcription of the fragment differs very little from that given by Bryennios, except for the punctuation. The transcription by M. D. Johnson (1969:273) is not to be trusted. We give Harris' transcription as far as it goes (i.e, vv. 1-9) and then follow Bryennios' published transcription for the remainder of the text. For convenience I have divided the fragment into two paragraphs and thirteen verses.

The Greek Fragment

(1) Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀνὴρ Μαρίας ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκ Λευιτικῆς φυλῆς κατάγεται ὡς ὑπέδειξαν οἱ θεῖοι εὐαγγελισταί, (2) ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ματθαῖος ἐκ Δαυὶδ διὰ Σολομῶντος κατάγει τὸν Ἰωσήφ, ὁ δὲ Λουκᾶς διὰ Νάθαν· Σολομῶν δὲ καὶ Νάθαν υἱοὶ Δαυίδ· (3) παρεσιώπησαν δὲ οἱ εὐαγγελισταὶ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου τὴν γέννησιν· ἐπεὶ δὴ οὐκ ἦν ἔθος ἑβραίοις οὐδὲ τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ γενεαλογεῖσθαι γυναῖκας. (4) νόμος δὲ ἦν μὴ μνηστεύεσθαι φυλὴν ἐξ ἑτέρας φυλῆς. (5) ὁ γοῦν Ἰωσὴφ Δαυιτικοῦ καταγόμενος φύλου πρὸς μνηστείαν τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον ἠγάγετο ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους οὖσαν· (6) δείξαντες δὲ τὸ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ γένος ἠρκέσθησαν.

(7) ἦν δὲ νόμος ἀγόνου ἀνδρὸς τελευτῶντος τὸν τούτου ἀδελφὸν ἄγεσθαι πρὸς γάμον τὴν γαμετὴν καὶ ἐγείρειν σπέρμα τῷ τελευτήσαντι. (8) τὸ γοῦν τικτόμενον κατὰ φύσιν μὲν ἦν τοῦ δευτέρου ἤτοι τοῦ γεγεννηκότος κατὰ νόμον δὲ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος. (9) Ἐκ τῆς σειρᾶς τοίνυν τοῦ Νάθαν τοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυίδ, Λευὶ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Μελχί, ἐκ δὲ τῆς σειρᾶς Σαλομῶντος Ματθὰν ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰακώβ· (10) τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ματθάν, Μελχὶ ὁ υἱὸς Λευί, ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ Νάθαν, ἔγημε τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Ἰακώβ, καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸν Ἡλί. (11) Ἐγένοντο οὖν ἀδελφοὶ ὁμομήτριοι Ἰακὼβ καὶ Ἡλί· ὁ μὲν Ἰακὼβ ἐκ φυλῆς Σολομῶντος, ὁ δὲ Ἡλὶ ἐκ φυλῆς Νάθαν. (12) Ἐτελεύτησεν οὖν Ἡλὶ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ Νάθαν ἄπαις, καὶ ἔλαβεν Ἰακὼβ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἀνέστησε σπέρμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ. (13) Ὁ τοίνυν Ἰωσὴφ φύσει μέν ἐστιν υἱὸς τοῦ Ἰακώβ, τοῦ ἀπὸ Σολομῶντος καταγομένου, νόμῳ δὲ Ἡλί, τοῦ ἐκ Νάθαν.

(1) Joseph, the husband of Mary from whom the Christ was born, was, as the holy evangelists indicate, descended from the family of Levi. (2) Matthew, however, makes Joseph the descendant of David by way of Solomon, whereas Luke traces his descent through Nathan. Solomon and Nathan were sons of David. (3) The evangelists make no mention of the birth of the holy virgin, because it was the law [or custom] neither of the Hebrews nor of the sacred

Scripture to trace the descent of women. (4) But there was a law that a family should not take a wife from another family. (5) So Joseph, being descended from the family of David, took the holy virgin in marriage, since she was of the same lineage; (6) and it was sufficient for them to demonstrate the lineage of Joseph.

(7) It was the law that if a man died without issue, his brother should take the widow in marriage, and raise up seed for the dead man. (8) The child, when born, was by nature [the son] of the second [brother], the one who had sired him; but in law he was [the son] of the dead [brother]. (9) So from the line of Nathan son of David, Levi became the father of Melchi; from the line of Solomon, Matthan became the father of Jacob; (10) and after the death of Matthan, Melchi the son of Levi, the one who was of the family of Nathan, married the mother of Jacob and from her became the father of Heli. (11) So Jacob and Heli were [half-] brothers on their mother's side: Jacob was of the family of Solomon, and Heli of the family of Nathan. (12) Heli, who was of the family of Nathan, died childless; and Jacob his brother took [Heli's] wife and became the father of Joseph, and raised up seed for his brother. (13) So Joseph was by nature the son of Jacob, the one who was descended from Solomon, but in law he was the son of Heli of the family of Nathan.

(I am indebted to Dr. Stephen C. Todd of Keele University for the English translation of this fragment.)

## Observations.

V.1a The phrase Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀνὴρ Μαρίας ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη ὁ Χριστὸς is almost a direct quote from Mt 1:16 with a few minor changes. The quotation was clearly intended to recall the Gospel passage.

V.1b. The phrase ἐκ Λευιτικῆς φυλῆς is not the usual manner in which the writer refers to someone's family or tribe. Compare vv. 10–12 ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ Νάθαυ ἐκ φυλῆς Σολομῶντος ἐκ φυλῆς Νάθαυ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ Νάθαν. There would appear to be some emphasis in the word order ἐκ Λευιτικῆς φυλῆς, emphasising the point that it was Levi's tribe over against all the others that someone belonged to. The question is who is he referring to? Is it a positive statement about Joseph or Mary?

Grammatically, the notice that Joseph was of the 'family of Levi' could mean (1) the tribe of Levi; or (2) the individual called Levi who is mentioned lower down (cf. Lk 3:24). The former is not very likely, unless we connect Jesus with the Messiah of Aaron. If it is a positive statement then, to judge by what follows, it shows that it is not one being made by the writer but by someone else. We shall bear in mind that the most likely understanding of v.1 is that the writer is refuting the view of someone else who denies the Davidic descent of Mary which, the objector points out, has the positive statement of 'the holy evangelists' behind it that she was of levitical descent. The significance of the emphasis is that it reflects the objector's viewpoint and not that of the writer. It is much more likely that he is referring to Mary herself because the Gospels nowhere make mention that Joseph was a Levite (see § 1.5.4.). However, they do notice that Mary was a daughter of Aaron because Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist is called Mary's "kinswoman" (Lk 1:36); and it is expressly stated that Elizabeth was "of the daughters of Aaron" (Lk 1:5).

The difficulty with this interpretation is that Joseph is the subject of the verb and not Mary, unless we treat Ἰωσὴφ ὁ ἀνὴρ Μαρίας as Semitic Greek and translate: "Joseph was the husband of Mary. . . ". In which case the following verb could refer to Mary and to her descent from Aaron, and I think this is how v.1 ought to be understood.

Whoever the subject of v.1 is the strong asseverative "But. . ." which follows in v. 2 begins the writer's refutation of this statement. The writer has quoted some statement made in the past regarding Joseph's descent (but more likely it refers to Mary's descent) from Levi and he counters it with the certain knowledge that he descended from David. Before he gets caught up in the problem of which family within the Davidic line Joseph belongs to (which is the subject of vv. 7-13) he proceeds to establish the Davidic descent of Mary herself. Verses 3-6 are so fully taken up with Mary and her Davidic descent that it seems certain v. 1 is a statement about her descent from Levi which the writer is intent on refuting.

The writer establishes Mary's Davidic descent by appealing to a law which stipulated that one could only marry within one's own family circle. Since this is the law and since Joseph, who was undoubtedly of Davidic descent, married Mary, it must follow that she too was a member of the Davidic household, otherwise he would have broken the law if she had not been a relative. He then uses this explanation to explain why it was unnecessary for the evangelists to give Mary's lineage, for in giving Joseph's they were in effect giving hers also (cf. v. 6). If this is the logical progression of the argument then clearly the writer is opposed to the statement in verse one, and what follows is his attempt to trace Mary's lineage to the tribe of Judah rather than to the tribe of Levi.

The second part of the MS sets forth the traditional manner of reconciling the two genealogies of Joseph. However, there appears to be a misreading of Luke's genealogy. According to Luke 3:24 Levi was the son of Melchi; here the writer has made Levi the father of Melchi. It is highly unlikely that Melchi was contemporary with Jacob or that he lived to see his great grandson, Heli. The reverse order of the names may be accounted for by the fact that the names are in an ascending order in Luke, whereas they are in a descending order in Matthew. This might explain the confusion. It does not, however, explain the omission of Matthat between Levi and Heli, which must be put down to carelessness unless the writer had access to a shorter genealogical list. There are two Josephs in Luke's list, nos. 1 and 7, and it is possible that someone mistook no. 7 as Mary's husband; in which case Levi would be the father of Melchi!

Ascending:     Joseph I—Heli—Matthat—Levi—Melchi—Jannai—Joseph II
Descending:    Joseph II—Jannai—Melchi—Levi—Matthat—Heli—Joseph I

If our analysis of the fragment is correct then it reveals a fear on the part of the writer that if Mary is not of Davidic descent then Jesus' claim to Davidic descent is made null and void. If this is his fear then it also tells us that he regarded Jesus' claim to Davidic descent to have been passed on through his mother and not through Joseph. This line of reasoning shows how far the writer has moved away from an understanding of paternity and sonship in Scripture and how close he has moved his interpretation of Scripture to his own cultural way of thinking. No doubt he was influenced to

argue the way he did on the understanding that Jesus had no natural father and that consequently any blood tie he had with the Jewish nation must have come through his mother; and if his mother was not of Davidic descent then how could Jesus claim to be descended from David?

One argument the writer uses to support Mary's Davidic descent is false. Nowhere in Scripture is there a law that the tribes of Israel were to marry spouses only from among their own tribe. What the writer appears to have confused is the law relating to heiresses. Here, because of inheritance rights, heiresses could only marry men from their own family in order that the property would not be transferred away from the tribal holdings.

To return to Africanus' solution. The puzzling enigma about his account is the omission of Levi and Matthat (Luke 3:24a). If they are included then there ought to be two corresponding generations between Matthan and Jacob which would make nonsense of Africanus' explanation. It is this fact that undermines credibility in his solution. Even if we give him the benefit of the doubt and assume that he is deliberately omitting the two generations of Levi and Matthat for the sake of argument he compounds the difficulty by calling Matthan and Melchi the grandfathers of Joseph. Melchi was, in fact, the great-great-grandfather. Africanus' solution only makes sense if we leave out the generations of Levi and Matthat, and if we do that then we must assume that he had a faulty copy of Luke's gospel.

In favour of the genuineness of his tradition is the possibility that Matthew has not recorded all the generations between the Exile and Jesus, and it is very likely that Matthan and Melchi were contemporaries. Indeed, Jacob may not have been the father but the grandfather of Joseph. This is possible if Matthew has given us only the physical link or overlap between the names in his list, seeing the inheritance to the throne of David is an imaginary one. This would also account for the fact that he has fewer generations than Luke for the same period. It might also show that the coincidental number of *fourteen generations* was not an arbitrary selection of individuals made by Matthew, but was the result of noting that as one member of the list died the next inheritor was already born—usually a grandson—in which case the middle generation would be omitted each time as not contributing to the function of the list.

The other element that might be correct is the intermarriage between the Solomonic and Nathanic branches. If this happened, then it would seem to indicate that these two families were very close, which might explain how Joseph could cross over into Nathan's family.

The rejection of Africanus' main argument—levirate marriage—will be dealt with later.

Africanus' solution appeared in chart form in the first edition of the Bishops' Bible published in 1568 and was continued as late as 1602. His view was publicised by Nicolaus de Lyra (1506 IV, 7; 1545. 1545 V, 7; 1660 VII). The following chart appears frequently in the various editions of his works. Since no printed book, *with a date,* (the Bible by Fust and Guttenburg, but without date, was printed in 1450) existed previously to the celebrated Psalter of 1457 and N. de Lyra's *Postilla super quattuor Evangelistas* was published *ca.*1468 (in

Basle) his views would have had wide circulation at this strategic and formative stage in the dissemination of knowledge.
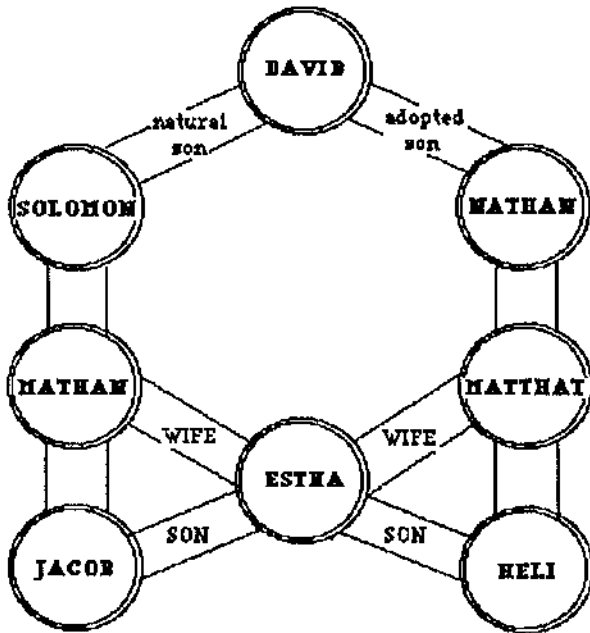


This chart of Nicolaus de Lyra appeared in his *Textus bibliæ cum glosa ordinaria...* (Basle, 1506?-1508?), vol. 4, p. 7. This agrees with Africanus' view except that Lyra has made Nathan an adopted son of David on the hypothesis that he was the son of Uriah.

The Bishop's Bible of 1568 (1st ed.) reproduced this chart with the alteration of Matthat to Melchi because of the omission of Levi and Melchi in Africanus' view. It rejected the view of Lyra that Nathan was Uriah's son.

A modified version of Lyra's chart was incorporated into the Bishop's Bible when it was first published in 1568.

Nicholas de Lyra accepted Africanus' solution of double marriages but he put forward the view that "Onely Salomon was David's natural son, the other three were Uriah's, whom David made his by adoption." The same comment appears in the margin of the Geneva Bible (1560), much to the disgust of H. Broughton (1600?:1). John Speed scathingly retorted: "So Jesus comes of cursed Cham [the Hittites descended from Ham] and not Shem" (1616:54).
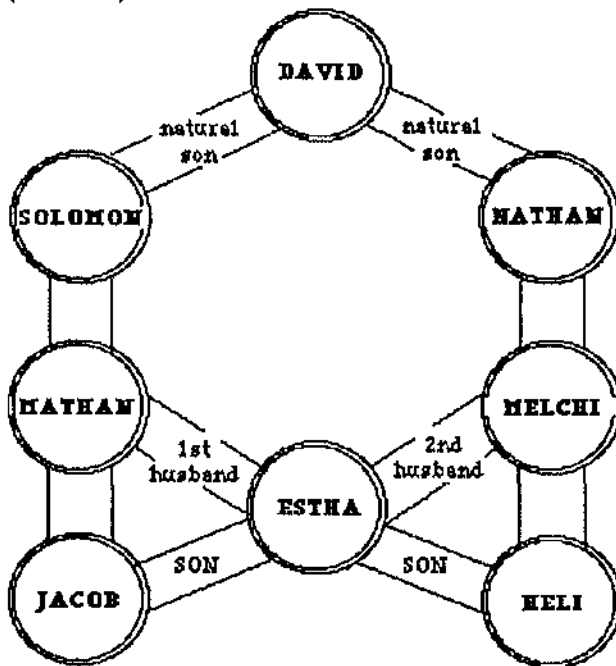


This chart appeared in the first edition of the Bishop's Bible in 1568. It is a modified form of Africanus' view. (1) Estha has been transferred to Melchi, and (2) Nathan is the natural son of David.

It is this version of Africanus' view that predominates in subsequent discussions of the problem.

## Bishop's Bible (1568)

Aaron — DAVID

Solomon — Nathan

Zerubbabel — Zerubbabel

Eleazar

Hismeria — mother of Elizabeth — Matthan — Matthan's wife (Estha)

Matthan's wife (Estha) — Melki

Zecharias — Elizabeth — Heli's wife — Heli

John the Baptist

Anna — Joachim — Jacob — Heli's wife — childless

Mary — Joseph

JESUS
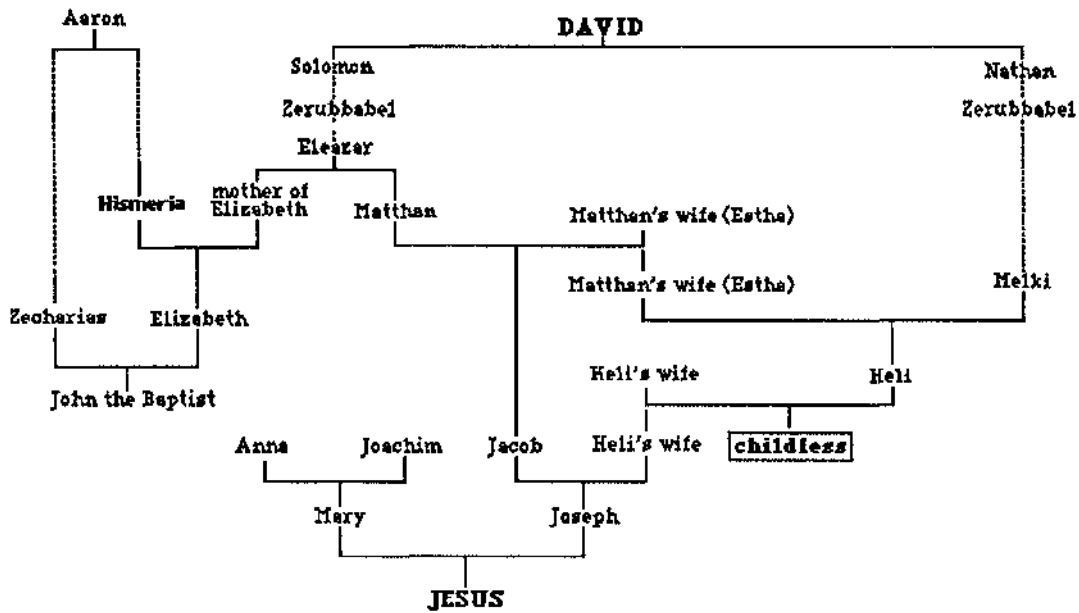
Africanus' theory was considered unsatisfactory in that it had nothing to say about the problem of Shealtiel's relationship to Jehoiachin. It was not certain whether Zerubbabel and Shealtiel were different persons in the two lists. Petrus Galatinus (1518 lib. 7, cap. 12) appears to have been the first to suggest explicitly that there were two Zerubbabels; this was endorsed by W. Wall (1730 III, 64). Africanus omitted two generations which intervened between Melki and Heli, namely Levi and Matthat. Matthat, not Melki, was the father of Heli according to the best textual evidence for Luke 3:24 (cf. *The New Testament in Greek*, 1984:70). John Speed (1616:48) exploited this difficulty in Africanus' solution in order to discredit it.

## Raphael Eglinus Iconius (1608)

### (Modification of Africanus)

Aaron — DAVID

Solomon — Nathan

Zerubbabel — Zerubbabel

Eleazar — Levi

father of Elizabeth — mother of Elizabeth — Matthan — Matthat

Estha (1) — Heli

Zecharias — Elizabeth — Joachim — Jacob — Estha(2) — childless

John the Baptist — Mary Jacobi — BV Mary — Joseph — Alphaeus — Mary

JESUS — James — Joses — Simeon — Judas — Sisters
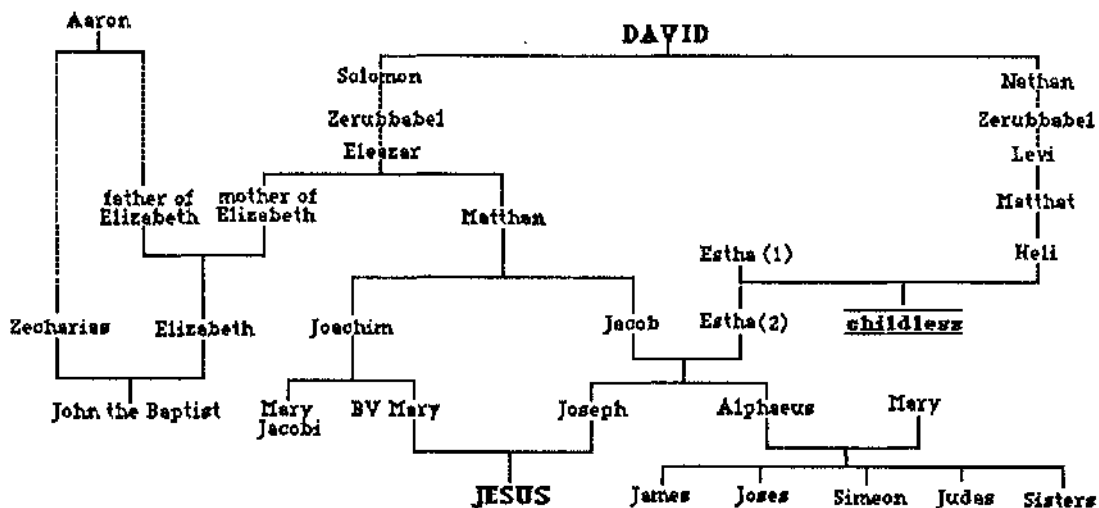
One of the earliest modifications to the received tradition was that made by Raphael Eglinus (1608:57). I have simplified his chart here. His chief

modifications were the restoration of the two missing generations of Levi and Matthat; he also made Estha the wife of Heli and Jacob. Joseph married his cousin Mary. He makes Shealtiel and Zerubbabel two different persons. E. B. Nicholson (1881:13) rejected the notion of two Zerubbabels in Jesus' genealogies.

Eusebius reported, and inadvertently publicised, Africanus' solution. Consequently this was the only answer up until the fifteenth century.

### 1.1.1. The influence of Africanus

It is clear that Africanus influenced most, if not all, of the early church fathers who have considered the problem. C. à Lapide (1892:151) traces his solution in Justin Martyr, Eusebius, Jerome, Nazianzen, Ambrose and Euthymius (12th cent.). His solution dominated all discussion of the topic until the 15th century.

From the time of the Reformation to the present day the default solution has been to refer to Africanus' view. The alternative is that Luke has given Mary's genealogy. J. B. McClellan (1875) is among those who turned down the latter in favour of the former, as was C. Campbell (1891:196). A supporter of Africanus was C. Middleton (1752 II, 30), but there are/were countless others.

D. Whitby (1703, *ad loc.*) accepted the view of Africanus that the families from Solomon and Nathan were so mixed, partly by second marriages, partly by raising up the name of the dead (Lev. 25:24-25; Ruth 4:5) and partly by raising up seed to David (according to the Law, Deut 25:5), that we may reasonably conceive the same persons might be brethren in both.

F. D. E. Schleiermacher (1817:53) accepted Africanus' levirate marriage solution and agreed that Matthew gave the genealogy of Joseph, the legal father of Jesus, while Luke, who perhaps was not a Jew, might have fallen upon the genealogy of the younger brothers of Joseph, who were not, like the firstborn Joseph, inscribed amongst the family of the deceased legal father, Jacob, but with that of their natural father, Heli.

This assumes that Jacob had no children and that Joseph was the son of Heli but the levirate son of Jacob. Again, this solution rules out a direct descent from Solomon.

### 1.1.2. Objections to Africanus

P. J. Gloag (1895:262) considered this theory too intricate, because it bears the aspect of a hypothesis framed to remove a difficulty. Besides, the son of a levirate marriage was always called the son of his real father, and not of his legal father. Thus, for example, Obed is called the son of Boaz, and not the son of Mahlon, whose widow he married as being next of kin. This hypothesis may remove the difficulty arising from two distinct genealogical lines; but as both of these are connected with the descent of Joseph, the one his legal and the other his real descent, they cannot properly be considered as genealogies of Jesus, who was only supposed to be the son of Joseph, declared Gloag.

C. à Lapide (1892:151) likewise objected that Heli and Jacob were only uterine brothers and the law on the subject of raising up seed to a brother only applies to full brothers, sons of the same father. He also objected to the

introduction of Estha (or Jesca, as he calls her) who married Matthat and by him had Heli, then she married Matthan, and by him had Jacob. He concluded:

> This, therefore, has nothing to do with the pedigree of the Blessed Virgin and Christ, in so far as showing Jesus to be of the seed of David according to the flesh. For if Jesus be descended from Jesca and Mathat, He could not also be descended from Jesca and Mathan; how, then, is He set down as the descendant of both Mathan and Mathat?

In an anonymous work (*Jesus, the Son of David*, 1730:9) the objection is made:

> But Africanus makes neither the line in Matthew nor Luke to reach to our Saviour, but Heli to have died without children; Jacob his brother is made to marry his widow, as the law ordered, and of her to have begot Joseph who therefore in Luke is assigned to Heli, as being the seed raised up to him by his brother, whose [i.e. Jacob's] natural son Joseph was, as 'tis said in Matthew. Thus both Evangelists have been demented; two lines of generation are mentioned, but none of them reach our Saviour nor his mother, to show us how he came of the family of David.

F. H. Dunwell (1876:604) noted that the reason why Africanus' solution fell out of favour was that it applied the law of the Levirate to those who are only uterine brothers—that is, brothers only on the mother's side—contrary, as it is urged, to the whole spirit of the Jewish law and to the letter of Deut 25:5. He mentions as the chief objectors to Africanus' solution: Cornelius à Lapide of the Patristic school, John Lightfoot of the Talmudic, and the Bishop of Bath & Wells [A. Hervey] of the Modern.

The anonymous writer of *The Four Gospels as Historical Records* (1895:164) expressed his cynicism thus: The difficulty respecting the parentage of Joseph is commonly explained on the hypothesis of a Levirate marriage, and that the genealogy of Matthew gives the natural, that of Luke the legal, descent. But it is obvious that if the two fathers of Joseph were brothers, sons of the same father, they had one and the same lineage; and this would involve no difference of genealogy beyond Heli and Joseph. Hence there has arisen the further notion that they were half-brothers, sons of the same mother but of different fathers, and that another Levirate marriage had taken place in the case of the mother of the real and putative fathers of Joseph. This same complicated arrangement is brought in in order to account for the appearance of Salathiel and Zorobabel, Neri in Luke and Jechonias in Matthew standing to Salathiel in the relation of Jacob and Heli to Joseph. This is, of course, conceivably possible; but the fact in the case of Salathiel is disproved by the statements of the Chronicler, if indeed any dependence can be placed on the latter.

The same author goes on to reject the view that Luke gives Mary's genealogy. Both the evangelists prefer to give the genealogy of Joseph, he contends, while neither of them gives any support to the Davidic descent of Mary, for the phrase "house of David" in Lk 1:27 refers to Joseph, and not to the more remote word "espoused," while the pointed expression that Joseph went with Mary to Bethlehem, "because he was [not 'they were'] of the house and lineage of David' seems to exclude the idea.

He then attacks the trustworthiness of the genealogies themselves with the argument: The frequent occurrence of the same names in the genealogy of Luke can scarcely fail to give strength to the suspicion that the list is in great part factitious. If Luke had asserted that Joseph was the son of Heli in like manner as Matthew, there might be some dispute; but seeing the case is that Matthew gives his opinion, Luke repeats the common opinion of many, not his own, for since there were among the Jews different opinions of the genealogy of the Christ, and yet all traced him up to David, because to him were the promises made, while many affirmed that the Christ would come through Solomon and the other kings, some shunned this opinion because of the many crimes recorded of their kings, and because Jeremiah said of Jechonias that a man should not rise of his seed to sit on the throne of David. This last view Luke takes, though conscious that Matthew gives the real truth of the genealogy. This is the first reason for doubting the exactness of the genealogies; the next is a deeper one, for Matthew, when he began to write of the things before the conception of Mary and the birth of Jesus in the flesh, very fitly, as in a history, commences with the ancestry in the flesh, and, descending from thence, declares his generation from those who went before. For when the Word became flesh he descended. But Luke hastens forward to the regeneration which takes place in baptism, and then gives another succession of families, and, rising from the lowest to the highest, keeps out of sight the sinners of whom Matthew makes mention, and names those who had lived a virtuous life in the sight of God. To him, therefore, who is born in God he ascribes parents who are according to God on account of this resemblance in character. He then launches into a tirade of invective against the Evangelists themselves (1895:166):

> Men who think and speak thus are incapable of forming any right judgement on matters of fact. Their historical sense has been so systematically perverted that their conclusions on all subjects must be received with the utmost suspicion: and we should be justified in saying that such writers could not be relied upon for the truth in any statements made by them, whatever these may be.
>
> There is, however, no real reason for thinking that these genealogies belonged to the Gospels of Matthew and Luke in their earlier shapes, while there is much to lead us to an opposite conclusion. The genealogy of Matthew is followed, while that of Luke is preceded, by a narrative which undoubtedly denies the descent of Jesus from David through Joseph by a natural order. Yet, if these genealogies are not taken as asserting the natural parentage of Jesus through Joseph, they are absolutely meaningless.
>
> Genealogies are formal documents, which are either exact in the statement of facts, or wholly worthless. Here are two genealogies included in books still maintained by some, or many, to be without flaw or error. It follows that all their contradictions must be explained away, or their contradictory statements be accepted as truths. The result is that slavery of the intellect which has spread a blight over Christendom.

For a similar kind of attack on Africanus' view see D. F. Strauss (1892:114). He concluded that: "the authors of the two genealogies were

entirely thrown upon their own invention in filling up the gap" between Christ and Zerubbabel (1865 II, § 53).

John Bevans (1822:136) rejected Africanus' view. In summary his case is that: (i) It is unsupported by the text. (ii) It is inconsistent with the law of levirate marriage for that law requires that the husband's brother (as being of the same tribe and family) shall marry the deceased's wife (Dt 25:5), and this must be understood of the brother of the same father; whereas Africanus makes Jacob and Heli brethren only by the same mother though begotten by different fathers. (iii) Other parts of Africanus' letter appear to be contradictory to the histories of the times.

A. Hervey (1853:23-48) examined Africanus' scheme in some detail. He translated the last part of Eusebius quotation from Africanus as: "However whether this (story about the Desposyni) be so or not, I do not think any one else can discover a more satisfactory explanation, and so think all whose opinion is sound. And let this explanation satisfy us, even though it rest upon no sure testimony, since we have none better or truer to propose." Hervey picked out two points here. The weight of testimony as to the tradition; and second, the intrinsic merits of the scheme itself.

Africanus gives us no clue as to how the tradition was preserved and handed down. He lays no stress on its authenticity and rejects the story of the destruction of the genealogies in the Temple, also handed down.

Africanus' story has every internal mark of being an ingenious fabrication. The extreme artificiality of the genealogical scheme itself, the ignorance of Jewish law (the law of Levirate marriage applied only to real brothers), the way of accounting for the preservation of this genealogy when all other public ones (with which it might be desirable to compare and test) were hopelessly destroyed—the very introduction of the Desposyni, and the particularity with which their going about from Nazareth and Cochaba to disperse the story is told, savours unmistakably of fiction.

Hervey detects a chronological error. Herod the Great could not have destroyed the genealogies in the Temple because Josephus speaks of them existing in his day, long after the death of Herod. They existed when all went to be taxed. Matthew used them. It is probable that they were destroyed in AD 70.

On the origin of Africanus' story Hervey conjectures that some ingenious person having constructed this scheme for reconciling the two Evangelists, endeavoured to give weight and currency to his view by inventing the story about the Desposyni, acting perhaps in this with no worse motive than other originators of pious frauds.

The demerits of Africanus' scheme are said to be: (i) Its very artificial and complex structure which has no air of truth about it. (ii) Its disagreement with Lk 3:24, inasmuch as it leaves out Matthat and Levi. (iii) The circumstance of its applying the law of Levirate to those who were brothers *only on the mother's side*, contrary to the whole spirit of the Jewish law, and the letter of Dt 25:5. (But Hervey noted earlier that an Egyptian servant could inherit through marriage with a daughter, or by inheriting someone else's land.) (iv) Its assumption that the son so begotten of the widow by a brother of the deceased would be called the deceased's son, whereas in the only two analogous cases in Scripture the son so begotten is reckoned in the genealogy

as the son of his real father. It is to be observed that Obed must have been the eldest son of Boaz (see Ruth 4:13-17). Had we not had so particular an account of his birth, we might have thought that he was the second son, and so accounted as Boaz's son, according to Dt 25:5-6. (See Gen 38:6-30 compared with 1 Chron 2:4-6 and Ruth 4:1ff and 4:18-23.) (v) Africanus' tradition attributes posterity to Jehoiachin, and makes Christ his seed, of whom it was said that he should be childless, and that no man of his seed should prosper, sitting upon the throne of David. (vi) That it necessarily makes Zerubbabel, son of Salathiel, of Luke, a different person from the Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel, of Matthew. (vii) It allows of no satisfactory reason why two genealogies should be given at all.

Hervey was prejudiced against Africanus' view because the latter blundered in giving Jehoiachin physical descendants which he considered to be blatantly and openly contrary to Scripture. What Hervey seems not to have realised is that Matthew used the verb "beget" to denote physical begetting throughout his genealogy and at 1:12 Jehoiachin is said to have begotten Shealtiel. So either there is an exception to the use of "beget," or "beget" is given one meaning throughout Matthew's genealogy which will not involve physical begetting; that hypothesis would be very hard to sustain.

E. B. Nicholson (1881:17) objected that: (i) The levirate law touches only brothers on the father's side. Jewish authority from the Babylonian Talmud downwards is explicit and unanimous on this head. (ii) "No genealogy would assign to the true son and heir of a king an inferior parentage" [Hervey's quote]. If Luke had known Salathiel to be the son of Jechoniah and lineal descendant of the kings of Judah, he would never have called him the son of a private person of another branch.

If Africanus is correct that that there were numerous cases of levirate marriages then there is a serious flaw in his view, because it implies that the two lists are a mixture which of course they cannot be, for when a line dies out it dies out. If the Solomonic line died out and a descendant from Nathan's family became the heir to the Solomonic inheritance, there can be no mixture between the families from Solomon and Nathan. Implicit in Africanus' theory is the belief that Joseph is not a direct blood descendant of Solomon. In which case the promise to David of a direct line to the Messiah through Solomon cannot be maintained.

### 1.1.3. Modifications to Africanus' view

The obvious mistake in Africanus' story is that he left out two names between Melchi and Heli. Cornelius à Lapide (1866 beginning of vol. XVI) supplied the two missing names, and the following is a simplified version of a chart given by him.

The result of this reconstruction has been to create another Melchi by giving Matthat a second name. But he then invents a fictitious levirate marriage between the childless wife of Eliud and Melchi. Mary is presented as a direct descendant of the eldest son of Zerubbabel (Abiud) whereas Joseph is a descendant of the younger line. Biologically, Joseph is a descendant of Rhesa, not Abiud, but this is of no consequent if Zerubbabel is a direct descendant of Jehoiachin, because then Joseph (and Mary) would be direct descendants of Solomon.

Zerubbabel

Abiud             Rhesa

Eliud    wife of Eliud          Melchi

levirate    marriage

childless    Eleazar              Levi

Matthan    Estha      Melchi or Matthat

Jacob    wife of Heli      Heli

levirate    marriage      childless

Joachim      Joseph
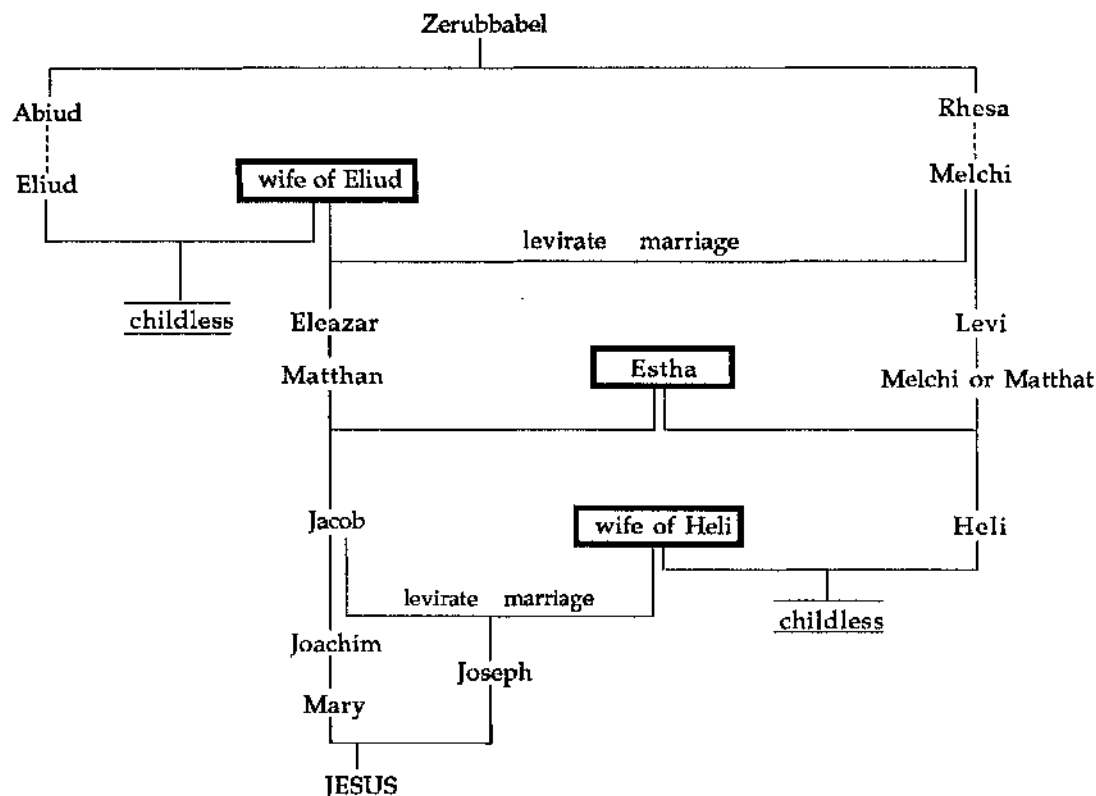
Mary

JESUS

In an anonymous work (*Jesus, the Son of David*, 1730:9) the objection is made that if Jacob died without issue (i.e. without son or daughter to succeed him) then the Virgin Mary could not have been his daughter; and if Joseph was Heli's son then she could not be Heli's daughter, otherwise Joseph would have married his own sister.

The objector goes on to relate the tradition that Joseph's grandmother was called Estha, but this is not likely, he argues, though Africanus did not wilfully invent it. It arose in this way. The Syriac is a corrupted Hebrew and is the language that Joseph and Mary used. *Esheth* in Hebrew signifies a "wife" and *Eshtha* in Syriac signifies "the wife." Some Syrian (before the time of Africanus), trying to reconcile Matthew and Luke saw that by Matthew Jacob begot Joseph; and since Luke says Joseph was son to Heli he concluded that he was his son by that law which obliged one brother to raise up seed to a brother who died childless; and so misses the true way of reconciling them. But from these premises that he has laid down, it follows inevitably, that seeing in Matthew and Luke that Jacob and Heli have different fathers, then Estha, the wife of one of them, must have been married to both of them; otherwise Jacob and Heli could not be brothers, nor could Jacob raise up a son to Heli, and so Matthew and Luke will clash irremediably.

The objector (1713:11) conjectures that either Africanus, or perhaps someone before him, thought that the Syrian word *Estha* was a proper name.

He draws a parallel to the way that "the wife" (Estha) became a proper name as follows: Λογχινος means a "spearman," one who pierced Christ's side. However, this word became a proper name, Longinus, of the soldier

who pierced Jesus. Hence it is very doubtful if Estha is the proper name of the wife of Joseph's grandfather and grand-uncle.

He also argued that if Luke had chosen to give us Jesus' genealogy he would have told us that Heli was Mary's father expressly. Would Luke tell us that Elizabeth was of the daughters of Aaron; Anna the prophetess, the daughter of Phanual, of the tribe of Asher; and not told us the tribe nor father of the Virgin Mary? he asked. The implication is that Luke must have given Mary's tribe and that Luke 3:23-38 must be her genealogy.

He noted that all the fathers who wrote on Matthew and Luke [falsely] make Joseph either the seed raised up to Heli and therefore Jacob's natural son, or he was the natural son to Heli and raised up seed to Jacob.

*The Book of the Bee* was a work written by a Nestorian, Bishop Sheleman (or Solomon), about AD 1222 (see E. A. W. Budge, 1886:75). The Nestorians believed God adopted a man who became the Son of God in human form, consequently Jesus was not born of a virgin.

In this work Africanus' solution is repeated with the additional note that Eleazar begat two sons, Mattan and Jotham. Mattan begat Jacob, and Jacob begat Joseph; Jotham begat Zadok, and Zadok begat Mary. From this it is clear that Joseph's father and Mary's father were cousins. Sheleman then gives the story of how Mary came to be born to a rich old couple, Zadok (or Yonakir) and his wife Dinah who changed her name to Hannah (Anna) after Mary was born. Mary was taken to the Temple in Jerusalem two years after she was weaned and stayed there until she was twelve years old. An angel told the priests to gather together the staves of widowers known for their piety and they were told 'what God sheweth thee, do.' The chief priest returned the staves to each man and as he returned Joseph's staff to him 'there went forth from it a white dove, and hovered over the top of the rod and sat upon it.' The priest said to Joseph: 'The blessed maiden has fallen to thy lot from the Lord; take her to thee until she arrives at the age for marriage, and (then) make a marriage feast after the manner and custom of men; for it is meet for thee (to do so) more than others, because ye are cousins.' Joseph protested that he was too old to be her guardian until she was ready for marriage. But the priest was firm with him and he took Mary to his home. He then recounts the birth of John the Baptist to 'Elizabeth her cousin.' After six months Joseph saw that Mary had conceived and feared what the chief priest would say because the Jews did not approach their wives until they made a feast to the high priest, and then they took them. He questioned Mary who disclaimed all intercourse with a male, but she did not tell him about the visit of Gabriel to her. The angel tells him to take 'Mary thy wife' for that which is born in her is of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless the priests accused him of deceit and both he and Mary had to drink the water of trial (Num 5:18). No harm came to either whereupon the high priest told Joseph to guard her until they saw the end of the matter. Joseph is said to have taken her to Bethlehem on an ass because of his need to watch over her carefully, but, strangely, no mention is made that she was of the house of David.

J. B. McClellan (1875:410-20) was in broad support of Africanus with the modification that Salathiel was the true son of Jechoniah (Mt), but also the

legal son of Neri (Lk). Zerubbabel was the true son of Salathiel (Mt & Lk), being a different person from the Zerubbabel of 1 Chr 3.

## 1.2. Augustine (Matthew gives Mary's genealogy)

The idea that in reciting Joseph's genealogy one was also reciting Mary's was an idea which appears to have originated with Ambrose (AD 397). He wrote:

> Rightly *as was supposed*, since in reality He was not, but was supposed to be so, because Mary who was espoused to Joseph was His mother. But we might doubt why the descent of Joseph is described rather than that of Mary, (seeing that Mary brought forth Christ of the Holy Spirit, while Joseph seemed to be out of the line of our Lord's descent,) were we not informed of the custom of the Holy Scripture, which always seeks the origin of the husband, and especially in this case, since in Joseph's descent we also find that of Mary. For Joseph being a just man took a wife really from his own tribe and country, and so at the time of the taxing Joseph went up from the family and country of David to be taxed with Mary his wife. She who gives in the returns from the same family and country, shews herself to be of that family and country. Hence He goes on in the descent of Joseph, and adds, *Who was the son of Eli.* But let us consider the fact, that St. Matthew makes Jacob, who was the father of Joseph, to be son of Nathan, [*sic.* for Matthan?] but Luke says that Joseph (to whom Mary was espoused) was the son of Eli. How then could there be two fathers, (namely, Eli and Jacob,) to one man? (T. Aquinas, 1843 III, 133)

According to Augustine both Mary and Joseph are direct descendants of Solomon through Matthan. The difficulty with this view is that Mary is a half-sister to Joseph.

Augustine argued:

> We believe that Mary, as well as Joseph, was of the family of David, because we believe the Scriptures, which assert both that Christ was of the seed of David after the flesh, and that His mother was the Virgin Mary, He having no father. Therefore, whoever denies the relationship of Mary to David, evidently opposes the pre-eminent authority of these passages of Scripture. (1872:496)

Faustus had argued against her Davidic descent because her father Joachim was a priest. Augustine does not deny this but argues that Joachim could at the same time have been connected with Judah and this is good enough for him! His words are: "But even were I to admit this account, I should still contend that Joachim must have in some way belonged to the family of David, and had somehow been adopted from the tribe of Judah into that of Levi." He then turns to the non-canonical writings quoted by Faustus and makes the remark:

> And so, if the mother of that Joachim, who in the passage quoted by Faustus is called the father of Mary, married in the tribe of Levi while she belonged to the tribe of Judah and to the family of David, there would thus be a sufficient reason for speaking of Joachim and Mary and Mary's son as belonging to the seed of David. (p. 497).

This kind of reasoning is far removed from the world of the Hebrew scriptures and does Augustine no credit.

C. à Lapide has set out Augustine's view as follows.
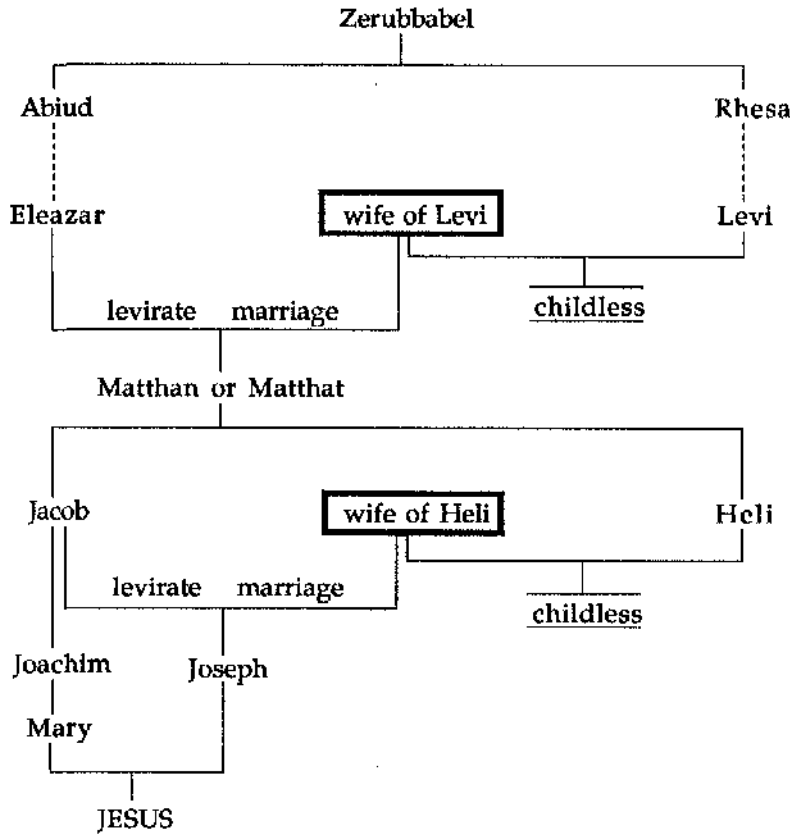


This is a simplified version of a chart given by Cornelius à Lapide (1866 XVI). I cannot vouch that it truly reflects Augustine's view.

## 1.2.1 The Davidic descent of Mary

We must distinguish between those who believed that Mary was a descendant of David and those who went so far as to point to Luke's genealogy as being her genealogy. Thus Jerome (AD 420) and Augustine (AD 430) state that Joseph and Mary were of the same tribe; Ambrose (AD 397) and Rabanus state that Mary was of the stem of Jesse (T. Aquinas, 1841:35, 46, 55), (see §1.5.3.).

The statements of the former must not be taken to mean that they endorsed the later view that Luke gives Mary's genealogy (cf. H. A. W. Meyer, 1877 I, 61). Neither must it be assumed that the statements mean that she was a direct descendant of David in her own right. Some seem to imply that being brought into the family of Joseph meant that she gained Davidic status thereby, and that his genealogy became hers through marriage. Because of this difficulty it is well nigh impossible to know what was in the mind of the writer when he inferred Mary's Davidic descent. Tertullian (1956:73) states:

Is it not because he is himself [Jesus] the flower from the stem which came forth from the root of Jesse, while the root of Jesse is the house of David, and the stem from the root is Mary, descended from David, that the flower from the stem, the Son of Mary, who is called Jesus Christ, must himself also be the fruit? For the flower is fruit, because by means of the flower and from the flower every fruit is perfected into fruit. What then? They deny to the fruit its own flower, to the flower its own stem, and to the stem its own root, so as to preclude the root from laying claim, by means of its own stem, to the ownership of that which is from the stem, namely the flower and the fruit: whereas in fact the whole ladder of descent is counted back from the final to the principal, that now at length these persons may know that the flesh of Christ adheres not only to Mary, but also to David through Mary and to Jesse through David. Thus it is that God swears to David that this fruit out of his loins, that is, out of the posterity of his flesh, will sit upon his throne. If he is out of the loins of David, the more so is he out of the loins of Mary, for on her account he is reckoned as having been in David's loins.

There is a strong case here that Tertullian believed that Mary was a physical descendant of David, but no where does he (or any Church Father) say that Luke's genealogy is hers. The statement of W. Pound (1869 I, 92) that: "Origen says that St. Matthew's genealogy was the royal line of Joseph from David, that St. Luke's was the blood line of Mary from David, that is, that Joseph, because he was married to her, is called 'Son of Heli,' her father," is not what Origen said, and should be dismissed as wishful thinking.

What little evidence there is suggests that the Fathers regarded Matthew's genealogy as evidence of her genealogy, but whether directly, or indirectly through her husband, is never spelt out clearly. F. H. Dunwell (1876:70) noted that the four Fathers of the Second Century who refer to the genealogies, namely, Justin Martyr (*Dial.* sec. 327), Irenaeus (*Fragment.* xxix.), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. 21), and Tertullian, (*de Carne Christi,* 22) all interpret Matthew, never Luke, as tracing the descent of Jesus through his mother up to David and Abraham. N. Geldenhuys (1971:154) extends the lack of a Marian genealogy to the fifth century.

P. J. Gloag (1895:265) quotes Clemens Alexandrinus (AD 215), "In the Gospel according to Matthew the genealogy which is begun with Abraham is continued down to Mary the mother of our Lord" (Clemens Alexandrinus, *Strom.* i. 21). Victorinus (Bishop of Petau, ca. AD 290) commenting on Revelation 4:7 wrote: "And in the figure of a man, Matthew strives to declare to us the genealogy of Mary, from whom Christ took flesh. Therefore, in enumerating from Abraham to David, and thence to Joseph, he spoke of Him as if of a man: therefore his announcement sets forth the image of a man" (1870:405). He is interpreting the four living creatures at this point.

It was left to later writers in the fifteenth century to make out a case for Mary's direct Davidic descent in Luke's genealogy.

D. Whitby (1703, *ad loc.*) notes the objection: But Jesus is not the natural son of Joseph, who is only the reputed father, this cannot be sufficient to prove that Jesus came from the loins of David (Acts 2:30), or was the fruit of his body according to promise (Ps 132:11). His answer is: Joseph and Mary

were of the same tribe and family and therefore by giving us the genealogy of Joseph, the Apostle [Mt] did at the same time give us the genealogy of Mary, and consequently of Jesus the son of Mary, and shew that he was of the seed of David. Luke 1:27, "The angel Gabriel . . . virgin whose name was Mary." Yet may the words also be translated thus, "To a virgin of the House of David, espoused to a man whose name was Joseph, and the virgin's name was Mary." And the translation is confirmed from the following words of the angel to her, "Thou shalt conceive in thy womb . . . throne of his father David;" she, therefore, who conceived this son, must be of the house of David, and this is farther proved from the taxation, mentioned in Lk 2:3-5. Whence it appears, (i) that all went to be taxed, women as well as men; for Joseph with his espoused wife Mary, went up to be taxed; which troublesome journey, she who was so near the time of her travail would not have taken, had it not been necessary; (ii) that everyone, men and women, went up to their own city to be taxed, v. 3; (iii) that Joseph went up to Bethlehem (v. 4). Since therefore, Mary went up to Bethlehem with him to be taxed, she must do it for the same reason, because she also was of the same House and Lineage.

J. Calvin (1845:81) likewise believed that "in the person of Joseph the pedigree of Mary is also comprehended." In another place he writes: "When the ancestry of Joseph had been carried up as far as David, every one could easily make out the ancestry of Mary" (p. 12). This confusing statement can be found in I. Casaubon (1656), J. MacEvilly (1876:9), C. Middleton (1752 II, 29), R. Mimpriss (1855:49), *The New Testament of our Lord. [The Rhemish Testament]* (1582/1834:28; cf. W. Fulke 1589), F. W. Upham (1881:204), R. Ward (1640:9), D. Chamierus (1626 III, 115), I. Williams (1844:118), A. Wright (1903:xlii), and R. Cox (1958:15).

Edward Leigh (1650:3) asked: Why is Mary's genealogy not set down, when yet Christ neither was the son of Joseph nor descended from him. The common answer both of the ancient and modern interpreters (incl. Augustine, *Con. Evang.* lib. 2) is this, that it was not the custom of the Jews to rehearse a catalogue of genealogy by women, Num 1:26. Hence it is an ancient maxim among them:—*Familia Matris non Familia.*

### 1.3.   John Damascene (Mary as a direct descendant of Nathan)

John Damascene (fl. 749) (*Orthod. Fid.* iv. 15) omitted Matthat, and put Melchi in his place, which gave Melchi a brother called Panther, whose son Bar-Panther begat Joachim, the father of Mary, second cousin of Joseph. The scheme includes Levi (whom Africanus omitted) as the father of Melchi which is contrary to Luke 3:24.

On this view, Joseph is a direct descendant of Solomon, while Mary is a direct descendant of Nathan.

```
Solomon                                              Nathan
   |                                                    |
   |                                                  Levi
   |                                                    |
Matthan          [Estha]                                |
   |                      widow of Matthan   Melchi   Panther
   |                                            |         |
 Jacob      [wife of Heli]        Heli                Bar-Panther
   |     widow of Heli               |                    |
   |                             childless      Anna   Joakim
 Joseph                                            |      |
   |                                              Mary
   |_____|
                          |
                        JESUS
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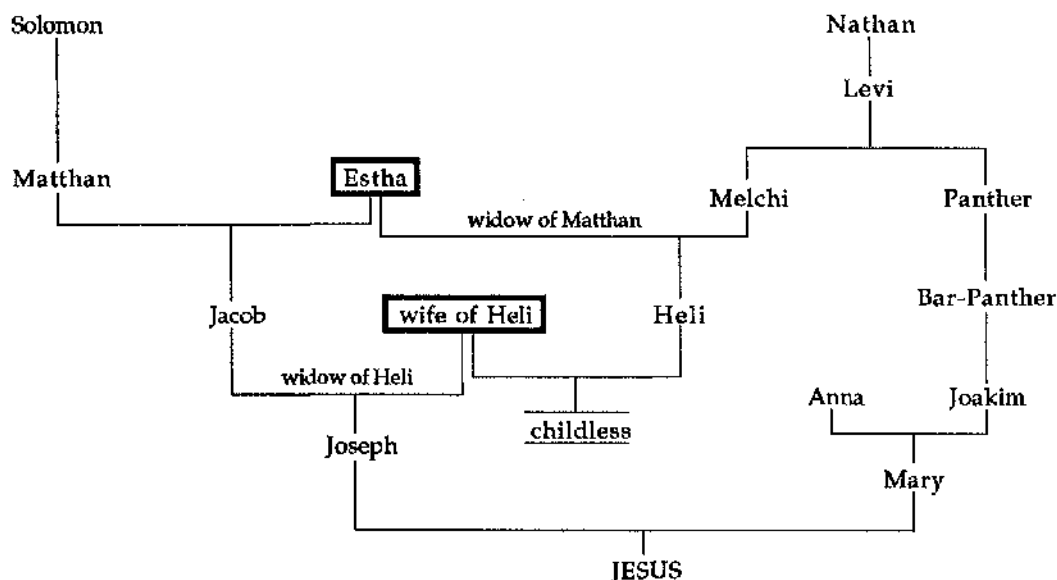
On Damascene's view see J. J. Hottinger, 1732 II, 80; Ed. Greswell, 1837 II, 89, and P. Holmes, 1866 II, 99.

## 1.4.    Annius of Viterbo (Luke gives Mary's genealogy-Double names)

Johann Annius [1432-1502] forged fragments of the lost works of early Greek and Latin authors such as the earliest Roman historian, Fabius Pictor, also Xenophon, Berossus, Manetho, and others. Included in these forgeries were some completely new writings of Philo which showed that Solomon's line died out when Athaliah exterminated the Davidic House. The crown then passed to Nathan's line through Joash who was the son of Simeon who is mentioned in Luke 3:30. It may be that Annius confused the two kings of the same name, namely, Ahaziah of Israel who "had no son" (2 Kgs 1:17), and Ahaziah of Judah who had a son called Joash (2 Kgs 13:1).

It also transpired in this forged work that the names in Luke and Matthew from Joash through to Jannai (or twenty-eight links) were double names for the same person. Annius published his discovery in 1498 in a work which is better known under its later title of *Antiquitatum variarum authores. XVII.* (cf. A. Hervey, 1853:112, 95, 138, 354; and the *Biographie Universalle*, 1843 II, 31-33). For his life and for works defending and denouncing Annius' "discovery" of the lost works of Greek and Latin authors, see M. E. Cosenza (1962 I, 197 col. 2) and L. Thorndike (1923 IV, 263-7, 434, 439). Annius' pseudo-Berossus was even translated by R. Lynche in 1601, seemingly unaware that it was a forgery.

The commentaries, which were published with the alleged originals, were eventually admitted by Annius in *De aureo saeculo et origine urbis Romae, cum commentariis Annii Viterbiensis* (Rome, 1498), to have been his own work. Annius was trained as a Dominican and held in high regard being supposedly proficient in Hebrew, Greek, astronomy, astrology, history and theology. He was a personal friend of popes Sixtus IV and Alexander VI. and made Master of the Vatican in 1499. He dedicated his infamous *Antiquitatum variarum volumina. XVII* (1498) to Ferdinand and Isabella because the works it contained were discovered in Mantua while they were conquering Grenada

(cf. Cosenza, p. 197). Eventually Annius was denounced as a forger and died insane.

Annius' Pseudo-Philo is not to be confused with the first cent. AD Pseudo-Philo whose *Biblical Antiquities* was originally written in Hebrew and covered the period from Adam to King Saul (see G. Kisch, 1949).

### 1.4.1. Support for Annius

A. Hervey (1853:9 n.) claims that Petrus Galatinus (c. 1480-1539) was the first Roman Catholic to hold that Luke gives Mary's genealogy. Others were F. Spanheim, M. Luther, M. Chemnitz, F. Gomar, I. Vossius, E. Yardley, H. Broughton, C. G. Kuinoël and J. J. Hug. The idea of Mary's genealogy was to gain enormous publicity when J. Speed's chart was compulsorily included in the new Authorized Version of 1611.

### 1.4.2. The influence of Annius

So dissatisfied were scholars at that time with Africanus' solution that Annius' work was a very timely and welcome "discovery." His solution was prefixed to the New Testament in some later editions of the Bishop's Bible, for instance in the 1595 and 1602 editions. Prefixed to the OT of the 1602 edition is a conflicting chart showing Africanus' solution (probably based on the work of Nicholas de Lyra).

The following Table is found in various later editions of the Bishop's Bible and is based entirely on Annius' forgery of a fragment of Philo's lost work. It is found in a work of H. Broughton (1604:45) where he lambasts it with the quip: "The cockles of sea-shores, and leaves of the forest, and the granes of the Popy may as well be numbered as the gross errors of this table."

Annius also attributed the work *De ortu Beatae Virginis* to Jerome. This work claimed that Mary was the daughter of Eli, and so seemed to give antiquity to the view that Luke gave Mary's ancestry. Joannes Lucidus (1546:51) made a similar attribution to a Jewish rabbi, called Haccanes.

The following translation of Lucidus' account is taken from H. Broughton (1600? p. 5):

> Luke, therefore, prosecutes all the generations which proceed naturally, directly according to the line of Nathan, and began at the father of Mary the Virgin, who is called Eli, or Joachin, because he was named with a double name. For Rabbi Haccanes the Hebrew, in his answer to the third request of Antonius, a Consul of Rome, affirms: "That he received by revelation from Elias, that the parent of the mother of the Messiah had a double name, the one Eli, the other Joachin." And afterward Rabbi Haccanes said: "There was a certain maid in Bethlehem of Juda, whose name was Mary, the daughter of Joachin Eli, of the kindred of Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the tribe of Judah." Mary, therefore, was the natural daughter of Eli or Joachin, but Joseph the husband of Mary was the son-in-law of the same Joachin, and by consequent was his lawful son by affinity.

**A Table to make plaine the difficultie that is found in Saint Matthew, and Saint Luke, touching the generation of Jesus Christ the sonne of David and his right successour in the kingdome: which description beginneth at David and no higher, because the difficultie is onely in his posteritie.**

S. Matthew                                        S. Luke

David begate

| S. Matthew | | S. Luke |
|---|---|---|
| Solomon king | | Nathan the kings brother |
| Roboam | The posteritie of Solomon left in Ochosias, whereby the kingdome was transported to the line of Nathan in the person of Joas sonn to Juda. | |
| Abia | | Mathatha |
| Asa | | Menna |
| | | Melcha |
| Josaphat | | Eliacim |
| | | Jona |
| Joram | | Joseph |
| Ochosias | | *Juda |

Simeon called Joes, which begate

| S. Matthew | | S. Luke |
|---|---|---|
| Amasias | | Levi |
| Azarias | The names here conteined, as well on the left side as on the right, issuing from Joas, have divers names, and yet are al one person. Therefore note that the persons on the left side, named by S. Matthew, are the very same that are otherwise named by S. Luke on the right side, till Salathiel. | Matthath |
| Joatham | | Joram |
| Achas | | Eliezer |
| Ezechias | | Jesu |
| Manasses | | Her |
| Amon | | Holmadam |
| Josias | | Cosan |
| Acheas | | Addi |
| Joacim | | Melchi |
| Jechonias | | Neri |
| Salathiel | | Salathiel |

Zorobabel, which begate

| S. Matthew | | S. Luke |
|---|---|---|
| Abiud | After the people were returned into the land with Zorobabel being deliuered from the captivitie of Babylon, he governed the same people 58 yeeres, & left divers children, among whome Resa and Abiud were the chiefe. | Resa which governed 66 yeeres |
| | | Joanna 53 yeeres |
| Eliacim | | |
| Azor | | Juda 14 |
| | | Joseph 7 |
| Sadoc | So the government and rule over the people, remained to Resa and his posteritie, untill Janne, and thence descended the Virgin Marie, as is declared in the generation described by S Luke and Joseph her husband descended from the sayd Zorobabel by Abiud brother to Resa as S. Matthewe declareth in the generation by him described. | Semei 11 |
| Achin | | Mathathi 12 |
| Eliud | | Nahat 9 |
| | | Nagge 10 |
| | | Heli 8 |
| Eleazar | | Neum 7 |
| | | Amos 14 |
| Mathan | | Matthathias 10 |
| | | Joseph 66 |
| Jacob | | Janne 16 |
| | | Melchi |
| Joseph | | Levi |
| Joseph the husband of Marie the Virgin, mother to our Saviour Christ. | | Matthath |
| | | **Holy called Joachim. Marie the mother of Christ |

Jesus Christ

For better understanding of the contents of this Table, yee shall note, that the Evangelists Saint Matthewe, and Saint Luke, have diversely recited the generation of our Saviour Christ, according to the flesh, and yet tende both to one end: that is, to proove (that according to that which is written of him in the prophecies) he is descended of the royall blood of David, and rightly succeeded him in the kingdome. So the diversitie of the sayde recitall consisteth in this: that Saint Matthewe setteth foorth the sayde generation descending from father to sonne: and Saint Luke ascendeth from sonne to father, which come all to one end. But to shewe the agreement of Saint Luke with Saint Matthewe, wee have here set foorth the generation by him described, descending after the order of Saint Matthew, to the ende that the one may bee conferred with the other. Furthermore, Saint Matthewe describeth the generation of Joseph, though it belong to nothing to Jesus Christ after the flesh, and Saint Luke that of the virgine Marie: for it was very necessary to recite both, for as much as women were commonly reputed of the line or kinred of their husbands: And so as well on her husbandes side, as on her owne offspring, it is manifest that shee was of the royall line of David.

* Juda of the line of Nathan, engendred Simeon, called Joes, which came to the royall seate, because the posteritie of Solomon fayled in Ochosias: and therefore the kingdome belonged to Nathan's posteritie, according to the ordinaunce of David, as Philo reciteth, that is, the yongest of the children of Beersebe (which was Solomon) should reigne after him, and that if the posteritie fayled, the kingdome shoulde come to the posteritie of the next younger, which was Nathan: and therefore Nathan was called Ahisoar, that is to say, Brother of the prince, and they of his posteritie Ahiscarim, that is to say, Brothers of the prince, and Methitim, which signifieth. Given to succeede [sic]. The sayde Philo reciteth, that the posteritie of the sayd Nathan, was so honoured of the king Josaphat, that hee called his children the brothers of Jorem his sonne, and their children the brothers of Ochosias his nephewe: and this is the cause why the scripture sayeth, that Joas was the sonne of Ochosias, though he were not his naturall sonne, but the sonne of Juda, descended from Nathan.

Note that Saint Matthew going about to describe the generation by fourteenes, did first leave out Joas, Amazias, and Azarias, which are set in betweene Ochosias, the last of the race of Solomon, and Joathan. Further, hee hath left out Achaas, and Joacim, placed betweene Josias and Jechonias. All which we have here set in their order, to make the same description more perfect and plaine.

(The words in brackets are supplied from H. Broughton's copy in An Advertisement of Corruption....1604, pp. 43-44.)

** For as much as it seemeth that Saint Luke maketh no mention of the generation of Marie, but rather of Joseph for he useth these wordes, that Jesus was counted the sonne of Joseph, which was of Heli, that is to say, the son of Heli: wee must understand that in this place the name of sonne is taken for the name of sonne in law, and that S. Luke meaneth that Joseph was the sonne in lawe to Heli, for that hee tooke to wife the virgin Mary daughter of the said Heli, which maner of speach is common in the Scripture: for we finde that Noemi calleth Ruth her daughter, which was but her step-daughter, her sonnes wife.

For as Mary was in the first degree of consanguinity to her father, so was Joseph in the first degree of affinity to his father-in-law, seeing there was true matrimony between Joseph and Mary. Therefore St. Luke says, That Christ was thought to be the son of Joseph, which was the son of Eli, i.e., his son-in-law, and in the place of Mary he put her husband according to the custom of the Scriptures. But St. Matthew describes first the generations according to the line of Solomon the king, until there was none left of his race, the which kindred failing, he is afterward compelled to digress into the line of Nathan because of him were born the successors of the kingdom .... And St. Matthew agrees with St. Luke unto Zorobabel. But because Zorobabel (who was also called Barachias, the son of Salathiel) begat two sons, Rhesa and Abiud, therefore St. Luke prosecutes the line of Nathan by his son Rhesa, unto the father of Mary the Virgin; and St. Matthew prosecutes the same line by his son Abiud unto the father of Joseph, the husband of Mary. Therefore both of them were born of the seed of David by the line of Nathan, but Mary is born by the one branch, by Rhesa and Joseph by the other branch, by Abiud.

Philo the Hebrew shows us these things, and John Annius in his commentaries upon the abbreviaries of the same Philo declares them plentifully. Petrus Galatinus also describes this genealogy in his seventh book, chap. 12 against the Hebrews [Probably: *Arcan Cath. Ver.* VII. 12. Source: J. J. Hottinger, 1732:81]. But in this work he errs against the truth when he says that there were two Salathiels and two Zorobabels, the which he cannot prove. But he may easily be confuted by this fact that the line of Solomon ended in the seventh generation, and in his genealogy there is no Salathiel nor Zorobabel found. Neither could Joseph descend from Solomon because his race was cut off many years before. But he sprang from the line of Nathan by the same Abiud, as Mary sprang from the same line of Nathan by Rhesa. Salathiel, therefore in Matthew is the same Salathiel which is called the son of Neri by Luke, because Jechonias and Neri are the same men, as also are Joachin and Eli, as Philo witnesses.

When Matthew says, "And after the carrying away into Babylon, Jechonias begat Salathiel, it is not to be understood that he begat him after the Captivity, but rather after the carrying away in the time of the Captivity. For Galatinus urges by argument that "there were more generations according to St. Luke, and fewer according to St. Matthew because descending from Rhesa they begat sooner, and those that were begotten of Abiud progenerated more slowly, therefore they [of Rhesa] were more, and these [of Abiud] the fewer in number." Augustine (*City of God*, Bk. 16, c. 11) sets down this reason touching other generations: "Thus, not because Heber was the sixth from Noah, and Nimrod the fourth, therefore they could not live at the same time. For this falls out, that seeing they live longer, where there are fewer generations; and less time, where there be more descents; that either they were born later where there are fewer, or sooner where there were more. If Peter Galatinus had fully read the whole observation of Philo, and the Commentary of Joannes Annius upon the same, without question he would not have fallen into this error. But Galatinus declares the rest aright which pertains to this genealogy. There is, therefore, no disagreement between Matthew and Luke but either of them describes aright the true genealogy of Christ.

John Lucidus (1537:50-51) was a fervent supporter of Annius. The following diagram has been put together from Lucidus' work with the help of H. Broughton (1605:3; 1604:45). Lucidus was probably the best exponent of what Annias intended with his forgery, though of course, the forgery was not exposed until 1593.

The errors inherent in this view are set out by Broughton (1604:45). The two most obvious being that Joakaz (no. 51=Jehoahaz) is made the father of his brother(!) and that the last twelve kings of Judah were descendants of Nathan, not Solomon (H. Broughton, 1597:20). This means Luke's list includes twelve kings besides David.



```
                        1. Adam
                          |
        Cainan II  ─→  12. Arphaxad
        omitted        13. Salah
                          |
                       33. David
          ┌───────────────┴───────────────────┐
  34. Solomon                          34. Nathan
  35. Rehoboam                         35. Matthatha (= Ahiasar  1 Kgs 4:6)
  36. Abijah                           36. Menna
  37. Asa                              37. Melca
  38. Jehoshaphat                      38. Eliakim        Double names for
  39. Jehoram                          39. Jonam          Judah's Kings of
→ 40. Ahaziah.                         40. Joseph         Nathan's line
      └──────┐                         41. Judah         ═══════════════
       childless ──────→  The CROWN ─→ 42. Simeon          = Joas & Helih
                          passes into  43. Levi            = Amasias
                          Nathan's family 44. Matthat      = Azarias & Ozias
→ In this man the                      45. Jorim           = Joathan
  line of Solomon                      46. Eliezar         = Achaz
  ended, therefore                     47. Joshua          = Ezechias
  both Matthew                         48. Er              = Manasses
  and Luke digress                     49. Elmadam         = Amon
  to the line of                       50. Cosam           = Josias
  Nathan,  leaving                     51. Addi            = Joakaz
  out three kings,                     52. Melki           = Joakim & Eliachim
  i.e., Ahaziah,                       53. Neri            = Joachin, Jeconias & Helih
  Joash &                              54. Shealtiel       = Mesezabeel
  Amaziah.                             55. Zerubbabel      = Barachias
                                        ┌──────┴──────┐
              Ananias = Abiud     56. Rhesa      = Misciollam
                                 57. Joanan      = Ben Rhesa
                       Eliakim   58. Joda        = Hyrcanus
                                 59. Josech      = Josephus
                       Azor      60. Semein      = Abner
                                 61. Mattathias = Helih
  Joannes Lucidus     Zadok      62. Maath       = Asar
  acknowledges that the          63. Naggai      = Artaxat
  alternative names from  ←      Akim      64. Esli       = Agai
  Nos. 42-69 have been           65. Nahum       = Maslot
  taken from Philo     Eliud     66. Amos        = Scirach
                                 67. Mattathias = Syloa
                       Eleazar   68. Joseph      = Arses
                                 69. Jannai      = Hyrcanus
                       Matthan   70. Melki
                                 71. Levi
                       Jacob     72. Matthat
                                 73. Heli
                       Joseph    74. Mary
                                 75. Jesus
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Calvin thought that there was some probability in the opinion that at the death of Ahaziah the legal descent from Solomon was closed. He leaves as undetermined whether Joash was the nearest relative to Ahaziah or if he were a descendant of Nathan. Joash, he argues, was called "the son of Ahaziah" because he was the true and direct heir to the crown (1845 I, 86-7). His remarks show both an awareness of Annius' solution and a wariness that, in retrospect, was well founded.

The idea that Ahaziah (or his son Joash) was childless and the succession passed over to Joash (or his son Amaziah) is common only to Annius and Calvin and is without any biblical support. H. Broughton refuted (1604:43) this view.

Calvin wrote: It cannot be doubted that after the Babylonian captivity the same persons are mentioned under different names (p. 87). This idea appears to have come from Annius.

Calvin's commentary on a Harmony of the Evangelists appeared in 1555 and an English translation of it in 1610. He rejected the view that either genealogy was that of Mary, but argued that Mary must be a direct descendant of Solomon otherwise Christ could not be the promised Son of David. He somehow saw that in giving Joseph's genealogy the Evangelists gave Mary's pedigree also. The 1610 edition reads: "The answere is olde and commonly known that in the person of Joseph the pedigree of Mary is also comprehended."

H. Broughton (1604:43) recorded the views of Annius' supporters as follows:

> Juda of the line of Nathan, engendered [begat] Simeon, called Joas, which came to the royall seate, because the posteritie of Solomon fayled in Ochosias [Ahaziah]: and therefore the kingdome belonged to Nathan's posteritie, according to the ordinace of David, as Philo reciteth . . . The said Philo reciteth, that the posteritie of the sayd Nathan, was so honoured of the king Jehoshaphat, that he called his children the brothers of Joram his sonn, and their children the brothers of Ochosias his Nephewe: and this is the cause why the Scripture saith, that Joas was the son of Ochosias, though he were not his naturall soune [sic. sonne], but the sonne of Juda descending from Nathan.

Calvin (p. 86) commented: "As to Joash being called 'the son of Ahaziah' (2 Chr 22:11), the reason is that he was the nearest relative, and was justly considered to be the true and direct heir of the crown. The next heir to the crown belonged to a different line." This last statement seems to imply that Amaziah was not Joash's son. Or, alternatively, that Joash was not the natural son of Ahaziah. At any rate Calvin appears to be clear about Joseph's status, he says: Though he was not naturally descended from Solomon yet he was reckoned his son by legal succession, because he was descended from kings (p. 87).

In his commentary on Jeremiah Calvin (1850 III, 124) states that Shealtiel was the first of Jehoiachin's posterity. He clearly states that there was a direct, unbroken, blood connection between Solomon and Jehoiachin and between Jehoiachin and Joseph (IV, 354). He contends strongly that the covenant made with David was never broken. All that Jer. 22:28-30 means is

that the Kingdom was temporarily suspended "until he comes whose it is" (Ezek 21:26-27; cf. Amos 9:11). It does not mean that Jehoiachin was literally childless because of the mention of him "and his seed" (Jer 24:28) being cast out. The chart below can only reflect Calvin's views as presented in his Harmony of the Gospels. It does not agree with his commentary on Jeremiah. He is the most confused of all the commentators I have examined.

# Calvin (1555)
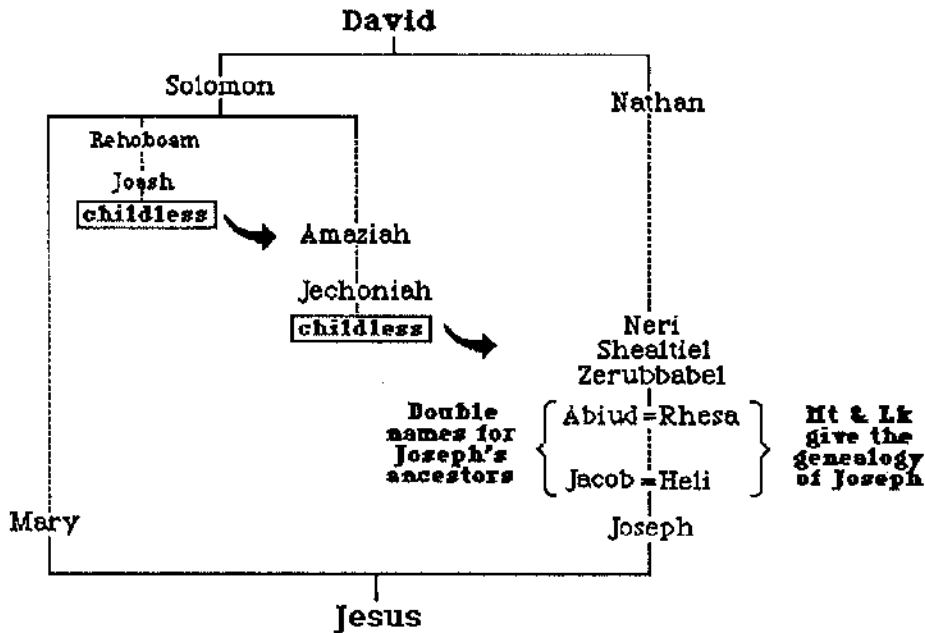


Calvin (1845 I, 83) argued: If any one inquire whether or not the genealogy traced by Matthew and Luke proves clearly and beyond controversy that Mary was descended from the family of David, I own that it cannot be inferred with certainty. The supposition that Luke relates Mary's genealogy is easily refuted. The text expressly says that "Jesus was supposed to be the son of Joseph." Certainly, neither the father nor the grandfather of Christ is mentioned, but the ancestry of Joseph.

He rejected the idea that Joseph was Heli's son-in-law, because he had married Heli's daughter, with the reply: But this does not agree with the order of nature and is nowhere countenanced by an example from Scripture. If Solomon is struck out of Mary's genealogy, Christ will no longer be Christ. (The 1610 edition reads: "Now if Solomon be excluded out of the genealogie of Mary, then shall Christ cease to be Christ.") By this I understand Calvin to mean that Mary's genealogy is also Joseph's genealogy here, not that Luke gives Mary's genealogy. He continued: for all enquiry as to his descent is founded on that solemn promise, "I will set up thy seed after thee...." 2 Sam 7:12-14; Ps 132:11. Solomon was, beyond controversy, the type of this eternal king who was promised to David; nor can the promise be applied to Christ, except in so far as its truth was shadowed out in Solomon (2 Chr 28:5). Now, if the descent is not traced to him, how, or by what argument, shall he be proved to be "the son of David"? Whoever expunges Solomon from Christ's

genealogy does, at the same time obliterate and destroy those promises by which he must be acknowledged to be the son of David. In what way Luke, tracing the line of descent from Nathan, does not exclude Solomon, will afterwards be seen, concluded Calvin.

The diagram above is probably clearer than Calvin's thoughts on the subject. He seems to credit Mary with a direct descent from Solomon without stating his evidence. But, then, this was typical of the times. Many believed she was Davidic without trying to use either genealogy to "prove" her descent.

The Geneva Bible published in 1560 has the marginal comment (probably Theodore Beza's) under Mt 1 that "Albeit the Jewes nomber their kinred by the malekind: yet this lineage of Mary is comprehended under the same, because she was married to a man of her owne stocke and tribe." Under Luke 3 the Geneva Bible has the comment: "Mt counts by the legal descent, and Lk by the natural: finally both are speaking of the same persons applie unto them divers names." This remark is based on Annius' solution.

J. Maldonatus [1534-84] innocently followed Annius in this falsehood in his commentary on Matthew chap. 1 (A. Hervey, 1853:354), as did Bishop Wm Cowper (1623:587-594) when quoting what he thought were Philo's words. Annius' forgeries of other writers of antiquity made a great impact in the 16th century until they too were exposed. C. Blackwood (1658:11) commented:

> In the last 14 generations (chief rulers) they that followed Shealtiel in Luke are supposed to have had two names, according to Philo, till you come to Simeon, so that Neri is the same with Jechonias and Melchi with Joakim. From Azar to Jacob nothing is said of these generations in Scripture, but Mt likely took them out of the tables of the families preserved in captivity, or rather that the Spirit did inspire the Evangelist herein.

Franciscus Lucas (1712 [1606-16]), II, 94) gives Philo's equivalents without questioning them:

Cornelius à Lapide (1892:154) commenting on Lk 3:24 "which was the son of Janna" wrote:

> Janneus, the second Hyrcanus, if we are to believe Annius and Philo, who was the last leader of the Jews of the line of David, and was of the stock of the Asmonaei, or Maccabees; Josephus mentions him in bk. xii. ch. iv, and v., and Eusebius in his Chronicle. For Christ was descended both from high priests, such as Judas, Jonathas, and Simon Maccabaeus and from kings, He being King and High Priest, as S. Thomas and Bonaventure teach, and among the fathers, Nazianzen and Augustine, whom Suarez (*loc. cit.*) quotes and follows. The Kings of Judah used to take their wives from the daughters of the priests.

This comment shows that Lapide was not aware that Annius' work was a forgery.

G. W. Butler (1875:17, 31) put forward the same solution of double names throughout, but he does not seem to have been aware of Annius' work. Maybe he was following the same instinct that drove Annius to his

solution. Butler went as far as one can because he merged both genealogies completely even to the extent of identifying Nathan with Solomon.

### 1.4.3.  Objections to Annius

Hugh Broughton [1549-1612] wrote a treatise (1590 [1588]:23) against Annius' views, and in an 8-page pamphlet (1605). It was he who alerted scholars to the work of Joseph Juste Scaliger (1593) who exposed in a convincing manner that the fragments of Philo alleged to have been discovered by Annius were forgeries.

Broughton campaigned strongly against Annius whose view was incorporated into a genealogical chart inserted into the "Great Bible" (I presume Broughton means the Bishop's Bible, and not the Great Bible which does not have such a table.). Broughton pointed out another forgery which inserted five new names between Zerubbabel and Joseph in Matthew's list in order to bring it closer to Luke's number of generations. The forgery was published in Zurich (see Broughton, 1662:692) but has not survived. Broughton was successful, he says, in having Annius' views omitted in future editions of that Bible.

It would appear that Gregory Nazianzus (AD 390) was aware of the double-names theory a thousand years before Annius thought of it, because he specifically rejects it, saying:

> But some say that there is one succession from David to Joseph, which each Evangelist relates under different names. But this is absurd, since in the beginning of this genealogy, two brothers come in Nathan and Salomon, from whom the lines are carried in different ways. (T. Aquinas, 1843 III, 134)

Du Pin is quoted by the anonymous author of *Jesus, the Son of David* (17309:9) to the effect that the early fathers held that Matthew followed the natural generation and that Mary was the daughter of Jacob (and not Heli). Du Pin quoted Africanus to this effect but it is clear that Africanus did not say this. Du Pin is also misinformed when he argued that Jews were obliged to marry into their own tribe and family. This only applied in the case of heiresses. But this misinformed information often appears alongside the idea that in Joseph's genealogy we also have Mary's.

### 1.5.  John Speed (Luke gives Mary's Nathanic genealogy)

When the Authorized Version was published in 1611 a new 34-page genealogical table was prefaced to the Old Testament. This was the work of John Speed. A brief biography of Speed [1552-1629] is given in the *Biographia Britannica* (1747 VII, 3773-5). He started out as a tailor's boy but his employer recognised his abilities and paid him an allowance to devote himself to scholarly pursuits. He is best known for his ten-volumned work on the History and Maps of Great Britain. He had eighteen children and was buried in St. Giles Cripplegate, London, where a monument is erected to him on the south side of the chancel.

Speed's chart showed that Luke gave Mary's genealogy and Matthew gave Joseph's. This chart reflected Hugh Broughton's view. J. Lightfoot

attributed the plan of Speed's genealogies to Broughton in the Preface to his edition of Broughton's *Works*, (1662):

> In the time, while the *Concent* was printing [1588], he [J. S.] by Mr Broughton's direction, gathered all the genealogies of the Bible into one View, and at the last they were Published under his name, in the form we have them before [=prefixed to] our Bibles. But it was Mr Broughton that directed, and digested them, and there are yet fair Manuscripts of them . . . and in some of them Mr Broughton's own hand.

Because the English Bishops would not endure to have Broughton's name prefixed to the Genealogies, they were published under John Speed's name. Broughton was excluded from the Committees involved in the Authorized Translation as the Archbishop of Canterbury was a staunch opponent of his. This led Broughton to spend most of his time in Germany.

Francis Fry (1865) made an extensive survey of folio editions of the Great Bible (1539-41) and early folio editions of the A.V. So meticulous was he in his scrutiny of the 34 engraved plates of Speed's Tables of Genealogies that he noted twenty-three varieties in the twenty-one editions he was able to isolate and date, in 108 copies that he examined! John Lightfoot, who supervised the publication of Broughton's *Works* (see Preface) noted that Broughton's coat of arms contained two owls and in some editions of Speed's 34-page Genealogies owls appear holding a burning torch to indicate that it was Broughton who gave the Light in that work.

# John Speed's solution (1599)
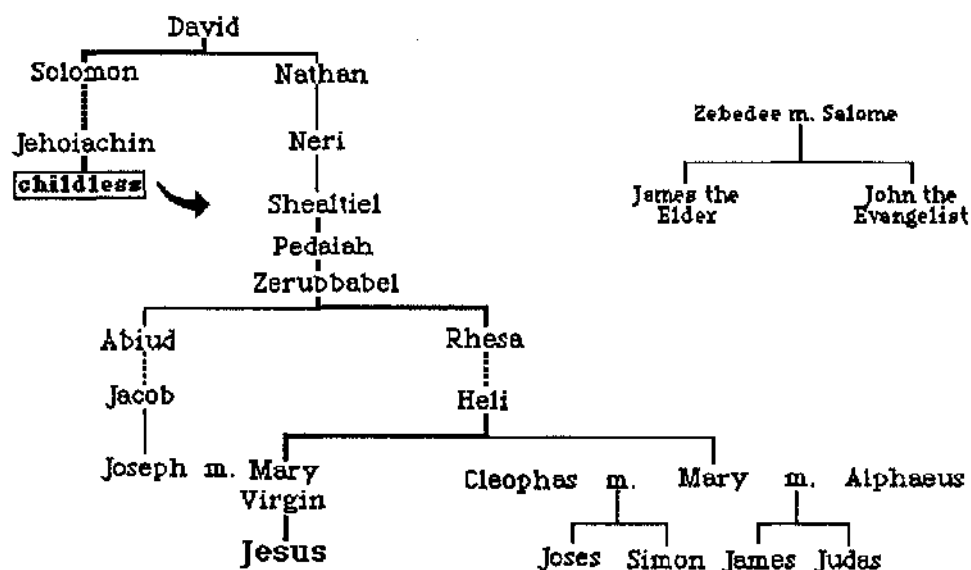


Francis Fry (1865:32) remarked that if Speed published his genealogies for the first time in 1611 he must have been an apt scholar of Broughton's for in 1616 he published a defence of his chart. There is some misinformation here. Speed's genealogies did not appear first in the 1611 Authorized Version but in the 1599 edition of the Geneva Bible, or probably even earlier. The appearance of Speed's chart in 1599, does not, however, rule out Lightfoot's

view that Broughton suggested the plan of it to Speed, for Broughton, as early as 1590 (cf. *Concent*, p. 23), condemned Annius' views appearing in the Bishops Bible.

Speed brought off a spectacular monopoly for his 34-page chart when he obtained from King James I a ten-year patent to have his Genealogical Table and Map of Canaan compulsorarily inserted in the forthcoming Authorized Version. A transcript of this patent can be seen in F. Fry's work (Fry, 1865:40-41) part of which reads:

> Whereas our trustye servant John Speede by his greate industrie and dyligent studye hath gathered, compiled and described a booke intituled the Genealogies of the Holie Scriptures, and alsoe a Mapp or Chart of the land of Canaan, which said Genealogies and Mapp aforesaide in our owne judgment, and by the advisment of manye of our reverend Bisshoppes and others of our Clergie, We have esteemed verie worthie and profitable to be incerted in convenient manner and in due place into everie edition of the Bible newlie translated.....[We] do give and graunt licence and priviledg unto our saide servant John Speede and his assignes, onlie during the tearme of tenne yeares next ensuing the date of theis presentes, to ymprinte, or cause to be ymprinted, the foresaid booke of Genealogies, and the said Mapp of Canaan. And We doe hereby signifie and declare that our will and pleasure is that none of the Bibles newlie translated shall hereafter during the tyme of this our licence be bound upp and uttered, solde, or putt to sale by anye Bookseller or other person or persons whatsoever within our domynions, unlesse one booke of the foresaid Genealogies and one of the said Mappes be first incerted and bound up in due place in the same Bible or Bibles uppon payne of forfeiture of all and everie Bible and Bibles to be uttered, solde, or putt to sale not haveing the foresaid Genealogies and one of the saide Mappes soe first incerted...[if] anye of the said Bibles newlie translated shalbe solde or putt to sale without the said Genealogies and one of the said Mappes....contrarie to the intent of this our graunt, the same [John Speede and a Constable] to take and seize, and in his and their custodye to keepe to the use of us, our heirs, and successors.... (Dated 23rd March, 1611)

Speed's chart appeared regularly in the various editions of the Authorized Version during the term of the patent. The association of Speed's chart with the Authorized Version was so strong that for forty years after the patent had run out his Chart continued to be bound with some editions of it. I have seen his chart in the AV as late as 1640. It also appeared in the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. I have seen it in the Book of Common Prayer for 1611, 1621, 1632 and 1662.

Speed's decision to make Jehoiachin childless reflected the popular opinion of his day. Speed's solution became very popular partly because of the nature of Western society which emphasizes the immediate paternity of a person and partly on the need to find some biological relationship between Jesus and David and since this could only come through his mother it was natural to find her genealogy in one or other of the Gospel texts.

### 1.5.1.  The influence of Speed

Given that every Bible in the land had Speed's chart trumpeting out the view that Luke gave Mary's genealogy it is not surprising that it attracted many adherents. Supporters of Mary's genealogy became legion. The next full-length work in support of Mary's genealogy would appear to be that by E. Yardley (1739).

William Cowper, the Bishop of Galloway in James I's time ( 1623: 591; cf. 1612:1-48) believed (unlike Hervey, 1853:12) that Shealtiel was the natural son of Neri: "Christ our Lord is not the natural son of Solomon . . . he is the natural son of David by Nathan and yet Solomon's lawful heir." Matthew gives Christ as Solomon's heir, as nearest of kin. Cowper also believed (unlike Hervey) that Abiud and Hananiah are the same person (p. 592) and that Rhesa was the same person as Meshullam in support of which he refers to "Rhesa Mesciola" in Annius' forged work of Philo (p. 592).

Cowper received his Christian education under Hugh Broughton which explains his view that Luke gives Mary's genealogy.

### 1.5.2.  Support for Speed

S. J. Andrews (1891:65) lists as supporters of Mary's genealogy, W. Newcome (1778:3; 1827:436), E. Robinson, E. Greswell (1837 II, 103), J. P. Lange (1864 I, 380), K. Wieseler, I. Riggenbach, K. A. Auberlen (1854 V, 112), J. H. A. Ebrard (1863:159), C. H. A. Krafft, S. T. Bloomfield, J. A. Alexander, J. J. van Oosterzee (1869:63), F. Godet (1879 I, 201), C. F. Keil, J. E. Riddle, and B. Weiss (1883 I, 220). (The authors' initials and sources were not supplied.)

P. J. Gloag (1895:265) supplements this list with M. Luther, John Lightfoot, J. J. Hottinger, J. A. Bengel, R. Kidder, C. G. Kuinoel, J. D. Michaelis (1814, art. 79), E. Yardley (1739:231, 237), J. MacKnight, H. Olshausen (1849 I, 39), James Smith of Jordanhill (1853:lix), Dean Spence, and P. Schaff (1879). (The authors' initials and sources were not supplied.)

To these lists can be added, P. Allix (1688:208), the anonymous work, *Jesus, the Son of David* (1730:6), J. E. Riddle (1843:11), J. A. Broadus (1893:234), E. H. Plumptre (1897:262), P. Devine (1884 I, 2), R. South, and H. Elsley (1844 I, 329). The Marian case has been well put by J. Lightfoot (1823 XI, 14), W. H. Mill (1842:203), R. C. H. Lenski (1946:219), A. Roberts (1895:29), and P. Holmes (1866 II, 92), Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ (1831:125).

F. H. Dunwell (1876:604) noted that up to the 15th century the explanation by Africanus was the one which was generally received; and that from the 15th to the 19th century the Marian explanation has been the most popular.

C. à Lapide (1892:152; 1876 VIII, 700) claims to have support for the view that Luke gives the genealogy of Mary's father, Heli, from Augustine, Dionysius the Carthusian, Cardinal T. Cajetan (1542:222), Cornelius Jansenius [R.C., d. 1576], C/Konrad Pellican [Prot., d. 1556], Jean de Gagny (1552), Petrus Galatinus [fl. 1480-1539] (1518 Bk IV. cap. 6), Dominic Soto [1494-1560], John Driedo [c. 1480-1535], Peter Canisius [R.C., 1521-1597], Melchior Cano [c. 1509-1560]. Lapide mentions Franciscus Suarez (1616 XI, 77=1856 XIX, 121, 178) as his source (cf. F. H. Dunwell, 1876:604). A. Hervey mentions that this view was held by a large proportion of Protestant writers, from Luther to the present time [i.e. 1853].

## Miriam the daughter of 'Onion-Leaves' (עֲלֵי בְצָלִים)

The lengths to which some have gone to support their contention that Luke gives Mary's genealogy can be seen in the attempt to remove any difficulty standing in their way. For example nowhere in tradition is Mary's father ever called Heli but since Luke mentions Heli as Joseph's son-in-law (they argue), then Heli must have been Mary's father. L. E. Du Pin (1713 I, 337) quite arbitrarily states that Heli is a shortened form of Heliakim or Eliakim, and, since Epiphanius (AD 403) says that Mary's father was Joachim, then Eliakim and Joachim must be alternative forms of the same name because *Eli*— and *Joa*— are interchangeable abbreviations of the divine names Elohim and Jehovah (cf. 2 Chr 36:4), an argument repeated by J. Barrett (1801) and S. T. Lachs (1987:48). So Annius of Viterbo makes Philo say: "Synonyma sunt Syris et Egyptiis Elyh, Eliakin, Joakin" (1515:XCIII, XCVII). And again in his own person he affirms that Mathan "genuit Joakin, qui et Elyh, patrem naturalem quidem Mariae, et legalem Joseph," (folio CI).

One of the major arguments used in support of the Marian genealogy comes from a Jewish source. J. Lightfoot (1823 XII, 53) quotes the single assumed reference to Mary in the Jerusalem Talmud thus: "He saw Mary the daughter of Heli amongst the shades. R. Lazar Ben [*sic.* Bar] Josah saith That she hung by the glandules of her breasts. R. Josah Bar [*sic.* Ben] Haninah saith, That the great bar of hell's gate hung at her ear." The Hebrew he gives reads:

חמא מרים בת עלי בצלים [.. *sic.*] תליא בחוטי מייא צירא דתרעא דגהינם קביע באודנה

J. Barrett (1801) noted Lightfoot's source where she is called *Mariam bith Eli*, מרים בת עלי, *Mary the daughter of Eli*, and argued that though the latter word is written *eli* עלי, instead of *ali* אלי, this does not invalidate the argument, as א and ע are frequently interchanged (cf. R. Chapman, 1836:18, and G. Gleig, 1817 III, 44). Hervey (1853:138) makes the observation that Heli is written exactly the same as the rendering of עֵלִי, Eli, the high-priest, in the Vatican edition of the Septuagint. In Alexandrinus Eli is expressed Ἡλει, and so is the name of Joseph's father by Gregory Nazianzen. Hervey rejects the identification Eliakim = Joachim as "not supported by any analogy." Names derived from אֵל "God" are usually expressed without the aspirate in Greek (a few exceptions, e.g., Ἐλκανα, 1 Sam 1:1; but in the very same verse אֱלִיהוּא is rendered Ἡλιου. If Heli is from אֵל, and is short for anything, it is probably for Elijah, or Elihu, or Eliab, or some similarly compounded name. It should be noted for the record that the text reads: וחמר למרים ברח עלי בצלים (*Jerusalem Talmud*, Hagigah 77, col. 4, line 57), which neither author has quoted correctly. There are other misprints in Lightfoot's Hebrew quotation.

C. Gore (1895:36) noted that the phrase in *Jerusalem Chagigah* (fol. 77, col. 4) is: וחמא מרים ברח עלי בצלים. He notes Lightfoot's translation: *He saw Miriam the daughter of Heli among the shades* (עֲלֵי בְצָלִים), but he is certain that the only legitimate translation is: *He saw Miriam the daughter of 'Onion-Leaves'* (עֲלֵי בְצָלִים—a nickname of a kind not uncommon in the Talmud), and there is no reason to suppose that there is any reference to Jesus' mother here, he concluded. M. Schwab (1960 VI, 278) has translated the phrase as, "Miriam la fille d'Ali-Beçalim." His transliteration favours Gore's vocalization and interpretation.

Only if it can be shown from the context that Miriam is Jesus' mother would there be a slight possibility that there is genealogical material here. But even if such an identity could be proved, which is very doubtful, there remain three further difficulties. (i) The text reads עלי not אלי; and אלי is the nearest equivalent to Heli. An exception to the general rule is required to identify Heli with עלי. (ii) עלי does not stand alone: it is part of a double-barrelled name, 'Ālî-Beṣalîm (or: 'Ālî Beṣillîm). (iii) The vocalization of עלי is not certain and it is anyone's guess which of the two vocalizations given above is correct. It is a poor case that must call on such a fortuitous sequence of consonants to connect Mary with Heli. It is then misleading to say that Jewish tradition supports this theory in their literature. This is the only reference in Rabbinic literature that lies behind such a claim.

I. H. Marshall (1978:162) identifies 'Ηλί [not 'Ηλί] with Hebrew עֵלִי (cf. 1 Sam 1:3; 1 Kgs 2:27; *et al.*). The identification of the Miriam, daughter of Eli, in j. Hag. 2:77d, 50 (SB II, 155) with Mary, the mother of Jesus, so that Eli would be her father and the father-in-law of Joseph (cf. G. Kuhn, 1923:209 n.) is very conjectural, and is rejected by P. Billerbeck, he concluded.

It must be conceded that to make a case for Mary's genealogy out of the name Heli requires special pleading of a very generous kind.

### 1.5.3. Against the Marian genealogy

S. J. Andrews (1891:58), while a supporter of the view that Luke gives Mary's genealogy, conceded that if we set aside for the present the genealogical table in Lk 3:23-38 as of doubtful reference, there is no express declaration that Mary was of the house of David. The supposition that Lk 1:27 refers to her, though formerly defended by many (e.g. K. Wieseler, 1845; 1869:143), is very doubtful, he says. Against it are J. A. Bengel, H. A. W. Meyer (1877 I, 61), F. X. Patritius, H. Alford, P. Fairbairn and F. Godet. Some have supposed she went with Joseph to Bethlehem at the time of the taxing (Lk 2:5), because she, like him, was a descendant of David (so E. Robinson, 1847:186; W. H. Mill, 1842:209). This Andrews sets aside as surmise.

He noted (p. 59) that the silence respecting Mary contrasts with the prominence given to the Davidic descent of Joseph, and this has led many to suppose that the Evangelists attached no importance to her lineage, but only to her conjugal relation to him. As his wife she became a true member of David's family. Her child belonged to him according to the principle which lay at the foundation of marriage amongst the Jews, that what was born of the wife belonged to the husband. As the child had no human father, and as he adopted it, it became in fact his, and inherited whatever rights or privileges belonged to Davidic descent. Since, then, through His legal relationship to Joseph, Jesus could truly be said to be of the house and lineage of David, it was wholly unimportant to specify the family of Mary (so Da Costa and Fairbairn). That she was, in fact of David's line, is maintained by most who regard the fact as in itself unimportant, or not proved.

The question of the Davidic descent of Mary thus regarded becomes one of secondary interest, as no promise of God is made dependent upon it. But if we take higher ground, argued Andrews, and seek more than a legal relationship, there is good reason to believe that she was of the royal family, and that thus Jesus was in every sense the son of David. Peter at Pentecost

(Acts 2:30) declared that in Him was fulfilled the oath which God swore to David, "that of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh He would raise up Christ to sit on his throne." This language taken in connection with the phraseology of the original promise (2 Sam 7:12), "I will set up thy seed after thee which shall proceed out of thy bowels," seems to point to Jesus as his lineal descendant. The words of Paul readily bear the same interpretation (Acts 13:23): "Of this man's seed hath God according to His promise raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus." Again, he says (Rom 1:3): "Which was made of the seed of David according to the flesh." (See also Isa. 11:1; 2 Tim 2:8; Heb 7:14; Rev 22:16.) In the words of the angel to her (Lk 1:32), "the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of His father David," it is intimated that as her son He was son of David, and so heir to the throne (cf. also Lk 1:69).

Andrews (p. 60) then argues that the prominence given by Matthew to the Davidic descent of Joseph, and his silence respecting the family of Mary, finds a ready explanation in the peculiarities of his Gospel as designed for the Jews. Its very first sentence gives the clue to its right understanding: "The book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." He aims to show that Jesus is the heir to the two great Jewish covenants, that with Abraham and that with David. To this end he must establish first, that Joseph, Jesus' legal father, was of David's house,, and so a lawful heir of the dignity promised in the covenant; second, that Jesus stood in such a relation to Joseph as Himself to have legal claim to all promises belonging to the latter. He therefore brings prominently forward in the beginning of his Gospel the fact that Joseph was of royal lineage, and cites his genealogical register in proof. To have said that Mary was of the house of David, and to have cited her genealogy, would have availed nothing, as it was a rule of the Rabbins, and one universally recognized, that "the descent on the father's side only shall be called a descent; the descent by the mother is not called any descent." He could not therefore speak of Jesus as son of Mary, even had it been generally known that she was of David's line, for as such He had no royal rights. It was only as the son of Joseph that he could be the heir of the covenants. Matthew must therefore bring forth clearly the legal relation in which Jesus stood to Joseph as his adopted son, but for this purpose it was wholly unimportant who his mother was. Hence he says very little of Mary, mentioning only her name, and without any explanatory remarks except respecting her relation as a betrothed virgin, but says much of Joseph. His silence, therefore, so easily explained from the character of his Gospel, respecting Mary's lineage, proves nothing against her Davidic descent.

In reply to Andrews it can be argued but even if she was of Davidic descent can it be shown that she was of the Solomonic line? It could also be argued that Matthew has set out to show that 2 Sam 7:14 was fulfilled. He gives a straight line from Solomon to Joseph which identifies Jesus as the promised successor to David who would deliver Israel. Luke, on the other hand, gives the actual family register of Joseph.

Andrews concluded (p. 61) that the fact that there are two genealogies is in itself remarkable and perplexing. One is the legal genealogy of his father, Joseph, and, as the son of Mary, and without any earthly father, her lineage becomes His. Yet in point of fact this explanation in early times found few or no advocates; the general opinion being that both tables were those of Joseph.

W. H. Mill (1842:196) had to conclude: "We find no tradition more clear, more perpetual and universal" than that both genealogies belong to Joseph.

In effect, while Andrews argues that Luke gives Mary's genealogy, he is honest enough to recognise that there is no direct evidence to support his case. He has come to that conclusion—that Luke gives Mary's genealogy—from the argument of her Davidic descent, and that in turn is based on his view of the OT texts that the Messiah would be of the seed of David. To be of the seed of David, is, for him, a physical thing; and since Joseph was not his father, though Davidic, then Mary must be Davidic. Working back from this logical conclusion he eventually had to attribute Luke's genealogy to her, otherwise there was no evidence for Jesus' Davidic descent. But in the course of his argumentation he has recognised that Joseph could transmit his Davidic privileges to Jesus, and it was sufficient that Jesus was considered to be in the eyes of the nation the son of Joseph for his claim to be Davidic and to be the Messiah to stand, without the need to examine the genealogy of his mother.

### 1.5.4. Objections to Speed

Against Mary's genealogy S. J. Andrews (1891:65) lists H. A. W. Meyer, G. B. Winer, F. Bleek, P. Fairbairn, I. Da Costa, J. H. Friedlieb, F. X. Patritius, W. H. Mill, C. J. Ellicott, B. F. Westcott, J. B. McClellan, F. W. Farrar, A. Sabbatier, and A. Edersheim. To this list can be added the anonymous author of *The Four Gospels as Historical Records* (1895:165), D. F. Strauss (1892:115), and H. Alford (1868 I, 313), and J. Stark (1866:154).

In the 2nd century it was commonly believed that Mary was of the family of David (see §1.2.1.); so Justin Martyr, *Trypho* 43, 45, 100; Irenaeus, III. xxi. 5; Tertullian, *Adv Jud* ; Ascension of Isaiah, x. 2; Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, i. 1. But not a single early Church Father said that Heli was Mary's father or that Luke gives her genealogy. On the other hand there were two who attributed Matthew's genealogy to Mary, namely, Clement of Alexandria (AD 215)(*Strom.* i. 21) and Victorinus (AD 290)(1870:405). J. Daniélou (1967:11) examined the evidence that Mary was Davidic and found it unconvincing, as many others have done in the past.

D. Whitby (1703, *ad loc.*), while prepared to accept that Mary was of the family of David, rejected Mary's genealogy on the grounds that it puts a manifest force upon Luke's words (so also W. W. How, 1872, *ad loc.*). Now is it probable, asked Whitby, that if Luke had intended to signify that it was Mary's genealogy, so exact a Grecian as he was should have done it so obscurely, that from his words the whole stream of antiquity should with a full consent follow the contrary opinion of Africanus that this was the genealogy of Joseph? He made the point that it is taken for granted by all the Jews, that Joseph was as truly the father of Christ, as Mary was the mother, as we learn from Mt 13:55; Lk 4:22; Jn 6:42, what then could be more to the purpose of the authors of these genealogies, than to prove that according to their apprehensions of him, he might be, yea he must be, the son of David, as Joseph was, especially since they well knew the Jews would never grant, or aver, to invalidate this argument, that Christ was miraculously born of a virgin, since that must prove he was the Son of God, and their Messiah, and so by certain and avowed consequence, the Son of David.

In an anonymous work (*Jesus, the Son of David*, 1730:9) the objection is made:

> Nor in the whole scripture will it ever be found that a man is said to beget him who is only married to his daughter; and the reason is plain, because it was recorded shortly after the birth of the child, who the person was that begot them, whereas a son-in-law was called a son when he married the daughter; and was put accordingly under that designation in the Certificate of the grandson's circumcision and Inrolment.

J. MacEvilly (1876 I, 10) objected to Mary's genealogy because of (i) its novelty. It was unknown until the 15th century, and whatever may be said in regard to a few Fathers cited in favour of it (Irenaeus, Origen, Tertullian, and Athanasius), it cannot be questioned that the weight of authority is in favour of Africanus' solution. (ii) It moreover traces our Lord's pedigree to Nathan, and not to Solomon, to whose family the promises were made (2 Kgs 7:12-16). (iii) Again, the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph being most probably nearly related by the *father's* side (since the Evangelist could not attain his object with the Jews in giving any other than the *paternal* genealogy), they would surely coincide before reaching the third or fourth generation, and it is hard to conceive how so wide a divergence in the number and spelling of the names as that given in the gospels could exist between them. (iv) Again, the grammatical construction of "as was supposed" in Luke 2:23 would be fatal to this interpretation, and the insertion of the parenthesis to include Joseph within it, besides being arbitrary and dangerous in principle, would not much mend matters. (v) Finally, the Virgin's name is not at all introduced by Luke, who professes to give the genealogy of our Lord through St. Joseph. For similar criticisms see C. Middleton (1752 II, 29) and A. Plummer (1909:1).

H. L. Mansel (1878 I, 2) urged against the theory (i) that it contradicts the plain words of the Evangelists, who ascribe both genealogies to Joseph; (ii) that it leaves unexplained the similar difficulty with regard to the parentage of Salathiel; (iii) that it is opposed to the general testimony of antiquity, though so simple as to have suggested itself from the first, had there been sufficient grounds for adopting it.

H. Alford (1868 I. pt. i, p. 313) wrote:

> The two genealogies are *both the line of Joseph*, and *not of Mary*. Whether Mary were an heiress or not, Luke's words here preclude the idea of the genealogy being *hers*; for the descent of the Lord is transferred putatively to Joseph by the *as was supposed*, before the genealogy begins; and it would be unnatural to suppose that the reckoning, which began with the real mother, would, after such transference, pass back through *her* to *her* father again, as it must do, if the genealogy be *hers*.

H. A. W. Meyer (1877 II, 61) objected that Luke is not Mary's genealogy even if she is of Davidic descent according to Justin (*Dial. c. Tryph.* xxiii. 45, 100); Irenaeus (iii. 21. 5); Julius Africanus (*ap. Eusebium*, i. 7); Tertullian and others, as well as the Apocrypha of the N.T., (e.g. *Protev. Jacobi* 10, *de nativ. Mariae*). Indeed, in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, on the other hand, the tribe of Levi is definitely alluded to as that to which Mary belonged. If she is not personally of Davidic descent then she cannot be considered to be of Davidic descent through Joseph as is done by the Greek Fathers.

Even if she was an heiress (which has not been not established) this would be quite a matter of indifference so far as her descent is concerned, since the law in Num 36:6 only forbade such daughters to marry into another *tribe,* and in later times this law was no longer observed.

D. F. Strauss (1865 I, 174) commented: "the word γεννάω does not appear capable of denoting anything else than the natural relationship." It is utterly in vain to attempt to extract any other meaning from it; and the sure conclusion therefore is that Matthew gives the true and actual pedigree of Joseph, argued A. Roberts (1895:32).

The anonymous author of *St. Matthew's Gospel* (1878:4) retorted that there is not the most distant hint in any portion of the New Testament that Mary was of the house of David. Other objectors were J. Lingard (1836:228), and C. Campbell (1891:178), "The real point at issue is, whether we have in either pedigree the descent of Joseph or of Mary; and the conclusion all simple readers of Scripture will come to is, that in both instances we have only the genealogy of Joseph. Mary's may be involved in it, but there is no hint of such a thing. The passage itself is as simple as possible until we want to force it to say what it does not say." F. W. Farrar (1880, Excursus II), "we are nowhere told that Mary was of the house of David, for both the genealogies. . . are genealogies of Joseph." If Luke was aware of the Davidic descent of Jesus through Mary, he argued, it would be very difficult to account for its non-appearance in his narrative. On the contrary, twice for Matthew's once, does Luke mention that Joseph was of the house of David; while there is no mention at all, in either Evangelist, of the descent of Mary from David, or any prince. Mary's family is not even named. There is no evidence to show that Mary was of the lineage of David, or that her genealogy is involved in that of Joseph, or that they were first cousins. The bare position must be accepted that it is on Joseph, the putative father of Jesus, not on Mary, that Luke bases any family pretensions or dignity. Luke is the only writer in the NT who speaks of the parents (γονεῖς) of Jesus (2:27, 41; 4:22; cf. 2:48, 33). Mark never alludes to Joseph. F. W. Farrar (1899 Exc. II) rejected Mary's genealogy "because it would do the strongest violence to the language of Luke to make it mean 'being, as was reputed, the son of Joseph [*but really the son of Mary, who was the daughter*] of Eli, &c.' ." R. T. France (1985) likewise objected: the suggestion that Luke gives the genealogy of Mary, the real human parent of Jesus, is unlikely. Not only does Luke state quite clearly that he is giving the genealogy of Joseph, the 'supposed' father of Jesus, but it was not the practice to trace a genealogy through the female line (as distinct from occasionally mentioning the mother in a patrilineal genealogy). N. Geldenhuys (1971 [1950]:150-155), a supporter of Mary's genealogy, acknowledged that it is true that we have no example in the early church fathers or in the other oldest Christian writers before the fifth century (see Creed, *in loc.*), where it is stated that Luke gives the genealogical table of Mary. This, however, proves nothing, he says, for the earliest data in connection with the whole problem we only find in Julius Africanus (about AD 200). What most likely happened, he conjectured, was that in the earliest times the true interpretation of Luke's genealogical table was generally known, so that no problem arose at first. Only when towards the end of the second, or the beginning of the third, century when there was no longer any first-hand connection with the apostles and their

contemporaries and first successors did the genealogical data begin to give trouble.

R. E. Brown (1977:89, 511) noted that the tradition that Mary was a Davidide may have been fostered in Gentile Christian circles where the force of Jesus' legal descent from David through Joseph would not have been appreciated, and so it would have been felt necessary to make Jesus a blood descendant of David through Mary.

W. Hendriksen (1979:222) is the only writer in modern times who has attempted to reply to the objections to Mary's genealogy. An earlier defender was J. J. van Oosterzee (1869:62) and before him E. Yardley (1739).

### 1.6.　Cornelius à Lapide (Heiress—both genealogies are Mary's)

Cornelius à Lapide [1567-1637] made the suggestion that Mary was an only child of Joakim, and so was an heiress. She had to marry within her own tribe (Num 36:7) (cf. 1876 I, 9). Mary being an heiress, her husband would pass into her father's family records, and her son would be reckoned to that family.

Lapide (1892:152) objected to Africanus' solution and suggested that both genealogies were Mary's.

> In the time of Christ it was very well known that Mathan was the common grandfather of Joseph and the Blessed Virgin; and that Jacob, the father of Joseph, and Heli, or Joachim, the father of the blessed Virgin, were full brothers—as Francis Lucas holds— or rather, that Jacob was the brother of S. Anne, the wife of Heli, or Joachim, and mother of the Blessed Virgin; hence the genealogy of one is the genealogy of the other. For the Blessed Virgin was descended, through her mother, from Jacob, Mathan, and Solomon, and, through her father, Joachim or Heli, from Mathat and Nathan.
>
> So S. Matthew gives the genealogy of the Blessed Virgin through her mother S. Anne, while S. Luke gives it through her father Heli, or Joachim, so that Christ may be shown to be descended of the seed of David in both ways.
>
> There is no better way than this of reconciling the genealogies given by SS. Matthew and Luke.

If Luke gives Mary's father, then logically Matthew must give her mother's genealogy (Saint Anne), who was the daughter of Matthan (and the sister of Jacob, Joseph's father), for otherwise all her ancestors, whom Matthew recounts, belong only to Joseph, and not to the Blessed Virgin and Christ, Lapide argued.

Lapide (1903:10) believed that—

> Joakim, the father of Mary, had no male children, a fact which S. Matthew here omits, as something perfectly well known in the age in which he writes. Hence it became the duty of S. Mary to marry a husband of her own tribe and family, that is to say, Joseph. Thus the genealogy of Joseph became the genealogy of the Blessed Virgin.

David

```
         ┌────────────────┴────────────────┐
      Solomon                            Nathan
         ┊                                  ┊
      Eleazar                             Levi
      Mathan                             Mathat
   ┌─────────┴──────────┬─────────────────┐  │
 Sobe              Jacob              Anne   Heli
                     │                  └────┘
              ┌──────┴─────┐                │
          Cleophas     Joseph            Mary
                          └───────┬────────┘
                                Jesus
```
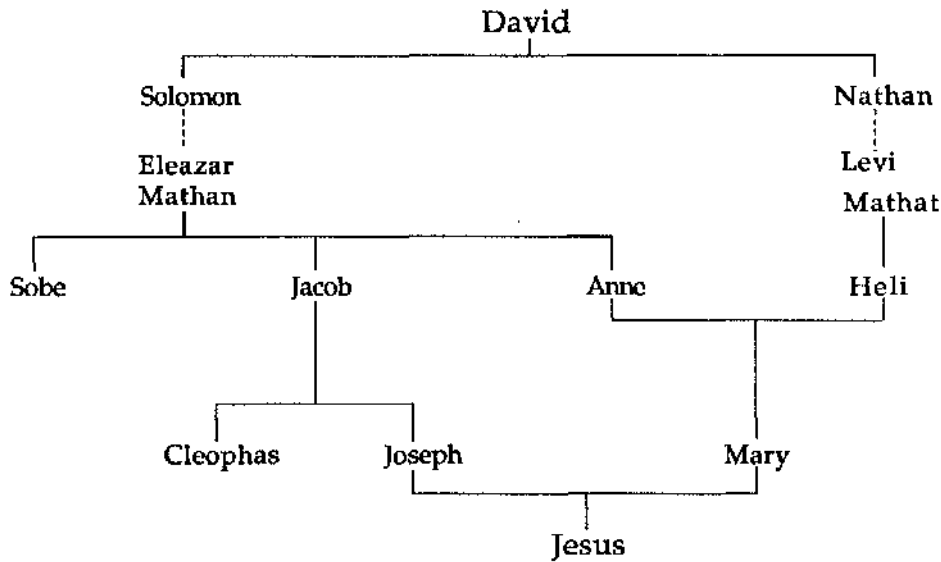
The Church Fathers taught that Joseph and Mary were of the same tribe and family. Why give Joseph's and not Mary's genealogy, since Christ was born of her alone? Answer (i) Because among the Jews—only through the male line did a man obtain his pedigree. (ii) Because Joseph was the true and lawful father of Christ. And Christ was heir not through Mary, but through Joseph according to 2 Sam 7:12; Ps 72:5; 89:29-37 and 132:11-12. The septre passed by the right of hereditary succession. Wherefore as Joseph had a parent's right over Christ, indeed, all rights which parents have over sons, so on the other hand, Christ had, with reference to Joseph, all the rights which sons have in respect to their parents. He had therefore a right to the kingdom of Israel after Joseph's death. Hence the question of the Magi (2:2), "Where is he that is born King of the Jews?" This was what Matthew wished to demonstrate, and this explains why he gives the genealogy of Joseph, rather than of Mary. For she could not be the heiress of the kingdom, so long as heirs male, like Joseph and others, survived.

Christ may be said to be the fruit of the marriage of Joseph and Mary, because He was born *in* wedlock, though not *of* wedlock. He may therefore be ascribed either to His father or His mother. Joseph was more truly the father of Christ than one who adopts a son is the father of that son. He is only a father by adoption, but Joseph was father of Christ by marriage. Mary alone contributed to Christ all that flesh and substance which other fathers and mothers contribute conjointly to their children. She contributed more to Christ than other mothers, because she alone was, in a manner, both father and mother of Christ.

Lapide (1892 [1664]:154) commenting on Luke 3:27, suggested that Zerubbabel and Shealtiel are not the same as in Matthew 1:12 because Luke's line comes through Nathan. He finds support for this view in Benedictus Pereira [*c.* 1535-1610], Franciscus Toletus (1611:262), and Francis Lucas (1606). Perhaps these two descendants of Nathan, being raised to the princely dignity, borrowed the names of those of Solomon's family who were illustrious in that state, he muses.

The crucial assumption made by Lapide is that Anne was Heli's wife, and that Joachim is the same person as Heli. Anna and Joachim are the traditional names for Mary's father and mother—never Anna and Heli.

### 1.6.1. Support for Lapide's solution

The idea that Mary was an heiress was well publicised by P. Holmes (1866 II, 92-101). That Mary was an heiress is likely, argued Holmes, from the fact that no brother of hers is ever spoken of, though a sister is (Jn 19:25), and also from the fact that "contrary to the custom of women" she came up to Bethlehem to be registered (Lk 2:5). He argued that the pedigree in Matthew is Joseph's, that in Luke is Mary's.

The idea had voluminous support, compare I. de Beausobre & J. Lenfant (1779:271), J. Bevans (1822:139), P. Devine (1884:238), W. H. Van Doren (1884 I, 93), E. Greswell (1837 II, 87), H. A. W. Meyer (1880 II, 16) (who mentions Epiphanius, H. Grotius and J. D. Michaelis); R. Mimpriss (1855:49), W. Pound (1869 I, 92) who claims Origen in his support; T. Scott (1823 IX, 146), L. M. Sweet (1907:215), T. Brown (1777:662), J. D. MacBride (1835:129), J. McEvilly (1876:10), F. Martin (1838:84), J. D. Michaelis (1814 I, 422) who gives examples (I, 420-26) of heiresses in the OT.

F. H. Dunwell (1876:604) accepted Lapide's solution as the best available. He judged (p. 70) that the earliest writers, who refer to the genealogies, all interpret Matthew as tracing the descent of Jesus through his mother up to David and Abraham.

What is not clear from a study of the Fathers is whether they understood Mary to be a Davidide in her own right or as a consequence of her marriage to Joseph. She certainly entered the House of Joseph through marriage and so was his property, as it were, and her children would be his, according to the culture of the times. Some think it absolutely essential that Jesus' blood line to David be established if he is to be considered a Davidide, so O. Holtzmann (1904:82) and P. Dibon (1891 II, 421). In point of fact the legal relationship of Jesus to Joseph would satisfy the requirement of the Jewish mind (L. M. Sweet, 1907:209).

I. Da Costa (1851:474) contended that it was not necessary to prove a Davidic descent for Mary, since, by the Jewish law, the descent by the mother was not reckoned, and the children were born to the father, as his, and that the conception of the Holy Spirit altered not at all the *legal* relationship of the son born by Mary to Joseph. The solution, he said, lies in a correct idea of what constitutes *descent, according to the flesh,* in conformity with Israelite views.

> In the biblical world the woman who was given in marriage—(let the comparison be understood in a manner becoming the sacredness of the subject)—was viewed as a living possession, bearing fruit to the husband. Hence the expression we meet with every where: *She bore HIM sons and daughters.* The children belonged to the father—belonged to him just as the fruit of his field did; but they did not belong to him simply as an individual, but, through him, to his whole tribe and race. The fruit of a married woman's womb was a blessing in the house of her husband: it was a blessing by the propagation of his name and posterity in Israel. Hence, when a husband died without having left children, the obligation imposed by the law of Moses on the brother of the

deceased to raise up a posterity by the widow, not for himself, but for his deceased brother; i.e., to propagate that brother's posterity, and to possess *his* heritage.

Now, this first-born Son, whom Mary brought forth at a time when she was engaged by the marriage-bond to Joseph, belonged...to Joseph, and, through him to the race of David and the tribe of Judah.

His conception by the Holy Ghost does not alter the *legal* relationship of the Son, borne by Mary to her husband Joseph. Mary was, and remained throughout, the field blessed by God, which bore its fruit to the house of David, to a son of David (in Mt 1:20, Joseph is so named by the angel with an evident emphasis). Being conceived, however, not according to the ordinary laws of nature, but by the power of the Holy Ghost, without human intervention; the fruit of Mary's womb was on that account not an ordinary man, or simply a *man*, but a *man-God*. Our Lord Jesus Christ accordingly had his incarnation by the Holy Ghost, his humanity by Mary his mother, his right and his name as a Son of David by Joseph, in conformity with the Israelitic laws and institutions.

E. B. Nicholson (1881:18) makes a throw-away suggestion. Has it been suggested, he asks, that Luke's line may be, strictly speaking, not a pedigree at all but a copy from that part of a Bethlehem land-register which showed the successive owners of the property belonging to Joseph? Land being inalienable from a family, and all leases lapsing every fifty years, such a copy would still show a rough family-descent. In this light Salathiel might be either the son of Jechoniah or of Neri, but one might go further and suggest that Salathiel and Zerubbabel are named in Luke, not because they were family-heirs to Neri, or in any way connected with him or with Rhesa, Joanan &c., but because in the 70 years of captivity no settlement of land-titles may have been made and all land-rights may have been looked on as held in trust during that period by the head of the tribe, "the prince of the house of Judah," which Salathiel and Zerubbabel were in turn. But I am far from advocating such an explanation, cautions Nicholson. The suggestion was later picked up by A. Wright (1900:24), L. M. Sweet (1907:215) and S. C. Carpenter (1919:66).

## 1.6.2. Objections to Lapide's solution

The fact that Mary travelled with Joseph to Bethlehem may not be significant because she knew she was the mother of the Messiah and she was fully aware that he would be born in Bethlehem, so this fact could have induced her to go there for the birth. It might have been a deliberate move on her part to fulfil the prophecies relating to the birth of the Messiah.

E. B. Nicholson (1881:17) objected that there is no instance given of a Jewish genealogy in or out of the OT in which the descent of an heiress's husband is traced from his wife's father. The nearest approach to anything of the kind is in Num 32:41; Dt 3:14, where Jair the son of Manasseh's daughter, but great-great-grandson of Judah in male descent, is called "the son of Manasseh;" but this is not in a pedigree, and the vagueness with which the word "son" is used in the OT "to signify almost any kind of descent or succession" (W. Smith, 1893 III, 1355) is well known.

Nicholson further objects that women's names are found in descending pedigrees (as Matthew's) often enough, and, though Luke's is ascending, he might at least have named Mary's parentage (say in 1:27) as a clue. To suppose that without giving any clue whatever he has simply put out a pedigree of Mary with Joseph's name instead of hers is either to suppose that he copied some written pedigree of which he did not know the construction, or else to credit him with the smallest amount of common sense. In either case, some single parallel ought at least to be shown.

D. F. Strauss (1892:115) strongly criticised the heiress solution, as did C. Middleton (1752 II, 29).

### 1.6.3. Modification to Lapide



|            **Matthew**            |            **Luke**            |
| :---: | :---: |
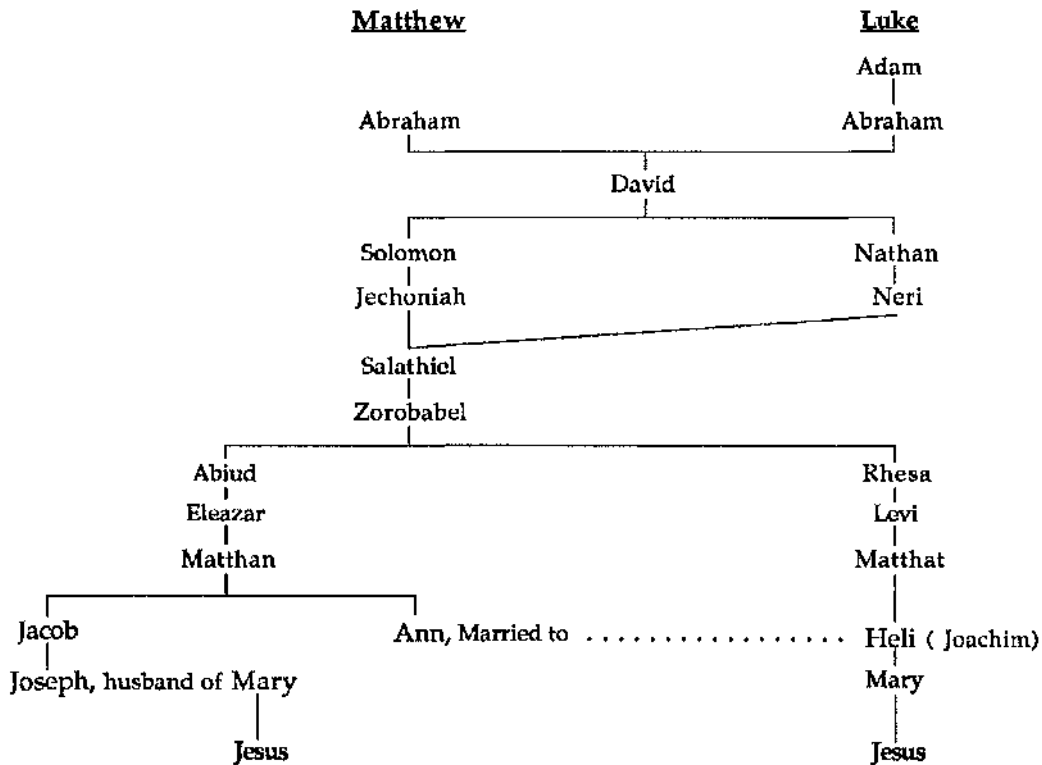
F. H. Dunwell (1876:607) suggested that it was Nathan's line that became extinct with Neri, otherwise he follows Lapide's solution.

H. A. W. Meyer (1880 II, 16) rejected Delitzsch's view who suggested that after the premature death of his father Jacob, Joseph was adopted by Heli as his foster son, and brought up along with Mary; and thus Heli was Joseph's foster-father, but Mary's actual father.

### 1.7. Hugo Grotius (Luke gives Joseph's natural descent)

H. Grotius (1641) is one of the first to make it clear that Shealtiel was the legal son of Jechoniah, and the natural son of Neri. Grotius' comment is:

> For myself, guided, if I mistake not, by very clear, and not fanciful grounds, I am fully convinced, that Matthew has respect to the legal succession. For he recounts those who obtained the kingdom without the inter-mixture of a private name. Then Jechonias, he

says, begot Salathiel. But it was not doubtfully [i.e. it was clearly] intimated by Jeremiah, under the command of God, that Jechoniah, on account of his sins, should die without children (ch. xxii. 30). Wherefore, since Luke assigns Neri as the father of the same Salathiel, a private man, while Matthew gives Jechoniah, the most obvious inference is, that Luke has respect to the right consanguinity, Matthew to the right of succession, and especially the right to the throne—which right, since Jechoniah died without issue, devolved, by legitimate order, upon Salathiel, the head of the family of Nathan. For among the sons of David Nathan came next to Solomon. (Trans. taken from P. Fairbairn, 1858:193)
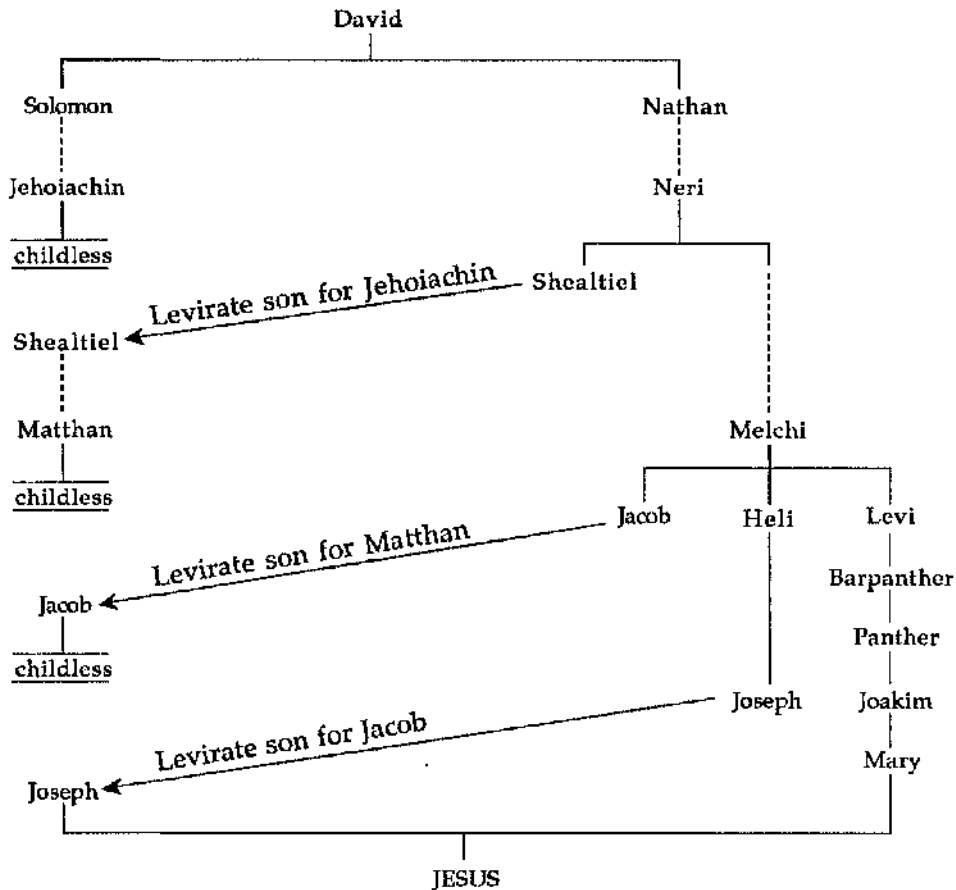


Hugo Grotius in effect modified John Damascene's scheme by making Matthan, Estha's first husband, die childless; Melchi, the second husband of Estha, is represented as the father of three sons, Jacob, Heli and Levi. Jacob the eldest is reckoned by levirate law as the son of Matthan, while the second eldest, Heli, becomes the father of Joseph, who is transferred to the childless Jacob, as his legal son and heir. Levi, the third son of Melchi, has a son called Barpanther, who is the father of Panther (a strange inversion of names), whose son Joakim is the father of Mary. By making Levi the son of Melchi, Grotius has come back into line with the text of Luke.

On this view, Jehoiachin is the last of Solomon's line, and Solomon's line is kept going on three occasions by transfers into his line. Joseph and Mary on this view have no Solomonic blood in them. J. Maldonatus (1888:23) traced the idea that Heli was the actual father of Joseph back to Ambrose and to others mentioned by Augustine in *Quest. 56 in Novum Testamentum*.

L. E. Du Pin (1713 I, chap. 3, p. 222) mentions another opinion that Jacob died without issue and Heli married his widow, so that Joseph was the natural son of Heli, and son to Jacob in the right of Succession, according to the law. This is the opposite to Africanus' story.

H. Broughton (1608:12) (who advocated the Marian genealogy) sees confirmation for Christ's descent from Nathan's line through Neri, whose name means "my light." In 2 Sam 21:17 David, because of old age, is told: "You shall no more go out with us to battle, lest you quench the Ner [נר] of Israel." David called God "Neri" ("my lamp" [נירי] in 2 Sam 22:29). So Neri bore a name for the throne of David that shall continue for ever.

Probably the solution that Matthew gives Joseph's *legal* descent from David, while Luke gives his *natural* descent was the natural progression once Africanus' solution fell out of favour. It has as many adherents now as those who hold that Luke gives Mary's genealogy. Its continuity with Africanus's view is that both genealogies are Joseph's.

H. P. Hamann (1984:12) suggested that in Luke we have the natural line of descent from David down to Jesus, while Matthew gives us the line of kings of David's line and, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the line of pretenders to the kingship. This view agrees with A. Hervey's (1853) insofar as Luke gives Joseph's natural father as Heli, not Jacob.

### 1.8.    Abbé Nicholas Caussin (Two different Josephs)

As we have seen the sixteenth century witnessed various efforts to reconcile the genealogies. Given that both genealogies were Joseph's disagreement arose over who was Joseph's biological father; was it Jacob or Heli? On the hypothesis that one of the genealogies had to be Mary's, disagreement arose over who was her biological father; was it Jacob (C. H. Irwin, [after 1923], p. 399); or Heli or neither? or even Joseph himself?

According to Abbé Nicholas Caussin [1719-1783] the Joseph in Matthew's list was not to be considered the same person in Luke's list; one was the father of the other, and both had the same name. He published a work in 1759 in which he suggested that Mary was the daughter of Joseph (=Joseph I) mentioned in Matthew 1:16, and was married to another Joseph (=Joseph II) mentioned in 1:18. Father and son had the same name and this accounted for the confusion. It also supplied the missing generation in the third group. It would appear (after considerable search) that no copies of this work have survived. A summary of the work appeared in the *British Magazine* 6 (1834) 1-10. The work was quickly condemned and suppressed by his ecclesiastical superior.

H. A. Blair (1964:153) suggested that Joseph in Matthew was the father, not the husband, of Mary. Mary was the 14th member of Matthew's third group and the original reading was, 'Jacob begat Joseph, and Joseph begat Mary, of whom was born Jesus.'

Paula Seethaler (1972:256-57) accepted the rather desperate hypothesis that Matthew and Luke give us the genealogies of two different Josephs (cf. R. E. Brown, 1977:89).

### 1.9. Johannis Barrett (Luke gives Mary's Solomonic genealogy)

Annius in his forged work on Philo showed that the names in Luke and Matthew from Joash through to Jannai (or twenty-eight generations) were double names for the same person. But his scheme of double names from Zerubbabel to the end of the OT canon was not taken up by anyone. J. Barrett (1801) and A. Hervey (1853) attempted their own list of double names based on the assumption that Matthew and Luke ought to have followed Zerubbabel's genealogy as given in 1 Chronicles 3:17-24.

Matthew and Luke represent one genealogy

| Matthew 1 | 1 Chron. 3 | Luke 3 | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Salathiel | Salathiel | Salathiel | |
| Zerubbabel | Zerubbabel | Zerubbabel | |
| —omitted— | Rephaiah | Rhesa | |
| —omitted— | Arnan/Onan | Joanna/Jonan | |
| Abiud | Obadiah | Juda | |
| Eliakim | Shechaniah | Joseph/Josech | |
| —omitted— | Shemaiah | Semei | |
| —omitted— | —omitted— | Mattathias | These two |
| —omitted— | —omitted— | Maath | interpolated |
| —omitted— | Neariah | Nagge | |
| Azor | Azariah/Elioenai | Esli | |
| —omitted— | Joanan/Joanam | Naum/Anum | |

The genealogy continues
as two distinct branches

| Matthew 1 | Luke 3 |
|---|---|
| —omitted— | Amos |
| Sadoc | Mattathias |
| Achim | Joseph |
| Eliud | Janna |
| Eleazar | Melchi |
| Matthan | Levi |
| Jacob | Matthat |
| Joseph | Heli |
| | Mary |

JESUS

Barrett attempted to reduce the post-Exilic lists of names to a single register in order to prove that the names Shealtiel and Zerubbabel in Matthew and Luke refer to the same pair of individuals, and hence to give Mary a Solomonic lineage. He might also have attempted to remove the embarrassing and glaring discrepancy between the two gospel genealogies and 1 Chronicles 3:17-24. He could not deny, however, that for the pre-Exilic period there were two distinct branches recorded in Matthew and Luke. This fact strengthens the case that there are likewise two distinct branches recorded in Matthew and Luke for the post-Exilic period.

His choice of names to fill in the Chronicles column is very questionable. He has a low opinion of the accurate transmission of the Hebrew and LXX texts and he is prepared to transpose verses (e.g. 1 Chr 3:18 is

placed after v. 20; cf. R. Chapman, 1836:13) and transpose consonants to arrive at his identifications. His identification of Shemaiah (1 Chr) with Semei (Lk) was taken up by A. Hervey (1853) who appears to have got his idea of double names from this work.

The test of any solution is the relationship between Shealtiel and Neri on the one hand, and between Joseph and Heli, on the other. Barrett's solution is to argue by analogy, that is, in the same way as Neri is said to be the father of Shealtiel, though it is evident he was no more than his maternal grandfather, so Heli would appear to be the maternal grandfather of Christ, although he is called his father. Barrett believed that the Messiah had to descend from Solomon, not Nathan, and so he took the option that Shealtiel was the natural son of Jehoiachin and Joseph was the natural son of Jacob. He understood Shealtiel and Joseph to have father-in-laws but not to be levirate sons. If Shealtiel was the natural son of Neri then Mary, and consequently Christ, did not descend from Solomon, and this would contradict the divine promise of 2 Sam 7:12-16, he argued.

But Barrett has not moved the solution beyond what Speed and Annius before him have advocated, in that he too believed that Luke gave Mary's genealogy, except that where they believed that Solomon's line died out, Barrett chose to keep the Solomonic connection through to Joseph, which is a significant difference. He quotes the statement of Calvin, that "If Christ has not descended from Solomon, he cannot be the Messiah." But Barrett was unaware that Calvin did not envisage a physical blood connection between Mary (or Joseph) and Solomon. Calvin accepted that Solomon's line died out as early as Joash. It was enough for him that there was a legal connection with Solomon. But then what solution ever denied this? It was a safe assertion to make because it can be appropriated by all the solutions presented in this work.

Support for his particular approach came from J. Bevans (1822:135), R. Chapman (1836:9-19 who gives an English synopsis) and was treated sympathetically by A. Clarke (1840:400-408 who also gives an English summary of Barrett's work).

G. Kuhn (1923:208-09) worked out a scheme whereby the Lucan list from Jesus to Mattathias, son of Semein (in Luke's list nos. 1-15) is a duplicate of the list from Jesus/Joshua to Mattatha, son of Nathan (in Luke's list nos. 29-41). In this way he shortened the list between Jesus and David by fifteen names, which reduced the number to twenty-eight, which in turn equalled Matthew's total for the same period. However, the scheme still left twenty-two names in Luke as against fourteen in Matthew between Jesus and Shealtiel. It solved nothing.

## 1.9.1. Double names

J. Stark (1866:154) denied that Luke gave Mary's genealogy with the argument:

> But there is a fact stated in these lists which is totally at variance with the idea that the one list contains the names of Mary's progenitors, while the other list gives those of Joseph, and it is this, that both lists agree as to the person who was the grandfather of Joseph. Matthew calls him Matthan, while Luke names him Matthat; but it is the

same name. If this be so, then the lists are easily reconciled...two names for the same person, and so Joseph's father had two names, i.e. Jacob and Heli.

In support of double names he points to Matthew=Levi; Simon=Peter; Iscariot=Judas; Jethro=Reuel=Raguel=Hodab (Ex 3:1=3:2=Num 10:29=Jud 4:11).

The trouble with this solution is how far back can he go applying his theory? Would Solomon and Nathan be two names for the same man?

We noted above (§1.4.3.) the remark of Gregory-Nazianzus (AD 390) condemning the double-names solution.

The knowledge that men often had two names was well-known and this was thought to be the case with the two genealogies of Jesus. Some thought that this was sufficient to reconcile the genealogies (cf. anonymous, *St. Matthew's Gospel*, 1878:4), and R. Glover (1956:5). Others, like H. Alford (1868 I, 313), mentioned this as a contributory cause to the confusion now evident in the genealogies: "With all these elements of confusion, it is quite as presumptuous to pronounce the genealogies discrepant, as it is over-curious and uncritical to attempt to reconcile them."

Johannes Lucidus (1546:50) made full use of Annius' work and drew up a table showing Luke's seventy-six names (he omitted Cainan II). His main purpose was to try and merge the two tables as much as possible, and so obliterate the disparity between them (see §1.4.2. above).

The most extreme attempt to merge the two tables was that attempted by G. W. Butler (1875:17-31). He drew up a table of fifty examples of double names found scattered throughout the Bible in an attempt to merge the two genealogies by the force of analogy, rather than by demonstration.

F. P. Kenrick (1849:35) and W. W. How (1872, *ad loc.*) tentatively suggested that Heli and Jacob were two names for the same person and so Heli was Joseph's natural father.

## 1.10.　Christian Observer (Luke gives Mary's father and mother)

Some unusual attempts were made to explain individual anomalies between the Evangelists' lists, such as Matthew's twenty-eight generations as against Luke's forty-three. Such an attempt was published in the *Christian Observer* for 1811. The discrepancy between the longer list in Luke for the period from the Exile to the birth of Jesus was solved by suggesting that Luke has merged two separate genealogies, one was Mary's father and the other her mother.

# Christian Observer (1811)



**David**

Solomon — Nathan
Jechoniah — Neri
Sheⁱaltiel / Zerubbabel

Abiud — Rhesa / Joda — Joanan / Josech
Jacob — Matthat (Mary's father) — Heli (Mary's mother)
Joseph — Mary
**Jesus**
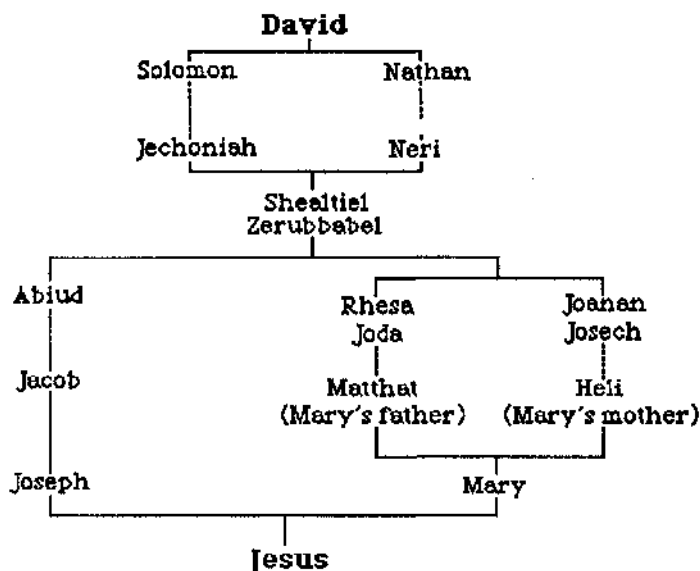
Even if correct it solves nothing.

From Zerubbabel to Joseph are ten generations according to Mt., and by Lk twenty generations. Hence Lk. has recorded the collateral branches of Mary's family, viz. her paternal and maternal descent. It is possible that the original registers consisted of columns, and that these columns were later run together by the scribes and so account for the present difficulties.

### 1.11.  Daniel Benham (Three merged tables in Luke)

D. Benham (1836) also tried to account for the longer Lukan list. He believed he could discern three distinct genealogies which had become merged into one long list. His theory began with the observation that some names are duplicated in Luke's list, and on the basis of these duplications he divided Luke's genealogy into three distinct tables.

## Benham's Composite Lists

|  | List C | | List B | List A |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Matt 1 | Lk 3:29-30 | Lk 3:25-28 | Lk 3:23:24 |
| 1 | Adiud |  | Rhesa   ? ? |  |
| 2 | Eliakim* | Eliakim* | [?] |  |
| 3 | Acor | Jonam* | Joanan* | Jennai* |
| 4 | Zadok | Joseph* → Joda* | [^] |
| 5 | Akim | Judah* → Joseoh* | [?] |
| 6 | Eliud | Simeon* | Semein* | Melki |
| 7 | Eleazar | Levi* | Daughter m. (Mattathias) | Daughter m. Levi* |
| 8 | Matthan* | Daughter m. Matthat* | Maath* | Daughter m. Matthat* |
| 9 | [?] | Jorim | Naggai | [?] |
| 10 | Jacob | Eliezer* | Daughter m.(Eli)  Jacob | Eli* |
| 11 | [?] | [?] | Daughter m. Nahum | [?] |
| 12 | [?] | [?] | Amos | [?] |
| 13 | [?] | [?] | Mattathias | [?] |
| 14 | Joseph* | (Mary) | Joseph* | (Mary) |
| 15 | Jesus | (Jesus) | (Jesus) | Jesus |

\* indicates the same name (with some difference in spelling) and refers to the same person.
(This table has been constructed on the basis of Benham's view.)

Another way of presenting his view is to superimpose his three lists on top of one another.

David

List C
Lk 3:29-31 ——→ Nathan                                        Solomon                                  List B
                                                             Ahaz                                     Lk 3:24-28
                         Mattatha                            Hezekiah                                          Er
                                                             Menasseh                                         Elmadem
                                                             Amon                                             Cosam
                                                             Josiah                                           Addi
                         Menna                               Jechoniah          Neri m. daughter      Melki m. daughter
                                                             Shealtiel m. daughter

                         Melea                                                  Zerubbabel
                         daughter                                              Abiud=Rhesa
                                                                               Eliakim

                                            Jonam¹                    Azor

List A ——→                                                           Zadok
Lk 3:23b-24b                                 Judah²                   Akim
                                             Joseph³                  Eliud
                                             Simeon⁴                  Eleazer
                         Melki                                        Mattathias⁵
                         daughter   Levi    daughter

                              daughter              Matthat⁶

Jorim                              Neggai          Jacob
                                   daughter m. Esli
                                          daughter m. Nahum
Eliezer                                                  Amos
daughter                                                Mattathias
*Mary*

                              Joseph

                    Jesus

1    Jonam=Joanan=Jannai                2    Judah=Joda
3    Joseph=Josech                      4    Simeon=Semein
5    This name is not in Matthew's list 6    Matthat=Matthan=Maath

Even if correct his scheme solves nothing.

## 1.12.   Arthur C. Hervey (Matthew gives Mary's genealogy)

The most useful, critical, full-scale treatment of the problem of Jesus' genealogies was that given by the Bishop of Bath & Wells, Lord Arthur Hervey in 1853.
His position is summed up in the following diagram.
Hervey's solution is built on the following assumptions:—
1.    That Jechoniah was childless
2.    That Shealtiel was childless
3.    That Meshullam, Pelathiah and Jesaiah were all childless
4.    That Shelomith married Elionai, the grandson of Shimei
5     That Abiud (or Juda) was the son of Elioenai
6.    That Eleazar was childless
7.    That Matthan and Matthat are the same person
8.    That Mary was the daughter of Jacob

```
                    Neri
          ┌──────────┴──────────┐
   Shealtiel          Pedaiah
      ═╪═                 │
       ↳                  │                    ┌──────────┐
                     Zerubbabel            Shimei
                          │                Neariah    1st generation
         ┌────────────┬───┴──────┐             │
   Meshullam    Hananiah    Shelomith  m.  Elioenai   2nd generation
      ═╪═       (=Joanna)   (daughter)
       ↳            │                                  3rd generation
              ┌─────┴──────┐
         Pelathiah         │                           3rd generation
            ═╪═            │
             ↳        Jesaiah
                        ═╪═
                         ↳              Abiud          4th generation
                                       (=Juda)
                              ┌──────────┴────────┐
                        Eliakim             Joseph         ↑
                        Azor                Semei          │
                        Zadok               Mattathias     │
                        Achim               Maath          │
                        Elid                Naggi          │
                        Eleazar             Esli           │
                                            Naum       13 generations
                                            Amos           │
                                            Matthathias    │
                                            Joseph         │
                                            Janna          │
                          ═╪═               Malchi         │
                           ↳                Levi ──────────↓
                                            Matthan=Matthat
                              ┌──────────────┴──────┐
                        Jacob                    Heli
                          │                         │
                       (No sons)                    │
                        Mary         m.          Joseph
                          │
                        JESUS
```

According to Hervey Jechoniah was literally childless and the crown
passed into Neri's family, to Shealtiel his natural son. He then traces a very
complex set of catastrophes whereby Shealtiel is childless and the family
fortunes pass to Zerubbabel, his nephew. Zerubbabel's line dies out and the
inheritance passes through his daughter, Shelomith, who married Elioenai.
The line of Elioenai died out with Eleazar and the inheritance passed over
into Matthan's family who had two sons, Jacob and Heli. Jacob's line ended
with a daughter, Mary, and Heli had a son, Joseph, who married his cousin
Mary, the mother of Jesus. Such is the theory.

Hervey (1853:5) acknowledged that had it seemed good to the Holy
Ghost to give us in express terms the lineage of Mary, he might have done so
without any deviation from Jewish or scriptural custom. By the same method
by which we are informed of the lineage of Milcah, Rebecca, Rachel, Elisheba,
Zeruiah, Segub's mother, Bathsheba, Elizabeth, and innumerable others, it

would have been easy to record the name of the father or of the family of the Virgin. If we take the scriptural narrative in its plain natural sense, he argued, there is really no room for doubt or question, but that in both Gospels the genealogy of our Lord Jesus Christ is traced through Joseph.

He then (p. 7) notes that Chrysostom, and others after him, apply the words "of the house of David" to Mary. But that they belong to Joseph is clear from their position, from the allusion to the same fact in 2:4, from a comparison of the similar description of Zacharias, in 1:5, and from the insertion of τῆς παρθενου instead of αὐτῆς after the following τὸ ὄνομα, which shews that the intervening words had applied to some one else.

Next he notes (p. 8) that under the marriage contract Mary belonged, *in virtue of her husband*, to the house of David. (Cf. Jn 1:45, 49, Philip's speech to Nathanael, "We have found Him of whom Moses . . . . and . . . the prophets, wrote, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph.") So that we seem to be fully justified in saying, that all the incidental notices of Jesus, as the son of David, fall in with that view which the genealogies bear upon the face of them, viz. that he was, and was considered to be, the son and heir of David in virtue of the descent of Joseph his (reputed) father. And there is consequently not the slightest encouragement from Scripture to understand the genealogies otherwise than in their obvious meaning, as the genealogies of Joseph.

He suggested (p. 9) that the idea that Luke gives Mary's genealogy arose in order to explain (i) the double line of ancestry deduced through Solomon and Nathan respectively; and (ii), in order to satisfy the feeling which is natural to us, that Mary's genealogy ought to have been given, and that if she was not of the seed of David, the promise that "of the fruit of David's loins, God would raise up Christ to sit upon His throne," would not have been fulfilled, inasmuch as in no real sense could Jesus then be said to be "of the seed of David."

Hervey's first major assumption (p. 12; cf. pp. 37, 344) is that Matthan (Mt 1:15) is the same person as Matthat (Lk 3:24). This is quickly followed by his second, namely, that Jechoniah was literally childless. Where Matthew calls Shealtiel the son of Jechoniah, understand legal son, he advises. Where Luke calls Shealtiel the son of Neri, understand the natural son of Neri. To sustain this interpretation Hervey held that "begat" in Matthew has two meanings: sometimes it means natural son but sometimes it means legal son. The same applies to the relationship between the persons in Luke's genealogy.

From Jeremiah 23:5-6 Hervey argued (p. 17) that the future "Righteous Branch" and King would not be of the seed of Jehoiachin, but would descend from David in some other way. As proof he refers to Isaiah 11:1 where he takes נצר to mean the stump of a tree cut down. A sucker grows from its roots. He takes this as a picture of the royal tree having been cut down to the ground by the failure of Solomon's line in Jehoiachin and there grew up from the stump another line, that of Nathan; Isa 40:24 (cf. Job 14:7-8 and Isa 53:2).

Having thus established the point that Matthew does not give us in his gospel the lineal parentage of Joseph, it becomes easy to see upon what principle these genealogies are framed, reasoned Hervey (p. 20). The principle he argues for is based on a distinction between the promises made to David and to Solomon. The promises made to David are unconditional; the

promises to Solomon are not stated in such unconditional terms. The promise to David distinctly requires that Christ should be David's seed (unconditional); the promises to Solomon will be quite satisfied by Christ being *his heir*. He points out that in Acts 2:30 Peter refers to the promise made to David that "of the fruit of his loins, according to the flesh, God would raise up Christ to sit upon his throne." The promise to Solomon was that his throne would be established forever, "and My mercy shall not depart away from him, as I took it from Saul." 2 Sam 7:13-16 says his throne is *for ever* (Ps 89:35-36); also 1 Chr 17:14. But Hervey can then point to Numbers 27:8-11, where, if a man have no son the inheritance passes over to his daughter.

Hervey assumes (p. 21) that before the Babylonian Exile Shealtiel, the natural son of Neri, was formally acknowledged as heir of the Royal House and as such had been reckoned among the "sons of Jeconiah."

Africanus had hinted in an indirect manner that upon the failure of Solomon's line the descendants of Nathan his brother might be his legal heirs. Joseph was Solomon's heir only inasmuch as he was Nathan's descendant (cf. Hervey p. 343). From time to time when Shealtiel's line failed to provide a son, a son was brought in from Nathan's line, and in this way the line was continued down to Joseph.

Hervey, on the other hand, does not accept this state of affairs. He believed that there was no break in Abiud's line of descent until Eleazar who had no son, and it was at this point that Matthat (from the line of Rhesa) was brought in and made Eleazar's heir.

Given Hervey's approach he is forced to amalgamate the two lists between Matthan and Jesus. If Africanus is correct that there were many occasions when the line of Abiud had to be kept going by grafting in sons from Rhesa's line then his scheme makes better sense than Hervey's, who, as soon as there is one break in the line of descent, merges the two distinct lines of Abiud and Rhesa into one line. Hervey's scheme does not allow for Africanus' multiple marriages between the two lines to take place.

In order to strengthen his case that the Hebrews could have double genealogies, one showing the natural descent and the other showing the line of inheritance, Hervey (p. 26) drew on the analogy of Jair, son of Manasseh, and Jair, son of Judah. In 1 Chr 2 his genealogy appears among those of the house of Judah; and he is shown to derive his origin through his paternal ancestors from Hezron the son of Pharez, the son of Judah. For his father Segub, was the son of Hezron. But Moses always calls Jair "the son of Manasseh," (Num 32:41; Dt 3:14-15); and tells us, moreover, as does the author of 1 Chron 2, of his possessing a number of small towns in Gilead, which he calls Havoth-Jair—the towns of Jair. The explanation of this apparent discrepancy is supplied in 1 Chron 2:21-23, where we read that Hezron married, in his old age, the daughter of Machir the son of Manasseh, who bare him Segub, and that Segub begat Jair, who had twenty-three cities in the land of Gilead. But it is added that Hezron's other son by Machir's daughter, Ashur, had his inheritance in Judah; for he was the father of Tekoah, a city of the tribe of Judah. Here, then, is a clear instance of a double genealogy, according to one of which Jair was descended from Judah his true paternal ancestor; but according to the other was descended from Manasseh, among whose descendants he became possessed of a considerable property.

We have here also an example of two branches of the same family being reckoned to different tribes; for while the children of Segub were reckoned to Manasseh, the children of his brother Ashur were reckoned to Judah. And it is obvious to conclude, that what could take place as regards different tribes, might also take place in regard to different families of the same tribe.

Hervey surmised (p. 28) that it was the law of property and inheritance which determined the content of the genealogies. He believed the genealogies of the Jews to have been as much affected by property as by blood; to have been almost as much geographical as strictly genealogical divisions. The principle being once laid down that such a portion of the country was the property of such a tribe, and such a town or district the inheritance of such a family, it followed that whoever, in the lapse of ages, acquired property in such portion or district must make out his genealogical connection with such tribe or family. This would, of course, often be done by marriage with a female of the tribe or family; but sometimes it must have happened that a collateral branch succeeded to an inheritance of some different family, or that means were found even for incorporating into a tribe or family those who had no blood-relationship with it at all, as for example proselytes. I believe, says Hervey, that whenever it was practicable a real connection was effected by marriage—as many of the following examples will shew. The point however here insisted upon is, that whenever any person had property, his genealogy, by which I mean that which was recorded in the public and national tables, would exhibit him as belonging to the tribe and family to which, according to the original settlement and partition of the land, that property belonged. Thus Jair was inscribed in the tribe of Manasseh, because Havoth-Jair lay in the bounds of the half-tribe of Manasseh to the east of Jordan.

In like manner Shealtiel and Zerubbabel were ascribed to the family of Jechoniah, when they inherited that portion in Bethlehem and in Jerusalem and that title to the throne which was the birthright of the line of Solomon and David.

Hervey's second example (p. 29) of a double genealogy is Caleb. He is usually called the son of Jephunneh, but he was a Kenezite, which is explained by Othniel, the brother of Caleb, being called the son of Kenez; whence it is obvious to conclude that Kenez was Caleb's grandfather or ancestor yet more remote, and the founder of his house. But in 1 Chr 2 we have the genealogy of Caleb where he is the son of Hur, the son of Caleb, the son of Hezron, the son of Pharez, the son of Judah. But in 1 Chr 4:13,15, Caleb and Othniel are the sons of Jephunneh and Kenez, but without the slightest hint who Jephunneh and Kenez are. The solution I believe, says Hervey, is that Caleb was not strictly an Israelite at all, and the designation "the Kenezite" imports as much. His father Jephunneh, and his grandfather or ancestor Kenez, belonged to some tribe probably friendly to the Israelites, and may be compared to Jethro, and to the Kenites. That Caleb was not an Israelite is confirmed by Josh 15:13, "Unto Caleb the son of Jephunneh he gave a part among the children of Judah;" also in Joshua 14:14, "Hebron therefore became the inheritance of Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenezite unto this day, because that he wholly followed the Lord God of Israel;" just as it was said to Ruth by Boaz, "A full reward be given thee of the Lord God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust," (Ruth 2:12). Compare too Ezra 6:21. But

since Caleb's inheritance lay within the borders of Judah it was necessary that he should be reckoned genealogically as one of that tribe.

It is not unlikely (p. 31) that either Caleb's mother or his wife may have been the daughter of Hur, and so the ties of affinity have been added to those of property to connect him with the tribe of Judah. Whatever is certain is, that Caleb has a double genealogy, through Jephunneh and Kenez on the one hand, through Hur, Hezron, and Judah, on the other. In Gen 36:11, we find that Kenez is an Edomitish name (cf. 1 Chr 1:36).

Hervey noted (p. 33) that 1 Chronicles 4 supplies us with three further instances of persons reckoned in the genealogy of the tribe to which their mother belonged, which of course makes a double genealogy supposable in their case.

In the first example the sons of Zeruiah, David's sister, are Abishai, Joab, and Asahel, who are reckoned with the family of Jesse; the name of their father is not given, but we are told in 2 Sam 2:32, that when Asahel died, they "buried him in the sepulchre of his father, which was in Bethlehem," by which it should seem to be yet further proved how entirely the sons of Zeruiah were reckoned as of the house of Jesse: a fact which is perhaps also indicated in the name of Abishai, ישׁי אב "A father of Jesse."

The second example is Amasa, the son of Abigail, David's other sister, whose father, Jether, seems to have been an Ishmaelite (1 Chr 2:17). Cf. 2 Sam 17:25, where *Israelite* seems to be a corruption for *Ishmaelite*.

The third example concerns the descendants of Sheshan by his daughter, whom he gave in marriage to his Egyptian servant Jarha (1 Chr 2:35). In 1 Chr 2:31, we read, "And the children of Sheshan, Ahlai." And at 2:34, returning to Sheshan, it is said, "Now Sheshan had no sons, but daughters: and Sheshan had a servant, an Egyptian, whose name was Jarha. And Sheshan gave his daughter to Jarha his servant to wife, and she bare him Attai. And Attai begat Nathan, and Nathan begat Zabad, &c." Again in 1 Chr 11:41, we read, "Zabad the son of Ahlai." The question arises Who is Ahlai? The English version by putting children instead of sons, seems to imply that Ahlai was the name of Sheshan's daughter, which is the opinion of Junius and Tremellius. My own conjecture, says Hervey, at first sight was that Ahlai (אחלי) and (עתי) Attai indicate the same person, viz. the son of Sheshan's daughter, who was grandfather to Zabad, which I have since learnt was Wall's conjecture also. A third solution is by Beeston (1840:28) that Ahlai is the Hebrew name given to Jarha on his circumcision signifying, "Brother to me" (אח לי), to express his adoption into the family of Israel; and Beeston thinks this is a clear example of a son-in-law reckoned as a son. It is difficult to decide which of these is the true solution, concluded Hervey. A fourth solution by G. Burrington (1836) following Houbigant, that Ahlai was the true son of Sheshan, born after his daughter's marriage with Jarha, strikes me, says Hervey, as highly improbable, and as being effectually refuted by a comparison of 1 Chr 11:41 with 1 Chr 2:35-36.

The fourth example concerns the sons of Barzillai. In Neh 7:63 we have mention of priests of the sons of Barzillai. The origin was that one priest took one of the daughters of Barzillai the Gileadite to wife, and the offspring was called after their name, but were not permitted to perform the office of a priest, because they could not prove their priestly descent.

Hervey conjectures (p. 35) that allured by a large dowry (for Barzillai was a very great man, 2 Sam 19:32), the priest who married one of his daughters had allowed himself and his descendants to be reckoned as children of Barzillai, and so had been left out of the register of the families of the priests. If this is not the reason it is clear that these priests had a double genealogy, according as their line was traced up to Barzillai and his ancestors, or through Barzillai's son-in-law to Aaron.

J. D. Michaelis (1814 I, 424) has collected together some unusual marriages in the Bible and they are instructive in showing that there were some unusual ways in which a man might continue his pedigree out of the ordinary manner, which were at the same time perfectly legal.

Hervey concludes (p. 36) by reiterating his view that Luke gives Joseph's real ancestors and Matthew gives the list of the succession to the throne. "St. Matthew and St. Luke's lists contain the names of members of Nathan's descendants for the time subsequent to Jeconiah . . . Joseph himself was lineally descended from Nathan and that the persons in St. Matthew's list between Jeconiah and Jesus were *adopted* into Solomon's line." He argues (p. 38) that Shealtiel and Zerubbabel were Nathan's lineal descendants. Matthew's "Jeconias begat Shealtiel" (though Shealtiel was Nathan's lineal descendant) means that Shealtiel was Jeconiah's heir and successor. Solomon's heirs were Nathan's descendants.

Matthew's post-Exilic list is composed of persons who belonged by birth to Nathan, but who were incorporated by adoption or inheritance into the family of Solomon, and in this way the House of Solomon continued up to Christ. When the line of Solomon died out members were supplied from Nathan's line and adopted royal names.

Hervey listed the objections to his scheme as he saw them (p. 41). These are, (i) that we have an early trustworthy solution in Africanus' tradition (so why adopt a new scheme?); (ii) "Begat" in Matthew means proper paternity; (iii) His scheme leaves us without any evidence that Jesus was truly the seed of David. We are ignorant of Mary's genealogy, our Lord's only human parent.

Hervey answers each of these objections in turn. His objection to Africanus' solution is given above.

On the objection to his use of "beget" to mean legal sonship he evades the point (p. 49) by pointing out that the verb can refer to a distant descendant, e.g. Joram begat Uzziah. But it means physical descent even then.

He next uses Luke who says that Shealtiel was the son of Neri and that Shealtiel begat Zerubbabel, where 1 Chr 3:19 says that Pedaiah begat Zerubbabel. But here again the verb is used of physical begetting.

He uses Genesis 10:13-18 where one man begets nations, where we are to understand the word "begat" in a wider sense than we do when it is said for instance, "Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japheth." It includes a founder's paternity over all who remotely derived their origin from him—descendants of daughters as well as descendants of sons, whenever such female branches derived from him as their founder, on account of cities or lands or other inheritances, rather than from their own real ancestors: as e.g. Laban, looking upon Jacob in the light of a servant, said of Jacob's family, "Thou hast not suffered me to kiss *my* sons and *my* daughters." (It could be that the terms

used by Laban are because he views Jacob as a servant, and not as a free man.) Laban says: "These daughters are my daughters, and these children are my children, and these cattle are my cattle, and all that thou seest is mine" (Gen 31:26-28, 43). This wider use occurs in 1 Chr 4:11-12, where a man is the father of a town's inhabitants.

Hervey argues (p. 51) that it is manifest that these expressions have their origin in the principle of the division of the soil of Canaan amongst the tribes and families, according to real genealogical arrangement. The predominant notion is, that such a man, of such a family, and such a tribe, took possession of such a district or such a city, and parcelled it out among his own children, and when, as in the nature of things must have been the case, other persons acquired possessions within the circuit of his domain who were not connected as his family, because they derived their possessions from him, and he was the "father" of the whole of the occupiers of the soil or city which was originally his portion. And it is easy to see how soon, under such circumstances, the ideas of inheritance, or possession, or transmission of property, would be as readily associated with the terms "to beget," "father," "sons of," as the more proper ideas of strict sonship or paternity.

Hervey (p. 52 n. 1) latches on to any example of the word "son" which has a non-physical meaning in support of his view that begetting a son does not necessarily require a blood connection with the begetter. He refers to the inscription, "Jehu the son of Khumri (Omri)," and notes that "This monarch was certainly not the son, although one of the successors of Omri, but the term 'son of,' appears to have been used throughout the East in those days, *as it still is,* to denote connection generally, either by descent or by succession" (A. H. Layard, 1853:613).

It was thus that proselytes were incorporated into particular tribes, though doubtless all territorial connections were, whenever practicable, further cemented by marriage. The strong genealogical impulses of the Hebrews, Hervey believed, would naturally lead to the application of the genealogical term "begat" to him who transmitted his property to his successor, and of the term "son" to him to whom it was transmitted. It is more likely that a descending genealogy, like Matthew's, would have such artificial generations inserted in it, than one which, like Luke's, goes upwards.

On the failure of the line with Jechoniah, Hervey conjectures (p. 53) that they did not want to see the list of ancient names disappear and so they applied the term "begat" in a less strict sense, so that "Jechonias begat Salathiel," who begat his inheritance.

Hervey also argued (p. 55) that from the very nature of things a genealogy which ran "A. begat B., and B. begat C., &c." would be more likely to resort to the contrivance of artificial generations in order to keep up the appearance of A. having an unbroken line, than one which ran "Z. was the son of Y., which was the son of X. &c." where an unbroken line must needs exist without any artifice.

Lastly, Hervey states that Jews substitute artificial for real filiation— another argument that "begat" is not real begetting—see Gen 16:2 and 30:3. Sarah says to Hagar, "It may be that I may obtain children by her," and Rachel says of Bilhah, "She shall bear upon my knees, that I also may have children by her," as well as in the law of levirate, Deut 25:5-6. The metaphorical use of

the word in such passages as Deut 32:18, "Of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful;" "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who . . . hath begotten us again . . . to an inheritance incorruptible," 1 Peter 1:3-4; "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee . . . ." Ps 2:7-8; is also an indication of the close connexion in the Hebrew mind of the ideas of "begetting" and of giving blessings, possessions, property, honours, to be inherited. See also James 1:18, "He did beget us with a word of truth."

The third objection to Hervey's solution that his scheme leaves Mary out is answered by Hervey (p. 56) with the observation that in point of fact we are not given her genealogy in Scripture. We have only to believe that the wisdom of God has ordered the matter better than our wisdom would have done, though we may not exactly perceive the reasons which determined the Divine procedure. Had it seemed good to God's Holy Spirit to record *totidem verbis* the lineage of the Virgin in the Gospels, it was perfectly easy and natural to do so. The matter of fact that this has not been done is not altered, whether we adopt one hypothesis or the other. But having said thus much, it may be well to add my firm belief that not only are both genealogies Joseph's, but that both are also Mary's (cf. p. 60). For if the Matthan of Matthew is the same individual as the Matthat of Luke, it follows that Jacob and Heli were full brothers. And if Mary were the daughter of Jacob, and Joseph the son of Heli, Joseph and Mary would be first cousins, grandchildren of the same grandfather Matthat. And if Jacob has no son, but only daughters, and his male heir and successor, as head of the tribe of Judah, were his brother Heli's son Joseph, we are quite sure, from the constant practice of the Jews, that Joseph would marry Mary: just as the five daughters of Zelophehad married their five cousins, Num 36:11, and as the daughters of Eleazar, the son of Mahli, were married to the sons of Kish, Eleazar's brother, 1 Chr 23:22. Compare also Tobit 1:9; 3:15-17; 6:10-12.

That Mary had no brother it seems reasonable to infer from the total silence of Scripture concerning any such (p. 58), and therefore one cannot argue for certain, that because Jesus was born king of the Jews that he was the legal heir. His being born King of the Jews depended rather upon His being the Christ, the Son of God.

The supposition that Joseph was not the issue of the last male heir of the throne of Zerubbabel and David harmonizes remarkably well with the supposition that his wife was. Both genealogies belong in fact to Mary, as much as to Joseph.

Hervey does, however, concede (p. 61) that a woman could neither succeed nor even transmit the succession. He notes the silence of Scripture concerning Mary generally and which one cannot but consider as a protest by anticipation against the extravagant and idolatrous honour which has for many ages been paid to her.

His own conclusion is "that our hypothesis in favour of which so much direct and weighty evidence exists, and against which nothing important can be urged, is, as to its main principles, grounded upon truth" (p. 62).

### Hervey on Assir

Hervey understood (p. 98) Assir in 1 Chr 3:17 to be a person, not an epithet—"the captive." He also (p. 100) stated that Zerubbabel was not the son

of Salathiel but "popularly called the son of Salathiel," because he was his uncle's successor and heir. He repeats the argument that Matthew uses "begat" not implying proper paternity, but the transmission of an inheritance to a successor.

## Hervey on Rhesa

He rejects the suggestion that Zerubbabel had a son called Rhesa. The term Rhesa meaning "chief" is a title given to Zerubbabel (p. 111). the title 'Rhesa' (head) was written against Zerubbabel's name by some Christian Jew of the Babylonian dispersion, to mark that Zerubbabel held the office of chief of the captivity in his day, and got from the margin into the text. In the oldest MSS. the genealogy was written in a single column leaving a margin on each side. Later the double column was preferred. Now suppose a copyist were transcribing A into B where the gloss 'Ρησά has been written to the left of the name Zerubbabel, it is likely that he should take 'Ρησά into his two-columned table and write it to the left opposite Zerubbabel.

The problems with this hypothesis are: (i) Hervey overlooks the fact that τοῦ is prefixed to each name so that 'Ρησά by itself would not have the article prefixed to it in the margin. (ii) He begins the two-columned form of the genealogy with Ἡλι, it could have begun with Joseph, which would have affected the position of the title 'Ρησά; (iii) His major oversight is that, if it is a title, Rhesa should follow, not precede, the name Zerubbabel as in "David the king." Rhesa was Zerubbabel's son, not his father, which it might appear to be if it preceded Zerubbabel's name and had τοῦ prefixed to it. In any case he takes an example from Matthew, namely, "David the king," and applies it to Luke's genealogy who avoids all titles. The so-called epithet "assir" does not have the article and Hervey therefore took it to be a person and not an epithet for this reason.

Hervey suggested (p. 113) that Rhesa got into the text through someone who mistook it for a proper name. He notes that this title was used frequently after the exile by Babylonian Jews. Against his view, however, is the fact that the title "Prince [נָשִׂיא] of the children of Judah" appears after the name Nashon in 1 Chron. 2:10; and Zerubbabel is called "The Prince [נָשִׂיא] of Judah" in Ezra 1:8. Zerubbabel is never called Rhesa but Nasi in Scripture; so it is unlikely that the term Rhesa is a title for Zerubbabel in Luke's genealogy who avoids all epithets. The use of Rhesa occurs as a lower designation "and the rest of the chief of the fathers" (וּרֹאשׁ). Whoever transcribed the Hebrew/Aramaic names of the genealogy into Greek saw רֹאשׁ and made it 'Ρησά or in some MSS 'Ρησάια.

## Hervey on Shemaiah/Shemei

Of seven sons attributed to Zerubbabel not one is called Rhesa or Abiud. Of the seven generations of the sons of Jechoniah not one single name in Chronicles is mentioned in Matthew or Luke. LXX makes it eleven generations after Jechoniah but no two names agree with Matthew or Luke's lists. The only names in the list of Zerubbabel's descendants which are the same as those of Christ's ancestors after Zerubbabel are Shemaiah, which is the same as Shimei; Johanan might be the same person as Joannas; and Azrikam likewise with Azor. But the times in each case are quite different, notes Hervey (p. 101), which rules out their identities.

Hervey (p. 107) notes that H. Prideaux (1845 I, 545) makes the LXX genealogy reach to Alexander the Great (cf. T. H. Horne, 1825 IV, 59 who makes it twelve generations from Zerubbabel), long after the close of the OT canon. This of itself is surely a most suspicious circumstance, says Hervey, who thinks it strange that Zerubbabel's brother, Shemei, mentioned in v. 19 is given no posterity although a famous prophecy of Zech. 12:10-14 implies that his line would continue to the times of the Messiah. For other interpretations of who the Shimei is in Zechariah's prophecy see Hervey (pp. 160-166).

The inability of others to make sense of Zerubbabel's genealogy in 1 Chr 3:17-24 suggested to Hervey that the text was corrupt. The evidence for this is that (i) seven sons of Zerubbabel are given but totalled as five. (ii) The phrasing "the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan" is unlike anything else in the genealogy. (iii) The line of Shemaiah differs in the LXX (see W. H. Mill, 1842:152). (iv) The names in v. 21 never or scarcely ever are met with in the house of David, or even in the tribe of Judah. Arnan occurs only here in the Bible; Rephaiah is a tribe of Simeon, or Issachar and Benjamin. The four names Arnan, Rephaiah, Obadiah and Shecaniah are not names of members of the house of David at all, but of "priests or Levites or others, whose names have come to be inserted in this genealogy, from their being located in some part of the inheritance of the house of David, and consequently contained . . . in some topographical census or register, from which this genealogy was compiled." (v) The phrase "the sons of Shechaniah" is repeated in vv. 21 and 22 "of itself a most suspicious circumstance;" also the expression "sons" is followed by only one name, that of Shemaiah, who is given five sons but totalled to six. Such is the evidence of the incorrect condition of this portion of the text of Chronicles; a book which all who have paid attention to the subject speak of as one of the most corrupted of the Old Testament (so B. Kennicott [1753:79]: "Chronicles, which, though perhaps the most corrupted book as well as the latest in the Old Testament, is extremely useful, &c."

The cynic might say that those who have most to benefit from a confused and corrupt state of the text of 1 Chron 3 go to great lengths to exploit any apparent discrepancy to substantiate that view. Their solution gains strength and credibility the more this can be substantiated because nothing then stands in the way of their proposed solution.

Hervey's solution (p. 107, 159) is to delete the repetitious words at the beginning of v. 22, "And the sons of Shechaniah, Shemaiah" as spurious (an accidental repetition). "All our difficulties vanish at once. V. 22 reads: 'And the sons of Shemaiah, Hattush . . . .' and we will know who Shemaiah is, for we left Shemei at v. 19 in expectation that when his brother Zerubbabel's posterity were recorded, the genealogy would, according to his usual method, return to him, and record the names of his descendants likewise.

The source of the corruption is traced to the likeness of Shemei = שמעי to Shemaiah = שמעיה. The final ה was a copyist's mistake. The next copyist, not identifying this Shemaiah with that of Shemei, guessed that Shemaiah was the son of the person last named, viz. Shechaniah. It so happened that there was a Shemaiah son of Shechaniah in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 3:29; 10:8) accordingly he inserted the words, "and the sons of Shechaniah, Shemaiah." Or, alternatively, the corruption may have arisen after the copyist wrote v. 21, and got as far as, "And the sons of" in the 'next' verse, and accidentally looked

at the wrong line, and wrote Shechaniah over again instead of writing Shemaiah, and then went on to write, "and the sons of Shemaiah" etc. The text then read: "the sons of Shechaniah. And the sons of Shechaniah. And the sons of Shemaiah, Hattush, etc." The insertion of 'Shemaiah' to make sense followed as a matter of course.

Whichever way the corruption occurred, says Hervey, if we consider the Shemaiah of v. 22 to be the same person as the Shemei of v. 19 we get rid at once of several immense difficulties and all goes smoothly and orderly in the genealogy. Instead of six or eleven generations of Zerubbabel's descendants, comprising twenty-nine males, not one of whom has ever been identified with one of Jesus' ancestors, we shall be able to identify one of each generation for we shall have a full record of the posterity of Shemei down to the close of the OT canon in the days of Ezra in 446BC. The advantage of this is that Hattush came up to Jerusalem with Ezra being about 59 years of age, if his father, Shemei, begat him 20 years after Zerubbabel (his elder brother) returned to Jerusalem. Zerubbabel was not born earlier than 576 BC.

Hervey's conclusion is to delete 3:22, "And the sons of Shechaniah, Shemaiah" as no part of the true text and that for "Shemaiah" we should read "Shemei."

### Hervey on Shelomith

Hervey gives (p. 121) the daughter of Zerubbabel a prominent place in his scheme. He notes that she is the only daughter recorded in the whole genealogy except Tamar. He deduces from the special mention of her and the lack of sons for Pelatiah or Jesaiah that Zerubbabel's line was continued through her. He reasons: If we suppose that Elioenai married his father's cousin, Shelomith, the daughter of Zerubbabel and that the eldest son of this marriage, Hodaiah, on the failure of his uncle Hananiah's issue, became his heir and successor it is evident that he might with propriety, be called the son of Hananiah, just as Zerubbabel was called the son of his uncle Salathiel. The same result would follow if Hodaiah had merely succeeded Hanaiah as head of the house of David, as next of kin.

He anticipates an objection to his solution. If Luke gives the natural lineal descent throughout he ought to have given Hodaiah's (or Juda's) line through Elioenai and Neariah up to Shimei, instead of through Hanaiah (or Joanna) to Zerubbabel.

His reply is that Luke used the pedigree he found and it is highly probable that the earlier paternal ancestors of Joseph may have preferred tracing their descent to Zerubbabel rather than to his lesser known brother Shimei. The reply is not good enough. It still leaves doubt in the mind that a false connection has been made when Elioenai, the natural son of Neariah, is credited with being the son of his father-in-law.

### Hervey on Neariah's genealogy

Hervey thinks it odd that the biblical name of Zerubbabel's son Abiud should be omitted, but it is not (he adds) because Abiud=Hodaiah (or Juda). Hervey argues (p. 124) sometimes for identification of different names on the basis of some meaning, but then argues that etymological strictness is not adhered to, as the names Noah, Cain (Gen 1:29; 4:1), and many others, sufficiently prove. We may conclude, he says, with some confidence, that in Abiud, the concluding syllable הוד or יהוד is an abbreviation of יהודה, Judah. His

name was modified to Abiud (as that of Abram, Hoshea, the son of Nun and others) on his elevation as heir (Abiud means "his father's praise" or "father of Judah"). He makes the identification Hodaiah=Abiud=Juda.

Thus it appears that Matthew passing over the generation next to Zerubbabel, proceeds to the third generation, viz. to Zerubbabel's grandson by his daughter Shelomith, whom he naturally prefers to speak of as begotten by Zerubbabel, to making him to be begotten by Hananiah (p. 126). Note that in both uses of the term begotten in the previous sentence, natural offspring is not in view. In both cases Hervey means he begot a successor.

## Hervey on two Zerubbabel's

Next Hervey (p. 126 n. 2) dismisses the suggestion that Zerubbabel and Shealtiel are different persons in Matthew and Luke. "The occurrence of two such names (both ἅπαξ λεγόμενα) at exactly the same period, and in the same genealogical sequence, in the genealogy of the same person, is to my mind conclusive, and any scheme which requires us to consider two distinct Zerubbabels, son of Salathiel, must by that circumstance fall to the ground" (p. 127).

## Hervey on Matthan/Matthat

On the assumption that two identical (or almost identical) names indicate the same person Hervey claims that Abiud (Mt) is the same person as Joda (Lk). Then there is a thirteen generation gap (on Luke's side) before the two lines merge in Matthan (Mt) and Matthat (Lk). This last assumption is crucial to his solution and he defends the identification on the grounds of (i) close resemblance in sound, (ii) identity in position, (iii) common etymology: Matthan (מַתָּן), a gift, masc. noun. Matthath (מַתְּתָה), contracted to מַתָּת, same noun with a feminine termination; (iv) some Fathers and some MSS spell the two names exactly the same.

This Matthan had two sons, Jacob and Heli: "Jacob I suppose to have had no son, but to have been the father of the Virgin Mary: Heli, the father of Joseph. Joseph according to universal Jewish custom, took Mary his cousin to wife . . . And so [became] Jacob's successor and heir. Thus all is clear" (p. 130).

The idea that Matthan and Matthat are two names for the same person seems to have originated with Augustine, according to C. à Lapide (1866 XVI, preface). It was accepted as a possibility by J. H. Parker (1855 III, 73), W. Pound (1869 I, 87), and E. H. Plumptre (1879:51).

## Hervey on the childless Eleazar

Matthan seems to have been lineally descended from Joseph, the son of Judah, of Luke 3:26, but to have become the heir of the elder branch of the house of Abiud on the failure of Eleazar's issue. If Eleazar had a daughter, doubtless Matthan married her (p. 134).

This hypothesis arose out of the previous hypothesis. Hervey appears to have been the first to make the suggestion that Eleazar was the last of his line which was accepted by H. L. Mansel (1878 I, 5), and J. P. Norris (1880 I, 5).

## Hervey on recurrent names

Hervey (p. 157), having given pages of examples where a name is recycled in the family genealogy concluded: But enough has probably been said to convince every reader that the recurrence of similar or identical names in the genealogy of Jesus is not accidental, or improper, but on the

contrary, is a strong internal evidence of the historical truth and general accuracy of the genealogies.

### 1.12.1.     Support for Hervey

Hervey's assumption that Shealtiel was the natural son of Neri can be found in the work of William Cowper, the Bishop of Galloway in James I's time (1623: 591; cf. 1612:1-48). Cowper also believed (contrary to Hervey) that Abiud and Hananiah are the same person (p. 592). He also believed that Rhesa was the same person as Meshullam in support of which he refers to "Rhesa Mesciola" in Annius' forged work of Philo (p. 592).

J. A. Broadus (1893:232) mentions as Hervey's supporters—Mill, H. Alford (1859 I, 444), J. Wordsworth, C. J. Ellicott (1860:96), Westcott, and P. Fairbairn. (The authors' initials and sources have been supplied by me.) J. P. Lange (1861 I, 68) gives his view a fair airing. R. Glover (1889:9/1956:10) gives it a nod; and it is approved by T. M. Lindsay (1887:71-75), and H. L. Mansel (1878 I, 5). P. Holmes (1866 II, 92) mentions W. H. Mill (1842) and F. X. Patritius (1853, lib. 3. diss. 9). Holmes shows that the Fathers knew nothing of Hervey's idea. They all hold (except Ambrose) to the idea that Matthew gives the natural line of Joseph, i.e. that "begat" in Matthew can mean only natural begetting, even in its metaphorical and spiritual uses in the NT.

I. H. Marshall (1978:158) stated that "The theory which has gained most support in modern times is that advanced by Lord A. Hervey." If it has, it is not reflected in Christian literature.

### 1.12.2.     Modifications to Hervey's solution

E. B. Nicholson (1881:9-18) adopted Hervey's solution with some amendments. Both pedigrees are Joseph's, that in Matthew showing Jesus as the heir to David's throne, that in Luke showing his natural descent from David.

Nicholson (1881:13) accepted Hervey's idea that Rhesa may not be a person but a Chaldee title of the princes of the captivity. It is very probable, Hervey had argued (1893 I, 667), that this title was placed against the name of Zerubbabel in Luke's text by some early Christian Jew, and thence crept into the text. But is beyond belief, protested Nicholson, that a note of an early Christian Jew, anywhere near the end of the second century, should gain such sudden and general entrance into MSS that it should find its way into every MS and version now known. Hervey's former conjecture can alone be allowed—that the title Rhesa might have been already put against Zerubbabel's name in the pedigree from which Luke was copying. And even then we have to overlook the fact that proper names of the same meaning as Rhesa are found elsewhere in Luke's pedigree; for we find two of the name Melchi "king," one after, and the other before, the captivity.

Hervey had made Joanan (Jeho-hanan) the same person as Hanan-iah (one of the sons of Zerubbabel in 1 Chr 3:19). He also made Juda (there is good ground for reading Juda, Nicholson agrees) the same person as Hodaiah (a descendant of Zerubbabel in 1 Chr 3:24) and Abiud in Mt 1:13. By supposing the generation of Joanan to be knowingly left out in Matthew, he was able to obtain an agreement between the two pedigrees.

But Nicholson protested that to make the two pedigrees tally with 1 Chronicles Hervey uses methods the most violent and illegitimate. If Rhesa is not a name, if Hananiah's name was used in another form, and if Hodaiah's name was used in two other forms, then the pedigrees must be harmonized thus:

| 1 Chronicles | Luke | Matthew |
|---|---|---|
| Zerubbabel | Zorobabel | Zorobabel |
| Hananaih= | Joanan | (left out) |
| Shechaniah | (left out) | (left out) |
| Shemaiah | (left out) | (left out) |
| Neariah | (left out) | (left out) |
| Hodaiah= | Juda= | Ab-iud |

The childless Jechoniah is followed by his heir Salathiel, the representative of the elder branch of Nathan. Salathiel, also childless, is followed in both pedigrees by his nephew Zerubbabel (perhaps his levirate son as well).

Nicholson queries: If Luke goes by natural descent, why does he not give Zerubbabel's natural father Pedaiah?

Below Zerubbabel (Matthew leaves out the next generation, and Luke's Rhesa being a title, not a name, must also be omitted) the pedigrees agree in Adiud (Mt), or Juda (Lk), whose name is really the same as that of Zerubbabel's grandson Hodaiah.

Nicholson objects: In the only place where Hodaiah is named in the Bible he is not Zerubbabel's grandson, but his great-great-great-great-grandson. It is only by the following process that he is tortured into a grandson. First, a sentence in 1 Chr 3:22 is cut out by Hervey—an act defended by a purely imaginary chronological discrepancy; then Shimei and Shemaiah are supposed to be one man. This turns Hodaiah into a great-great-nephew of Zerubbabel. He is further metamorphosed into a grandson by his father's marriage with Shelomith, Zerubbabel's daughter, there not being an atom of evidence for any such marriage, and the lady being seemingly a generation older than her supposed husband.
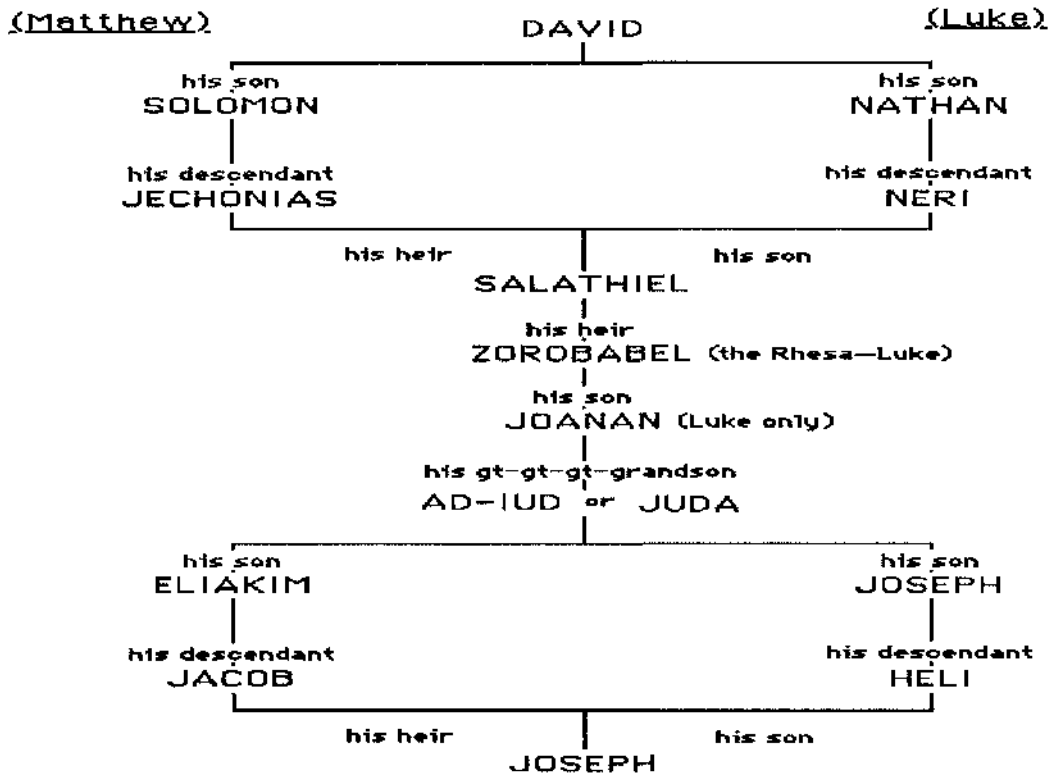
Also, if Luke goes by natural descent, why does he give as Hodaiah's (Juda's) father, not his real father, nor either of his grandfathers, but one of his mother's seven brothers? for Hervey has been driven to account for Luke's Joanan by identifying him with Shelomith's brother Hananiah.

Adiud, or Juda, has two sons; the elder branch fails in Eleazar, who is followed by Matthan (=Luke's Matthat), the representative of the younger branch. Matthan, or Matthat, has two sons, Jacob and Heli. Jacob has no sons, but a daughter, Mary, whom Heli's son Joseph marries, thus becoming Jacob's heir.

Nicholson objects: If Mary was Joseph's cousin, how strange that neither writer mentions this! Luke does mention her cousinhood to Elizabeth, and in v. 19 of this chapter mention of there being any kinship between Joseph and Mary would have made Joseph's unwillingness to shame her seem the more natural.

Nicholson, however, agreed with Hervey that "begat" always with the meaning of direct descent must be waived, because Shealtiel very probably was not the direct descendant of Jechoniah, and Zerubbabel was almost

certainly not the direct descendant of Shealtiel. And if Sarah and Rachel spoke of having children by their handmaids, and a levirate son was reckoned as a true son, and the words "father" and "son" were often used in a loose way, one need not refuse to allow a like wide meaning of the word "begat."

```
(Matthew)                    DAVID                    (Luke)
                              |
      his son          |              |           his son
     SOLOMON                                       NATHAN
        |                                             |
  his descendant                                his descendant
   JECHONIAS                                       NERI
        |_____    _____|
              his heir       |       his son
                         SALATHIEL
                             |
                          his heir
                        ZOROBABEL  (the Rhesa—Luke)
                             |
                          his son
                         JOANAN  (Luke only)
                             |
                   his gt—gt—gt—grandson
                     AD-IUD  or  JUDA
        _____|_____
      his son          |              |          his son
     ELIAKIM                                      JOSEPH
        |                                            |
  his descendant                               his descendant
     JACOB                                        HELI
        |_____    _____|
              his heir      |       his son
                         JOSEPH
```

It may, however, be made comparatively reasonable by (i) allowing that Luke also did not always follow the direct descent (e.g. in Pedaiah's case), and that he also sometimes left out generations, and (ii) by not identifying Matthan and Matthat. We should then get the above solution.

Nicholson, having examined the various solutions, concluded that Lord A. Hervey's seems to claim some respect. Knowing as we do the difficulties to be met in older Jewish pedigrees, and almost entirely ignorant as we are of the principles and phraseology of such pedigrees in the 1st cent. AD, it would anyhow be unscientific to assume that these two are hopelessly irreconcilable, he concluded.

### 1.12.3.　　Objections to Hervey

J. A. Broadus (1893:232) rejected Hervey's solution because he departs from the natural meaning of "beget;" implying indirect descent, and also his necessity for two suppositions, one about Shealtiel and another about Jacob and Heli.

J. B. McClellan (1875 I, 418) regarded Hervey's theory completely refuted by (i) the phraseology of the genealogies and (ii) the provisions of Jewish Law, and, to say nothing of the argument from antiquity, (iii) no less by the whole

character and design of the two Gospels, and (iv) the language of the OT promises to the House of David.

It will be seen, he argued, that they rest wholly on the assumption that the *heir* became and was registered in Jewish tables as the *son;* nay more, that, in the words of Grotius (n. on Lk 3:23), *"he who left any one as his heir is said by Matthew to beget him: forsooth by a fiction of law"!* To what are we reduced? Christ's *royal* rights based, in the very outset of the Gospel, and that Matthew's, on a *"fiction of law"!* On the contrary, Matthew distinctly entitles his table, not a register of *heirs to the Throne* (though it includes this), but a register of the *pedigree of Jesus Christ.* Down to v. 11 it is certain from the OT that it proceeds by *natural procreation,* and the phraseology is unaltered to the end. If the key-word *beget,* γεννᾶν, could introduce the merely *legal heir,* then why not have ended with "Joseph begat Jesus, which is called Christ," this, as Jesus was Joseph's *heir,* being on Hervey's hypothesis perfectly admissible language? But the truth is that, among the Jews, no single person ever was or could be registered as a man's *son* on the sole ground that he was his *legal heir* (Patritius, L. III. pp. 35ff.), much less could he be said to have been *begotten* by him. The notion that *beget,* γεννᾶν, can be used of *heirship, adoption,* or other *legal assumption,* is pure imagination. There is not a single instance of such use. Everywhere and at all times it is used in *exact and designed opposition to these;* literally, of *literal procreation,* by male or female, in opposition to *literal assumption;* and metaphorically, of *metaphorical procreation,* in opposition to *metaphorical assumption* (Mt 1:8). So much for Matthew's phraseology. But in Luke's, on the other hand, we have express mention of *reputed* sonship (3:23), and the introduction of the word *son,* υἱος, which argue at first and allow throughout, wheresoever it may need, a *legal sonship;* while, in accordance herewith, his own earlier account of the census at the nativity indicates that Joseph, equally with the infant Jesus, was enrolled of David's family on evidence of parentage, which, in a legal registration of persons and properties, may or may not have been *natural,* but must at least have been *legal.* Another who made some pertinent objections was P. Holmes (1866 II, 92).

### 1.13.   Marshall D. Johnson (Nathan the prophet)

C. à Lapide (1892:154) mentioned that some thought that the Nathan of Luke's genealogy was the prophet who reprehended David for his adultery with Bathsheba (2 Kgs 12:1); so Origen, Nicholas de Lyra, Burgensis, Albertus Magnus and Augustine (bk lxxxviii. q. lxi). But he notes that Augustine (*Retract.* bk. i. ch. xxvi.) rightly withdraws this theory, for this Nathan was born of David and Bathsheba when they were joined in lawful marriage (2 Sam 5:14; 1 Chr 3:5).

M. D. Johnson (1968) found some meagre support for the theory that Luke refers to Nathan the prophet, and not Nathan the brother of Solomon, in two obscure rabbinical sources. But it is likely that, just as many have confused the two Nathans down through the ages, so likewise his rabbinical sources have done the same. Nothing of great moment should be hung on misidentifications. It is foolish to ignore common slips like these but even

more foolish to ignore the plain text of Luke which identifies Nathan as the son of David.

Commentators are generally at a loss to account for the discrepancies between the two genealogies. Modern attempts to explain the discrepancies tend to veer off into some form of midrashic origin (cf. W. D. Davies, 1964:74-5). M. D. Johnson (1969:186, 224-28, 255) regarded Matthew's genealogy as a midrash on the two titles of Jesus in Mark 1:1, namely, υιος Δαυιδ and Χριστος. Unfortunately for this hypothesis the term υιος Δαυιδ does not occur in Mk 1:1.

Luke's genealogy is held to betray knowledge of an esoteric Jewish haggadah in which Nathan, son of David, was in fact Nathan the Prophet (1969:255, 240-252). He labours under the hypothesis that the genealogical form was made to serve the interpretation of history and this applies to the NT genealogies, which reflect the tradition of Jesus' Davidic descent but which are not actual family pedigrees (1969:256).

The idea that the Nathan of Luke is Nathan the prophet has been supported by E. L. Abel (1973).

### 1.14. Arthur Custance (Luke gives Rhesa's genealogy)

Arthur Custance (1977) incorporated Hervey's idea that the line of inheritance passed through Shelomith, but he suggested that Shealtiel was the natural son of Jehoiachin (contrary to Hervey's solution).

## Arthur Custance (1977)
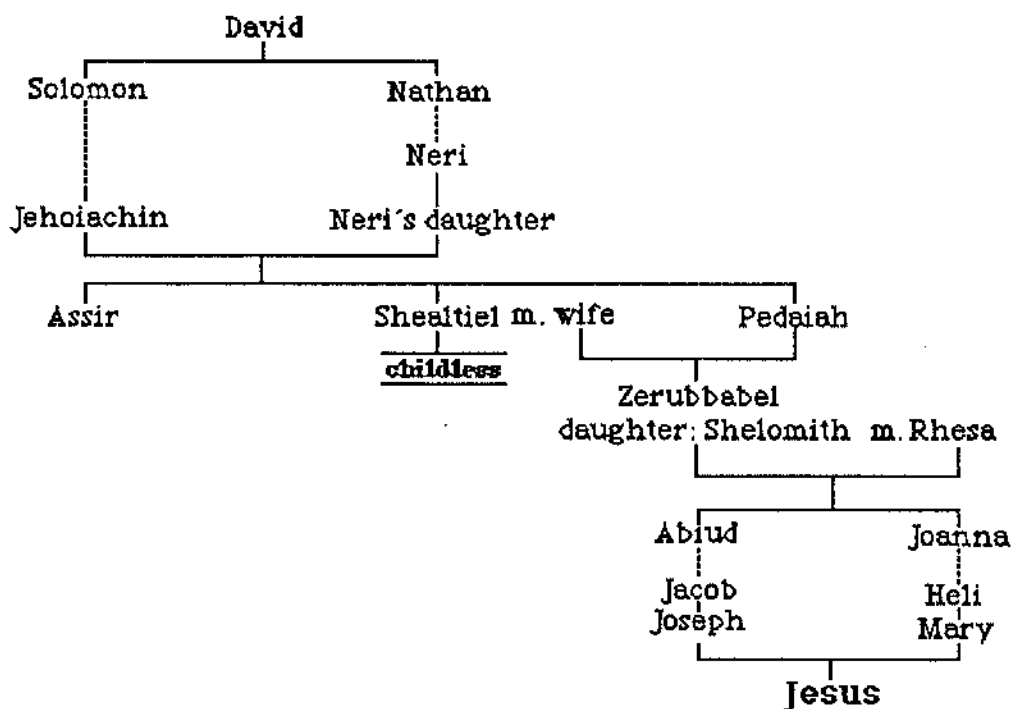


The genealogical origin of Rhesa remains a mystery in Custance's solution; he might have been a non-Israelite for all his hypothesis reveals. Custance offers no proof that Rhesa, the husband of Shelomith, was a Davidide. This at once

cuts off any direct blood connection with Solomon and David, because descent is always and only through the male line.

## 1.15. Other Ideas

W. B. Crickmer (1881:97) suggested that Matthew's genealogy was really that of the Apostle James, the brother of Jesus.

> Our Lord told the twelve apostles that they were reserved to sit on twelve thrones as monarches over the twelve tribes—each swollen into a great nation by the millennium—but for the Emperor-king of the Jews James will arise, and heraldically he will have been escutcheoned with a prestige unchallengeable—that of having lain in the same womb as the Son of God. That this is not a guess of imagination begotten, but induction bearing the imprint of *prima facie* probability in a high degree, will be acknowledged by every thoughtful person who studies James' supremacy in the millennial foretaste of the Church in the Acts of the Apostles, reflects upon 1 Cor 15:7 and analyses his [James] epistle. During the millennial thousand years the twelve apostles, with James as overlord (if it is so) will actually reign over the earth over a restored Israel, under the Septre of the King of the Jews, Himself in heaven with the Royal Bridal Church superintending the civilization and conversion of the Gentile world. . . . Matthew traces down the genealogy of Abraham, the father of the Jews, to Joseph, the father of James, Messiah's half-brother, to carry on through the transition time of The Advent the line of Israel's succession up to James, their future monarch . . . with an eye to the symmetry of Israel on through the Gentile covenant period, which Christianity is not to disturb.

D. G. Goyder (1854:2), a disciple of Swedenborg, looked for a spiritual meaning for the genealogies on the principle that where Scripture, *at the literal level*, contradicts itself, we are to reconcile them at the spiritual level.

Since the two genealogies, in the sense of the letter, belong to Joseph, the husband of Mary, and not to Jesus Christ, it is evident that they concern the Lord in the internal sense, for the contradictions presented in the literal sense (and which have occasioned volumes upon volumes of controversy) can only exist in appearance, and must disappear when the letter is illustrated by the spirit, that is, when the literal sense is illuminated by the internal sense, begins Goyer.

Since one (Lk) is an ascending and the other (Mt) a descending list this suggested to him Jacob's ladder. The ascending list of Luke speaks of Christ's having accomplished all the works which related to that first period of the glorification of his human existence. At first glance it would appear, that Matthew gives but one genealogy, which is in the descending order. But it is not so; there are really two genealogies in the account of Matthew, one in the ascending, and the other in the descending order. Now it requires but little reflection to perceive, that the first verse contains a genealogy in the ascending order, since it is said that Jesus Christ is the son of David, the son of Abraham, thus expressing in a few words, all that is signified in the genealogy according to Luke, that is, all the first period of the glorification of the Lord. It is equally easy to see that the names that compose this genealogy are also,

according to their respective significations, in the ascending order of degrees; thus, Jesus Christ signifies good and truth in every degree, Jesus signifying good, and Christ truth. But as it treats of Jesus Christ coming into the world, since immediately after the genealogy it speaks of his birth, it is evident that the signification refers here to the last, or natural degree, David signifying the spiritual, and Abraham the celestial: thus it results in unanswerable proofs of what is contained in the writings of Swedenborg.

A. Norton (1847:206) suggested the the most probable conjecture perhaps is, that we owe Matthew's genealogy, in common with the remainder of the two chapters, to some Hebrew convert, who composed the narrative shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews, and who, having found a genealogy of some individual by the name of Joseph, represented as a descendant of David, mistook it for the genealogy of Joseph the husband of Mary.

## 2. Toward an alternative solution

It is not impossible that there may be some truth in Africanus' solution, but if the suggestion is true that the families of Solomon and Nathan intermarried in the period from the Exile to the coming of Jesus then this implies that there was not a direct, unbroken, pedigree linking David to the Messiah through Solomon, and in turn this requires a different interpretation of the promise of posterity to David contained in the Covenant made with him. Africanus would have been satisfied with a legal definition of son to keep Solomon's line going.

It is not impossible that there may be some truth in Africanus' solution, that both genealogies are those of Joseph. This is in harmony with the plain text of the Gospels. Another kernal of truth may be that Matthew presents Jacob as the physical father of Joseph. This, again, is in harmony with the verb "begat" used by Matthew which in a genealogical context can only mean, physical begetting. Another kernal of truth may be the belief that Heli was, in some sense, also Joseph's father. The tradition that one woman (Estha) was connected with both branches indicates a close connection between them and this is borne out by Joseph being a member of both branches. What is significant about Africanus' solution is what he does not say. If Luke had given Mary's pedigree, there was a ready-made solution at hand, but he is not tempted to go for it. Why not? He does not even suggest it as a better alternative to what had been handed down. Rather he sticks with the received tradition which is seriously flawed if uterine brothers cannot be eligible for levirate marriage. It must have occurred to many before his time that Luke might be Mary's genealogy, but the total silence is significant. The conclusion is that Luke purports to give Joseph's genealogy as a prima facie reading of the text bears out.

It is possible to reject the levirate solution put forward by Africanus without at the same time denying that there could have been some other mechanism whereby Joseph became a member of Heli's family. If it was not levirate marriage, what was that mechanism? It is possible that the element

of truth behind Africanus' solution is that there was an awareness that Joseph had entered the family of Heli, but the precise means by which that was achieved was lost. In its place the theoretical possibility of levirate marriage was put forward as a stop-gap solution which hardened into a tradition.

It is the relationship between Joseph and Heli that constitutes the continuing enigma of Jesus' genealogies. The second enigma is the relationship between Jehoiachin and Shealtiel.

### 2.1. The relationship between Jehoiachin and Shealtiel

Jehoiachin's offspring is said to be "Shealtiel, his son" (1 Chr 3:17), and this ought to be the starting point of any investigation into the problems surrounding Shealtiel's paternity. This relationship is in keeping with the Promise of a continuous succession made to David: "I will raise up your offspring to succeed you, who will come from your own body" (2 Sam 7:12-16//1 Chr 17:11-14), or "who is your own flesh and blood" (2 Chr 6:9, NIV). In order for the Promise to be kept there had to be a direct blood connection between David and Joseph. If Shealtiel was not the natural son of Jehoiachin then the Promise could not be kept. On the one hand we have Shealtiel as the natural son of Jehoiachin, and on the other hand we have Luke's statement that Shealtiel was the son of Neri (Lk 3:27). How can these be reconciled?

The solution may be found in the genealogical curse of Jeremiah 22:30. Shealtiel probably realised that so long as he recognised Jehoiachin as his father he would be under a curse. How could he have David as his ancestor and yet not have Jehoiachin as his father? One solution was that, like Jehoiachin before him, he could be moved back two generations and become the "son of Josiah." But this was not possible because Jehoiachin was the legitimate successor to Josiah. The solution finally adopted was to take Neri as his father, which was duly arranged. Whether this involved marriage with a daughter of Neri or not is immaterial. He could be adopted or grafted in without marriage. He would have retained his land inheritance at Bethlehem which was passed down to Joseph (Lk 2:4).

By becoming the "son of Neri" Shealtiel made it possible for Yahweh to constitute him the legitimate inheritor of Jehoiachin without breaking His Covenant promise to David. In other words the legitimate successor to Jehoiachin was Shealtiel (with Solomonic blood in his veins); the line is legally said to end in Jehoiachin being deemed "childless;" Shealtiel transfered into the collateral line of Nathan, and through the transfer of Jehoiachin's kingly right to Nathan's family Shealtiel retains his right to succeed Jehoiachin on the throne of Solomon.

The curses on Jehoiachin and Jehoiakim are instructive. Here we have two men who seemingly *had* to be part of the chain of royal successors in order for God to fulfill His covenant promises to David and Solomon. It appeared that they could not be taken out without breaking the chain, but God found ways of removing one link—Jehoiakim—from the chain without breaking that connection and an even more difficult feat of bringing the chain to an end in Jehoiachin and yet continuing the Solomonic blood-connection through Shealtiel's line to Joseph. Joseph, Jesus' father, had Solomonic blood in his veins. He was biologically and legally Solomon's successor and hence

Jesus was the legitimate successor to Joseph's right to the throne of David and Solomon as Joseph's firstborn.

Until knowledge of the virgin conception became public knowledge, the Jewish authorities of Jesus' day had no option but to assume that Jesus was the *natural* son of Joseph, "son of David" (E. E. Ellis, 1966:70). Jesus had gained entrance into the House and Family of David in an unusual way, but he appeared in the Temple register as a direct son of Solomon, in the judgment of the Jerusalem authorities, and so there was no genealogical barrier to his claim to be the Messiah. That the virgin conception was made known after Jesus died should only have enhanced his claim, not ruled him out, because it would have fitted in with their teaching on the pre-existence of the Messiah. As God's Son they ought to have expected a sinless individual to arise out of David's posterity in a unique fashion, for, "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? There is no one," was Job's answer (14:4). The Messiah's coming had to be in a unique manner if he were to remain "clean," or sinless.

## 2.2. The relationship between Joseph and Heli

In contrast to all other suggestions of the relationship between Joseph and Heli I would propose that Joseph disowned his own father Jacob, for reasons unknown, and leaving his own family he entered a new one, that of Heli, and was accepted as his son. A drastic action, and a rare one, no doubt, and so outside the ordinary explanation of levirate marriages, and son-in-law situations, that might give the same end result. The end result might be the same but I think the means was different.

Just as Shealtiel was the natural son of Jehoiachin, but because of the curse which lay over the future of his father's line, Shealtiel disowned his father and family and entered a new one, that of Neri, and was accepted as his son, so likewise in the case of Joseph.

We can assign a good reason why Shealtiel might have abandoned his natural father—the curse of Yahweh on his posterity—and had himself grafted into a more righteous branch, but in the case of Joseph we can assign no definite reason which would prompt such a drastic action—but the drastic action was taken for the result is patently obvious in Luke's statement that Joseph was the son of Heli. We can only speculate that maybe there was some altercation between Joseph and Jacob over his pregnant wife, Mary. We can only imagine the effect on Joseph and Jacob on hearing the news of her pregnancy, and Joseph, certainly, was convinced he should not marry her, no doubt with the strong backing of his father. What must Jacob's reaction have been when he learnt from Joseph that he was not, after all, going to divorce his "wife" but go through with the ceremony. Was this the point at which Jacob put Joseph out of the family, and disinherited him? We can only guess. We can also sympathise with Jacob's action, having the benefit of hindsight, because Joseph had the direct revelation of an angel to dissuade him from his proposed divorce, whereas Jacob probably did not. We can only speculate that it was during the last six months of Mary's pregnancy that Joseph was put out of his father's house, or he left of his own accord, and entered Heli's family.

Another reason also suggests itself for Joseph's transference into Heli's family. From Solomon to Jehoiachin, the kings of Israel could take pride,

irrespective of the type of life they lived, in the fact that come what may their names must appear in the register of the Messiah's pedigree. This was a cause for pride. But with the transference of Shealtiel into the family of Neri, suddenly they are cut out of the Messiah's pedigree, and the line running back from the new family (i.e. Neri's) to David becomes the pedigree of Shealtiel and also that of the coming Messiah, yet at the same time the blood line through Solomon is not broken, because Shealtiel is a direct descendant of Solomon.

Similarly, for the period from Shealtiel to Jacob, those who could trace a direct blood-line of descent to Shealtiel would likewise have some cause for pride, and there were probably many of them, for Bethlehem was so overcrowded at the time of the census, that there was no guest-room available for Mary to give birth to Jesus. So Jacob could take pride in the fact that he had Solomonic blood flowing in his veins, but suddenly with the transference of Joseph into a new family, the line running back from the new family (i.e. Neri's) to Shealtiel becomes the new pedigree of Joseph and also that of the coming Messiah, yet at the same time the blood line through Solomon is not broken, because Joseph is a direct descendant of Shealtiel.

If there was a divine superintendence of the Messiah's pedigree, and that superintendence hated any form of human pride, then we have a perfect theological reason why all the kings of Israel (including Solomon, the first to introduce idolatry into Jerusalem) and the direct line after the return from Exile, should be by-passed, then we have it in their pride. That same superintendence prophesied that the royal tree would be cut back to a stump but out of that stump would grow a new "Righteous Branch" (Jer 33:15). The diagram below shows how the tree was cut back at two places. First when Shealtiel cut himself off from the royal line and transferred into a private, but collateral, branch going back to David; and then again when Joseph cut himself off from his family line and transferred into another obscure, but collateral, branch which went back to Zerubbabel. There was no cause for pride in these collateral branches because they knew they were outside the direct line. But suddenly the lowly, the despised, is made rich, by becoming the Righteous Branch linking David with the Messiah. It is characteristic of Yahweh to delight in putting down the haughty and the proud and to exalt the lowly and the poor.

The significance of the *ascending* and *descending* genealogies becomes clear when one starts with David (using the Lucan section of the diagram above) and traces the *downward passage* of his crown. All the legitimate wearers of that crown are in the shaded portions. When we reach Jehoiachin the branch ends, but the shaded portion continues with Shealtiel and Zerubbabel, and then *down* Abiud's line until it reaches Jacob, where again the branch ends, but the shaded portion continues *down* with Joseph and ends with Jesus. Matthew's genealogy, while it is certainly a historical father-son genealogy, has as its prime function the object of tracing the legitimate inheritors to Solomon's crown.

The significance of Luke's ascending genealogy becomes clear if we *start* with Jesus and *ascend* the same Lucan section of the diagram above. The living, unbroken, branch which connects Jesus directly with David has only four names in it which also appear in Matthew's descending list, namely,

Joseph, Zerubbabel and Shealtiel, and David. As one *ascends* the list the name above Joseph is Heli (not Jacob) and so on *up* the list to Shealtiel. The name above Shealtiel is Neri (not Jehoiachin) and so on *up* the list to David. Thus it becomes clear that the Shealtiel and Zerubbabel of Matthew are the same persons in Luke's list.

# Proposed solution

## Matthew

## Pre-Lucan
### First Graft
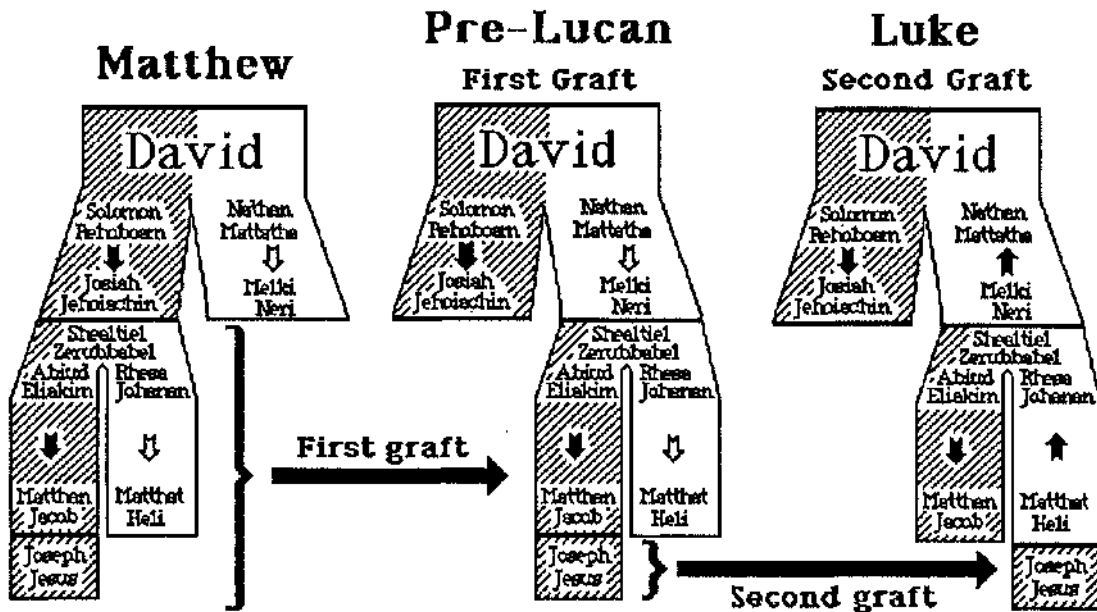
## Luke
### Second Graft



An alternative way of representing the same solution is as follows:
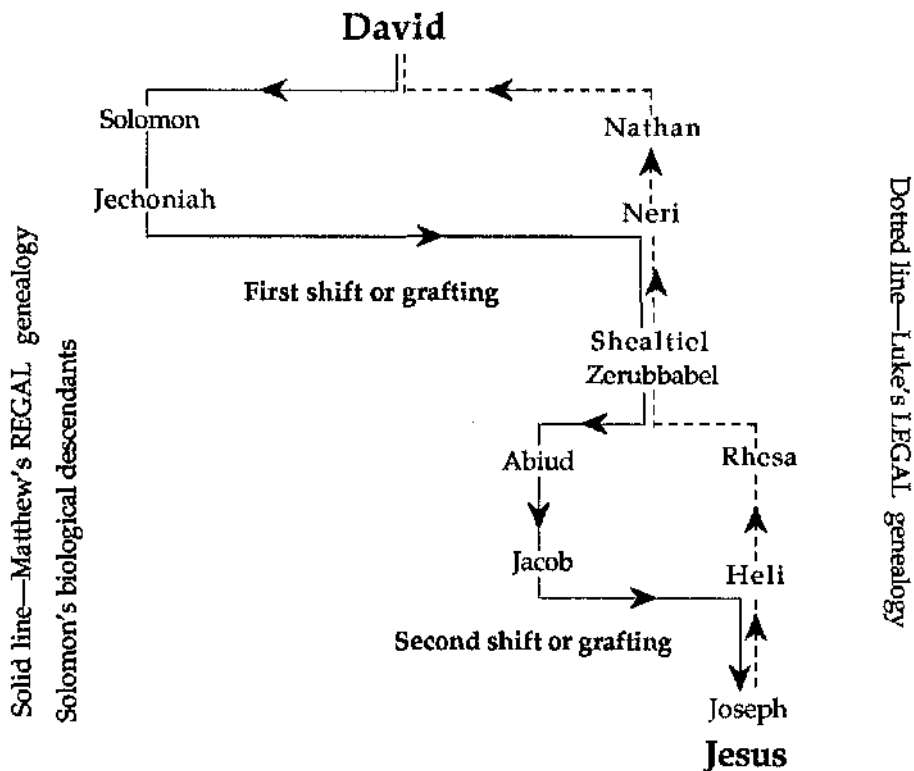
Luke's genealogy is Jesus' real, everyday, functional, genealogy. Matthew's genealogy was purely an inheritance document. It was not a *personal* genealogy. If Jesus was obliged to give his genealogy it would be Luke's that he would use. This was an *unusual circumstance*. Matthew's genealogy should have been Jesus' real, everyday, functional, genealogy. But what gave him two genealogies was the *unusual circumstance* that Shealtiel transferred into a collateral branch and it was this circumstance that gave rise to separate genealogies, one showing his *new* family connection (Luke) and the other his *continuing* claim to the inheritance (Matthew).

Because Luke gave Jesus' genealogy going back through Nathan without going through the Kings of Judah, it would be over-looked by the Jews of Jesus' day who probably were scrutinising the genealogies of the direct descendants of the Kings of Israel, in an attempt to predict the next in line to beget the Messiah (1 Pet 1:11). This circumstance could explain the strange fact that Jesus was never considered to be a candidate either to be the Messiah or to beget the Messiah in his own right (ignoring for the moment the fact that he never married). I suspect that it was his family genealogy (Luke's) which eliminated him, especially if Joseph was grafted into Heli's family *before* the birth of Jesus.

It is an open question, and ripe for speculation, how Shealtiel became the son of Neri. It is possible that Neri had no sons and so he adopted Shealtiel as his son, which coincided with Shealtiel's desire to disown his own cursed line. History then repeats itself when Heli adopted Jacob's son, probably for the same or similar reason. Or, Joseph was adopted by Heli, like Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen 48:5-6), who were the sons of Joseph by nature, and of Jacob by adoption (J. Maldonatus, 1888 I, 23). J. H. Tigay (1972 II, 298) examined fourteen instances of so-called adoption in the OT and concluded that the evidence is so meagre that some have denied the practice existed in the biblical period. My own suggestion is that each father had autonomy in his own family and he used this freedom to keep his family line going as best he could, even to making his servant his heir in the absence of any male or female offspring. We have the case of Abraham and his servant, Eliezer of Damascus (Gen 15:2), and Sheshan's Egyptian servant, Jarha (1 Chr 2:35), as clear examples and separated by many centuries.

## 2.3.   Jesus the Righteous One

The rabbis had a tradition that the Messiah could not come of the evil kings of Judah, because they were an *unrighteous branch* (R. Bauckham, 1990:334), but they were at a loss to explain how the Messiah could be a direct descendant of David, given that obstacle. H. Broughton (1600:8) has noted from Aben Ezra's commentary on Canticles that Christ is called Solomon, *because he comes of him*. But Broughton protests that Christ could never come from such flagrant sinners. He (1597:22) also mentions the rabbinic statement in Seder Olam Zuta that: "To deny that Messias cometh of Solomon: is even to deny God, and so all his holy prophets." J. Lightfoot (1644:57), who accepted the Marian solution, mentions another rule:

> That there is no King to bee for Israel, but of the house of David, and of the seed of
> Solomon onely: And hee that separateth against this Family, denyeth the Name of

*the blessed God, and the words of his Prophets that are spoken in truth.* Sanhedr. Perek. 10. & R. Samuel in Ner. Mitsvah. fol. 153.

The last diagram above shows how the Messiah could be of Solomon's line. On the one hand the *descending* genealogy of Matthew traces the unbroken blood-connection between Solomon and Joseph; on the other hand, the *ascending* genealogy of Luke traces a Righteous Branch from the Messiah all the way back to David and beyond—to God the Father. In this way all the prophecies relating to the pedigree of the Messiah were fulfilled. His father, Joseph, had Solomonic blood in his veins and so those prophecies which predicted that the Messiah would issue from the loins of David and Solomon were fulfilled in Matthew's *descending* list; and on the other hand, those prophecies that foretold that the Messiah would come of a righteous branch were fulfilled in Luke's *ascending* list.

The one thing the seventy-five names in Jesus' family pedigree have in common is that none of them is a noted sinner. Together they constitute the Righteous Branch (*The Four Gospels as Historical Records*, 1895:165; C. A. Coates, 1931:57). The majority of them are unknown individuals whose names would not immediately recall some wickedness that any of them did. Those who are known from Scripture are portrayed as righteous men or are included in lists of good men (H. Broughton, 1600). That they were sinners we have no doubt, for all have sinned, but in the context of a *canonical text*, they are considered righteous, in the same way that Melchisedek is said to have no father or mother, though he did have, but the *canonical text* used at the time when this was stated noted the absence in the text and made a theological point out of it. Likewise Enoch is said to be the seventh from Adam, not in historical fact, but in the *canonical text* used at the time when this was stated.

One identifying mark of the Messiah was that he would constitute a Righteous Branch (Jer 23:5) who would sprout from David's line (Jer 33:15). No king after David achieved the righteous rule that he exercised; and many were clearly unrighteous men. Thus with hindsight it can be seen that the Messiah could not come of this branch of David's family, even though it was the legitimate kingly line. And yet—and here is the chief difficulty—the Messiah (it was prophesied) would be the legal successor to Solomon's throne; this condition Jesus was able to fulfil because he was a direct descendant of Solomon through Joseph. We have shown above how the apparently incompatible requirements that the Messiah should be the natural and legitimate successor to the Solomonic throne and yet, at the same time, not be descended from the unrighteous line of Judean kings, can be reconciled.

## 2.4.    The two grafts in Luke's genealogy

Luke's list is, in fact, made up of three sections requiring two grafts, so that while all its members from Joseph back to David can claim to be descended from David only three of them (Shealtiel, Zerubbabel, and Joseph) were direct descendants of the Royal Solomonic Dynasty; all the others were private persons. The two grafts occurred when Shealtiel and Joseph each left their father's house and were adopted/grafted into a collateral line. There is a strong parallel between what happened to Shealtiel and what happened to

Joseph. In the case of Shealtiel he had a wicked father in Jehoiachin and this was the reason why he abandoned him. We can only assume that an identical situation occurred in the case of Joseph who abandoned his father Jacob, because the result is the same. We can only speculate that Joseph and Mary kept tight-lipped about the origin of the baby they were about to have and this led to misunderstanding and friction between Joseph and his father. It would seem that knowledge of the virgin conception was kept a dark secret until after the resurrection. It would have been a distraction if it had got out sooner. We might even speculate whether Jesus in his own life-time knew how he had been conceived. Mary says: *"Your father and I have sought thee sorrowing."* When did she tell him the facts?

The result of these two grafts is that no reigning king intervenes between Jesus and David. Jesus, in fact, is the next person to reign as a king following David. The Messiah was truly the son of David, the King of Israel.

Because of the prominence given to Zerubbabel in Haggai and Zechariah it is significant that with the death of Zerubbabel *the Governor* the last legitimate successor to the throne of David (according to Luke's list) passes away and yet in Luke's list Jesus is linked directly to him through private individuals who had no claim to the throne during their life-time. The purpose of the two grafts was to abandon an unrighteous pedigree and adopt a righteous one.

This analysis involves a serious allegation against Jacob, Joseph's father, namely, that he is the counterpart to Jehoiachin, and like Jehoiachin was similarly cursed, or declared, or considered to be, an unrighteous person/branch. If Jacob is in all respects the counterpart to Jehoiachin this would account for Joseph having had two families. The marriage with Mary could have followed his grafting into Heli's line (but without implying that Mary was any relation of Heli's) and consequently his firstborn son, Jesus, would be his legitimate successor. Jesus' others "brothers" (i.e. James, Joses, Simeon, and Judas) could be the offspring of Joseph's first marriage. In that case we would have to assume that the first wife died and Mary was Joseph's second wife. If so, this would again eliminate Jesus as a candidate to be the Messiah, because the expectation would be that a man's firstborn would be considered to be the firstborn of his *first* wife, not of his second.

## 2.5.   The theological significance of Luke's genealogy

The reason why Luke took Jesus' genealogy all the way back to Adam (or to God) may have something to do with the thought behind the judicial sentence passed by Jesus on his own generation (Lk 11:47-51): "Woe to you, because you build the tombs for the prophets, and it was your forefathers who killed them. So you testify that you approve of what your forefathers did; they killed the prophets, and you build their tombs. Because of this, God in his wisdom said, 'I will send them prophets and apostles, some of whom they will kill and others they will persecute.' Therefore this generation will be held responsible for the blood of all the prophets that has been shed *since the beginning of the world*, from the blood of Abel to the blood of Zechariah, who was killed between the altar and the sanctuary. Yes, I tell you, this generation will be held responsible for it all. . . " (emphasis mine).

It might seem unjust to hold one specific generation accountable for what happened in Adam's day and before the Flood, and for the deaths of all the righteous prophets since then, but that is the situation as far as Jesus is concerned. In the parallel passage in Mt 23:29f. we have a slightly different wording which makes some things in Luke's passage a little clearer: "Woe to you, teachers of the law and Pharisees, you hypocrites! You build tombs for the prophets and decorate the graves of the righteous. And you say, 'If we had lived in the days of our forefathers, we would not have taken part with them in shedding the blood of the prophets.' So you testify against yourselves that *you are the descendants of those who murdered the prophets.* Fill up, then, the measure of the sin of your forefathers! You snakes! You brood of vipers! How will you escape being condemned to hell? Therefore I am sending you prophets and wise men and teachers. Some of them you will kill and crucify; others you will flog in your synagogues and pursue from town to town. And so upon you will come all the righteous blood that has been shed on the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zechariah son of Berekiah, whom you murdered between the temple and the altar. I tell you the truth, all this will come upon this generation."

The thinking behind Jesus' reasoning here is that the Pharisees and teachers of the Law considered that they belonged to the line of Seth (the "Sons of God") and not to the Cainite line (the slayers of the righteous). They considered the genealogies of Gen 5 & 11 to be their forefathers. Because of their appropriation of these righteous genealogies they thereby condemned the Cainite line and those who killed the "Sons of God." In this way they condemned their own actions, in the same way that David unwittingly condemned his own actions through Nathan's parable. So Jesus likewise is able to turn the judgment of the Pharisees against themselves, and in effect, he is saying to them, "You never did belong to the righteous line of God's people, although you thought you did. Your true genealogy is the Cainite line. You belong to the seed of the Serpent; to a line of murderers; you are of your father the devil who was a murderer from the beginning and you want to carry out your father's desire" (cf. Jn 8:44).

Jesus is able to point out that by their rejection of him they have revealed that they do not belong to the righteous line—to Seth's line—but to Cain's genealogy. Physical descent does not necessarily follow spiritual descent or vice versa. Physically these teachers of the Law might be descendants of Seth, but spiritually their father was Cain, the murderer, as was soon going to be revealed in the murder of Jesus.

It now becomes apparent why "this generation" is going to be held accountable for all the persecution of the righteous since the foundation of the world. "This generation," although children of Abraham according to the flesh, were children of Cain according to the spirit, and consequently constitute, along with all others outside the commonwealth of Israel, "the seed of the serpent" in opposition to, and at perpetual enmity with, the "seed of the woman." The retribution prophesied by Jesus came about at the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70. However, among "this generation" were his own followers, "the righteous nation," who escaped the tribulation. And it can be argued that there has always been a righteous remnant, or "sons of God," or "seed of the woman," from the beginning of the world; and that the

"seed of the serpent" never managed to exterminate the "seed of the woman." It is not an imposition on Scripture to see in the genealogies of Gen 5 & 11 the descendants of the "seed of the woman," and to see in Cain's genealogy (Gen 4) the descendants of the "seed of the serpent."

Jesus' genealogy includes the descendants of the "seed of the woman" but not any from Cain's genealogy. There is, therefore, an identification with the "sons of God"—the persecuted—that Luke's list encourages us to make that is missing from Matthew's list. We saw earlier that there are no known murderers in Luke's list (except the forgiven David); and since not one name in Luke's list is associated with sin (because all the kings of Judah are excluded) we are faced with a list of "sinless" men. In Luke's Gospel (23:47) the centurion at the cross is heard to say: "Truly this man was righteous," but in Matthew and Mark he calls Jesus the "Son of God." In Acts 7:52 Luke presents Stephen as saying to the Sanhedrin, "They even killed those who predicted the coming of the Righteous One." Thus providence provides Jesus with an honourable family tree; a tree whose root emanates from God himself ("...son of Adam, *son of God*").

The men in Christ's genealogy are ordinary, private, individuals. Not many rich, not many mighty, not many wise, and only one king are numbered among his progenitors. And not many mighty are numbered among his disciples (1 Cor 1:26). A feature of Luke's Gospel is that he records how it was the poor, the tax-gatherers, prostitutes, and other outcasts of society, who became Jesus' followers; while the upper classes despised and killed him. And when has it been any different? It was predictable that Jesus' genealogy would consist of humble, insignificant, private individuals, and Luke's Gospel records that it was precisely this strata of society who constituted the vast majority of his followers, while the middle and upper classes rejected him and sought to kill him.

## 2.6. The inscrutability of God's ways

With the birth of the Seed of the woman the obligation to keep one's genealogy comes to an end. It is on this account that Paul warns Timothy (1 Tim 1:4) and Titus (3:9) that arguments about genealogies are unprofitable. Paul's attitude toward them and the Law, and the Temple, and circumcision is the same and for the same reason—Christ's coming has made them all obsolete. From now on the people of God become members of the Kingdom of God through adoption by Christ into His family register.

It is probable that Matthew gives his genealogy only to demonstrate that Jesus was descended from the line of Solomon through whom it was prophesied the Messiah would one day appear in the family of one of his descendants. There was no suggestion that Joseph was the rightful heir to the throne of David: that would be to go beyond what Scripture can prove. Indeed, I would hold that Joseph's line may not have been the expected inheritance line at all. 1 Chr 3:19 does not mention Abiud or Rhesa so that these may have been insignificant sons of Zerubbabel, so insignificant that they are not recorded in Scripture, but it was from these two twigs that the Messiah would derive his pedigree.

The elder sons of Zerubbabel no doubt hoped that they could be restored to the Davidic throne some day, and so long as that hope was there,

there would be intense interest to keep their interest in it alive by having their genealogy recorded in Scripture. Unknown to them God had chosen the weaker and despised members of their family to bring out his Messiah. Once the throne had been removed forever from Jechoniah's family then the Messiah did not have to come of any publicly declared "rightful heir" to David's throne, because there was no throne to inherit. There was no such thing as a "rightful heir" any longer. God decreed there would never be a resurrection of the Davidic Kingdom again in the literal, physical sense that there had been before the Exile. That was a distinct phase that was past forever, never to be seen again, and never did God give them any hope that it would be restored to the family again. The only Kingdom that He did promise them was a spiritual Kingdom with no physical capital city. The King of this spiritual Kingdom would be his own Son who would suddenly appear in the house of a lineal descendant of Solomon. Matthew's genealogy is there to show his fellow-Jews that Jesus was such a candidate because he appeared in the family of Joseph who was a lineal descendant of Solomon.

While there was an occupant on the throne of David before the Exile that occupant was the family home from which the future Messiah would appear in or spring from. But once that throne was removed then the Messiah could appear from any descendant of that family. There was no promise that it would be through the eldest branch of each succeeding generation (so M. F. Sadler, 1886:90; 1890:487). Indeed, if the early chapters of Genesis are anything to go by God frequently by-passed the first-born and chose a younger member. David himself was the seventh son in his family. So that once the throne was removed from Jechoniah then the visible line of the Messiah's descent was removed from the earth and was plotted silently and secretly in heaven. So silently and secretly was this done that it left the writer of Chronicles rudderless with no assurance that he was recording the future line of the coming Messiah. He is at a loss and simply records as many collateral names (of one descent only) from one line of descent that he has chosen; but there is no clear direction or reason for giving all the collateral brothers of his selected line which may have been a land inheritance genealogy, rather than a list of rightful successors to a mythical "throne of David" which would never materialise again on this earth.

I do not think the names of Abiud or Rhesa are recorded under a double name in 1 Chronicles 3:19-24, because God intended to bring in his Son secretly. The record of 1 Chr 3:19-24 effectively had the Jews looking in the wrong direction from which to expect their Messiah. This may have been deliberate on the part of God, for the nation no longer deserved to be in possession of a visible family line, such as he had given them, from Solomon to Jechoniah. It was a punishment on them that He removed both the throne and the approved or designated line through which His Son would come. From now on they would have to grope in the dark, for the light of the crown could no longer guide them to the family from which the Messiah would emerge. All they could do was to begin the huge task of recording the male descendants of *every* son of Zerubbabel but without knowing which male would "father" the Messiah. The Chronicler shows us the early development of this attempt to trace the line of the Messiah. His line is not always through the first-born son, but we have no explanation why he chose to continue the

line through a younger son. One can only suppose that it was not on the supposition that this line constituted what would have been the throne line had it been allowed to continue; but it may have been. In which case it was inevitable that not every son of Zerubbabel would need to be recorded, and this would explain why the very youngest sons of Zerubbabel (if indeed Abiud and Rhesa were such) were not recorded. Sufficient names were recorded and totalled in case the line should fail at any time in the future when there would be plenty of candidates to claim the "throne."

## 2.7. Summary of criticisms of the two main solutions

In the opinion of the present writer the two main hypotheses, namely, those of Africanus and Mary's genealogy, cannot explain the presence of two genealogies for Jesus without infringing the cultural norms of the time in which they were composed. But more of that below.

### 2.7.1. The Levirate solution

The test was a simple question for the masses to ask of any prospective Messiah: Is he of the house and lineage of David (Luke 2:4)? A levirate son would not qualify because the promise was that David would never lack a man to sit on his throne (Jer 33:17; Ps 89:29-37; 132:11) and also, that the coming Messiah would proceed out of David's loins, not Nathan's, or any of the other sons of David's fourteen wives.

P. Holmes (1866 II, 96 n) has argued that the levirate law was inadmissible in the case of *uterine brothers,* because the brothers could have fathers from *different tribes* in which case the purpose of keeping the inheritance in the same tribe would be defeated. Maimonides (*Yabom Vechalitza*/יבום וחליצה, c. 1) has succinctly stated the Jewish law on this very issue, he says:

אחין מן האם אינן השובין אחין לעניין ירושה או לעניין יבום וחליצה והרי הן כמו שאינן (אחין)

שאין אחוה אלא מאב, i.e., "brothers only on the mother's side [uterine] are not regarded as brothers, either in the matter of inheritance, or in that of marrying the widow of the deceased brother and loosing of the shoe. They are, indeed, just as if they were not (brothers) at all. For that constitutes not fraternity which proceeds not from the father's side." J. Selden (1638, chap. 14) has collected the relevant rabbinical laws relating to this topic, e.g. the Babylonian Gemara, Baba Bathra, c. 111, Yebamoth/יבמות, fol. 17 b; and Halacoth Gedaloth/הלכות גדלות, num. 31. W. H. Mill (1842:193) responded negatively to the significance of these laws.

Referring to the brother who is eligible for levirate marriage Yebamoth 17b reads: "the brotherhood must, therefore, be both paternal and maternal" (I. Epstein, 1936:97). The same thing is said in Baba Bathra 111, "the brotherhood was derived from the father and not from the mother," which, if true, would exclude uterine brothers.

If the law of Maimonides is a true record of what happened in Israel in Jesus' day, then the particular form of levirate marriage envisaged by Africanus would have been open to question, because if Heli were childless it would have been the duty of a male descendant *among his own family* to fulfill the law of levirate.

In any case, even if we salvaged from Africanus' story the idea that a proper levirate marriage took place between the very distinct branches of Zerubbabel's family (and reject Africanus' particular example as being fatally flawed), we are still left with an enormous problem because Heli's widow would have been obliged to search for a "brother" of her dead husband from among all the male descendants derived from Rhesa, starting with her own generation and moving back a generation at a time, searching all the nearer collateral branches stemming from Rhesa *before* she could begin looking for a male descendant in Abiud's branch. It is asking too much to believe that Heli was the last surviving male descendant of Rhesa. But unless Heli was the last male descendant from Rhesa, then, and only then, would his widowed wife have been able to seek a relative in a remote *collateral* branch of Zerubbabel's family. It is for this reason that Africanus' levirate marriage solution must be rejected.

Even if Africanus had presented us with a true levirate situation between Jechoniah's wife and Neri, the descendant of Nathan, the son of that union would not fulfil the terms of the promise. Levirate marriage can only take place between *direct* descendants of Solomon if the line is to continue.

In the case of Heli and Joseph, if Heli were a blood brother of Joseph and both had Jacob as their father, and Heli died childless *then* Joseph could have fulfilled the law of levirate with his widow and it is possible for *that* son to have continued the direct descent from Solomon to Jesus, in keeping with the principle laid down by Maimonides above. But that is not the situation Africanus has handed on to us as coming from the Lord's brothers. The tradition that Africanus has handed on involved levirate marriage between men in collateral branches which branched off from one another 600 years earlier! Bethlehem's streets were overcrowded and the houses overflowed with descendants of David the night Jesus was born, so it is hardly likely that Heli was the sole surviving member of Rhesa's family.

The tradition about Estha *may* be historically correct in every detail but it has nothing to do with Jacob and Heli and the law of levirate marriages. The tradition should never have been brought into relation with the problem of reconciling the two genealogies. It is a red herring.

In any case we have seen that Africanus has blundered over the omission of two generations between Melki and Heli which makes it virtually impossible that Estha was married to both Matthan and Melchi. He also stated that the line of Solomon was indistinguishable from the line of Nathan through intermarriages and levirate marriages. This is just a smoke-screen. Descent is through males only and intermarriages cannot merge two lines of male descendants. Wives enter the family of their husbands never the other way. His tradition shows ignorance of Jewish culture. Again, the use of levirate marriages to postulate the merging of two distinct male genealogies is a smoke-screen to cover ignorance of the true situation. Levirate marriages by their very nature are intended to keep two male genealogies *apart and distinct*, not bring them together. One cannot help feeling that someone out of ignorance of how the two genealogies related to one another cast around for an explanation and lighted upon the law of levirate marriage as a convenient way to explain how a man could have two fathers; and having seen the appropriateness of that law then applied it to the

Gospel genealogies by introducing it by means of a tradition about Estha having married two men. The tradition may be right: the law of levirate may be right: but the application of both to solve the problem of Jesus' genealogies was wrong. Africanus, however, was right—but for the wrong reason—in believing that both lists give the genealogy of Joseph.

In the light of the narrow circumstances in which the law of levirate marriage was intended to operate I have eliminated this concept from playing any role in a resolution of the two genealogies. Levirate marriage between two collateral branches which have been separated for about six-hundred years is impossible, unless the brothers are six-hundred years old!

### 2.7.2. The Marian solution

Concerning the second main solution—the idea that Luke gives Mary's genealogy (or Annius' view for short)—this cannot explain the presence of two genealogies for Jesus without infringing the cultural norms of the time in which they were composed. The idea that Luke gives Mary's genealogy is an imposition on the text to meet cultural demands not in evidence in Jesus' day. Both genealogies make it clear that they are giving the genealogy of Joseph. If Luke had in mind to give Mary's genealogy there was no cultural barrier to giving her genealogy. That is the fatal blow to this theory. Another obstacle is that no man ever took his wife's genealogy as his own. To postulate this is to show ignorance of male pride, never mind, Jewish customs (J. Stark, 1866:154). Indeed, to be called the son of a woman, could have overtones of illegitimacy. A man was always the son of his father for genealogical purposes, *never* the son of his mother, because of the ancient maxim of the Jews that משפחת אם אין קרויה משפחת: or: *familia matris non familia,* "The mother's family is not to be called a family" (Juchas, fol. 55. 2; cf. J. Lightfoot, 1823 XI, 16), and it has divine sanction (Num 1:26).

I am not inclined to add to this the idea that *after* Joseph was adopted he married Mary, and so we have Mary's genealogy by the back door. The little evidence that there is suggests that she was the daughter of a priest, and there was more watchfulness taken over the genealogies of priests than over any other sector of Jewish society, and consequently membership of the tribe of Levi would guarantee Mary's pure status as a virgin. Since the tribal allegience of any wife meant nothing to a husband's genealogical status, it would not have been of any significance to mention her tribal origin. Indeed, Mary could have been a Moabite, like Ruth, but that would not have made her sons Moabites. Nationality was passed on through the husband—never the wife. She might have been a Levite but that did not mean her sons were Levites. Her sons belonged to the tribe of their father—never to their mother's tribe (cf. the sources in W. H. Mill, 1842:208 n).

Elizabeth was of the daughters of Aaron, and she married a priest. If, therefore, Mary was her kinswoman, it is an unavoidable conclusion that she too was a daughter of Aaron or Levi, a view which some of the early Church Fathers entertained (A. Plummer, 1909:xxxix; L. Ragg, 1922:50; R. Chapman, 1836:18; E. Hennecke, 1963:427; W. Sanday & A. C. Headlam, 1902:6). Thus, for instance, Augustine argued that since Luke inserts the statement that Elizabeth, whom he records to be of the daughters of Aaron (Lk 1:5), was her cousin (συγγενης, Lk 1:36), we ought most firmly to hold by the fact that the

flesh of Christ sprang from both the kingly and the priestly lines (1873:198). But Augustine is inconsistent because he is also an adamant supporter of Mary's Davidic descent (1872:496). What reliable tradition there is makes Mary's mother, Anna, to be the daughter of a priest called Matthan, and Mary's father, Joachim, to be a priest. Another Syrian tradition makes Anna and Elizabeth sisters (E. Hennecke, 1963:428; M. D. Gibson, 1911 I, 12) which confirms the other traditions which make both women to be daughters of Aaron.

I. Da Costa (1851:473) argued that there is no evidence that Mary was of Davidic descent. Scripture say "because *he* was of the house and lineage of David" (Lk 2:5). If ever the rule that *the inclusion of the one is the necessary exclusion of the other*, is admissible, it is certainly in such a connection. Mary was the cousin (συγγενής) of Elizabeth (Lk 1:36). "Cousin" can have no other signification but that of *descendant of the same family in the male line*, that is to say, in descent from the same male ancestor. It is in the same sense of extraction from the same masculine ancestors that Paul calls all the Israelites his συγγενεῖς (Rom 9:3; cf. 16:7, 11, 21). Here, then, in a more limited sense, but one quite the same in kind, Mary and Elisabeth are called *cousins*, because they were of the same tribe. If the tribe of Elisabeth be known to us, we know also that of Mary. Both belonged to the tribe of Levi. Mary was a resident of Nazareth "where a large number of priests resided" (R. Glover, 1889:9). The opponents of the Christian faith—the Jews, Celsus, Julian, Porphyry, and others—affirmed that Mary was of the tribe of Levi (J. Maldonatus, 1888 I, 19). For some of the early evidence see W. H. Mill (1842:206 n).

In Israel, he argued, descent by the mother's side was not taken into consideration in making out the tribe to which a man belonged. The rule laid down by the Rabbins on this point, is the simple result of all that the Bible teaches and assumes with regard to it:

משפחת אב קרויה משפחה משפחת אם אינה קרויה משפחה: *The descent on the father's side only shall be called a man's descent; the descent by the mother is not called any descent* (Baba Bathra, 110). For the view that Mary may have been of the tribe of Judah see J. H. A. Ebrard (1863:159) and J. H. Hill (1896:41).

## 2.8.  The criteria test

The criterion for a successful solution to stand any chance of being accepted is that it should contain the following elements.

(i) It should accept the plain meaning of the text which is that both Evangelists purport to give the genealogy of Joseph/Jesus.

(ii) It should accept the plain meaning of the promise to David in 2 Sam 7:12-16 (and other places) that the future King of Israel (the Messiah) would be a direct descendant of the line of kings that would issue from his posterity, and therefore he would be a direct descendant of Solomon.

(iii) It should accept that Shealtiel was the natural son of Jehoiachin.

(iv) It should accept that Joseph was the natural son of Jacob.

(v) It should accept that Joseph was also the son of Heli in some sense.

(vi) It should accept that Shealtiel was also the son of Neri in some sense.

It is these last two elements which have proved the major stumbling-block to a resolution of the problem because of the latitude given to the term

"son" in the Bible. There are five options, namely: (i) by birth; (ii) by marriage (son-in-law), (iii) by adoption, (iv) by levirate marriage, (v) by succession; but only two of these are compatible with the criterion laid down above, namely, (ii) and (iii), because levirate marriages are inconceivable in the present case, and a "son" by succession does not guarantee Solomonic descent. Jehu was the son of Omri, but only because he succeeded him on the throne (cf. A. H. Layard, 1853:613); and Zedekiah, the uncle of Jehoiachin, is said to be Jehoiachin's son because he succeeded him on the throne (cf. 1 Chr 3:16). But this is disputed, because "Zedekiah" here could be an actual son and not his uncle. Incidentally this is the only biblical example where "son" is held to have the meaning of "successor." If Zedekiah in 1 Chr 3:16 was Jehoiachin's actual son and he was nominated by his father to succeed him, then the Gospel genealogies show that his choice of successor was disregarded by Yahweh and Shealtiel was chosen instead.

Of the two remaining possibilities (ii) i.e. that Luke gives Mary's genealogy, is extremely unlikely because of the reasons given above. This leaves only (iii), namely, adoption. Adoption, in the Western sense, was not known as a legal institution in Jewish law of the period (Scheveschewsky, I, 300-301). However, heads of families did seem to have considerable freedom to demote, promote, and adopt sons. Firstborn sons could be demoted and younger brothers promoted. Servants could become heirs and grandsons could be made heirs with their uncles. This freedom to add to one's family required no legal procedure. It rested solely on the say-so of the head of the family. But adding strangers to a family (or sons of concubines) could give rise to considerable friction over the inheritance of the father's property, so that adoption was probably a very rare event and restricted to issueless fathers. It is this power, or freedom to adopt, that fathers had, that suggests a way out of the difficulty. We can conjecture that this power was exercised twice; once when Shealtiel was adopted into Neri's family, and the second time when Joseph was adopted into Heli's family.

I have made the promise of 2 Sam 7:12-16 the key to any attempt to reconcile the two genealogies of Jesus.

I have given an alternative solution believing that both Evangelists give the genealogy of Joseph, and so of Jesus, one his personal pedigree (Luke), the other an inheritance line (Matthew), showing his right to the throne of David. Solomon was the first of that promised line of descendants, and hence the prospective Messiah must be able to claim direct descent from him. This Jesus was able to do because his father was called, "Joseph, son of David" (Mt 1:20). His personal pedigree demonstrates the fulfilment of the prophecies relating to his descent from a Righteous Branch; his inheritance document demonstrates the fulfilment of prophecies that he was the promised son of David who would continue his dynasty and inherit his spiritual throne for ever.

# Contents of Chapter two

# The Omission of Three Kings in Matthew's Genealogy

# Chapter two

## II. The Omission of Three Kings in Matthew's Genealogy

### Introduction.

Matthew lists fourteen of the twenty kings and one queen who ruled Judah for 344 years (from 1010 to 586 BC). The omission of queen Athaliah's seven-year rule (from Tishri 841 to Tishri 835 BC), which was five full years and a part of a year on either side of these full years, is automatic since a female could not be a "son of David." Jehoahaz's three months' rule (from Tammuz to Tishri 609 BC) and Zedekiah's eleven-year rule (from about Nisan 597 to about Elul 586 BC) are not omitted since they are covered by the phrase "Jechoniah and his brothers" in Matthew 1:11. The term "brother" can be used in the sense of any male relative (except one's father) and can include one's uncles as in this case, for such were Jehoahaz and Zedekiah. Since Jehoiachin reigned before Zedekiah and he outlived him and is called "king of Judah" thirty-seven years after his deportation to Babylon (cf. 2 Kings 25:27), the reign of Zedekiah was only a caretaker reign. Jehoahaz, on the other hand, reigned before Jehoiachin and Jehoiakim, but we shall see in a later section how the sentence "Josiah begat Jechoniah and his brothers" is to be understood.

I am not aware of a single instance in the Hebrew Bible where a man refers to his father as his "brother" which means that Jechoniah's father, Jehoiakim, is probably not included in the sentence "Josiah begat Jechoniah and his brothers."

This section will concentrate only on the three kings and the case of Jehoiakim's omission will be treated separately in the following chapter.

The missing three kings are: Ahaziah (three months; from approximately April to September 841 BC), Joash (he began to reign some time between April and September 835 and ruled until April-September 796 BC, or forty non-accession years), and Amaziah (who began to reign some time between April and September 796 to April-September 767 BC, or twenty-nine accession years). Athaliah ruled between Ahaziah and Joash; the total time for these omitted reigns amounted to seventy-four years.

The following suggestions have been made to explain the omission of the three kings. They can be divided into two broad categories: the omission was (i) deliberate, or (ii) it was accidental. First, that the omission was deliberate.

The textual evidence for the omission of the three kings is overwhelming. The case for their inclusion is extremely weak. W. Cureton (1858:vii) mentions a treatise by Mar Yakub the Persian, composed in AD 342, which has the three kings. They are also found in Aphraates Homilies (c. AD

345). The names are found in MS. D. and Syr. Cur. but not in Syr. Sin. The date of Sinaitic is given as the beginning of the 5th cent. by A. S. Lewis which is earlier than the Curetonian. Burkitt thought it was half a century earlier, i.e. mid-4th century.

## 1. The omission of the three kings was deliberate

### 1.1. The omission reduced the number to fourteen kings

The suggestion that the omission of Ahaziah, Joash and Amaziah was deliberate is based on the fact that Matthew 1:17 emphasises the coincidence that there were three equal lists of fourteen names covering the period from Abraham to Jesus. There is no need to list all the supporters for this explanation except that some would like to make it *the* explanation. Some emphasise its memory aid value:

> the Evangelist resolving to distribute the ancestors of Christ into three several ranks, according to the three great changes that had happened in the Jewish state, and finding it just fourteen in the first rank from Abraham to David, he laboured to reduce the other ranks to the same number too, as knowing that equal numbers are a great help to memory. (S. Cradock, 1668:17; and cf. R. Ward, 1640:9b; H. Alford, 1958 (1859]), I, 3; A. W. Argyle, 1963:26; I. de Beausobre & J. Lenfant, 1779:271)

But others prefer the idea that they were omitted to recall David whose name adds up to fourteen (M.-J. Lagrange, 1938 I, 32, and F. V. Filson, 1971:53). According to Bar-Hebraeus [1226—1286] (1925:6) Origen wrote that the Evangelist omitted the kings in order to adapt the number fourteen to the wishes of the Hebrews who thought very highly of it. Just as at the end of the forty-two journings of the people they inherited the land of promise, so at the end of forty-two generations Christians inherited the kingdom of heaven in Christ. Jerome also favoured a simple numerical explanation (cf. P. J. Gloag, 1895:255). But see J. MacEvilly (1876:5) who credits Jerome with the idea of Ahab's curse as the reason for their omission. The appearance of this explanation in the form: "Abbridging the nomber to make the times fourteen generations" in the margin of the Geneva Bible (1560) secured for it a permanent place in Christian exegesis (cf. W. Whittingham, 1557:1). J. Calvin (1845) preferred this explanation. He rejected the suggestion that the three kings were omitted through forgetfulness or that they were unworthy to occupy a place in the genealogy of Christ.

It is even suggested that Matthew was responsible for the shortening:

> That Matthew himself omitted these three names has been rendered extremely probable by the publication of several instances of a similar handling of the numbers of generations, in order to bring them to a symmetrical or mystical shape by Philo, and also by the author of an ancient Samaritan poem (Dr. John Mill's *Sermons*, pp. 153-158). The natural conclusion in both these cases, as well as in that of Matthew, is that there could be no question either of ignorance or deception, but merely an adoption of a national mode of thought in dealing with numbers (F. H. Dunwell, 1876:67).

I have not been able to trace the work mentioned in the above quotation. E. W. Bullinger (1952:161) saw a mystical significance in the numbers six and seven that dominate Jesus' two genealogies. He obtains a total of sixty generations for Jesus in Matthew's genealogy ( if Matthew's list is taken back to Adam) and seventy-seven in Luke's genealogy.

> We find, therefore, the numbers SIX and SEVEN divinely stamped upon the genealogy of Matthew—60 names (ten sixes, 10 x 6). Three sets of fourteen generations (two sevens, 7 x 2). Together forty-two generations (six sevens, 6 x 7).
>
> His two names have the same significant stamp and seal: for Ιησους, Jesus, the birth name of His humiliation, as Man, is composed of six letters; while Χριστος, Christ, His Divine title as the anointed of God, is composed of seven letters.
>
> This marvellous combination of six and seven stamps both genealogies with the Spirit's seal, and sets forth the human and Divine natures of our Lord, as perfect Man and perfect God.

Another suggestion was that because the series from Joram to Uzziah might easily be known by the simplest, from those plain places of Scripture, therefore the Evangelist does not trouble himself to reckon them up (R. Ward, 1640:9).

D. Whitby (1703:4) stated that Matthew, finding seventeen generations, cut out three to make fourteen and then goes on to record a bizarre idea which he seems to give some credence to. His source is a "Mr. Cl." who is not identified further, who held the view that there were originally fifty names in Matthew's source genealogy and ten were omitted. Mr. Cl. alleges that:

> St Matthew met with a genealogical book of David's family that was defective, and accidentally observing there three classes of fourteen generations between these three great periods of time . . . was thereby moved to make such a division in the account of Christ's lineage, which he would not so much as have thought of, if he had made use of an entire book . . . .".

"Mr. Cl." notes the error in v. 11 of Matthew as due to this corrupt genealogy.

Lastly, others such as D. Pareus (1631), thought "it fit to give over the Quaere [query?] and leave it as a secret, than to dive into it." But the sensible R. Ward (1640:9) parried this blanket taboo on research with the observation:

> Although it is true that the Lord may do what he please, and need not give an account of his actions unto man, yet he doth nothing but for some good and just cause, and in these historical relations gives us leave with modesty to enquire after those things, that at first view seem to be obscure and secret: and therefore (I hope without offending in this kind, viz. to dive into depths that only the Lord can found) . . . reasons may be given why these three, and only these three are here omitted.

The agnostic is represented in the view that after all, nothing but mere conjectures can be assigned for this omission (I. de Beausobre & J. Lenfant, 1779:271). Or if the problem is too difficult there is always the excuse of Chrysostom: I leave [the omission of the three kings] for you to examine, for

neither is it needful for me to explain all things to you, lest ye should grow indolent (P. Schaff, 1975:6).

## 1.2. These three were the most wicked kings

Others have added that since three had to be omitted why not these three? (E. Wells, 1727:10; E. H. Plumptre, 1879:3). The common denominator that unites these three kings is the observation that they all died violent deaths. Joram the son-in-law of Ahab "died of sore diseases" (2 Chr 21:19) and was not buried in the sepulchres of the kings (2 Chr 24:25)(H. L. Mansel, 1878 I, 3). Ahaziah was slain by Jehu (2 Kgs 9:27); Joash was slain by his servants (2 Kgs 12:20); Amaziah was slain by the people of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 14:19). Thus God's "visiting" for idolatry was fulfilled literally "to the third and fourth generation" (Ex 20:4-5; Num 14:18). Their names were therefore "blotted out" according to Law (Deut 29:20) (W. D. Davies & D. C. Allison, 1988 I, 176; *The Companion Bible*, 1910, App. 99, p. 145). According to the Old Testament, God willed the violent deaths of Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah (2 Chr 22:1-9; 24:1-25, 28).

Another suggested that: "Because they were the most wicked among the most wicked of all those whom we have any account in history" they were omitted (J. Chambers, 1813:45). "These bad three and worse Jehoiakim which were killed for evil ruling, St. Matthew omits," wrote H. Broughton (1605:1). He also suggested that God does not record families to be destroyed, but upon guilt of impiety, for which none of Nathan's house is any where blamed. He notes that Aben Ezra upon the *Canticles* [Song of Solomon] says that Christ is called Solomon, because he comes of him. Broughton scorns the idea that Christ would come of ungracious persons such as Joram who killed his own brethren, of Ahaziah of Ahab's line, of Joash who killed Zachariah, of Jehoiakim whom Ramban reckons amongst them that sinned against the Holy Ghost. A Kingdom of Justice would not be derived from such a race, he declared (1600). Augustine saw in their combined evil reign the reason for their exclusion—their wickedness was continuous and without interval. For Solomon was allowed to hold the kingdom for his father's deserts, Rehoboam for his son's. But these three doing evil successively were excluded. This then is an example how a race is cut off when wickedness is manifested in perpetual succession (T. Aquinas, 1841:26). Another explanation was:

> There are wicked kings left out but only because their fathers were wicked; there are wicked kings left in but only because their fathers were righteous. The wicked kings were left in the public records that their righteous parents might not be found written childless in these records, which was among the Jews counted a great curse. (Anonymous. *Jesus, the Son of David*, 1730:7)

Another suggested that it was probably for the double reason of marking the wicked character of these three kings, and to secure the mnemonic number of fourteen, that their names were omitted (D. D. Whedon, 1874 I, 22).

G. Kuhn (1923:206-28; cf. E. W. Bullinger, 1952:161) suggested that the omission was intentional to rid the genealogy of wicked kings but he admits that Matthew did not eliminate Amon, who also died a violent death.

But others denied that the omissions were due to personal wickedness, noting that Manasseh and Amon are included. They denied also that it was because they were descendants of Jezebel, because women of actual heathen origin became direct ancestors of the Messiah (John Chrysostom [AD 407], 1843:13; R. C. H. Lenski, 1964 [1943], 30; Bar-Hebraeus [1226—1286], 1925:ciii). Isho'dad of Merv [c. AD 850] asked why Joram the husband of Athaliah, is not included in the omission, after all he had the choice to marry her whereas the three descendants had no choice of Athaliah as their ancestress? (M. D. Gibson, 1911 I, 8). Z. Pearce (1777 I, 2) pointed out that:

> Joram (or Jehoram) was as wicked as any one of the three whose names are omitted; for, as soon as he began to reign, he slew six of his brothers (2 Chron. xxi. 4.) and it is remarkable, that he is in ver. 20. said to have departed without being desired, i.e. to have died detested, or at least unlamented. And Ahaz, the most wicked of all the kings of Judah, except, perhaps, Manaasses, is not omitted in this genealogy. I think, therefore, that neither for this reason, nor for any other, that can be assigned, is it credible.

It is not at all probable, declared another, that the character of the kings had anything to do with this omission, since there are others at least equally wicked, whose names are retained (D. Whitby, 1703 I, 4; cf. W. Trollope & W. H. Rowlandson, 1848:158).

R. Ward (1640:9) gives a two point reason, namely, (a) because the kingdoms were wickedly governed under them, and therefore they were not thought worthy to be named; and (b) because these three were most miserably killed.

## 1.3. These three were the most barren kings

They were passed over because their reigns were more barren of incident than those of the other kings (W. Trollope & W. H. Rowlandson, 1848:158). No proof of this assertion is supplied.

## 1.4. These three were reckoned dead in God's sight

These three kings were considered dead in the sight of God according to the judgment pronounced by the prophet Elijah (so I. Williams, 1844:112). What this judgment was is not spelled out, or how they could be considered "dead" when they lived and died and are entered in the biblical record like all the other Judean kings is not explained, but the author may have been following Maldonatus' commentary who used the same language: These three kings, then, were not mentioned because, although they lived and reigned, they were slain, and condemned by divine judgment as civally dead (J. Maldonatus, 1888 [1596] I, 1, 10). Another affirms that, "They were not naturally, but civilly, destroyed by such exclusion" (J. MacEvilly, 1876 I, 6). Another proposed that, "In the thought of God those unnumbered generations seem in some respects to have become as if they had never been" (F. W. Upham, 1881:199).

### 1.5.    These three were universally known

Matthew passes them over, not from ignorance,—the whole context proves the contrary; nor on account of their impiety,—for he names others who are wicked, as Jechonias, and also passes over some good [as Amaziah], nor for fraudulent purpose,—the more he named, the stronger his argument,—but because they were so universally known. (J. C. Gray, 1871 I, 4). R. Ward (1640:9]) had made this suggestion without endorsing it.

This is hardly an adequate reason why these particular three kings should be selected to be omitted.

### 1.6.    They were omitted due to some popular misunderstanding

Isho'dad of Merv gives the view of the Interpreter, who is Theodore of Mopsuesia [AD 428], that the omission of the three kings was an error of a careless scribe, and it is not the Evangelist who left them out. Nor did he do this to get fourteen generations from David to the Exile, because from the Exile to Christ there are only thirteen, but this does not prevent Matthew from saying that there were fourteen, as it was not about the sum of the numbers that it mattered to him. The commentary then goes on:

> But they say it was an error of the scribe, whilst others say that he wished to leave
> them out...to obtain fourteen, rather than eigtheen; for in the third part he leaves out
> Nedabia [*sic*. Pedaiah?] between Salathiel and Zorobabel, that he may fix the number
> of fourteen with Mary and the Christ, because that Mary has come into the generations
> instead of her father. And it is clear also that the Evangelist left them out for the
> reason that his book was in existence in Caesarea of Palestine, and everyone
> acknowledges that he wrote it with his hands in Hebrew [MS C has 'Greek']; and
> theses names are not in it; and we say also, that Athalia was not the daughter of
> Jezabel, but the daughter of Omri. And because the Evangelist knew what a wrong idea
> there was among the people about these names, because of that he left them out.
> Nevertheless that idea of the Interpreter the whole school receives [namely that it
> was a mistake of a transcriber]. (M. D. Gibson, 1911 I, 8)

### 1.7.    Ahab's curse extended to the fourth generation

The curse on Ahab's family is thought to be *the* factor that resulted in the three kings being omitted from Matthew's list, consequently the choice of these three particular kings was not arbitrary.

The three descendants of Jezebel's daughter, namely, Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah were better men than Jehoram, Manasseh, and Amon who are all, nevertheless, retained in the table. It is, therefore, neither in their personal characters nor in their regal actions that the cause of their exclusion can be found. It must rather be sought in the solemn words of warning spoken by Yahweh on Sinai: "I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me." The three kings were "the children to the third and fourth generation" of those pre-eminent haters of the Lord, Jezebel and her daughter Athaliah, who, by their influence over their husbands and sons, had slain Yahweh's prophets, thrown down His altars, and done everything that consumate craft and cruelty could accomplish, to blot out the name of Yahweh in Israel and Judah, and to substitute that of Baal in its stead.

The faithfulness of Yahweh to his threatened judgments is shown by their hatred to Him being, in this striking way, visited upon their children to the third and fourth generation. (Cf. 1 Kgs 16:31, 32; 18:4, 13; 19:1-2; 21:25; 2 Chr 21:6, 13; 22:2-4, 10; 24:7). ("M.W.C" 187?)

This is by far the most popular explanation (R. Baxter, 1685; J. E. Riddle, 1843:8; H. Elsley, 1844:60; D. Bagot, 1844:8; H. Alford, 1958 [1859], I, 3, who mentions Spanheim, Lightfoot, and Ebrard, as advocates of this view; also W. Pound, 1869 I, 90; J. Davies, 1872:9; J. Morison, 1895:3; D. Hill, 1972:76; F. Marshall, 1920:1; G. C. Morgan, 1976:7; D. A. Carson, 1984:67). By the omission of these three and Jehoiakim there resulted a remarkable tally of fourteen names to equal the series from Abraham to David. This explanation was common among the Church Fathers, according to F. H. Dunwell (1876:67) and P. Devine (1884:4).

Whether the reduction was intended to bring down the number to fourteen (so J. A. Alexander, [1861], 5) by removing insignificant or obnoxious names (C. H. Irwin, 1923:354), or whether the fourteen resulted accidentally from the exclusion of these kings (C. Blackwood, 1658:9) is left to the whim of the commentator to decide.

The omission of these three kings is connected with the breaking of the Second Commandment by Ahab (Ahaziah, Joash and Amaziah, were no worse than other kings of Judah) which specifically forbids idolatry and warns that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation (Exodus 20:5; 32:33). "Matthew made no mistake in omitting these three kings, for that had been done, some centuries earlier, by the priests who were the official guardians of the Temple records" (A. S. Lewis, 1913:29).

Athaliah's descendants are blotted out of the Book of Life (Exod 32:33; Deut 29:20) by being blotted out of the Messiah's pedigree (J. W. Burgon, 1855 I, 7). Likewise good is visited upon the children to the third and fourth generation, hence Jehu's descendants to the fourth generation are made kings over Israel (2 Kgs 10:30) (Anonymous, *The First Seal* [1854:4]; and compare Pseudo-Chrysostom's view in St. Thomas Aquinas, 1841:26). J. W. Burgon (1855 I, 7) remarks that they are omitted because they were the result of an unholy marriage of Jehoram with Athaliah, the daughter of the wicked Ahab and idolatrous Jezebel; and Uzziah, who married Jerusha, the daughter of Zadok the priest (2 Kgs 15:32-33) is the first name which becomes restored to the line of our Lord's ancestors after the flesh. J. H. A. Ebrard (1863:152) argued from Deuteronomy 7:1-5 that it was so great a sin to marry a heathen wife, that the penalty of destruction was attached to it.

Deuteronomy 7:1-5 does forbid the Hebrews to marry any of the seven nations of Canaan, but Jezebel was not from one of the seven prohibited peoples; she was the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Sidonians (1 Kgs 16:31) and Athaliah's father was a Hebrew so that she cannot be considered a foreigner, she is in fact called the daughter of Omri (2 Kgs 8:26). If Jehoram's marriage to Athaliah is deemed "unholy" how much more Solomon's marriage to an Ammonitess and an Egyptian. Rehoboam was the fruit of that "unholy" marriage but that did not disqualify him from inheriting Solomon's throne or debar him from Matthew's list.

The fact that Scripture highlights Joram's relationship as son-in-law of Ahab, "for the daughter of Ahab was his wife" (2 Kgs 8:18) and also that Ahaziah his son is called "son-in-law of the house of Ahab" (2 Kgs 8:27) suggested that this was the reason why these three in particular were excluded from the list of David's successors (*The Companion Bible* [1910], Appx. 99, p. 145). Both kings are said to have walked in the ways of Ahab (2 Kgs 8:18, 27), and in Ahaziah's case his ascension to the throne of Judah is ignomineously dated according to the foundation of Omri's dynasty (2 Chr 22:2). For a discussion of this point see L. McFall (1991:22). From this it was a short step to considering that they were of the posterity of wicked Ahab (J. MacEvilly, 1876:5), upon whose house God twice denounced a curse (1 Kgs 21:21; 2 Kgs 9:8), and as such they came under that curse, and so Matthew would here ratify the fulfilment of that curse by erasing their names out of the catalogue of Christ's progenitors (S. Cradock, 1668:17; C. à Lapide, 1876 I, 7).

Jehu, in obedience to the divine command to cut off the house of Achab, slew Ahaziah, King of Judah (2 Kgs 9:27). He would not have done this had Ahaziah not been of the family of Ahab, especially when he had no hostility against him. Scripture, perhaps, would not have Athaliah called the daughter of Ahab, but rather of Omri, because the memory of Ahab was execrated; and it would not appear to contradict itself when it said that all its posterity were cut off. For all were cut off who were in Samaria; but Athaliah, who was in Jerusalem, could not be put to death by Jehu, although she did not escape the divine justice; for soon after, when Joash, her son, entered the kingdom, she was put to death (1 Kgs 11:16). J. Maldonatus, (1888 I, 10) attributes this view to R. R. David and Levi, among others.

Some confusion exists as to the number of generations blotted out and how the generations are to be reckoned. Some reckon there were four generations, namely, Ahab, as the first, followed by the three kings (Anonymous, *The First Seal* [1854:4]). This anonymous writer conjectures that had Athaliah been a good ruler she might have been mentioned in Matthew's genealogy alongside the other wives of Gentile extraction (cf. J. H. A. Ebrard, 1863:152). Another enumeration is that the wife of Joram, the daughter of Ahab, was the first generation, Ahaziah the second, Joash the third, and Amaziah the fourth (J. Maldonatus, 1888 I, 10; and S. D. Waddy, 1887:xiv). Jerome limited the curse to just three generations (cf. T. Aquinas, 1841 I, 26; and D. Whitby, 1703 I, 4), as did Hilary: "Thus the stain of the Gentile alliance being purged, the royal race is again taken up in the fourth following generation" (Migne's Patrologia, vol. IX, Comm. on Matt 1:8; and cf. T. Aquinas, 1841:26). J. Lightfoot (1644:14) included Jehoram in the curse, but then why was his name retained and the others omitted? Others avoided being too specific and left the number of cursed generations undecided prefering to read the curse of Exodus 20:5 as "third *or* fourth generation" rather than "third *and* fourth generation" (so Pseudo-Chrysostum in T. Aquinas, 1841:26; C. Blackwood, 1658:9). J. M. Heer (1910) suggested, on the authority of Hilary and Jerome (following J. Maldonatus, 1888 I, 10), that these names had not been entered in the Temple records because of the curse pronounced on the idolatrous house of Ahab in 1 Kings 21:21 and 2 Kings 9:8, which, like the curse attached to the second commandment, extended to the fourth generation. Jehoram king of Judah did not himself come under it, but

his wife Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, and the three kings in question were included in it.

Some, however, dismiss the extension of the curse on Ahab to the missing kings as mere conjecture (H. C. Adams, 1854:2; and I. de Beausobre & J. Lenfant, 1779:271). Despite this, Adams, nevertheless, falls back on the popular view of his day as a good enough reason.

Some commentators give evidence of being careless or sloppy. One regarded Jezabel as the wife of Jehoram (J. P. Arendzen, 1947:2); another gives the four generations as "Amar, Joash, Aluziah [sic], & Amazia" (in Edward Taylor's Harmony of the Gospels, eds. T. M. Davis & L. Virginia, 1983 I, 42). Yet another says that Jehoram married Ahab's sister (C. à. Lapide, 1876 I, 7). Another that Jehoram was an idolater who had married the daughter of Ahab, 2 Kings 8:18, and, by being thus joined to an apostate family, himself and his posterity to the third generation were excluded from the royal register (E. Swedenborg, 1861:4). This is wrong: Joram, the idolater is *not* excluded from the list.

The first series reveals to us (wrote one commentator) a secret purpose of God, carried on in unbroken course through all former years, and preparing the way for the great Advent in every step of the history of the chosen people, till at length, "when the fulness of time was come . . . that we might receive the adoption of sons." Nay, even the very omission, which has caused so many cavils is only a passing exhibition, in this brief list, of the great moral lesson, that God visits the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation; so that three generations of ungodly and idolatrous kings are blotted out from this record of the forefathers of the Incarnate Son of God (T. R. Birks, 1892:491).

## 1.8.    Ahaziah and the house of Ahab

The marriage of Joram with Ahab's daughter introduced the Northern Kingdom's statutes into Judah which continued into the reign of Uzziah's son. Micah prophesied "in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, which he saw concerning Samaria and Jerusalem" (Mic 1:1). In 6:16, he complains, "For you have kept the statutes of Omri, and all the works of the house of Ahab; and you have walked in their counsels" (6:15-16); or a more literal rendering of the Hebrew would be: "And kept habitually are the statutes of Omri, And all the work of the house of Ahab" (*Young's Literal Translation*, 1862). Micah 6:9 states that the words were spoken "to the city," presumably Jerusalem, so that it appears the influence of Omri's house was deep-rooted in Judah even in the time of Jotham who was the son of Uzziah.

The Chronicler's disparaging attitude toward Ahaziah is said to manifest itself in what appears to be a contradiction. In 2 Kings 8:16 Ahaziah is said to be twenty-two years old, but in 2 Chronicles 22:2 he is forty-two when he became king. The exact details of Ahaziah's reign are as follows (the translation is taken from L. McFall [1991:21-22]. Differences with the RSV are in italics.).

2 Kings 8:25-26, "In the twelfth [nonaccession] year of Joram the son of Ahab, king of Israel, Ahaziah the son of Jehoram, king of Judah, *became king*. Ahaziah was twenty-two years old when he *became king*, and he reigned one [nonaccession] year *as coregent and king* in Jerusalem."

Ahaziah became coregent in Sept. 842 and became king between April and Sept. 841 BC. and he died during this period (see E. R. Thiele, 1983:58 where the 11th and 12th years led him to postulate a scribe using two systems of dating for Jehoram's accession to the throne).

2 Kings 9:29, "In the eleventh [nonaccession] year of Joram the son of Ahab, Ahaziah *became coregent* over Judah" (Tishri 842 BC).

E. R. Thiele (1974:183 and 1983:94, 101) regarded the 11th year as an exception to his observation that all synchronisms from Jehoram and Joash of Judah are according to the nonaccession-year system. By regarding the 11th as an exception Thiele missed a one-year coregency for Ahaziah which is supported by some LXX evidence.

In 2 Chronicles 21:19 we learn that Joram contracted a fatal bowel disease two years before he died which was extremely embarrassing and obviously, as it grew worse, he was unable to carry out his royal and sacramental functions. The second incident is that it was the inhabitants of Jerusalem who put Ahaziah on the throne and not Joram. This might suggest that Joram was still alive when this was done, for it was done for Uzziah when his father was captured by Jehoash. The people decided the accession in the case of Jehoahaz, king of Judah, (2 Kgs 23:30) when his older brother (if indeed he was older) ought to have succeeded his father, and they also decided the accession of Josiah (2 Chr 33:25). The interference of the people in the succession suggests impatience on their part with a "lame duck" king, or their preference for a son who did not have the lawful entitlement to the throne; either way the natural order of events/succession is interfered with and some form of irregularity is indicated in such action.

2 Chronicles 22:2, "Ahaziah *became king* forty-two years *from the time Omri became king over Israel*, and he reigned one [nonaccession] year *(either as coregent and king, or as king)* in Jerusalem." (841 BC)

The figure of forty-two years was arrived at by adding together the figures for Omri and each of the three kings following him: thus Omri had six years reign as sole king; Ahab had twenty-two; Ahaziah had two; and Joram had twelve years. The biblical writer appears to regard Ahaziah's period of rule as an extension of Omri's House and rule and not in the tradition of the Davidic kings.

H. Broughton believed that Ezra, whom he regarded as the author of Chronicles, shows how Ahaziah came of Athaliah, daughter of Omri, properly daughter of Ahab, but he named Omri to call the reader to consider his purpose for Omri's kingdom, whose kingdom at Joram's death stood forty-two years. Consequently Ahaziah was *ben* of forty-two years because Ahaziah was a "son" of Omri's family or dynasty, or from the time of the rising of the kingdom of Omri.

H. Broughton (1590:25; 1597) saw in this a subtle disparagement of Ahaziah and he attributed this insight to Ralbag. F. H. Dunwell (1876:67; cf. J. Lightfoot, 1823:14) summed up this idea thus:

> 2 Chr 22:2. 'Ahazias the son of two and forty years,' that is, not of his age (for he was not above two and twenty, 2 Kgs 8:26), but of the duration of the family of Omri, of which stock Ahazias was on the mother's side, as will sufficiently appear to him that computes the years. A fatal thing surely! that the years of a king of Judah should be reckoned by the account of the house of Omri.

J. Lightfoot wrote:

> Now the reason why his reign is thus dated differently from all others . . . is because he in a kind was an imp of the house of Omri: for Athaliah his mother, was Ahab's daughter (2 Kgs 8:18). And she both perverted her husband Joram and brought up this her son Ahaziah in the idolatry of the house of Ahab; therefore is not Ahaziah fit to be reckoned by the line of the kings of Judah, but by the house of Omri and Ahab. (1644:51)

On the other hand in 2 Chronicles 22:9 Ahaziah is called "son of Jehoshaphat" though he was in fact his grandson, but these words are reported speech not the sentiment of the Chronicler himself. Biologically Ahaziah was of the seed of David, but morally and spiritually he was a "son of Omri" (cf. John 8:38-44).

The Chronicler calls Amaziah the "son of Joash, son of Jehoahaz" Jehoahaz must be another name for Ahaziah, (cf. 2 Chr 21:17 with 25:23). This king of Judah sent a message to the king of Israel, who happened also to be "Joash son of Jehoahaz". This is the only place where Ahaziah is called Jehoahaz. The sharing of throne names between the families of Ahab and Joram shows how close these families were.

### 1.9. Tainted or illegitimate kings

The idea that the kings were in some way "polluted" was connected with the "polluted" priests of Ezra 2:62. Priests not found in the genealogies were considered "polluted." Consequently it was deduced that because the kings were omitted they were also "polluted" in the sight of God, and in the estimation of the people, and this accounts for their omission (G. W. Butler, 1875:19).

Scripture omits individuals and even tribes from lists where they would be expected to appear. J. Lightfoot throws light on the omission of the letter Ayin in the alphabetical Psalm 37 where at v. 28 it is said that "the seed [זרע] of the wicked [רשע] shall be cut off." The letter ע, which is the last letter of זרע and רשע, is cut off and cut out of the alphabetical arrangement, and the letter ל substituted for it. The letter ל in its own place at v. 21 refers to the character of the wicked which might account for this letter being used again at v. 28. Lightfoot (1644:55) gives examples from the Old Testament of individuals whose names have been blotted out.

> Joram committed Idolatry like the house of Ahab, for the daughter of Ahab was his wife, 2 King. 8:18. Therefore it is just with God to visit that sin upon his children: in signe of which hee blotteth them out of this line to the fourth generation. So it is the manner of Scripture, very often to leave out mens names out of certaine stories and Records, to shew a distaste at some evill in them. So all Cain's posterity is blotted out of the book of the Chronicles, as it was out of the world by the Flood. So Simeon is omitted in Moses blessing, Deut. 33. for his cruelty at Shechem, and to Joseph. So Dan, at the sealing of the Lord's people, Rev. 7. because of Idolatry begun in his tribe, Judg. 18 [18:30]. and so Joah [*sic.* Joab], from among Davids Worthies, 2 Sam 23. because of his bloodinesse to Amasa and Abner.

It is an interesting feature of commentaries on Matthew to see how Lightfoot's list of blotted out posterity has been recycled. His list appears in H. Elsley (1844:60) and H. Alford (1868 I, 2). The tribes of Dan and Zebulun are omitted in 1 Chronicles 1-8. The first to mention this example appears to have been D. Whitby (1703:4). But it may be that Shuham in Numbers 26:42 ("These are the sons of Dan by their families: of Shuham is the family of the Shuhamite . . . 64,400") is the same as Hushim in Genesis 46:23, "And sons of Dan: Hushim" who is the same as Hushim in 1 Chronicles 7:12b where we have the mystery man "Hushim son of Aher."

In Numbers 26:42 Dan stands between Benjamin and Naphtali as he does here in 1 Chronicles 7:6-13. The Chronicler has given no genealogy of Dan unless it is found here, between the genealogy of Benjamin, vv. 6-11, and that of Naphtali, v. 13. Hence Dan may be found hidden in Aher (אַחֵר, "another"), which occurs nowhere else as a proper name. The tribe of Dan could be indicated under "Hushim son of Another," owing to its opprobrium on account of its idolatry. The next stage was to omit his name altogether which happened in Revelation 7:5-8. The absence of the tribe of Dan in Revelation 7:5-8 is attributed to his singular and blatant impiety in being the first to introduce idolatry into the Promised Land (Jud 18:30) (D. D. Whedon, 1874 I, 22). The name Dan, however, is not completely avoided by the Chronicler who mentions him at 1 Chr 2:2; 12:35; 27:22. The genealogy of Zebulun is omitted in 1 Chronicles 7, and in his place is a second genealogy of Benjamin (7:6-12). It may be that when the Chronicler composed chapters 1-8 none of the tribe of Zebulun had returned to Judah.

The practice of *damnatio memoriae*, that is blotting out of a hated name from all public records and even inscriptions on stone, e.g. Amenhotep, the so-called "heretic" king of Egypt (c. 1450 BC), also Philip V of Macedon, of Alcibiades, of Commodus, and others. The practice is referred to in the Old Testament, e.g. Exodus 32:33, "Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book," (compare also Deut 9:14; 25:19; 29:20; 2 Kgs 14:27); Psalm 9:5, "Thou hast destroyed the wicked, Thou hast blotted out their name for ever and ever;" Psalm 69:28, "Let them be blotted out of the Book of Life," and Revelation 3:5, "I will in no wise blot out his name out of the Book of Life" (cf. A. S. Lewis, 1913:28).

The practice is found in other Near Eastern cultures. We have an example in the Assyrian King List A (or AKL-A) which omits the name of a tainted lineage. Three names were omitted because Isme-Dagan, king of Assyria, concluded a treaty with Zaziia, the chief of the Turukku tribe, as a result of which Isme-Dagan's son, Mut-Askur, married the chief's daughter. The compiler of the king list evidently considered the names tainted and omitted them. A similar case occurs in ALK-C which omits all the usurpers found in ALK-A (R. R. Wilson, 1977:113-14, 124-25; W. L. Osbourne, 1979:136).

The genealogy of Esarhaddon skips the names of sixty-two kings between the third and fourth names and the omission was most likely intentional according to R. R. Wilson (1977:78). "Esarhaddon . . .[titles, etc.] . . . son of Sennacherib . . . son of Sargon . . . descendant eternal of Bel-bani, son of Adasi . . . most precious progeny of Bal-til . . . ." (so A. Goetze, 1963:129-130, lines 3, 13-14). A parallel in AKL-A shows the first three in sequence, the

fourth name, Belu-bani, is the name of the founder of one of the early Assyrian dynasties; the telescoping is thus very easy to detect (I. Gelb, 1954:209-230). R. R. Wilson (1977:28) noted that the reason for including Belu-bani may be that Esarhaddon considered him to be the founder of his own dynasty. Adasi was the actual founder of the dynasty but he was a usurper. His name was included because it was the patrynomic of Belu-bani's full name. Belu-bani thus lends more security as a legitimizing foundation.

Another subtle example of telescoping is to be found in the genealogy of Adad-nirari III. This reads:

Adad-nirari . . . son of Šamši-Adad . . . son of Shalmaneser . . . (great) grandson of Aššur-nasirpal . . . offspring of Adad-nirari . . . descendant of Tulki-Ninurta, descendant of Shalmaneser, descendant of Ila-kabkabi . . ." (W. L. Osbourne, 1979:132).

In a genealogical section of AKL-A iv:3-25 the genealogy of Adad-nirari III is listed as:

1. Adad-Nirari (III)
2. Šamši-Adad (V)
3. Shalmaneser(III)
4. Aššurnassirpal (II)
5. Tukulti-Ninurta(II)
6. Adad-Nirari (II)

The last two names have been reversed (A. Poebel, 1943:71). Once it is realized, suggests Osbourne, that the genealogies do not differentiate between kings of the same name and that this Shalmaneser is described as the restorer of the temple Eḫarsagkurkur, the solution is readily available. It is known that Shalmaneser I and not Shalmaneser II restored the temple. Shalmaneser was also the father of Tukulti-Ninurta I. Thus Adad-Nirari's genealogy is probably to be read, according to W. L. Osbourne (1979:133), as:

Adad-Nirari (III)
Šamši-Adad (V)
Shalmaneser(III)
Aššurnassirpal (II)
Adad-Nirari (II)
    *GAP of twenty kings*
Tukulti-Ninurta(I)
Shalmaneser(I)
    *GAP of 51 kings*
Ila-kalkabi

In spite of the large gaps, the kings are linked together by the kinship term "son." Tukulti-Ninurta II has also been omitted, perhaps because of the shortness of his reign (R. R. Wilson, 1977:79-80).

Another example concerns Merodach-Baladan who calls himself "son of Melisipak, descendant of Kurigalzu" (W. L. Osbourne, 1979:134). At least ten generations between Melišipak and Kurigalzu have been omitted according to BKL-A (R. R. Wilson, 1977:79-80).

W. L. Osbourne (1979:135, 140) reported that in non-royal genealogies of the ANE telescoping can generally be assumed between the second and third names of three generation genealogies. The king lists are used to legitimise political positions. SKL served to legitimise the kingship of Isin and BKL appears to have had a similar function (W. L. Osbourne, 1979:135, 140). In Egyptian genealogies of the XXII dynasty telescoping has been found (D. Redford, 1970:7; K. A. Kitchen, 1966:39; M. L. Bierbrier, 1975:51). Apparently the pre-Islamic genealogies exibit telescoping also (W. F. Albright, 1963:9 n.

26). Gaps are a common feature of genealogies throughout all human societies; they are found even into modern times in African tribes.

Some have suggested that Matthew's genealogy is a theocratic genealogy. Consequently, the omission of the three kings was not due to personal unworthiness but to a fact of birth—they were descendants of the heathen Jezebel to the fourth generation and thus deemed unworthy to occupy the theocratic throne (J. H. A. Ebrard, 1863:152).

Others simply suspect that their right to the crown was disputed for some reason that is not now apparent (R. Wait, 1769:3).

### 1.10.  Ahaziah was not the legimate successor to Joram

In 1498 Annius of Viterbo forged a work of Philo in which the house of Solomon ended with Ahaziah. Annius held that King Joash and Simeon in Luke 3 were one person. This was vigorously refuted by Hugh Broughton, (1605:8). This forgery was unwittingly propagated by J. Maldonatus (1888) who wrote: "Joash, who reigned after him [Ahaziah] (2 Kgs 11:12; 2 Chr 23:11), although called the son of Ahaziah, was not the true son, but, because he was born from David through Nathan, and touched Ahaziah in the nearest degree, he was called his son." H. Broughton (1606) refuted this suggestion with the remark: God preserved Solomon's race by six Scriptures wherein Joash is termed son of Ahaziah (2 Kgs 11:2; 13:1; 14:13; 1 Chr 3:11; 2 Chr 22:11; 23:3). Besides no native Jew ever dreamed of such a quirk as to end Solomon's house in obscurity. J. Calvin held that Solomon's line probably failed with Ahaziah, but whether this was because he was taken in by Annius' forgery is not certain. It may be that he mistook Ahaziah the king of Judah for Ahaziah the king of Israel who died childless (2 Kgs 1:17).

J. MacKnight (1756 I, 12) suggested that Joram had elder brothers who had prior claim to the throne before Ahaziah who was chosen in the place of some infant children—left by his [Joram's] deceased elder brothers—to whom the Kingdom by right belonged. As for his son Joash, and grandson of Amaziah, the Kingdom may have continued in their possession likewise, to the prejudice of the true heirs, who having failed about the time that Uzziah the son of Amaziah ascended the throne, his title became good, for which reason the evangelist acknowledges him in the line of our Lord's ancestors and calls him the son of Jehoram, who was the immediate father of Ahaziah, the first of the three kings that enjoyed the crown without a title. Matthew calls Uzziah the son of Jehoram agreeably to the Scripture phraseology, which gives the name of *son* to the remotest descendant of any person.

MacKnight does not deny that Ahaziah was the natural son of Joram so his case becomes unsustainable. He believed that the legitimate line died out when Uzziah was reigning and so he became the legitimate successor in his own right as the nearest surviving male.

> Matthew proposed to prove legal title to the crown and kingdom of David in
> consequence of his being the adopted son of Joseph, who was the lineal male heir of
> that prince, eldest survivor of Solomon . . . it was not to his purpose to mention any but
> those who by their primogeniture had a right to the crown. Such kings as had no right,
> though they had possession, are deservedly omitted and none of their descendants

acknowledged, till their title become good by the death of the older brothers (1756 I, 12).


## 2.     The omission of the three kings was accidental

### 2.1.     Matthew's incompetence

The statement in Matthew 1:8 that Joram begat Uzziah has been seized upon by the anonymous author of *The Four Gospels as Historical Records* (1895:162-63) to overthrow the historicity of Matthew's genealogy and undermine Matthew's thrustworthiness and so disparage the rest of his Gospel.

> These omissions, astounding in any writer with the least claim to the historical sense, are largely explained by the eagerness of a mystical mind to repeat in subsequent divisions the number of the generations in the first marked stage from Abraham to David. As these amounted to fourteen, the genealogist had no scruple in laying the rest on the bed of Procrustes, and lengthening or shortening them at his will.
>
> Either Joram was the father of Uzziah, or he was not. Either all the generations between David and Jechoniah were fourteen, or they were not. The goodness or badness of the persons forming the links in the chain cannot possibly modify historical facts. Yet with a wonderful assurance Augustine can tell us that [they] 'were excluded from the number because their wickedness was continuous and without interval.'... 'This, then, is an example how a race is cut off when wickedness is shown therein in perpetual succession.' But the constant wickedness of Amaziah was necessary for the bishop of Hippo; and what should hinder him from creating it?

He takes up Jerome's admission that the three kings were omitted in order to achieve fourteen generations and because Joram had connected himself with Jezebel's family and argues that:

> The inference from Jerome's admission wholly destroys the credit of the genealogist as a historian. After such twistings of facts as these it seems almost needless to note that Matthew makes Zorobabel a son of Salathiel, while in 1 Chr 3:19 he is a nephew of Salathiel.

At an ecclesiastical trial in the nineteenth century the apparent discrepancy in the number of generations was used as a sufficient ground for a general attack on Matthew's Gospel. It was argued that Matthew either was ignorant of the fact as to the number of generations between David and the Exile, or, knowing the truth, stated what was false; and in either case was shown to be unreliable as an historian, and obviously could have no claim to inspiration (see "M. W. C" 187?). The attack on Matthew's integrity is more subtle when it is said that there are errors in the second series because four kings are omitted with no attempt to explain to the reader that shortening of genealogies was a common Hebrew and Semitic, if not world-wide, practice (C. G. Montefiore, 1927 I, 4). This type of statement can be excused on the grounds of ignorance but T. H. Robinson's comment is surely inexcusable: "It is true that Semitic idiom spoke of a man as being 'son' of any of his direct

ancestors, however remote, but that explanation does not touch the figure given. Clearly the genealogy in this second section has been artificially constructed" (1928:2).

The attack on Matthew's integrity was answered in many ways. One approach was to note that Matthew's table was not called in question by the Jews amongst whom it was first published; the reasons for its omissions being probably well understood, and clearly recognised by them, and that it is necessary to bear in mind that to a Jew it was a serious thing to be unable to prove his descent by the register of his tribe and family (cf. Neh 7:64, 65). To be put out of one's genealogical table was to lose or endanger every privilege which one held most dear. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to ask why this dishonour was put on the four names omitted in Matthew's table (J. MacEvilly, 1876:6; "M.W.C"187?; J. Lingard, 1836:2). Very likely, the names of the four kings were already expunged from the public records Matthew had before him (D. Whitby, 1703:Preface; J. MacEvilly, 1876:6; H. L. Mansel, 1878 I, 3). A. Clarke (1836:34) tartly noted that since the Jews never challenged the accuracy of the genealogy but were silent, "modern and comparatively modern unbelievers may for ever hold their peace."

W. Newcome (1817:2; 1827:14; 1796 I, 1) circumvented the problem by postulating that Matthew 1:17 originated as a marginal gloss which was accidentally incorporated into the text which then became the cause of the reduction in the number of generations. He also inserted the missing three kings in his translation of the New Testament. In his Harmony of the Gospels (1778:i) he reversed Luke's genealogy and inserted the three missing kings of Matthew in square brackets and also the name of Jehoiakim: Ἰωσίας δὲ [ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωακειμ. Ἰωακειμ δὲ] ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰεχονίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ.

It was frequently noted in connection with the omission that Matthew was aware of it, but did not see it proper to attempt to correct what he found in the public accredited genealogical tables; as he knew it to be of no consequence to his argument, which was merely to shew that Jesus Christ as surely descended in an uninterrupted line from David, as David did from Abraham (R. Ward, 1640:9; D. Whitby, 1703 I, 4; F. P. Kenrick, 1849:34; A. Clarke, 1836:34; B. Davies, 1878:181; J. MacEvilly, 1876:6; W. Whiston, 1702:173; J. R. Cotter, 1817:3; G. L. Haydock, 1850 I, 78; H. Rutter, 1849:4). The Evangelist is interested in christology not in chronology (W. Hendriksen, 1976:116).

A fragment of Polycarp's epistle to the Philippians reads: "Matthew, as writing to the Hebrews, began his Gospel with the Genealogy of Christ, that he might shew him to be descended from that lineage of which all the Prophets foretold he should be born" (L. Twells, 1732:69). Such a reason does not require that every name be recorded.

> There were links of iron and of brass in the line, as well as of silver and of gold. It was however a matter of no great moment...that all the links should be named. It was only of moment that the real line should be preserved, and that all the links, whether held up to view or let down out of sight, should be capable of verification. (J. Morison, 1895:3)

Even if commentators cannot put their finger on a satisfactory explanation there is a general feeling that it must have been for some

religious reason, and that it was not an arbitrary omission (e.g. J. Brown, 1969 [1859], 1).

Others brought forward the known practice of attributing descendants to ancestors: "In perusing the Hebrew genealogies it is necessary to remember that the terms father, son, beget, begotten, which are of frequent occurrence, do not always denote immediate procreation or filiation, but extend to any distant progenitor" (Anonymous, *An Essay on the Genealogy of the Lord Jesus Christ* [1843:11]; quoted by T. H. Horne [1828 IV, 58]. This author is aware of a similar practice in Arab genealogies.). Matthew 1:1 provided a ready example. Jesus is there described as the Son of David, albeit many successsions intervened, so conversely David himself may rightly be said to have begotten Christ, his true "seed according to the flesh;" and *a fortiori* any of the intermediate higher progenitors, as e.g. Jehoram, or Josiah may rightly be said to have begotten any of the lower progenitors, as e.g. Uzziah, or Jeconiah (R. Baxter, 1685, under Mt 1:8; J. B. McClellan, 1875 I, 411; J. Davies, 1872:9). The children of children are reputed the children not only of their immediate parents, but of their ancestors, and these ancestors are said to beget those who are removed some generations from them, so Isaiah said of Hezekiah (Isa 39:7): "Of thy sons which shall issue from thee , which thou shalt beget, shall they take away, and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon" (D. Whitby, 1703 I, 3). "It is true that Semitic idiom spoke of a man as being 'son' of any of his direct ancestors, however remote" wrote T. H. Robinson (1928:2). Compare Isaiah 51:2, "Look unto Abraham your father, and unto Sarah that bare you."

The example of Shobal (1 Chr 4:1. cf. 2:50) was brought forward who was born in the fifth or sixth generation from Judah, yet he is reckoned as if he were an immediate son of Judah (F. H. Dunwell, 1876:67). The case of Ezra's genealogy (Ezra 7:1-5) in which five or six or seven (commentators differ) generations are erased, is also a much quoted example in the literature examined. The weight of evidence for gaps in Hebrew genealogies became so great that it lead to the sensible remark: "We learn from this fact that the words 'A begat B' are not to be taken literally, but are simply an expression of the fact of succession with or without intermediate links" (E. H. Plumptre, 1897:2, cf. J. MacEvilly, 1876 I, 3; The *Imperial Family Bible* 1845:993 (aware of Arab parallels); A. T. Robertson, 1922:259; J. E. Riddle, 1843:8, "the phrase 'son of David' is the same as 'descendant of David'; so likewise 'Joram begat Ozias,' is equivalent to 'Joram was the ancestor of Ozias'."). The more direct Hebrew manner of speaking would be to say that Uzziah proceeded out of the loins of Jehoram; and so the one begat the other (R. Ward, 1640:9; M. F. Sadler, 1890:486). In order to be pedantically correct one writer has translated the gaps in Matthew's genealogy thus:

> Joram became, *through three intermediate generations,* forefather of Uzziah, . . . . (v. 10) Josiah became father of Jehoiakim and his brothers at the time of the Deportation to Babylon. (v. 12) And after the Deportation to Babylon, Jehoiachin, son of Jehoiakim, had, as his *legal* son, Salathiel, Salathiel became father of Zerubbabel, (v. 13) Zerubbabel became *through an intermediate generation,* forefather of Abihud . . . . (v. 16) Jacob became father of Joseph, the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is

termed Christ. (v. 17) So all the generations, *as enumerated*, from Abraham to David
are fourteen generations . . . ."(G. W. Wade, 1934:327)

The most comprehensive treatments of biblical genealogies were/are
by G. Burrington (1836) and E. L. Curtis (1899 II, 121-137). There is a good deal
of evidence for gaps, shortening, or telescoping, in the Old Testament.

### 2.2. The omission was due to the mistake of a transcriber

The suggestion here is that Matthew (or the source that lay behind his
list) had a pedigree which contained these three names in it, and the mistake
arose through *homoioteleuton* (J. Priestley, 1780:5). The first name omitted is
Ahaziah in Greek Ὀχοζίαν, which is identical in the last three syllables with
Ὀζίαν, the next name mentioned; and it is supposed that the transcriber, his
eye catching the conclusion of the word, overlooked the first syllable, Ὀχ, and
the intervening names, and so wrote Ὀζίαν following Joram (P. J. Gloag,
1895:255). Z. Pearce (1777 I, 2) believed that Matthew had seventeen kings and
three were later omitted by mistake. He concluded:

> If this be admitted as probable, then the seventeenth verse could never have been
> written by Matthew (as it now stands) the middle number fourteen being a wrong one. To
> me the whole seventeenth verse seems to have been the interpolation of somebody very
> early, who, finding the names of the three kings omitted, took an opportunity of
> making an observation, which by its quaintness seems to me not to have been
> Matthew's, that each period (as mentioned in that seventeenth verse) had fourteen
> generations in it.

The textual evidence for the inclusion of the three kings is very weak.
Only Syr[cur] and D[luc] Ethiopic Epiph[anius] (AD 403) and Th-Mop [=Theodore
of Mopsuestia (AD 428) reinstate the three missing kings (W. D. Davies &
Dale C. Allison, 1988 I, 176 n. 52; cf. K. Aland, 1983). H. Alford (1958 [1859])
gives the evidence as: Syr-cur, lat-a, and D in Luke). Some English versions
have, on the strength of this slender evidence, or on the strong impulse for
accuracy, reinstated the three names (W. Newcome, 1778:i; T. Belsham, 1819).

The evidence of the Syriac Cureton manuscript has its own difficulties
because whatever variants it has these must first be placed in the context of
Syriac translations and the transmission of its own text before they can carry
weight in determining the form of the Greek text. The first hurdle is the
disagreement of the Cureton reading with the Sinaitic manuscript which
agrees with the Greek text. The second hurdle is the retention in the Cureton
of verse 17 with its mention of fourteen names. This ought to have read
seventeen generations if it were the original text.

The third factor is that the date of Sinaitic is given as the beginning of
the 5th century by A. S. Lewis which is earlier than the Curetonian. F. C.
Burkitt put it half a century earlier, i.e. mid-4th century.

| Matthew | Codex Beza | Luke |
|---|---|---|
| Ἰωσήφ | ←——→ | Ἰωσήφ |
| Ἰακώβ | ←—— | |
| Ματθάν | Ματθάν | |
| Ἐλεάζαρ | ←—— | OMITTED |
| Ἐλιούδ | ←—— | |
| Ἀχίμ | Ἰαχείν | |
| Σαδώκ | ←—— | |
| Ἀζώρ | ←—— | |
| Ἐλιακίμ | Ἐλιακείμ | |
| Ἀβιούδ | ←—— | |
| Ζοροβαβέλ | ←——→ | Ζοροβαβέλ |
| Σαλαθιήλ | ←——→ | Σαλαθιήλ |
| Ἰεχονίαν | Ἰεχονίου | |
| [omitted] | Ἰωακειμ | |
| | Ἐλιακειμ | |
| Ἰωσίας | Ἰωσεία | |
| Ἀμώς | ←—— | |
| Μανασσης | Μανασσῆ | |
| Ἐζεκίας | Ἐζεκεία | |
| Ἀχάζ | Ἀχάς | |
| Ἰωαθάμ | Ἰωαθάν | |
| Ὀζίας | Ὀζεία | |
| [omitted] | Ἀμασιου | |
| [omitted] | Ἰωας | |
| [omitted] | Ὀχοζιου | |
| Ἰωράμ | ←—— | |
| Ἰωσαφάτ | Ἰωσαφάδ | |
| Ἀσάφ | ←—— | |
| Ἀβία | Ἀβιουδ | |
| Ῥοβοάμ | ←—— | |
| Σολομών | Σολομών | |
| Δαυίδ | Δαυείδ | Δαυίδ |
| Ἰεσσαι | ←——→ | Ἰεσσαι |
| Ἰωβήδ | Ωβήδ | Ἰωβήδ |
| Βόες | Βόος —→ | Βόος |
| Σαλμών | Σαλμών —→ | Σαλα /Σαλμών |
| Ναασσών | ←——→ | Ναασσών |
| Ἀμιναδάβ | Ἀμειναδάβ | Ἀμιναδάβ |
| [omitted] | [omitted] | Ἀδμίν |
| Ἀράμ | Ἀράμ | Ἀρνι |
| Ἐσρώμ | Ἀσρώμ | Ἐσρώμ |
| Φάρες | ←——→ | Φάρες |
| Ἰούδας | Ἰούδα —→ | Ἰούδα |
| Ἰακώβ | ←——→ | Ἰακώβ |
| Ἰσαάκ | ←——→ | Ἰσαάκ |
| Ἀβραάμ | ←——→ | Ἀβραάμ |
| | —→ | Θάρα |
| | —→ | Ναχώρ |
| | Σερούκ | Σερούχ |
| | —→ | Ῥαγαυ |
| | —→ | Φάλεκ |
| | —→ | Ἔβερ |
| | —→ | Σαλα |
| | [omitted] | Καϊνάμ |
| | —→ | Ἀρφαξάδ |
| | —→ | Σήμ |
| | —→ | Νῶε |
| | Λάμεκ | Λάμεχ |
| | —→ | Μαθουσαλα |
| | Ἀινωχ | Ἐνώχ |
| | Ἰάρεδ | Ἰάρετ |
| | | Μαλελεήλ |
| | Καϊνάν | Καϊνάμ |
| | Ἀινως | Ἐνώς |
| | —→ | Σήθ |
| | —→ | Ἀδάμ |
| | | θεου |

*(vertical label in Luke column: OMITTED D IN THE D MITTED O)*

# CODEX BEZAE or, MS. D

MS. D contains a unique blunder with the 15th name, Ἐλιακειμ. Eliakim is an alternative name for Joakim (cf. 2 Chr 36:4) so that he is counted twice. There are 66 names including Jesus and God

MS. D contains a unique reading with the insertion of the three kings which are missing in Matthew's genealogy.

MS. D contains a unique transposition. Forty names in Luke's list have been removed and substituted by twenty-five names taken from Matthew's list.

"For a scribe who would so recklessly cut the knot of the discrepancy of the two Evangelists, as to alter all the names in St Luke from Joseph upwards to Zorobabel, and from Salathiel to David, to make them identical with those in St Matthew, would as little scruple omitting a single name [Cainan] in the ante-Abrahamic portion of the same genealogy, to reconcile it perforce with the text of Moses."—W. H. Mill, *The Evangelical Accounts of the Descent and Parentage of the Saviour* (Cambridge, 1842), p. 148.

In its orthography MS D borrows from many manuscripts. Sometimes it is closer to MS B than to MS A (see Boaz and Obed). But it also seems to be close to MS u (e.g. Ἀμασιου, one of the three missing kings). The horizontal arrows indicate direction of borrowing.

The spelling Σερούκ is found only in the fragmentary MS. 911 in Gen 11:20.

Καϊνάμ son of Ἀρφαξάδ is omitted in Gen 11:12 by five MSS. (82 376 53 664 319txt) but included in 74 MSS. (incl. 911 and 961).

The spelling Καϊνάμ is not found in Gen 5:9-14 or 10:24 or 11:13. Only Καϊνάν is found.

Καϊνάμ son of Ἀρφαξάδ is omitted in Gen 10:24 by 11 MSS. (833 911 961 15 82 135 376 343 346 120 319) but included in 68 MSS.

The spelling Λάμεκ is not found in any MS. in Gen 5:25-31.

Ἀινωχ is found only in one MS. 15* in Gen 5:25-31.

Ἰάρεδ is by far the usual form in Gen 5:15-20. Ἰάρετ is found consistently only in two MSS 79 and 31 in Gen 5:15-20.

Ἀινως for Enosh is found only in the fragmentary MSS. 961 and 911 (vid).

Burkitt made the following observation:

> The insertion of C[ureton MS] of the three kings of Judah omitted by the Evangelist has
> some historic interest, as it was long supposed to be the only variant of the 'Old Syriac'
> supported by Syriac patristic evidence. But it is really nothing more than an
> interpolation due to the misplaced erudition of a scribe who did not pay attention to
> the 'fourteen generations' expressly counted in v. 17. (1904 II, 257)

Syriac scholars regard the variant reading of Cureton as secondary which leaves it valueless as regards restoring the Greek text at Matthew 1:8.

MS D is not extant for Matthew's genealogy. However in Luke 3 it contains Matthew's list of names from Abraham back to Adam. In this respect it is unique and therefore suspect. See the table above.

### 2.3. Confusion—Ahaziah had three names

The Chronicler gives three names to Ahaziah. The most common name he uses is Ahaziah. Once he calls him Azariah (2 Chr 22:6) and twice he calls him Jehoahaz (2 Chr 21:17; 25:23). If the Hebrew text underlying the LXX of 1 Chronicles 3:11 was different from the MT, and had Azariah in place of Ahaziah, then this would account for the transcription $O\zeta\iota\alpha\varsigma$ in four manuscripts. This solution is hinted at by C. C. Torrey (1933:289).

### 2.4. Ignorance of the three kings accounts for the omission

The idea that Matthew did not know his Old Testament or, through ignorance, inadvertently omitted three kings is not advocated by many Christian commentators (but see B. T. D. Smith, 1927:75). It is most often found in those who are antagonistic to Christianity. It is explicitly refuted by J. A. Alexander (1861:5) and W. Kelly (1868:9):

> Persons of some learning have been alike weak and daring enough to impute a mistake
> to Matthew, which no intelligent Sunday scholar would have made. For a child could
> copy what was clearly written out before him and certainly Mt could easily have taken
> the OT and reproduced the list of names and generations given in Chronicles.

But W. Newcome (1778:2) suspected that in the latter part of Matthew's genealogy many names seem to be omitted from the negligence of early transcribers. A good example of their negligence, he says, can be found in Exodus 33:2 where one of the seven nations of Canaan is omitted in the Hebrew but supplied in the Samaritan Pentateuch. Also 59 MSS, out of 208 collected by Kennicott, omit Jos 21:36-37 (as presently in EV). Twelve [MSS] put these two verses in the margin and 137 in the text. Thus there are only 42 levitical cities instead of 48.

### 3. Was Ahaziah included in the missing three kings?

The majority, or traditional view, is that the three kings Matthew omitted were Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah; but an alternative three has been suggested by some. It is suggested that the three who were omitted were Joash, Amaziah and Azariah (Uzziah). If so, this means that Ahaziah was not

included in the curse on Ahab's family, and consequently the next two generations cannot be included either.

On the specific question of the inclusion of the three kings we have seen above that MS D is so unreliable that its evidence for their inclusion cannot carry any weight unless it has the support of other reputable manuscripts. Unfortunately there is not a single Greek manuscript that contains the three missing names. F. Blass (1898:172) noted that MS D has *reinstated* the four missing kings, and not that it has retained the original reading.

### 3.1.    Oziah was taken to be Uzziah

The earliest evidence for the traditional view that the three kings Matthew omitted were Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah is MS D. If we take the evidence of MS D then it is clear that 'Οζεία represented Uzziah (Azariah) and 'Οχοζιου represents Ahaziah. The earliest explanation that Οζιας was mistaken for Οχοζιας appears to have been made by Theodore of Mopsuesia (AD 428) who denied that Matthew left out the three kings. He blames the omission on the scribe who translated Matthew's Hebrew Gospel into Greek. The transcriber left the three kings out because the similarity and proximity of the name caused him to put instead of Ahazia, Uzzia, because there is no *ain* [ע] nor any *heth* [ח] in Greek, but instead of both of them he wrote *alif* [א] (M. D. Gibson, 1911 I, 8).

In the commentary of Bar-Hebraeus he refers to the view of Georgius of the Tribes—or George of the Gentiles—(he is stated by Assemani to have been a contemporary of Jacob of Edessa and John of Damascus and consecrated in AD 687)—who says that the original scribe erred by reason of the similarity of the [Greek] letters, and instead of that which had been written—namely, Ahaziah—wrote Uzziah. Another early proponent of this explanation was Gasper Sanchez who conjectured that Matthew actually wrote as follows: "Joram begat Ochoziah, Ochoziah begat Joash, Joash begat Amaziah, Amaziah begat Oziah;" but that the copyist, misled by the similarity between Ochoziah and Oziah, as the names are written in Greek, by a slip of his eye passed over from Ahaziah to Uzziah (see C. à Lapide, 1876 I, 7).

> Matthew following 1 Chr 3:11 (LXX) states that Uzziah (Gk. Οζεια) was the son of Joram. This name (Οζεια) may be a mistake in the Greek text of 1 Chron. for Ahaziah, in which case the names Joash, Amaziah, and Uzziah are omitted. Matthew assuming that Οζεια meant Uzziah, naturally passed at once to Uzziah's son Jotham. He may have been influenced in doing this by his desire to secure his schematic arrangement of fourteen generations. (G. H. Box, 1922:69)

"We can best understand the omission of Joash, Amaziah, and Azariah if the compiler took 'Οζείας (vss. 8-9) to refer to Azariah instead of Ahaziah" (G. A. Buttrick, 1952:251).

The suggestion that the omission may have occurred when the scribe's eye slipped from Ahaziah to Uzziah, that is from 'Οχοζία or 'Οζεία or 'Οζιας to 'Οζιας or to some other spelling of Uzziah (*homoioteleuton*) is considered unlikely by C. à Lapide: This would be an enormous blunder, and though one copyist might fall into such an error, it was scarcely possible that all could.

Besides, he notes, if the three were in the text originally this would make seventeen not fourteen generations (1876 I, 7).

The three most plausible suggestions that have been put forward are that the omission could belong to the redactional level, to Matthew's source (stated but not endorsed by H. L. Mansel, 1878 I, 3), or to a copy of the LXX. Yet in view of the Evangelist's manifest wish to have fourteen names, it is better to discern design rather than a fortunate accident without which there would be no 3x14 pattern (W. D. Davies & Dale C. Allison, 1988 I, 176). D. A. Carson (1984:67) also conceded that the *homoioteleuton* conjecture is plausible; but if it is correct, it would have to be pre-Matthean, because Matthew's "fourteens" would require this omission, or an equivalent loss of names. R. T. France (1985:74) noted that Matthew's list follows 1 Chr 3:10-17 and Ezra 3:2, and that the missing kings are probably Ahaziah, Joash and Amaziah, though the same Greek form (Oζειας) is used in some MSS of the Greek OT for both Ahaziah and Uzziah (=Azariah). Confusion based on the similarity of names may account for the omission, but Matthew's scheme of three times fourteen generations suggests that it was deliberate. The lists must in any case be deliberately selective, like many other OT genealogies (which also use the verb "beget," here translated *was the father of*. To make out a case for confusion as the cause of the omission R. E. Brown (1977:82) pointed out that Matthew reads Asaph for king Asa and Amos for king Amon which are not found in the LXX. However, if Matthew is quoting his source(s) then the lists were already in Greek and already contained these errors [and maybe the missing three kings?].

However the three names came to be omitted the total of fourteen would require the reduction of twenty rulers to fourteen so that it is unlikely that the total of fourteen was accidentally achieved by the omission of these three kings.

A. Hervey agrees with the *homoioteleuton* solution, but conjectures that the scribe [Matthew?] "did not care afterwards to rectify it when he discovered that he had produced two fourteens by his mistake" (1853:69).

A. H. McNeile (1949 [1914], 2) suggested that Matthew took advantage of the mistake made in 1 Chronicles 3:11 where 'Oζείαν was mistakenly put for 'Oχoζείαν to omit three generations in order to adhere to the number fourteen.

## 3.2. Oziah was taken to be Ahaziah

W. C. Allen (1912:4; cf. S. T. Lachs, 1987:4; T. Walker, & J.W. Shuker, 1912:71) adopted a different interpretation. His argument is as follows:

> Commentators usually note that Mt. has here omitted three kings, Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah. But this is not the case. 1 Ch 3:11 records that 'Oζειd was the son of Joram. That is to say, Mt. follows the LXX of the Chronicles. Mt. continues, 'Oζειds δέ ἐγέννησε τὸν 'Ιωαθαμ. The Chronicler LXX has 'Ιωὰς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, 'Αμασίας υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, 'Αζαριὰ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, 'Ιωαθαν υἱὸς αὐτοῦ. That is to say, Mt. has omitted not Ahaziah='Oζείας, Joash, and Amaziah, but Joash, Amaziah, and Azariah=Uzziah. The reason must be sought in 1 Ch 3:11 LXX. The son of Joram is there called 'Oζειd. Now for Ahaziah the LXX generally has 'Oχoζείας, whilst 'Oζειd is generally the equivalent of Uzziah, e.g. 2 Ch 26:3ff. 'Oζειd in 1 Ch 3:11 is possibly a mistake. Mt. as

he copied it seems naturally enough to have connected it with Uzziah, and so to have passed on to this king's son, Jotham, thus omitting unconsciously the three intervening kings. Or the copy of the LXX which he followed may have made the omission for the same reason.

The difference between Allen and others rests on the reading of four manuscripts, namely A B N e (see the table below showing the translation of Ahaziah's name in the Septuagint). It is a mistake to take the reading of these four manuscripts as representative of the Old Greek translation of the Hebrew text. It is more likely that these four manuscripts have been influenced by Matthew's genealogy than that Matthew (or his source) composed his genealogy from one of these manuscripts (or their exemplars).

There is some slight evidence that MS A may have conformed the LXX text of 1 Chronicles 3:11 to that of Matthew 1:8, because at Ruth 4:22 MS A has imported the epithet "David the king" from Matthew 1:6. A. H. McNeile (1949 [1914], 1) stated that, "The article before 'David' is strictly incorrect when 'the king' is added; the addition emphasizes the fact that the genealogy is royal. The same addition in Ruth 4:22 (MS A) may have been derived from Matthew; see, however, Josephus, *Antiq.* v. ix. 4." It is probable, therefore, that the alteration of Ahaziah to Uzziah in 1 Chr 3:11 in MS A has also been derived from Matthew. The addition in Ruth would now support this and hence rules out Allen's view that Uzziah was one of the three kings to be omitted by Matthew.

R. T. France (1971) has shown that MS A is closest to the Old Testament quotations in Matthew. The reason could be that MS A has been deliberately brought into line with the Greek text of Matthew's Gospel, and *not* that Matthew quoted from the exemplar of MS A.

J. A. Bengel (1866:9) suggested that the error came about because Uzziah had another name, namely, Azariah, but the omission of the letter *resh* (ר) turned 'Azariah' into Aza-iah, then into Aziah, then into Oziah.

### 4. Toward a new solution

The first issue to clear up is whether Ὀχοζειας/Ὀχοζιας and Ὀζειας/Ὀζιας were confused in the LXX to the extent that Matthew's source or Matthew himself followed that confusion.

### 4.1 LXX translations—Old Greek, Old Greek Revised, and Lucian

Before we can examine the textual variants associated with the confusion between Ὀχοζειας and Ὀζιας we need to be clear what the term Septuagint refers to. In this section it refers to the Old Greek (OG) translation of the Hebrew made in the third/second century BC *plus* the Old Greek Revised (OGR). The OG translation was subject to a minor, but significant, revision which affected no more than 5 per cent of the text of the OG. A third version was made utilising the OG and the OGR which has been identified as the Lucian Text (= Luc.). The three versions have been designated OG, OGR, and Luc. (or alternatively f1, f2 and f3 respectively since the extant manuscripts of 1 and 2 Kings can be divided into these three family text groups.

The three groups are as follows. For 1 Kings the Old Greek (or f1) is found in MSS.158 55 56 243 75 407 344 ( or ghijnuv respectively in Brooke & McLean). The text of ORG (or f2) consists of two sub-groups, designated OGR$^a$ (=f2a) and OGR$^b$ (=f2b) respectively. Sub-group OGR$^a$ consists of MSS.107 106 120 144 134 85 (or dpqstz in B & M) and sub-group OGR$^b$ consists of MSS. 52 489 72 426 ( or efmw in B & M). The second, or Lucian, revision (or f3) consists of MSS. 19 82 135 93 700 (or boc$^2$e$^2$r in B & M).



**Old Greek Text**
MSS. ABNghjuniv

**Old Greek Revised**

MSS. dpqstz

MSS. efmw

MSS. boe$_2$rc$_2$
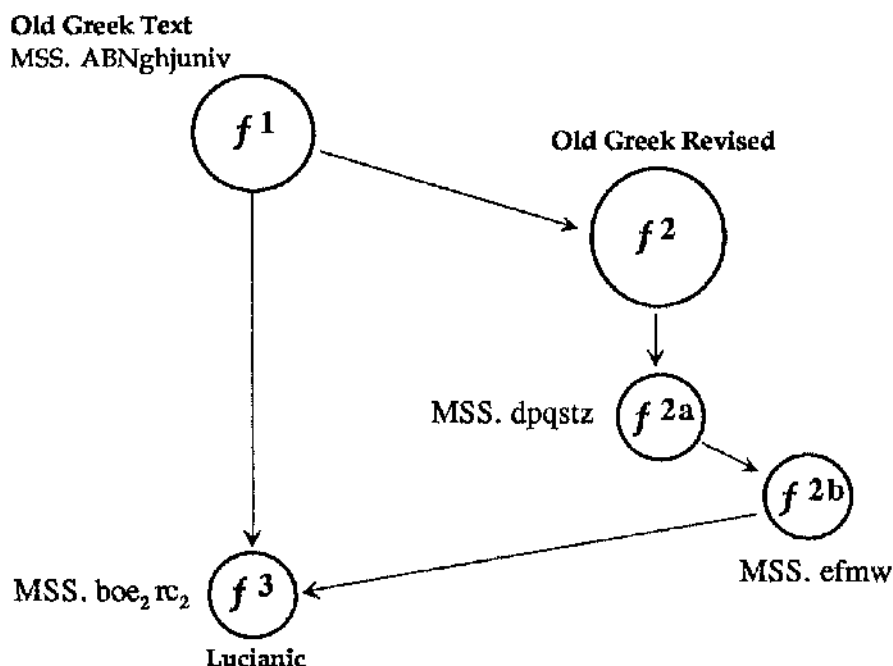
**Lucianic**

The diagram above shows the relationship between the three translations of the Septuagint circulating in New Testament times. The influence of the OG and the OGR (in the text of f2b) can be traced in the Lucianic text. I have not been able to detect a single unique reading from f2a in the Lucianic text.

The significance of this diagram will become apparent when we examine the confusion between Οχοζιας and Οζιας in 2 Kings 15:13 in MS. A below.

The following table is a sample page of variants and their textual groupings. The standard against which all readings are compared is MS. B (indicated with •).

# Three Septuagint Versions of 2 Kings chap. 15

| 2 Kgs | UNCIALS ABN | SEPTUAGINT Old Greek ghjuniv | Old Greek Revised a dpqstz | b efmw | Mixed xy | LUCIAN boe²rc² | Textual variants  MS. B = •]] . . . . . 2. ]] . . . . 3. ]] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15:2 | ••2 | 22•22•2 | 222222 | 222• | •2 | •••• • | και 2°]] omit]] |
| 15:2 | ••• | ••••••2 | 22222• | 2222 | •• | •••• • | και 3°—ιερουσαλημ 2°]] omit]] |
| 15:2 | 8•4 | 53•223• | •••••7 | •••• | 22 | 2522 2 | χαλεια]] ιεχελια]] |
| 15:3 | 2•2 | ••••••2 | 22222• | 2222 | 22 | •••• • | ειθες]] αγαθον]] |
| 15:4 | ••• | •••2••• | 222222 | •222 | •• | ••2• • | εθυμιων]] εθυμια]] |
| 15:5 | ••• | 22•••2• | •••••2 | •••• | •• | 2222 2 | εβασιλευσεν]] εκαθητο]] |
| 15:5 | ••2 | 8•26•• 3 | 22222• | 2222 | 4• | 7••5 • | αφφουσωθ]] απφουσωθ]] |
| 15:6 | 2•2 | 2•2••2• | 222222 | 2222 | •• | •••• • | ιδου]] ουχι]] |
| 15:6 | 2•2 | 2222••• | 222222 | 2•22 | •• | •••• • | βιβλιω]] βιβλιου]] |
| 15:8 | ••• | •••••• • | •••••• | •22• | •• | 2222 2 | επι ισραηλ]] tr σαμαρεια]] |
| 15:9 | ••2 | 33222•• | 222222 | 2222 | 22 | •••• • | αμαρτιων]] tr πασων]] |
| 15:12 | 2•• | ••2•••• | 2222•2 | 2222 | 22 | 5433 3 | ειου]] ιηου]] + υιον ναμεσσει]] |
| 15:14 | 2•• | •••••• • | •••••• | •••• | 22 | 2222 2 | αυτον]] + four words]] |
| 15:15 | 2•• | •••••• • | •••••• | •2•• | 22 | 2222 2 | βιβλιω]] βιβλιου]] |
| 15:16 | ••• | 222222• | •••••2 | •••• | 22 | •••• • | αυτη]] + five words]] |
| 15:17 | 2•2 | •22•••• | 2•2222 | 2222 | •• | •••• • | εβασιλευσεν]] pr και]] |
| 15:18 | ••2 | 52222• 6 | •••••3 | •••• | 33 | •••4 • | φουα 1°]] φουλα]] |
| 15:19 | ••2 | 22222•2 | •••••2 | •••• | 44 | 333• 3 | φουα 2°]] φουλα]] +βασιλεα ασσυριων]] |
| 15:20 | ••• | 2•22••• | 222222 | 2222 | 22 | 2222 2 | παν]] παντα]] |
| 15:20 | ••• | 2•••2•2 | 2••••2 | •••• | 2• | •2•• • | ασσυριων 1°]] ασυριων]] |
| 15:20 | 2•• | •••••• • | •••••• | •••• | 22 | •••• 2 | σικλοις]] + αργυριου]] |
| 15:21 | 2•2 | 22•22•• | 222222 | 2222 | •• | •••• • | ουκ ιδου]] ουχι]] |
| 15:23 | 3•2 | 3•••2•• | 222222 | 2222 | •• | 3333 4 | δυο]] δεκαδυο]] δεκα]] |
| 15:24 | ••• | •••2••• | •••••• | •••• | 22 | 2222 2 | εν οφθαλμοις]] ενωπιον]] |
| 15:25 | 2•3 | 33333•3 | 22222• | 2222 | 22 | •••• • | αρεια]] αρια]] αρι c]] |
| 15:25 | ••2 | •••••• •• | 22422• | 2222 | •• | 3333 3 | τετρακοσιων]] γαλααδιτων]] υιων των |
| 15:25 | ••• | 22••22• | •••••2 | •••• | 22 | •••• • | εθανατωσεν]] —σαν]]    γαλααδιτων]] |
| 15:26 | 2•• | •2•••• • | •3••• | •2•• | 22 | 2222 2 | βιβλιω]] βιβλιου]] |
| 15:28 | ••• | •••2••• | •••••• | •••• | •• | 2222 2 | εν οφθαλμοις]] ενωπιον]] |
| 15:29 | 2•2 | 222•2•2 | 222222 | 3222 | •• | •••• • | και την 2°]] omit]] |
| 15:29 | 3•2 | 3••6••5 | 222222 | 2222 | •• | 4337 3 | ανιωχ]] αχωρ]] ιανωχ]] |
| 15:29 | ••2 | •2•22•• | 222222 | 22•2 | •• | 3333 3 | γαλααδ]] γαλααν]] + και την γαδδει]] |
| 15:30 | 2•3 | 4222224 | 333333 | 3333 | 22 | 3333 3 | αχας]] αζαριου]] οχοζιου]] οζιου]] |
| 15:31 | 2•• | •2•••• • | •2•••• | •2•• | •• | 2222 2 | βιβλιω]] βιβλιου]] |
| 15:32 | 223 | 4222222 | 333333 | 3333 | 22 | 4333 4 | 2=αζαριου]] 3=οχοζιου]] 4=οζιου]] |
| 15:33 | 2•3 | 35333•3 | 222222 | 2222 | 33 | 3334 3 | ερους]] ιερους]] ιερουσα]] |
| 15:34 | 2•2 | •222•• | 222223 | 2222 | 22 | •3•3 • | οζειας]] αζαριας]] οχοζιας]] |
| 15:36 | ••• | •••••• • | •••••• | •••• | 22 | 2222 2 | ουχι]] ουκ ιδου]] |
| 15:36 | 2•• | •••••2• | •••••• | •2•• | 2• | 2222 2 | βιβλιω]] βιβλιου]] |

There are three distinct families of texts in 2 Chronicles 11—36 representing three translations of the Hebrew. The OG is represented by the following manuscripts: ABc₂aceghNnfj and the OGR is represented by dpqtzyi, and a third translation which appears to be an eclectic text comprising OG and OGR readings just like the Lucianic text of Kings, but with few aberrant readings of its own. For convenience we shall refer to this text as Lucianic.

The significance of these results will become apparent when we examine the confusion between Οχοζιας and Οζιας in 2 Chronicles 20:35 and 26:1 in MSS. A and B below.

The following is a sample table of the three distinct familes of texts representating three distinct translations.

# Two Septuagint Versions of 2 Chronicles chap. 25—26

| 2 Chr | Old Greek<br>ABC²aceghNnfj | Old Greek Revised<br>dpq t zy | Mixed Texts<br>mbe² | Textual variants<br>1⟧ .... 2⟧ .... 3⟧ |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25:15 | 1111111111111 | 222221 | 111 | σου⟧ μου⟧ |
| 25:16 | 1111111112211 | 222222 | 322 | αυτω 1°⟧ αυτον προς αυτον⟧ |
| 25:16 | 1111111112211 | 222222 | 233 | μη μαστιγωθνς⟧ pr ινα⟧ |
| 25:16 | 1111111112211 | 222122 | 222 | οτι 1°⟧ omit⟧ |
| 25:17 | 3113333333233 | 222223 | 233 | αμασειας⟧ + 17 words⟧ + 15 words⟧ |
| 25:18 | 111332222322 | 233333 | 322 | ηλθαν⟧ ηλθεν⟧ ηλθον⟧ |
| 25:19 | 111111211211 | 222222 | 122 | καρδια⟧ + σου⟧ |
| 25:20 | 1111111111222 | 222222 | 122 | χειρας⟧ + ιωας⟧ |
| 25:21 | 1111111112211 | 222222 | 111 | αλληλοις⟧ προσωποις⟧ |
| 25:22 | 211212211211 | 222222 | 122 | σκηνωμα⟧ + αυτου⟧ |
| 25:23 | 1111111112211 | 122223 | 233 | ιωας 1°⟧ + υιου ιωαχαζ⟧ |
| 25:23 | 122114111122 | 222222 | 322 | τρικοσιους⟧ τετρακοσιους⟧ |
| 25:26 | 1111111111111 | 222222 | 111 | ουκ ιδου⟧ ουχι⟧ |
| 25:27 | 211111111311 | 222221 | 111 | επεθεντο⟧ επεθετο⟧ |
| 26:3 | 1122111111111 | 122222 | 122 | δεκα εξ⟧ εξ και δεκα⟧ |
| 26:5 | 1111111111111 | 222322 | 111 | εκζητων⟧ επιζητων⟧ |
| 26:5 | 1111111111111 | 122221 | 111 | και 3°—κυριος⟧ omit⟧ |
| 26:6 | 1111111111111 | 222222 | 111 | και 6°—αλλοφυλοις⟧ omit⟧ |
| 26:7 | 1112111212132 | 221111 | 222 | μειναοις⟧ μηναοις⟧ |
| 26:9 | 1111111111111 | 322222 | 311 | οζειας⟧ post πυργους⟧ |
| 26:9 | 1211111111111 | 222222 | 111 | πυλην γωνιας⟧ γωνιαν⟧ |
| 26:11 | 2221111111112 | 222222 | 121 | εγενοντο⟧ εγενετο⟧ |
| 26:11 | 1111111111111 | 222222 | 112 | δυναμεις—εκπορευομεναι⟧ δυναμις-...-μενη⟧ |
| 26:11 | 1111111111122 | 122222 | 111 | παραταξιν⟧ + 6 words⟧ |
| 26:11 | 1111113111111 | 222222 | 111 | o ⟧ pr ην⟧ |
| 26:11 | 224522115121 | 122222 | 322 | ιειηλ⟧ ιειηλ⟧ |
| 26:12 | 1111112111111 | 222212 | 111 | o ⟧ omit⟧ |
| 26:13 | 2111222212122 | 122222 | 113 | πεντακοσιοι⟧ pr και⟧ |
| 26:13 | 1111111111111 | 222222 | 211 | αι ⟧ omit⟧ |
| 26:14 | 112111111222 | 222222 | 212 | ητοιμαζεν⟧ ητοιμασεν⟧ |
| 26:14 | 211222122222 | 112221 | 121 | αυτους⟧ αυτοις⟧ |
| 26:14 | 1111111111111 | 133332 | 222 | σφενδονας \| εις λιθους⟧ transpose⟧ |
| 26:15 | 1125121111122 | 221111 | 234 | βαλλειν⟧ βαλcιν⟧ |
| 26:17 | 1111111111111 | 222222 | 111 | του⟧ omit⟧ |
| 26:18 | 1211111111111 | 222222 | 211 | τω κυριω⟧ omit τω⟧ |
| 26:18 | 1111111111111 | 222222 | 111 | αλλ η⟧ αλλα⟧ |
| 26:18 | 3113333333331 | 222222 | 333 | υιοις⟧ omit⟧ pr τοις⟧ |
| 26:19 | 1111111111111 | 222222 | 133 | το⟧ omit⟧ |
| 26:19 | 1111112111111 | 222222 | 122 | εν 3°⟧ pr και⟧ |
| 26:19 | 1111111111111 | 222222 | 111 | προς⟧ εις⟧ |
| 26:19 | 1111111111111 | 222222 | 111 | ιερεις⟧ + του κυ⟧ |
| 26:19 | 1111111111111 | 222222 | 111 | και 3°⟧ omit⟧ |
| 26:19 | 1111111111111 | 222222 | 113 | η ⟧ omit⟧ |
| 26:20 | 1111311111111 | 442222 | 111 | επ αυτον⟧ προς αυτον⟧ |
| 26:20 | 1111111111111 | 225224 | 336 | ο ιερευς⟧ pr οζιας⟧ |
| 26:20 | 1113444111111 | 222222 | 151 | κατεσπευσαν⟧ κατεδιωξαν⟧ |
| 26:21 | 1111111111111 | 322222 | 111 | ην⟧ post βασιλευς⟧ |
| 26:21 | 113111121111 | 222222 | 211 | o ⟧ omit⟧ |
| 26:23 | 1111111111111 | 222222 | 111 | εθαψαν⟧ pr ουκ⟧ |
| 26:23 | 1111111111122 | 122222 | 222 | οτι⟧ omit⟧ |

## 4.2. The translation of the Three Kings' names in the Septuagint

### 4.2.1. The translation of Ahaziah's name in the Septuagint

The name Ahaziah is shared by a king of Judah (twenty-five times as אֲחַזְיָהוּ and five times as אֲחַזְיָה ) and Israel (five times as אֲחַזְיָהוּ and twice as אֲחַזְיָה). The two Hebrew forms are uniformly transliterated as 'Οχοζειας. Individual manuscripts occasionally write 'Οζειας for 'Οχοζιας such as MS c[2] (at 1 Kgs 22:52); MS t (at 2 Kgs 9:23); MS n (at 2 Kgs 14:13); MS h (at 2 Chr 22:1); MSS A B N e (at 1 Chr 3:11). At 2 Chr 20:35 MS A calls a different Ahaziah (i.e. king of Israel) 'Οζειας.

The majority of the extant MSS of the LXX read 'Οχοζειας and not 'Οζειας at 1 Chronicles 3:11. Consequently both the Old Greek and the Old Greek Revised translations support Ahaziah and not Uzziah. Why four manuscripts, namely MSS A B N and e, have Uzziah instead of Ahaziah at 1 Chr 3:11 is not clear. One way to explain it is to see the influence of Matthew's genealogy here. Since the LXX was transmitted by the Church after the Jews had lost interest in it, it would not be surprising, especially if they understood the spiritual reason for the omission of the three kings, that they altered the name of Ahaziah to Azariah (or 'Οχοζειας to 'Οζειας). There may have been an intermediate stage when the name 'Οζειας was placed in the margin of the LXX against the name of 'Οχοζειας to remind the Christian reader that under divine inspiration Matthew's genealogical statement took precedence over the Old Testament record even though 1 Chronicles 3:10-19 was used as the base for Matthew's dynastic-pedigree.

Alternatively, the few MSS which have altered 'Οχοζειας to 'Οζειας may well go back to an exemplar which made this common enough mistake through *homoioteleuton*. The statistics are as follows:
King of Israel (a) אֲחַזְיָהוּ 1 Kgs 22:40, 49, 51; 2 Kgs 1:18; 2 Chr 20:35; total five. (b) אֲחַזְיָה 2 Kgs 1:2; Chr 20:37; total two.
King of Judah (a) אֲחַזְיָהוּ 2 Kgs 8:24, 25, 26, 29; 9:21, 23; 10:13 (twice); 11:1, 2; 12:18; 13:1; 14:13; 1 Chr 3:11; 2 Chr 22:1 (twice), 2, 7, 8 (twice), 9 (twice), 10, 11 (twice); total twenty-five. (b) אֲחַזְיָה 2 Kgs 9:16, 23, 27, 29; 11:2; total five.

I can not discover any obvious reason for the switch in the form of the names. The only promising line of research is that they might indicate different source documents that the editors of Kings and Chronicles used.

The statistics are as followed:

## 2 Kings

Legend: 1=Οχοζιας  2=Οζιας  3=Ιωαχαζ  4=omitted  5=other variants

| Kings (Heb. refs.) | UNCIALS ABN | SEPTUAGINT Old Greek gh juniv | Old Greek Revised a dpqstz | Old Greek Revised b efmw | Mixed xy | Lucian boerc² | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Kgs 22:40 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 111 5 | | Ahazyahu |
| 1 Kgs 22:50 | 144 | 4444444 | 444444 | 4444 | 44 | 444 4 | | Ahazyahu |
| 1 Kgs 22:52 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 111 2 | | Ahazyahu |
| 1 Kgs 22:53 | 444 | 4444444 | 444444 | 4444 | 44 | 111 1 | No Hebrew | |
| 1 Kgs 22:54 | 444 | 4444444 | 444444 | 4444 | 44 | 111 1 | No Hebrew | |
| 2 Kgs 1:2 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 444 4 | | Ahazyah |
| 2 Kgs 1:3 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 111 1 | No Hebrew | |
| 2 Kgs 1:18 | 411 | 1111114 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 111 1 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Kgs 8:24 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 111 1 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Kgs 8:25 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 111 1 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Kgs 8:26 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 111 1 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Kgs 8:29 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 111 1 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Kgs 9:16 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 111 1 | | Ahazyah |
| 2 Kgs 9:21 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 111 1 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Kgs 9:23 | 111 | 1111111 | 111121 | 1111 | 11 | 111 1 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Kgs 9:23 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 111 1 | | Ahazyah |
| 2 Kgs 9:27 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 111 1 | | Ahazyah |
| 2 Kgs 9:27 | 444 | 4444444 | 444444 | 4444 | 44 | 11111 | No Hebrew | |
| 2 Kgs 9:29 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11141 | | Ahazyah |
| 2 Kgs 10:13 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Kgs 10:13 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Kgs 11:1 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Kgs 11:1 | 444 | 4444444 | 444444 | 4444 | 44 | 11111 | No Hebrew | |
| 2 Kgs 11:2 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Kgs 11:2 | 444 | 4444444 | 444444 | 4444 | 44 | 11111 | | Ahazyah |
| 2 Kgs 12:18 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Kgs 13:1 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Kgs 14:13 | 131 | 1111214 | 411111 | 1111 | 11 | 44444 | | Ahazyahu |

(Right margin labels: 1 Kgs 22:40–2 Kgs 1:18 = "Ahaziah king of Israel"; 2 Kgs 8:24–14:13 = "Ahaziah king of Judah")

## 1 & 2 Chronicles

Legend: 1=Οχοζιας  2=Οζιας  3=Ιωαχαζ  4=omitted  5=other variants

| Chronicles | UNCIALS ABN | SEPTUAGINT Old Greek gh jncface | Old Greek Revised dpqtzy | Mixed mbe² | Lucian | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Chr 3:11 | 222 | 111111112 | 111111 | 111 | of Judah | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Chr 20:35 | 211 | 111111111 | 111111 | 111 | of Israel | Ahazyah |
| 2 Chr 20:37 | 111 | 111111111 | 111111 | 111 | of Israel | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Chr 21:17 | 113 | 313113333 | 333331 | 311 | | Yehoahaz NEW |
| 2 Chr 22:1 | 111 | 321111111 | 111111 | 111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Chr 22:1 | 111 | 111111111 | 111111 | 111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Chr 22:2 | 111 | 111111111 | 111111 | 111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Chr 22:6 | 111 | 111111111 | 111111 | 111 | | Azaryahu NEW |
| 2 Chr 22:7 | 111 | 111111111 | 111111 | 111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Chr 22:7 | 444 | 144444441 | 444444 | 411 | No Hebrew | |
| 2 Chr 22:8 | 111 | 111111111 | 111111 | 111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Chr 22:8 | 411 | 111111111 | 444441 | 411 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Chr 22:9 | 111 | 111111111 | 111111 | 111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Chr 22:9 | 111 | 111111111 | 111111 | 111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Chr 22:10 | 111 | 111111111 | 111111 | 111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Chr 22:11 | 111 | 111111111 | 111111 | 111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Chr 22:11 | 111 | 111111111 | 111111 | 111 | | Ahazyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:23 | 111 | 111311111 | 133331 | 311 | | Yehoahaz NEW |

(Right margin label: "Ahaziah king of Judah")

## 4.2.2. The translation of Azariah/Uzziah in the Septuagint

What is clear from the translation of Azariah's name in Kings is that the Old Greek translator has consistently used one Greek form (Αζαριας) for the two Hebrew names Azariah ((ו)עזריה) and Uzziah (עזיה); whereas in Chronicles the Hebrew text has only one Hebrew name, Uzziah (עזיה which is spelled differently from Uzziah in Kings), which the Old Greek has consistently translated as 'Οζειας.

There is one exception with 1 Chronicles 3:11 where the Hebrew reads Azariah. This is the only place in the whole of 1 and 2 Chronicles where Uzziah is called Azariah. The Old Greek quite consistently transliterated the exception as Αζαριας. But the Old Greek Revised altered this transliteration to 'Οζειας to bring this exception into line with *its* policy to have one Greek name for one Hebrew king irrespective if that king has two or three Hebrew names.

### 2 Kings

| 2 Kings | UNCIALS | SEPTUAGINT Old Greek | SEPTUAGINT Old Greek Revised a | SEPTUAGINT Old Greek Revised b | Mixed | Lucian | 1=Αζαριας 2=Οζειας 3=Οχοζειας 4=other variants |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ABN | ghjuniv | dpgstz | efmw | xy | boerc² | |
| 14:21 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11111 | Azaryah |
| 15:1 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11111 | Azaryah |
| 15:6 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11111 | Azaryahu |
| 15:7 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11111 | Azaryah |
| 15:8 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11111 | Azaryahu |
| 15:13 | 311 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11111 | Uziyyah |
| 15:17 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11111 | Azaryah |
| 15:23 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11111 | Azaryah |
| 15:27 | 111 | 1111111 | 111111 | 1111 | 11 | 11111 | Azaryah |
| 15:30 | 143 | 2111112 | 333333 | 3333 | 11 | 33333 | Uziyyah |
| 15:32 | 113 | 2111111 | 333333 | 1333 | 11 | 23332 | Uziyyahu |
| 15:34 | 121 | 2111222 | 111111 | 2111 | 11 | 13232 | Uziyyahu |

### 1 & 2 Chronicles

| Chronicles | UNCIALS | SEPTUAGINT Old Greek | SEPTUAGINT Old Greek Revised | Mixed | 1=Αζαριας 2=Οζειας 3=Οχοζειας 4=other variants |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ABN | ghjncface | dpqtzy | mbe² | |
| 1 Chr 3:12 | 111 | 112112111 | 222222 | 222 | Azaryah |
| 2 Chr 26:1 | 232 | 222222222 | 222222 | 222 | Uzziyyahu |
| 2 Chr 26:3 | 222 | 222222222 | 222222 | 222 | Uzziyyahu |
| 2 Chr 26:8 | 222 | 222222222 | 222222 | 222 | Uzziyyahu |
| 2 Chr 26:9 | 222 | 222222222 | 222222 | 222 | Uzziyyahu |
| 2 Chr 26:11 | 222 | 222222222 | 222222 | 222 | Uzziyyahu |
| 2 Chr 26:14 | 222 | 222222222 | 222222 | 222 | Uzziyyahu |
| 2 Chr 26:18 | 222 | 222222222 | 222222 | 222 | Uzziyyahu |
| 2 Chr 26:18 | 222 | 222222222 | 222222 | 222 | Uzziyyahu |
| 2 Chr 26:19 | 222 | 222222222 | 222222 | 222 | Uzziyyahu |
| 2 Chr 26:21 | 222 | 222222222 | 222222 | 222 | Uzziyyahu |
| 2 Chr 26:22 | 242 | 222222222 | 222222 | 222 | Uzziyyahu |
| 2 Chr 26:23 | 222 | 222222222 | 422222 | 222 | Uzziyyahu |
| 2 Chr 27:2 | 222 | 222222222 | 222222 | 222 | Uzziyyahu |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Isaiah 1:1 | Οζιας | Uzziyyahu |
| Isaiah 6:1 | Οζιας | Uzziyyahu |
| Isaiah 7:1 | Οζιας | Uzziyyahu |
| Hosea 1:1 | Οζιας | Uzziyyah |
| Amos 1:1 | Οζιας | Uzziyyah |
| Zechariah 14:5 | Οζιας | Uzziyyahu |

It will be seen from the Kings table that the Old Greek has consistently used Αζαριας to translate the two Hebrew names Azariah and Uzziah, but the Old Greek Revised has unaccountably altered Azariah to Ahaziah at 2 Kings 15:30 and 15:32. Lucian followed the OGR text in this alteration. In both places Jotham is called the "son of Ahaziah" instead of "son of Uzziah." The only solution I can offer is that as Ahaziah is called Azariah (in 2 Chr 22:6), so Azariah may have been called Ahaziah, though we have no biblical evidence for it. If OGR is evidence of this then OGR has followed a different Hebrew text to that followed by the OG.

### 4.2.3. The translation of Amaziah's name in the Septuagint

#### 2 Kings

Legend:
1=Αμεσσειας
2=Αμασειας
3=Αμεσιας
4=Αμασιας
5=other variants
6=omitted

| 2 Kings | UNCIALS ABN | OG gh juniv | OGR a dpqstz | OGR b efmw | Mixed xy | Lucian boerc | Hebrew |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12:21 | 311 | 4114431 | 333113 | 3111 | 11 | 11511 | Amasyah |
| 13:12 | 311 | 3111113 | 331113 | 3113 | 11 | 11111 | Amasyah |
| 14:1 | 411 | 3114414 | 331113 | 3111 | 11 | 11131 | Amasyahu |
| 14:8 | 411 | 4114314 | 331113 | 3111 | 11 | 11131 | Amasyah |
| 14:9 | 411 | 4314314 | 131113 | 3111 | 11 | 11111 | Amasyahu |
| 14:11 | 311 | 3314114 | 331113 | 3111 | 11 | 11111 | Amasyahu |
| 14:11 | 411 | 3114114 | 331113 | 3111 | 11 | 31111 | Amasyahu |
| 14:13 | 111 | 3114314 | 331113 | 3111 | 11 | 11111 | Amasyahu |
| 14:15 | 111 | 3114311 | 131113 | 3111 | 11 | 11111 | Amasyahu |
| 14:17 | 311 | 3314314 | 331113 | 3111 | 11 | 11111 | Amasyahu |
| 14:18 | 311 | 3114111 | 131113 | 3111 | 11 | 11111 | Amasyahu |
| 14:21 | 111 | 3111113 | 131111 | 3111 | 11 | 11111 | Amasyahu |
| 14:23 | 111 | 3114114 | 331113 | 3111 | 11 | 51111 | Amasyahu |
| 14:29 | 111 | 3111113 | 331113 | 3111 | 11 | 66666 | No Hebrew |
| 15:1 | 111 | 3154111 | 131113 | 3111 | 11 | 11111 | Amasyah |
| 15:3 | 111 | 3114514 | 131113 | 3111 | 11 | 11111 | Amasyahu |

#### 1 & 2 Chronicles

Legend:
1=Αμεσσειας
2=Αμασειας
3=Αμεσιας
4=Αμασιας
5=other variants

| Chronicles | UNCIALS ABN | OG gh jncface | OGR dpqtzy | Mixed mbe | Hebrew |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Chr 3:12 | 444 | 444444444 | 334443 | 455 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 24:27 | 444 | 444444444 | 444443 | 435 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:1 | 222 | 222222222 | 222223 | 215 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:5 | 222 | 222222222 | 222223 | 232 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:9 | 444 | 444444444 | 444443 | 455 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:10 | 222 | 222222222 | 222223 | 253 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:11 | 222 | 222222222 | 222223 | 252 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:13 | 222 | 222222222 | 222223 | 255 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:14 | 222 | 222222222 | 222223 | 255 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:15 | 222 | 222222222 | 222223 | 255 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:17 | 424 | 444424444 | 444444 | 444 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:18 | 222 | 522222222 | 222223 | 255 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:20 | 222 | 222222222 | 222223 | 255 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:21 | 222 | 222222222 | 222223 | 232 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:23 | 222 | 222252222 | 222223 | 225 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:25 | 222 | 222222222 | 222222 | 255 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:26 | 222 | 222222222 | 222223 | 252 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 25:27 | 222 | 222222222 | 222223 | 255 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 26:1 | 222 | 222222222 | 222223 | 255 | Amasyahu |
| 2 Chr 26:4 | 222 | 222222222 | 222223 | 272 | Amasyahu |

| | Lucian | Hebrew |
|---|---|---|
| Amos 7:10 | Αμασιας | Amasyah |
| Amos 7:12 | Αμασιας | Amasyah |
| Amos 7:14 | Αμασιας | Amasyah |

The Hebrew text in Kings and Chronicles consistently uses one Hebrew name for Amaziah but two different Greek forms are used to transliterate it. In Kings the translator used Αμεσσειας whereas in Chronicles the translator used Αμασειας. (This, along with other indicators, suggests that different men translated Kings and Chronicles.)

We can sum up the above tables as follows:

|     |                   |          | Hebrew forms | KINGS | CHRONICLES |
|-----|-------------------|----------|--------------|-------|------------|
| 1.  | KING OF ISRAEL    | Ahaziah  | אחזיה        | Οχοζιας (1x) | Οχοζιας (1x) |
| 2.  |                   |          | אחזיהו       | Οχοζιας (4x) | Οχοζιας (1x) |
| 3.  | KING OF JUDAH     | Ahaziah  | אחזיה        | Οχοζιας (5x) | —          |
| 4.  |                   |          | אחזיהו       | Οχοζιας (13x) | Οχοζιας (12x) |
| 5.  | Alternative name: | Jehoahaz | יהואחז       | —     | Οχοζιας (2x) |
| 6.  | Alternative name: | Azariah  | עזריהו       | —     | Οχοζιας (1x) |
| 7.  | KING OF JUDAH     | Amaziah  | אמציה        | Αμεσσιας (4x) | —          |
| 8.  |                   |          | אמציהו       | Αμεσσιας (12x) | Αμασιας (20x) |
| 9.  | KING OF JUDAH     | Azariah  | עזריה        | Αζαριας (8x) | Αζαριας (1x) |
| 10. |                   |          | עזריהו       | Αζαριας (4x) | —          |
| 11. | Alternative name: | Uzziah   | עזיה         | Αζαριας (2x) | —          |
| 12. |                   |          | עזיהו        | Αζαριας (2x) | Οζιας (13x) |

|     |               |        | Hebrew forms | ISAIAH | HOS, AMOS, ZECH |
|-----|---------------|--------|--------------|--------|-----------------|
| 13. | KING OF JUDAH | Uzziah | עזיה         | —      | Οζιας (2x) Hos. Am. |
| 14. |               |        | עזיהו        | Οζιας (3x) | Οζιας (1x) Zech. |

Notes on line 1. (a) Ahaziah, king of Israel, is in the Hebrew text of 1 Kgs 22:50 (long form), but the name has not been translated by the LXX (except by MS A). (b) Ahaziah, king of Israel is in the LXX text of 2 Kgs 1:3 for which there is no Hebrew. The LXX-Luc supplies the name Ahaziah in 1 Kgs 22:53, 54, for which there is no Hebrew to correspond to it.

Note on line 3. Ahaziah, king of Judah, is in the Hebrew text of 2 Kgs 11:2 (short form), but the name has not been translated by the LXX (except Luc.). (b) The LXX-Luc inserts the name Ahaziah in 2 Kgs 9:27; 11:1; 2 Chr 22:7, for which there is no Hebrew to correspond to it.

Notes on lines 1-6. The Hebrew name Ahaziah (for the kings of Israel and Judah) is given in a long form (17x) and a short form (6x) in Kings, but it occurs only in the long form in Chronicles (13x; including once for Ahaziah of Israel), an exception is 2 Chron 20:35 when the short form is used for Ahaziah of Israel. The use of the long or short form appears to be at the whim of the writer. There are no syntactical or phonological reasons for its use that I have been able to detect or isolate. Compare the last clause in 2 Kgs 22:22 [MT] (short form) and 2 Chron 24:27 (long form). Another example is 2 Kgs 13:12 (short) and 2 Kgs 14:15 (long). If there is a reason behind the apparently indiscriminate use of the long and short forms of Ahaziah it must lie in (a) the strict use of source material, or (b) in that indefinable area of

'appropriateness' that is felt by the speaker to be 'right' to use *at that moment*, but which a later reader may not, or cannot, possibly appreciate or recreate. However, the short form must have been used as frequently as the long form in real life for the option to be open to the speaker to switch from one form to the other when the occasion was thought to be 'appropriate'.

Note on line 5. Ahaziah had an earlier name, Jehoahaz, which is noticed in 2 Chron 21:17. The name is mentioned again in 2 Chron 25:23 where the parallel text in 2 Kings 14:13 has the more familiar Ahaziah.

Note on line 6. Whether Ahaziah had a third name, Azariah (2 Chron 22:6), is not certain but very likely in view of the parallel texts (2 Kgs 8:29; 9:16), hence the LXX decision to use Οχοζιας for all three Hebrew names in Chronicles. If Azariah is not a third name then Azariah was another son of Jehoram who escaped Athaliah's massacre of the royal family. If his mother was still carrying him at the time of the massacre this would explain how he escaped. This seems unlikely and it is better to see the two names, Ahaziah and Azariah, as interchangeable, as indeed they are in 2 Kings 15:30, 32 in the OG compared with the OGR and Luc. Jotham in these two places is said to be the son of Ahaziah (OGR & Luc) but in the OG he is the son of Azariah.

Note on Line 7. (a) The LXX has Αμεσσειας in 2 Kgs 14:29 for which there is no equivalent Hebrew text. (b) It is clear from the way Kings and Chronicles have transliterated the same king's name differently and consistently that there were two different translators at work on the Hebrew text.

Notes on lines 9-12. The Hebrew spells Uzziah's name in two ways; in Kings it is עֻזִּיָה but in Chronicles it is עֲזַרְיָהוּ but this is not reflected in the Greek transliteration. The Old Greek of Kings uses Αζαριας to translate Uzziah and Azariah. The OGR follows the OG except for two instances (2 Kgs 15:30, 32) where it unexpectantly has "Ahaziah" (Οχοζιας—presumably it followed a different Hebrew text which read: אֲחַזְיָה in place of the MT Hebrew עֻזִּיָה).

It is clear from line 12 that the translators of Kings and Chronicles have transliterated the same king's name differently and consistently. The conclusion is that we have two different translators at work on the Hebrew text—a conclusion strengthened by the observation made on line 7 above.

There is one apparent exception in 1 Chron 3:12, where the less common name Azariah is used in an official list of descendants to David's throne—and not the more familiar Uzziah preferred by the author of the Hebrew Chronicles (as the statistics show). But in this exceptional case the author of the Hebrew Chronicles has followed a source which had the less common form of the king's name in it. The Greek translator slavishly transliterated it as line 9 shows and this accounts for the apparent exception. The exception occurred at the level of the Hebrew text and not on the part of the Greek translator of Chronicles. Indeed the Greek translator of Kings shows remarkable consistency by using one Greek name (Αζαριας) where the Hebrew has two names (עֻזִּיָה(ו) and עֲזַרְיָה(ו)) for the same king.

Why did the Greek translator of Chronicles use Οζιας instead of Αζαριας? The answer is that there were two translators. The translator of 2 Kings came across king Azariah for the first time in his text at 14:21. He correctly transliterated the name as Αζαριας. He was now bound to use one name from this point onwards irrespective of which of the two Hebrew

names he found in the Hebrew text before him: and this he does. He translates 'Uzziah' as if he read 'Azariah' in the Hebrew text. On the other hand the translator of 2 Chronicles transliterated the Hebrew text in front of him, and this accounts for the fact that he uses two Greek forms to represent faithfully the two Hebrew names in the Hebrew text.

It may be that since the High Priest at the time of king Azariah/Uzziah was also called Azariah this caused Uzziah's other name of Azariah to be suppressed in order to avoid confusion.

The following observations arise from the above table:

(Obs. 1) On the basis of consistency of transliteration it is evident that different scribes translated the books of Kings and Chronicles. This is evident upon examining lines 8 and 12, where Amaziah is consistently transliterated as Αμεσσ(ε)ιας in Kings but Αμασιας in Chronicles; while on line 12 king Azariah is transliterated as Αζαριας in Kings but Οζιας in Chronicles.

(Obs. 2) The distinction between the short and the long forms (יה־/יהו־) is not reflected in any Greek text or transliteration.

(Obs. 3) Lines 3-6 give three Hebrew names for the same Judean king, but in Chronicles only one Greek name is used throughout. No doubt this was done to avoid confusing Greek readers. But it is possible that the LXX translator has interpreted the reference to Azariah in 2 Chron 22:6 (see line 6) incorrectly when he identified this son of Jehoram with Ahaziah. The reason he did so was because all of Jehoram's sons were killed except for Ahaziah (also called Jehoahaz in 2 Chr 21:17; 25:23). But it may well be that one of Jehoram's wives was pregnant with Azariah and the child was born after the massacre of the royal family by Athaliah. The LXX may be an interpretation not a translation. It may be right, but on the other hand it may be wrong. If wrong, then even had Ahaziah been killed the Solomonic line would have continued in Azariah. It might be too subtle to attribute to the Chronicler the thought that it would have been better had Ahaziah been killed for then Azariah—a name associated with a good reign—would have replaced him just as in Matthew's list another Azariah replaces Ahaziah in his list of kings.

(Obs. 4) Οχοζιας is used in all LXX MSS to translate Azariah in line 6 (2 Chr 22:6). It so happens that Azariah is an alternative name for Uzziah (lines 9-13) so this might account for Uzziah being called Οχοζιας in 2 Kgs 15:13 in MS A. But the connection between the two is so tenuous that it is unlikely to be the explanation. Scribal error is the most probable explanation for the confusion in MS A, and for the same error in MS B in 2 Chr 26:1.

(Obs. 5) MS A on two occasions gives Οζιας instead of the expected Οχοζιας, namely, for Ahaziah of Israel (2 Chr 20:35) and for Ahaziah of Judah (1 Chr 3:11). These are very probably scribal mistakes, which, if correct, lessens the support for Οχοζιας in MSS B N e in 1 Chronicles 3:11.

(Obs. 6) Chronicles (see line 12) has in common with Isaiah (1:1; 6:1; 7:1), Hosea (1:1), Amos (1:1), and Zechariah (14:5), that the LXX always translates Uzziah's name by Οζιας and never by Αζαριας (as in Kings, line 12). MS A is alone at 1 Chr 3:12 in translating Azariah (=Uzziah) by Αζαριας. This fact reveals the care and consistency of the translator of Kings in giving one Greek name (i.e. Αζαριας) for the same Judean king irrespective of the different names he may be given in the Hebrew text.

The Hebrew Chronicles, unlike Kings, prefers to use one Hebrew name for Uzziah (with one exception at 1 Chr 3:11) and the Greek transliterates the Hebrew text in front of him even to the extent of transliterating the one exception in the Hebrew at 1 Chronicles 3:121 where we have Azariah, when we might have expected Uzziah.

The distinctive approaches of Kings and Chronicles having arisen at the translation stage it was inevitable that in the course of transmission some blurring or interchange or mixing of approaches might occur. This will account for some of the variants between LXX manuscripts.

In conclusion it must be stated that in general there is no confusion in the LXX between the Hebrew names and their Greek equivalents. Too much has been read into two or three scribal mistakes of individual MSS in past treatments of this point without full documentation of the facts. We have noted only one such confusion in MS B (2 Chr 26:1 where Οζιας is replaced with Οχοζιας). A similar error occurs in MS A in 2 Kgs 15:13 where Αζαριας is replaced with Οχοζιας). MS A shows greater instability (1 Chr 3:11 and 2 Chr 20:35).

Theses or hypotheses built on variant readings in individual manuscripts do not provide a sound basis on which to solve Matthew's omission of the three kings. Matthew 1:17 is sufficient to show that three names were not omitted by accident, but on purpose. Hence with respect to Matthew's list the most that one can extract from the above study is that Matthew (or his source document) deliberately left out the three kings of Οχοζιας, Ιωας, and Αμεσσιας, and Οζιας was moved back three generations to become the "son" of Jehoram in place of Οχοζιας his natural son. Whether the re-naming of Οζιας in MSS A & B (=Οχοζιας in MS B [2 Chr 26:1] and MS A [2 Kgs 15:13]) reflects the view of the source document that Matthew used is a mute point, but an interesting speculation all the same.

## 4.3. Common denominators among the three kings

Many suggestions have been made to find a common feature that would set the three missing kings apart from the rest. The following two tables sets out the main criterion used by the biblical writer(s) to assess each king's reign. The one factor that seems to unite the three is that each was assassinated. What spoils this is that Amon was also assassinated but his name is retained. The first table shows that Ahaz and Manasseh are the worst kings in that they alone cause their sons "to pass through the fire."

The second table probes a little deeper into what evidence we can glean of the historical circumstances surrounding each king's reign, but again, there is no outstanding feature that would indicate there was something unusual about these three kings. They are as "normal" as the rest: they do not stand out in any way.

The search for some common denominator which would isolate these three kings from all the other Judean kings must be deemed to be fruitless: there is no clear-cut factor that unites the three missing kings.

If there is no sinister, theological, or civil reason for omitting them then the obvious solution is that if a genealogy has to be shortened the Hebrew practice is to omit names in the middle, not at the beginning or the end.

The fate of Shallum and Jehoiachin is that they would die in a strange land, compare Jeremiah 22:11 "For thus says the Lord concerning Shallum the son of Josiah, king of Judah, who reigned instead of Josiah his father, and who went away from this place: 'He shall return here no more, but in the place where they have carried him captive, there shall he die, and he shall never see this land again.'" with Jeremiah 22:24, "As I live, says the Lord, though Coniah the son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, were the signet ring on my right hand, yet I would tear you off, and give you into the hand of those who seek your life . . . . I will hurl you and the mother who bore you into another country, where you were not born, and there you shall die." Whether their bodies were ever brought back to Jerusalem for burial is left in doubt.

| Kings of Judah Name | Foreign mother | Personal Conduct at first | later on | "Only, the people are sacrificing on high places" | "...David his father" | Assassinated | Killed by Yahweh | Not buried in the graves of the kings | High Places flourish | Walked in the way of the kings of Israel (or Ahab) | Friendly with N. Kingdom | Sons pass through fire |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Solomon | | Good | Evil | Yes | Yes | | | | | | | |
| Rehoboam | Yes | Good | Evil | | | | | | Yes | | War | |
| Abijam | | Evil | | | | | | | | | War | |
| Asa | | Good | (Evil?) | Yes | Yes | | | | | | War | |
| Jehoshaphat | | Good | | Yes | Yes | | | | | | Yes | |
| Jehoram | | Evil | | | | | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | |
| Ahaziah | Yes | Evil | | | | Yes | Yes? | | (Yes) | Yes | Yes | |
| Joash | | Good | Evil | Yes | | Yes | | Yes | (Yes) | | Yes | |
| Amaziah | | Good | Evil | Yes | | Yes | Yes? | | (Yes) | | Yes | |
| Azariah | | Good | Evil | Yes | | | | Yes | | | (War?) | |
| Jotham | | Good | | Yes | Yes | | | | | | War | |
| Ahaz | | Evil | | | | | | Yes | Yes | Yes | War | Yes |
| Hezekiah | | Good | Evil | | | | | | | | | |
| Manasseh | | Evil | Good | Yes | | | | Yes | Yes | Yes | | Yes |
| Amon | | Evil | | | | Yes | | Yes | | | | |
| Josiah | | Good | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jehoahaz (2) | | Evil | | | | | | unknown | | | | |
| Jehoiakim (1) | | Evil | | | | | | unknown | | | | |
| Jehoiachin | | Evil | | | | | | unknown | | | | |
| Zedekiah (3) | | Evil | | | | | | unknown | | | | |

The suggestions based on some common denominator all fail on the criterion chosen: there is no single factor that is exclusive to these three kings.

The alternative solution offered in this work is that while Jehu's dynasty was under divine blessing and approval the Judean kings were virtually vassal kings and once Jehu's four generations were completed his right to rule over God's people came to an end and the Judean kings resumed their rule and place in the Davidic line of kings leading to King Messiah.

# Kings of Judah

| Name | Mother's name | Became Coregent Age : Date | Became King Age : Date | Birth of son King's Age & year of birth | Son's Coregency King's Age & Date | Longevity King's Age and year of death | Coregency Years | Sole reign | Biblical total | Biblical Assessment |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Solomon | Bathsheba d. Eliam | — | ? 971 | ? 972 | — | 40+ 931/0 | — | 40 | 40 | Good |
| Rehoboam | Naamah the Ammonitess | — | 41 931/0 | ? ? | — | 58 913 | — | 17 | 17 | Evil |
| Abijam | Micaiah d. Uriel of Gibeah | — | ? 913 | ? ? | — | ? 911/0 | — | 3 | 3 | Evil |
| Asa | Maacah d. Abishalom | — | ? 911/0 | ? 907/6 | ? 873/2 | 41+ 870/69 | — | 41 | 41 | Good |
| Jehoshaphat | Azubah d. Shilhi | 35 873/2 | 38 870/69 | 28 880/79 | 54 854/3 | 59 848 | 4 | 21 | 25 | Good |
| Jehoram | —omitted— | 27 854/3 | 32 848 | 18 863/2 | 44 842/1 | 44 841 | 6 | 8 | 8 | Evil |
| Ahaziah | Athaliah d. Omri ord. Ahab | 22 842 | 22 841 | 22 841 | — | 22 841 | 1? | 1 | 1 | Evil |
| Joash | Zibiah of Beersheba | — | 7 835 | 22 821/0 | — | 46 796 | — | 40 | 40 | Good |
| Amaziah | Jehoaddin of Jerusalem | — | 25 796 | 15 806/5 | 31 791/0 | 54 767 | 24 | 29 | 29 | Good |
| Azariah | Jecoliah of Jerusalem | 16 791/0 | 16 767 | 32 775/4 | 56 750 | 67 739 | 24 | 28 | 52 | Good |
| Jotham | Jerushah d. Zadok | 25 750-735- | 25 739-35 | 22 753/2 | 41 735/4 | 44 732/1 | 12-14 | 4 | 16 | Good |
| Ahaz | —omitted— | 20 735 | 20 732/1 | 15 740/39 | 26 729/8 | 39 715 | 4 | 16 | 16 | Evil |
| Hezekiah | Abijah d. Zechariah | 12 729/8 | 25 715 | 33 708/7 | 44 697/6 | 54 687/6 | 14 | 29 | 29 | Good |
| Manasseh | Hephzibah | 12 697 | 12 687/6 | 45 664/3 | — | 66 643/2 | 11 | 44 | 55 | Evil |
| Amon | Meshullemeth d. Haruz of Jotbah | — | 22 643/2 | 17 648/7 | — | 24 641/0 | — | 2 | 2 | Evil |
| Josiah | Jedidiah d. Adaiah of Bozkath | — | 8 641/0 | 16 631/0 | — | 39 609 | — | 31 | 31 | Good |
| Jehoahaz (2) | Hamutal d. Jeremiah of Libnah | — | 23 609 | — | — | 23 609 | — | 1/4 | 1/4 | Evil |
| Jehoiakim (1) | Zebiah d. Pedaiah of Rumah | — | 25 609 | 19 615/4 | 26 608/7 | 36 598 | — | 11 | 11 | Evil |
| Jehoiachin | Nehushta d. Elnathan of Jerusalem | 8 608 | 18 598/7 | 19+ 597+ | — | 49+ 561+ | 11 | 1/4 | 1/4 | Evil |
| Zedekiah (3) | Hamutal d. Jeremiah of Libnah | — | 21 597 | — | — | 32 586 | — | 11 | 11 | Evil |

## 4.4.   The Covenant with Phineas

The covenant with David of an everlasting dynasty has its parallel with the priestly covenant made with Phineas in Numbers 25:10-13, "And the Lord said to Moses, 'Phineas the son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the priest, has turned back my wrath from the people of Israel, in that he was jealous with my jealousy among them, so that I did not consume the people of Israel in my jealousy. Wherefore say, 'Behold, I give to him my covenant of peace; and it shall be to him, and to his descendants after him, the covenant of a perpetual priesthood; because he was jealous for his God, and made atonement for the people of Israel.'"

There is a parallel here with the Davidic covenant. Where the kingship goes to the Northern Kingdom the northern kings are not included just as when the priesthood went through Ithamar their chief priests are not included in Eleazar's line. Note that when the High-priesthood is transferred to the family of Ithamar for three (and probably four) generations, namely, Eli, Abiathar/Ahitub, Ahimelech, these three names are omitted just as in Matthew's genealogy when the throne of Judah is transferred to Jehu, three kings of Judah are omitted.

Support for this idea comes from Lightfoot who suggested that:

> The promise, that the throne of David should not be empty, passed over after a manner for some time into the family of Jehu, the overthrower of Joram's family. For when he had razed the house of Ahab, and had slain Ahaziah, sprung on the mother's side of the family of Ahab; the Lord promised him, that his sons should reign unto the fourth generation, 2 Kings 10:30. Therefore, however, the mean time the throne of David was not empty; and that Joash and Amazias sat during the space between, yet their names are not unfitly omitted by our Evangelist, both because they were sometimes not very unlike Joram in their manners, and because their kingdom was very much eclipsed by the kingdom of Israel, when Ahazias was slain by Jehu, and his cousin Amazias taken and basely subdued by his cousin Joas, 2 Chr 25. (Quoted by F. H. Dunwell, 1876:67, apparently from Lightfoot's commentary.)

## 4.5.   The extent of Ahab's curse

There is some evidence that the curse on Ahab was not limited to four generations; his family was exterminated, not just punished for four generations. The words of the curse are, "Behold, I will bring evil upon you; I will utterly sweep you away, and I will cut off from Ahab every male, bond and free, in Israel; and I will make your house like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and like the house of Baasha the son of Ahijah, for the anger to which you have provoked me, and because you have made Israel to sin" (1 Kgs 21:21-22). When Ahab heard the curse he repented and it was postponed to his son's days (1 Kgs 21:29). Joram was Ahab's son and he was slain by Jehu.

The curse on Ahab is likened to the curse on Jeroboam and Baasha. The curse on Jeroboam reads, "Behold, I will bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam, and will cut off from Jeroboam every male, both bond and free in Israel, and will utterly consume the house of Jeroboam, as a man burns up dung until it is all gone" (1 Kgs 14:10). As soon as Baasha became king he killed "all the house of Jeroboam; he left to the house of Jeroboam not one

that breathed, until he had destroyed it, according to the word of the Lord which he spake by his servant Ahijah the Shilonite" (1 Kgs 15:29).

The curse against Baasha reads, "Behold, I will utterly sweep away Baasha and his house, and I will make your house like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nebat" (1 Kgs 16:3).

Against the background of these curses of extermination the introduction of a curse lasting to the third and fourth generation is out of place. It then becomes a matter of conjecture whether such a limitation would apply to the male offspring of his daughter(s). The curse applies only to the male descendants of the cursed individuals and not to the male descendants of other men who married into their families. We need a biblical precedent before we can go any further with this solution, and as there is none the solution becomes very tenuous.

### 4.6. Matthew's Fourteen Generations

The third issue to clear up is the state of the text for Matthew 1:17 which states explicitly that the genealogy is made up of three series of fourteen generations. And here there are no variant readings so that any starting point must be the fact that the text of Matthew 1:17 is secure. There are fourteen generations for the second series and Matthew has enumerated fourteen names. It is futile to question the facts.

### 4.7. Jehu's Covenant was a divinely approved Dynasty

The only question of interest that arises once the fact of the text of Matthew 1:17 is accepted is why these particular three kings were omitted and not some others. The argument that rules out personal impiety or some other common demoninator that ties these three together is strong. Therefore there must be some external factor. The purpose of the following section is to suggest that while Jehu's dynasty ruled in the North for four generations he was the only approved king of God's people. The Southern Kingdom had a single dynasty of twenty kings, and the assumption must be that since the head—David—was God's approved dynasty all his successors were also divinely approved. The question might arise whether Yahweh approved the Judean kings who ruled contemporaneously with Jehu's dynasty. The omission of three Judean kings at the time and for the duration that Jehu's dynasty ruled, suggests that Yahweh did not approve two sets of kings ruling at the same time over his people. If Yahweh approved one king over his people at any given time then Matthew's list is a list of divinely approved successors to David.

A serious objection to the solution that the three were omitted because of the curse on Ahab's house is the failure to include the chief culprit in introducing idolatry into Judah who was Joram through his marriage with Ahab's daughter: yet he is retained in Matthew's pedigree of the Messiah. "Joram walked in the idolatrous ways of the kings of Israel, according to the manner of the family of Ahab," 2 Kings 8:18.

It now becomes clear why Jehoram is not included in the omission, for while Jehu's dynasty lasted his sons were not approved as Yahweh's "sons" or kings in the Davidic tradition. They were not true kings but vassels of Jehu's dynasty. When Jehu's dynasty terminated in 752 BC, Uzziah was the sitting

tenent of David's throne, and so he was the first legitimate successor to Jehoram. This seems certain since Jehoram's name ought to have been removed for marrying Athaliah if the reason for the removal of the names was through his connection with the house of Ahab. Also there are not four generations of names omitted but only three, so the appeal to visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation (Exod 20:5) does not apply in this instance. In other words Jehu reigned over Israel and Judah, and Yahweh temporarily suspended the rule of Solomonic succession in order to teach Judah a lesson, and may be as a precursor—a warning—to removing the kingship from them altogether. If the three persons were not recognised as kings then this explains their omission from a list of kings in Matthew's second series. This also does away with trying to find personal defects in the lives of the three kings who were omitted which might justify their omission.

The focus of most commentators had been on the curse on Ahab's family and the assumption was that the curse applied to his family through his daughter, Athaliah. What no one considered was the blessing that Yahweh bestowed on Jehu of a divinely approved rule over his people for four generations. Yahweh had very little time for most of Judah's kings at this period so it was within his gift to transfer his blessing to a non-Davidic soldier—Jehu—who did what the Judean kings stubbornly refused to do.

My solution is this: while Jehu's dynasty (841—752 BC) was in existence Yahweh snubbed Judah's kings and they are not considered 'My sons,' and this explains why their names are omitted from Matthew's list.

| 1. Solomon | 2. Rehoboam | 3. Abijah | 4. Asa | 5. Jehoshaphat | 6. Jehoram | **Jehu's Dynasty**<br>Jehu<br>Jehoahaz<br>Jehoash<br>Jeroboam II<br>Zechariah<br>total: 89 years | 7. Uzziah | 8. Jotham | 9. Ahaz | 10. Hezekiah | 11. Manasseh | 12. Amon | 13. Josiah | 14. Jehoiachin |
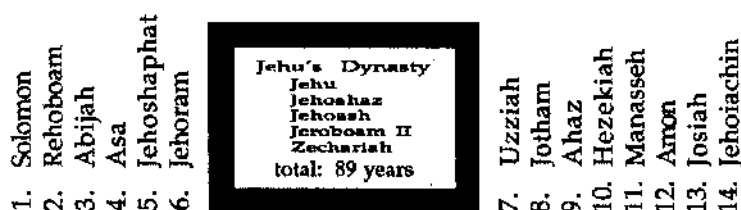
The total years for Judah for this period was as follows: Ahaziah, probably less than one year as sole king; Athaliah 6 actual years; Joash 40 years; Amaziah 29 years; and Uzziah 14 complete years. Uzziah resumed Judah's legitimate rule in the fifteenth year of his reign and this explains how he becomes the 'son' of Jehoram who was the last recognised king of Judah before Yahweh gave Jehu the kingdom of all Israel.

Baasha (1 Kgs 14:14; 16:2) and Jeroboam (1 Kgs 11:35) were given their kingships by Yahweh. Elisha said he would have ignored the king of Israel (Jehoram, 2 Kgs 3:14) except that he was accompanied by the king of Judah, Jehoshaphat. Hosea 8:4, "They have made kings and not by Me; they have made princes and I have not known (i.e. not recognised them as such)." Hosea prophesied in the days of Jeroboam son of Joash, whose kingship was recognised, consequently Yahweh was referring to the kings of Israel prior to his permission to Jehu and his descendants to the fourth generation to rule.

# Contents of Chapter three

# The Omission of Jehoiakim in Matthew's Genealogy

# Chapter three

# III. The Omission of Jehoiakim in Matthew's genealogy

## Preliminary considerations

It is not unusual to find bland descriptive statements in commentaries to the effect that Jehoiakim is omitted between Josiah and Jehoiachin (Jechoniah), and that the following 600 years are covered in only thirteen generations. Yet these bland statements bristle with problems and while some of these are either ignored or overlooked the implications were not lost on others.

### 1.1. The problems stated

The four most common arguments used to restore Jehoiakim's name to the list are, (i) the OT states that he was the son of Josiah and that Jehoiachin was his son; (ii) the reference to "and his brethren" can only refer to Jehoiakim because Jehoiachin had no brothers (or at most one brother, Zedekiah); (iii) his name is necessary to make up the missing generation in the second series of fourteen names; and (iv) some early commentators have inserted Jehoiakim, and his name appears in some late MSS.

Argument (iii) is by far the most popular reason for taking Jechoniah in v. 11 to be Jehoiakim. On point (iv) we are assured that there is no need to suppose that the text of Matthew is correct and we are at liberty to correct its defects (B. T. D. Smith, 1927:75).

Point (ii) is difficult to resolve. The phrase "Jechoniah and his brethren" might be a summary of 1 Chronicles 3:15 which states that the sons of Josiah were: "Johanan the first-born, the second Jehoiakim, the third Zedekiah, the fourth Shallum." There is none called *Jechonias;* and Jechonias, the father of Salathiel, had no *brethren;* he had but *one* brother, Zedekiah, noted J. B. McClellan (1875 I, 6). Presumably the evidence that Jechoniah had one brother is taken from 1 Chron 3:16, "The descendants [υἱοί, note the plural form] of Jehoiakim: Jeconiah his son, Zedekiah his son," and the list then goes on to give Jechoniah's descendants. Others have taken "Zedekiah his son" to be the son of Jechoniah and not the son of Jehoiakim which would make Zedekiah the brother of Jechoniah. The plural υἱοί is elsewhere in Scripture followed by a singular son, so there is no problem here.

Porphyry, the enemy of Christ and of Christians, was in the habit of bringing forward as insuperable the difficulty that Jehoiachin was the grandson, not the son, of Josiah, and consequently there are only thirteen generations, instead of fourteen, so reports Jerome on Daniel chap. 1 (cf. J. Maldonatus, 1888 [1596], I, 12; C. à Lapide, 1876 I, 5). Jerome (on Matthew 1)

also reports that Julian the Apostate likewise used this omission to disprove the inspiration of the Scriptures (C. Blackwood, 1658:10). Celsus was another and in the last century Strauss held up the omission as an unanswerable discrepancy (see J. B. McClellan, 1875 I, 409).

## 1.2. Matthew's gaps and legal begetting

The observation that there is a proven gap of three kings in Matthew's second series, and Luke's Aram and Arni proves another gap in the first series taken together with the possibility that if the Judges Period lasted 450 years then there are many names left out in the biblical genealogies led some to see no significance in the omission of Jehoiakim's name: it was just another example of shortening a genealogy (G. W. Butler, 1875:7), and no theological significance should be attached to it. Others view the omission of Jehoiakim as deliberate in order to reduce the number to fourteen without implying any dishonour on Jehoiakim (E. Churton, & W. B. Jones, 1865 II, 3; W. D. Davies & Dale C. Allison,1988:178). Some see Assir (if a proper name) and Pedaiah (if the natural father of Zerubbabel) as further examples of omissions.

Others understand, Josias begat, or was the ancestor or grandfather, of Jechonias and his brethren, i.e. Jechonias' relatives, namely, his uncles.— Either way, the agreement of the genealogy with history becomes easily apparent (J. E. Riddle, 1843:9). Some answer that Josiah begat Jechonias and his brethren, in regard only of a legal succession, because they succeeded him (reported by R. Ward, 1640:10). Legal language is used by Yahweh of his relationship with Israel: "For she [=Israel] is not My wife, and I am not her husband"—Hos 2:2. "And I have said to Lo-Ammi, 'My people thou art' and it saith, 'My God.' "—Hos 2:23.

In any case there is the custom in Mishnah Baba Bathra 8:6, "If a man says, 'This is my son,' he may be believed, that is, he is accounted to him as heir without further ado. Compare this with, "This is my Son, hear him!" said by God to Jesus at his baptism.

## 1.3. The Opinions of the Church Fathers

Some early Church Fathers admit that some confusion has interfered with our present text. Their views have been incorporated in the above analysis and so only new sources are given here.

Clement of Alexandria (AD 215) appears to have followed the faulty text of 1 Esdras 1:32-37 which confused Jehoahaz with Jechoniah if the translation: "Josiah was succeeded by Jechoniah, called also Joachas" is correct. The footnote reads: ὁ καὶ Ἰωαχας, but the text has καὶ Ἰωαχας, which could be translated: "Josiah was succeeded by Jechoniah *and* Joachas," which would be historically correct if imprecise, because the names should be reversed. But Clement does follow 1 Esdras 1:41 (Gk.) when he calls both kings Ἰωακειμ, so it is likely that he would see Jechoniah in v. 11 as another name for Jehoiakim. This was certainly the view of Jerome (AD 420), Ambrose (AD 397), and Euthymius (12th cent.), according to J. Maldonatus (188 I, 12); and Irenaeus (AD 202) apparently (F. X. Patritius, 1853:67; J. B. McClellan, 1875 I, 7).

Epiphanius (AD 403) believed that the name Jechoniah had been put down twice and unlearned persons ventured to strike out the repetition of it

as superfluous: a view endorsed by John Calvin, but, apparently, not by Chrysostom (AD 407) who had our present text. Chrysostom reads the Captivity as supplying the place of a person, and presumably the 14th generation (D. Scott, 1741:5).

Occasionally Augustine's name is associated with the name of Ambrose in support of the latter's idea that Jechonias may be another name for Joachim. This is not so. Augustine argues on another supposition, that Jechonias is the same person twice mentioned—before and after the Captivity.

## 2. The omission of Jehoiakim was deliberate

### 2.1. Jehoiakim was omitted for personal sin

Some writers have taken the view that the specific sin which appears to have caused the omission of Jehoiakim was his treatment of Yahweh's words. He sliced up Jeremiah's scroll and burnt it to show his contempt for its message. Jeremiah was commanded to rewrite the message of the scroll with an additional curse. This act of Jehoiakim brought on at once the declaration from Yahweh of Gentile supremacy. The outcome of these judgments was that *his name* is contemptuously omitted from the list of those through whom Jesus had right to the throne of His father David.

2 Chronicles 36:8 reads, "Now the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim, and the abominations which he did, and what was found against him [וְהַנִּמְצָא עָלָיו], behold, they are written in the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah." The rabbis interpreted the phrase וְהַנִּמְצָא עָלָיו as "that which was found *on* him" to mean that after he died there was found an image engraved or tattooed on his body and this is stated by the Talmud as the reason why he is omitted in the Jewish genealogies (E. W. Bullinger, 1952:161).

One author suggested that in the names blotted out from among the ancestors of Jesus we are to see the fulfilment of the divine threatening; while in the incorporation of the *alien names* of the Canaanitish Rahab, and the Moabitish Ruth, we are to see the faithfulness of Yahweh through all time to His gracious promises to the loving and obedient. The point is made that in the curse against the house of Ahab all his descendants were exterminated except one. In this son the two families of David and Ahab were blended. It was for David's sake that this last male of Ahab's seed was spared, and permitted to reign "to the fourth generation," but they too were "cut off" from the genealogy of the Messiah which Matthew has faithfully copied out. Thus those descendants of Ahab included in the curse on his house were excluded from the Davidic dynasty; and the two apparently irreconcilable predictions made to David and to the wicked Ahab concerning their male posterity are alike verified through Matthew's table.

His conclusion is:

> Thus it is seen that the omissions as well as the additions found in Matthew's table furnish the strongest proof that it was compiled under the direction of Him who spoke the threatenings and promises uttered on Mt Sinai; and who also sent a message of promised blessing to David and his posterity by the prophet Nathan, and a message of judgment to Ahab and his posterity by the prophet Elijah. ("M.W.C", 187?:3-5)

Others sought to extract some theological significance from the exclusion of Jehoiakim by suggesting that it was Matthew's object to shew that the way for the Messiah's coming into the world was prepared partly by good, and partly by wicked ancestors: by the good, in so far as they, so to speak, kept up and propagated the good blood from which Jesus was humanly to descend; by the bad, inasmuch as these shewed how greatly the whole human race requires a renovation, seeing that, even among the ancestors of Jesus there were sinful men (C. G. Barth, 1865:623). Others that because of his abominations his part is taken away from the book of remembrance and the royal line (2 Chr 36:8; Jer 36:29-30; cf. Rev 22:19) (G. W. Butler, 1875:7; Anonymous, *Jesus, the Son of David*, 1730:7).

There was the novel idea that Jehoiachin and Jehoiakim together form one link in the chain. The fact that the second, Jehoiachin, is selected as the representative of this link, may be explained on the ground that Jehoiakim was the *more unworthy* of the two. Compared with Jehoiachin, Jehoiakim is said to have "filled Jerusalem with innocent blood, which the Lord would not pardon" (2 Kgs 24:4). He was more unworthy to stand as ancestry to him who shed his own innocent blood for others. Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin shared between them the guilt and punishment of the loss of the national throne, and the one who had to bear the punishment—Jechonias—required to be named on account of the theocratically important event, the Babylonian Captivity, the main part of which took place under him (J. H. A. Ebrard, 1863:152). Selective reporting of this type is quite common we are assured. The judgment on Jeconiah, says R. J. Bauckham (1990:336), becomes the final divine verdict on the whole dynasty, which is summed up in the woe against the shepherds in Jeremiah 23:1.

J. Lightfoot (1823 XI, 14) suggested that the dignity of the house of David withered in the rest of the sons of Josiah, "but did somewhat flourish again in Jechoniah." And hence it is, that of all the posterity of Josiah, Jechonias only is named by St. Matthew. The criterion of "flourishing" is hardly applicable in his case as he ruled alone only three months.

Yet another saw in the circumstance of Jehoiakim being given the burial of an ass and denied burial in Jerusalem, as one of the kings (Jer 22:19; cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* X. c. 6.), an indication that he was not fit to be numbered in the lineage of Christ (H. L. Mansel, 1878 I, 4; cf. H. Elsley, 1844 I, 61). Others attribute his exclusion to his murder of the prophets, including Uriah the son of Shemaiah, and/or that he polluted the sanctuary. But these ideas are rejected by other scholars especially the idea that he was excluded on the basis of personal wickedness. They point out that Manasseh did worse and yet he retained his place in the Messiah's lineage (M. D. Gibson, 1911 I, 10).

H. Broughton (1662:692, 715) mentions the disgust the Talmud and rabbis held for Jehoiakim and for his very name, and so, if Matthew had mentioned his name, they would have hated Matthew for recalling it. Broughton mentions a certain Rabbi Elias, who, when he learned that Matthew had avoided mentioning Jehoiakim's name, "did greatly admire the New Testament, and desired to have it all turned into Hebrew."

### 2.1.1. The curse on Jehoiakim

A singular omission in the discussion on Jehoiakim is the reluctance to mention the curse placed on him in Jeremiah 36:30 and 22:19 after he had burnt the scroll: "Therefore thus says the Lord concerning Jehoiakim king of Judah, He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David, and his dead body shall be cast out to the heat by day and the frost by night. And I will punish him and his offspring and his servants for their iniquity."

In both texts it is significant that the usual statement that a king was buried with his fathers is omitted in the case of Jehoiakim. Significant, because it substantiates the prophecy about his ignominious end. But what about the first part of that same prophecy that he would have no posterity to follow him on David's throne?

If we examine the prophecy in detail it is clear that Jehoiakim would not be childless. It appears to say he will have sons but they will not succeed him on David's throne. In Jer 22:2 Zedekiah, the brother of Jehoiakim, is referred to as one who presently sits on the throne of David; and 22:4 refers to the throne of David as a physical object upon which kings would sit and rule Judah if they were obedient to the word of Yahweh. But since Zedekiah was his brother and not his offspring this fact does not break the prophecy. But in 2 Kings 24:6 we read: "So Jehoiakim slept with his fathers: and Jehoiachin his son reigned in his stead" (cf. 2 Chron 36:8); *that* seems to break the prophecy. What is the solution?

W. W. Barndollar (1963:89-92) suggested that the clue is found in the verb, "to sit." Jeremiah used the participial form (*yosheb*) which may be translated "one sitting" and which thus expresses the idea of *continuous sitting*, or that which is *prolonged* or *extended*. Jechoniah reigned for only three months (2 Chr 36:9). His short reign was not a "firm" one; neither did he "dwell" or "remain" on the throne. Hence the original prophecy was fulfilled and Jehoiakim had none "to sit *firmly* upon the throne." He quotes C. F. Keil (1950 II, 103; cf. J. H. Blunt, 1881:26): "this does not contradict the fact that, after his death, his son Jehoiachin ascended the throne. For his ascension could not be called a sitting on the throne, a reign, inasmuch as he was immediately besieged in Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and compelled to surrender after three months, then go into exile to Babylon."

Barndollar continues, but there is an additional thought included in the word "prosper." This word helps to explain the word "sit" by emphasizing the fact of the limited duration of the reign of Jechoniah, or of any of his descendants should they ever occupy the throne. It is well to note, he cautions, that this does not say, absolutely, that neither Jechoniah nor any of his descendants shall not occupy the throne, but that if they do, their reign will not be successful because it would be limited to a short duration of time. In this sense it is as if Jechoniah had no successor. It should be noted further, he adds, that the legal title to the throne was neither lost nor transferred to another line of David's sons. All that is involved is that the legal-holders have not been permitted to occupy the throne *firmly* even though the title was theirs it awaits the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ He concluded: Thus the prophecy pertains only to the *occupancy* of the throne, *not* the title. The only problem then is how does Jesus Christ receive His title to the throne unimpaired so that He might reign *prosperously* and upon "the throne of his

father David forever"? (Lk 1:32, 33). If Jeconiah had lost the title, then who would have succeeded him, legally? he asks. He replies, if Jechoniah and his family had lost the title, it would have properly gone to a brother, but if he had no brother, then to his father's brother. In other words, the title would have moved back one generation at a time until a legitimate male successor could be found. This is where Zedekiah would have been a possibility if Jechoniah had no sons or brothers, but since he had both, Zedekiah is eliminated as a legal possibility. It is manifest that the title could not arbitrarily reverse itself and return to David to come out through Nathan and eventually be found in Mary. In any case it contradicts the perpetuity of the Davidic covenant as it was reaffirmed to Solomon's family. Furthermore it also violates the practice that no Jewess ever did, or could, inherit the title inasmuch as it was passed through the male line only.

J. B. McClellan (1875 I, 415) on the other hand, takes the curse to refer to the indefinite future, which would allow an intermediate succession to his son Jeconiah, and might have allowed others also until the time came to take away Kingly government at the Captivity. But he adds:

> in neither the one nor the other prophecy is there the inexorable doom of literal childlessness, or the failure of the royal line as regards natural posterity. As if to repel such an imagination, the same prophet . . . (33:14-26) foretells the perpetuity of the Messianic Line with the certainty of the Messianic Kingdom, solemnly declaring that the divine Covenant of the former is as stable as the divine Covenant of day and night (cf. 1 Chr 17:11-14). And similar is the assurance of Ezekiel: "Thus saith the Lord God, 'Remove the diadem, and take off the crown: I will overturn, overturn overturn it, and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is'" (Ezk 21:26-27).

A. Hervey (1853:15) took a different approach. He feels that the ban on Jehoiakim applies for all time and excludes from the throne of David his remote posterity as well as his immediate descendants, and so makes it impossible that the Messiah should be descended from him. His chief contention is that Jechoniah was literally childless and the crown was transferred into Nathan's line from whence Jesus inherited the throne of David. His solution overlooks the possibility that Jehoiakim's natural sons could be grafted (or adopted) into Nathan's line, and while physically descendant from Solomon, yet legally they became Nathan's descendants.

W. Beeston (1840:35) asked the leading question:

> Did the prophet [Jeremiah] exclude from ever sitting upon the throne of David, not only the sons actually begotten by Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin, but their "seed", their descendants, to all generations? If so, if no one of the seed of Jehoiakim shall ever sit on David's throne, then since the house of Zedekiah was utterly cut off from amongst his people, we must, when it shall please God to restore the Kingdom (Acts 1:6) to Israel, go back in search of the first king whom the Lord shall set upon His holy hill of Zion, at least to Johanan and Shallum, the remaining sons of good Josiah. In the descendants of Jehoahaz who died in the land of Ham, may at last be found those princes of Judah who must one day come out of Egypt (Ps 68:31) who, turning to the Lord, and going themselves to the children of Jonadab the son of Rechab (Jer 35:19) may cause both Ethiopians to

stretch out their hands unto God, and one day advance upon Judah as kings and priests from the east (Rev 1:6—16:12); to set up again the throne of David.

## 2.2.  Jehoiakim was an illegitimate ruler

The observation that polluted priests were excluded from the genealogies as legitimate priests (Ezr 2:61-63; Neh 7:63-65) suggested to one commentator that Jehoiakim and three other kings were excluded on the grounds that they were "polluted" kings and so could not be legitimately registered in the list of official kings of Judah (G. W. Butler, 1875:7).

Pseudo-Chrysostum (6th cent.) held that Jehoiakim was not reckoned among the Kings in the genealogy because God's people had not set him on the throne. Pharoah put him there by his might.

> For if it were just that only for their intermixture with the race of Ahab, three kings
>
> should be shut out of the number in the genealogy, was it not just that Joakim should be
>
> likewise shut out, whom Pharoah had set up as king by hostile force? And thus
>
> Jechonias, who is the son of Joakim, and the grandson of Josias, is reckoned among the
>
> kings as the son of Josiah, in place of his father who is omitted. (T. Aquinas, 1841 I, 27.
>
> Cf. P. Schaff, 1879 I, 29; I. Williams, 1844:111; and J. H. Blunt, 1881:2).

It is for the same reason that Zedekiah's name is omitted argued W. Pound, (1869 I, 90).

A. C. Custance (1977:255-57) took up the *Damnatio Memoriae* idea and suggested that in the official Temple records the names of four Judean kings were removed, or marked in some way, as having no official status in the royal line—just as in Europe a Bar-Sinister may be marked across the arms of a dishonoured branch of a family. The Athenians, according to Livy, pronounced a similar doom on the memory of Alcibiades, and of Philip V of Macedon in the year 200 BC (Livy, Bk XXXI, Chap. 44, as quoted by A. S. Lewis, 1912:12).

In Egypt during the time of the Eighteenth dynasty, the Egyptian priests similarly cursed the memory of Amenhotep IV and sought to remove his name from all monuments. The same thing was done with the name of Hatshepsut by her successors.

Custance notes how potent was the threat to the individual of his having his very remembrance blotted out. It was called, in the days of Imperial Rome, the *Damnatio Memoriae*, and it was carried out in a striking manner against the emperor Lucius Aurelius Commodus who was regarded as the most degraded and utterly corrupt of all the Roman emperors. His short history was disgusting, and it is some credit to the Romans that after his murder in AD 192, his "memory was condemned" in a single night's sitting of the Senate and within twenty-four hours of his death it was decreed that every statue of Commodus was to be destroyed and his name erased from every private document and public monument.

Custance then drew a parallel with God's Book of Remembrance. God had warned Israel "whoever has sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book" (Ex 32:33). The same thought is reflected in Dt 9:14; 25:19; 29:20; 2 Kgs 14:27; Pss 9:5; 69:28. In contrast, the name of the righteous is not blotted out of the Book of Life (Rev 3:5). He concluded that these kings' name have been

blotted out of Christ's genealogy as though they had never been; and it seems, therefore, that if this erasure of their names took place in the original documents which had been preserved in the Temple from time immemorial, Matthew may have merely copied down precisely what he found in the record. M. D. Johnson (1969:92, 186) concluded from his study that this record was based in part on the LXX of 1 Chr 3:9-15 and so the Matthean genealogy was originally drawn from a Greek source. Some time between the writing of 1 Chron 3:9-15 and Matthew's day a shorter list of Judean kings was drawn up which excluded four names and resulted in a list of fourteen generations. It was this document, presumably, which Matthew took up and entered in his Gospel.

### 2.3. Theocratic rule ended with Jehoiakim

The omission of Jehoiakim's name occurred because it was under him that the land passed completely under foreign dominion (2 Kgs 24:1-4) and the theocratic sovereignty became virtually extinct. For this reason Jehoiachin has, strictly speaking, no proper place in the theocratic line of succession (J. H. A. Ebrard, 1863:152). Another included Jehoiachin in this change to foreign domination:

> Both Jehoiakim and his son Jechoniah are alike omitted from the *regal* fourteen
> generations for ... the paramount reason being that the kingdom as an independent
> kingdom ended with the death of Josiah at Megiddo when Judah passed under the
> power of Egypt, and ultimately Babylon. (*The Companion Bible*, 1910-[1921?], Appx.
> 99, p. 145. Repeated in E. W. Bullinger, 1952:161)

The implication of this suggestion is that Josiah closed the second series as being the last king, and Jehoiachin opened the third series as a commoner like all the others in this series.

Another idea was that it was under Jehoiakim's rule and through his fault that the monarchy was overthrown and the national independence lost (2 Kgs 24:4, 10) (J. A. Alexander, N.D. [1861], 6).

### 3. The omission of Jehoiakim was accidental

The suggestion that Jehoiakim's name was accidentally omitted through some oversight is by far the most common solution because it provides in one neat move the solution to the missing fourteenth name in the second series.

### 3.1. The omission was due to *homoioteleuton*

Various suggestions have been made to explain the mechanics of the omission. The most popular explanation is the *homoioteleuton* hypothesis, that is, in the following example, the underlined clause (or something similar to it) dropped out because of its similarity to the dotted words: Ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωακείμ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ· Ἰωακείμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωαχείμ ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας βαβυλῶνος; and the most popular reason being that it solves every difficulty (J. A. Alexander, N.D. [1861], 6; F. P. Kenrick, 1849:35; C. à Lapide, 1876 I, 19; D. Whedon, 1874 I, 22; I. Williams, 1844:111; J.

Worsley, 1770, *ad loc.*; A. Wright, 1900:24; C. C. Torrey, 1933:289; W. C. Allen, 1922:4).

J. Calvin's opinion is that the omission of Jehoiakim's name "probably arose from the blunders and carelessness of transcribers," and he quotes with approval the suggestion of Epiphanius in his *First Book against Heresies*[viii. 7]:

> that the name Jechoniah had been put down twice and unlearned persons ventured to strike out the repetition of it as superfluous . . . [which] . . . ought not to have been done, because Jehoiakim had the name Jechoniah in common with his son (1 Chr 3:17; 2 Kgs 24:15; Jer 27:20; 28:4). (1845 I, 91. I have compared this translation with the 1610 edition and there is no significant difference. The Harmony (written in 1555) was first translated into English in 1584 by "E.P." [=Eusebius Paget]).

The error in this assumption is that the two kings did not have the name Ιεχονιας in common, but rather Ιωακιμ. What Calvin has in mind is a text which read: "Josias begot Jechonias and his brethren, and Jechonias begot Jechonias . . . and Jechonias begot Salathiel" (cf. H. Rutter, 1834:58). When spelled out like this it does seem to be confusing, and it could have been mistaken for dittography. The original text, according to Hervey, read: Ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωακείμ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ· Ἰωακείμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωαχείμ ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας βαβυλῶνος· Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετοικεσίαν βαβυλῶνος, Ἰωαχείμ ἐγέννησε τὸν Σαλαθιήλ, κ. τ. λ. . Beza presents us with what he apprehended to be the genuine reading of this verse: Ιωσιας δε εγεννησε τον Ιακιμ, και τους αδελφους αυτου, Ιακιμ δε εγεννησε τον Ιεχονιαμ επι της μετοικεσιας Βαβυλωνος. Were this reading but sufficiently supported by ancient MSS and versions, this text would no longer be one of the *cruces theologorum*, declared D. Scott (1741:6). If this is the case then the whole clause must be attributed to *homoioteleuton* owing to the very slight difference between Ἰωακείμ and Ἰωαχείμ; a suggestion widely favoured by many (A. Hervey, 1853:73; Trollope & Rowlandson, 1848:159; H. Alford, 1958 [1859], 3; Anonymous. *An Essay on the Genealogy of the Lord Jesus Christ*, 1843:12; W. Benham, 1861:6; J. MacEvilly, 1876 I, 7; J. MacKnight, 1756 I, 11; J. Maldonatus, 1888 I, 12; J. M. Pryse, 1914:571; G. C. Morgan, 1976:7; R. E. Brown, 1977:19, 83). C. Blackwood (1658:10) supplies the missing clause from Robert Stephens Greek text thus: "Josias begat Jakim, Jakim begat Jechonias and his brethren," which agrees with Beza's reconstruction. See also G. G. Penn, (1836:1); P. D. Hardy (1868:1), and S. Cradock (1668:17) who followed David Paraeus (1631).

In support of this conjecture is the observation that while every other man's name occurs twice over, first as a son and then as a father, the names of these two persons occur only once each in the present Greek text.

The objection that the present text has Ἰεχονίας not Ἰωαχείμ is met by Hervey (1853:70-72) who says that the form Ἰεχονίας was doubtless substituted in St. Matthew's Gospel much later, to bring it into accordance with 1 Chr 3 (cf. H. Alford, 1958 [1859], 3).

R. E. Brown (1977:61, 83) corrects Matthew 1:11 to read: "Josiah was the father of Jehoiakim and his brothers [Jehoahaz II and Zedekiah]; Jehoiakim was the father of Jechoniah;" and explains that this is a mistake caused by confusion between similar names. He attributes the omission of a generation

to Matthew himself. R. D'Onston (1904, *ad loc.*) corrects it to read: "And Josiah begat Joakim and his brethren; and Joakim begat Jechoniah and his brethren." This looks like dittography of "and his brethren" by D'Onston.

The hypothesis of *homoioteleuton* did not go unchallenged. J. McClellan (1875 I, 409) took up Hervey's statement: "It seems that the clause *Jeconiah begat Jeconiah* has fallen out in ver. 11," and replied:

> But this explanation is as unsatisfactory as it is baseless, it being on the contrary quite certain that Jerome was wrong, and that Jechoniah in ver. 11 must be the same as the Jechoniah in ver. 12. For first, the evidence of Versions and MSS. is overwhelmingly against it; and secondly, it is directly at variance with the summary in ver. 17, 'adding,' as Strauss rightly observes, 'a superfluous generation to the second division, which was already complete.' Moreover, that, as the text correctly stands, Jeconiah in ver. 11 cannot be Jehoiakim, is clear from the history in 2 Kgs 23:1—24:20.

### 3.2. A simple corruption of Jehoiakim into Jechoniah

Another explanation is that of simple corruption: Jechoniah in v. 11 is a corruption of "Jehoiakim" (Z. Pearce, 1777 I, 3; J. Priestley, 1780:5; J. E. Riddle, 1843:9; P. Devine, 1884 I, 5; W. C. Allen, 1922:4; G. H. Box, 1922:69; R. Glover, 1956:8; B. Orchard, 1960, *ad loc.*). The καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς is then due to 1 Chr 3:15, where the names of Jehoiakim's brethren are given. The problem with this solution is that Ἰωακείμ and Ἰεχονίας have very little in common to facilitate the corruption of one into the other.

### 3.3. Ιεκονιας (*Jeconias*) and Ιεχονιας (*Jechonias*) were confused

Another solution is that the Greek form of Jehoiakim was Ιεκονιας (*Jeconias*) and for Jehoiachin it was Ιεχονιας (*Jechonias*). One generation must, therefore, be supplied in this place such as: "Now Jeconias begat Jechonias," as some Greek and Latin MSS are said to read. The generation in question was omitted, either by Matthew himself, in order to avoid the repetition of two similar names, as Augustine thinks, or, more probably, through the fault and ignorance of transcribers, who, mistaking *Jechonias* for *Jeconias*, thought that one of the two was redundant, and so omitted it. Apparently this was the opinion of Epiphanius (C. à Lapide, 1876 I, 9; G. W. Butler, 1875:13). There is no textual evidence that Jehoiakim was ever given the name Ιεκονιας (*Jechonias*) or Ιεχονιας (*Jeconias*), unless we include the lone variant Ιεχονια in MS. A in 2 Kings 22:24.

H. Rutter (1834:58) suggested that "Joachim Jechonias" was Jechoniah's full name. He offers no evidence.

### 3.4. Ἰωακείμ and Ἰωαχείμ were confused

Others, on the other hand, state that the Greek form of Jehoiakim was Ἰωακ(ε)ίμ and Ἰωαχ(ε)ίμ for Jehoiachin, and this is how they became confused. U. Luz (1989:105) noted that confusion between the two occurs variously in LXX, mostly so that Ἰωακείμ takes the place of Ἰεχονίας (e.g., 2 Kings 24:6-15, four times; Jer 52:31, twice), vice versa only Jer 22:24 A. What Luz failed to notice is that the Septuagint translator of 2 Kings consistently gives Ἰωακείμ in place of Ἰεχονίας because he is transliterating יְהוֹיָקִין and not יְכָנְיָה.

### 3.5.    The confusion occurred at the Hebrew stage

R. C. H. Lenski (1964:31) set up a convoluted theory which involved translating Hebrew into Greek which he then rejected. Others thought the omission occurred first in the Hebrew text "because the two names resemble each other very closely" (so I. Williams, 1844:289; G. C. D. Howley, 1979:1188).

If Jehoiakim were restored to the second group, there would be forty-two names, but the count in the three series would be fourteen, fifteen, thirteen; which would be at variance with Matthew 1:17 (J. Morison, 1895:4; G. A. Buttrick, 1952 VIII, 253).

As the text stands the last group now has only thirteen names; but for "Jechoniah" the Aramaic may have had two names that looked a good deal alike, Joiakim and Joiakin (P. Parker [1976:25], who held to a Aram/Heb. original of Matthew).

### 3.6.    Matthew's two registers

D. Bagot (1844:10) accounted for the repetition of "Jechoniah" as follows:

> ... this may be easily accounted for by a very probable supposition, that the genealogy given by St. Matthew consists of two distinct and detached parts, which were extracted by him from two separate registries; the former part taken from one registry, ending with the 11th verse; and the latter part, taken from another registry, commencing with the 12th verse. The transportation of the Jews to Babylon, and the confusion which must have been caused by it, would account for the existence of different records, and the circumstance of the Evangelist taking extracts from two separate records is quite sufficient to account for the interruption and alteration in his style which occurs here.

He qualified this supposition with another, namely, that the Jechoniah in v. 11 was originally Ἰωακειμ and was altered by a later copyist to Ἰεχονιας.

The hiatus occasioned by the mention of the deportation is said by A. Vögtle (1965:43) to be responsible for the confusion: the author wrote "Josiah begat Jehoiakim and his brothers," but could not continue the scheme with "*After* the deportation Jehoiakim begat Jehoiachin" because he knew that Jechoniah was born considerably *prior* to the exile. So he continued, "Jechoniah begat Salathiel." An early copyist of the genealogy replaced Jehoiakim with Jechoniah in v. 11.

### 4.    Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin are included by Matthew

### 4.1.    Both kings had double names

I shall show later that there is a coincidence in the LXX in eight texts where the same transliteration is given for Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin. But it does not follow from this that the translators of the LXX had confused the two men or their histories. The coincidence of transliteration may have given rise to the following two suggestions.

### 4.2. Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin were both called "Jechoniah"

We are informed that Joachim was also called Jechonias, so Ambrose (*Comment. on S. Luke*, lib. iii.); Epiphanius (*Haer. in Sect. Epicur.*); and Euthymius (*in loc.*), with many others of authority (J. Maldonatus, 1888 I, 12).

The suggestion that both kings were called "Jechoniah" was an attempt to avoid having to count Jehoiachin twice which somehow offended the mathematics of 1:17 where we are led to expect forty-two, not forty-one, generations (C. à Lapide, 1876, I, 9 [following Jerome]; Anonymous. *The First Seal*, 1854:5; J. Morison, 1895:4; and approved by P. J. Gloag, 1895:256; W. Kelly, 1868:11; and J. Lonsdale & W. Hale, 1849:2).

Another suggested how the false counting came about:

> this one name [Jechoniah] stands for two separate individuals whose original names may in their Hebrew form have been slightly different, but whose Hellenized transliteration has assumed the same form. Genealogical records provided elsewhere in Scripture supply us in a remarkable way with information demonstrating that this assumption is probably correct. (A. C. Custance, 1977 VII, 254)

There were many who, without asserting that anything had dropped out of the text, believed that the Jechoniah in v. 11 is the father (Jehoiakim) and the Jechoniah in v. 12 is the son (Jehoiachin) (E. Leigh, 1650:3; J. Lingard, 1836:2; J. E. Riddle, 1843:9; J. Davies, 1872:9; J. A. Alexander, N.D. [1861], p. 6 (with reservations); D. Bagot, 1844:10). This was Jerome's answer to Porphyry's objection drawn from the hiatus in this verse (T. Aquinas, 1841 I, 27; J. A. Bengel, 1866 I, 10; and see F. H. Dunwell, 1876:68, who lists the following supporters—Epiphanius, Jerome, Augustine, Lapide, Grotius and Hervey).

It is thought that Ιεκονιας (Jeconias) and Ιεχονιας (Jechonias) were confused. It is stated that the Greek form of Jehoiakim was Ιεκονιας (*Jeconias*) and Ιεχονιας (*Jechonias*) for Jehoiachin. One generation must, therefore, be supplied in this place such as: "Now Jeconias begat Jechonias," as some Greek and Latin MSS read (I. de Beausobre & J. Lenfant, 1779:271; C. à Lapide, 1876 I, 9; R. C. H. Lenski, 1964 [1943], 31).

The idea that Ιεχονιας was used for both men is roundly condemned by a number of scholars as being "at variance both with Hebrew and Septuagint usage," (J. A. Alexander, [1861], p. 6; H. L. Mansel, 1878:4) or as being "unsupported by example, and contrary to the usage of the genealogy" (H. Alford, 1868 I, 2; J. MacEvilly, 1876 I, 7; J. Maldonatus, 1888 I, 12). Their criticism is well-founded.

An example of ignorance is the statement that: Probably the reason why two persons are thus called by the same name, is because their Hebrew names Jehoiakim and Jehoiakin are so like each other, differing only in the final letter, that the same Greek word Jechonias is the proper rendering and representative of both (D. Bagot, 1844:10, who might have got the idea from Isaac de Beausobre & J. Lenfant, 1779:271).

Note the deceptive spelling—Jehoia<u>kim</u> and Jehoia<u>kin</u>. Another writer uses "Jehoia<u>cim</u> and Jehoia<u>kim</u>" to convey how close the names were to support his contention that it was this slight difference that caused the omission of Jehoiakim's name (J. H. Blunt, 1881:26). Another gives Jehoia<u>kim</u> Jehoia<u>ch</u>im (Bar-Hebraeus, 1925:6). And yet another writes: "Objection: Why

the same name to two different kings? Answer: קים and קין in Hebrew is very little different, both are translated by the LXX 'Ιωακειμ" (D. Whitby, 1703 I, 4). The fact is that the names of the two names differ both in their final letter ם/ן, *and* in another letter, ק/כ. The suggestion that someone (Matthew or an early copyist) confounded the two names is rejected on the grounds that the two names are less alike in Greek and Hebrew than in English, and could hardly be confounded in a formal genealogy (J. A. Alexander, [1861], p. 6). J. A. Bengel objected:

> But no alteration of a letter can make Jechonias and Jehoiakim the same name; nor have we any more right to assume that the naming of Jechonias twice means once Jechonias and once Jehoiakim, than that the naming of Isaac twice signifies two different Isaac's, and so on. It is the name Jechonias who is twice mentioned under his own name; he descended from Josiah through Jehoiakim (whose name is not mentioned). (1866 I, 10)

Those who saw the weakness of supposing that both kings were called Jechoniah went about by another route to achieve the same result by arguing that the—

> "Jechonias" [of v. 11] is called in the OT "Jehoiakim". Unless the Jechonias in this verse and the next are distinguished, it might be thought that the numbers in v. 17 do not correspond with the names which had gone before. The king mentioned in v. 11 was the father of this "Jechonias" who is called Jehoiachin or Coniah. (J. W. Burgon, 1855 I, 8)

Some have contended that Matthew wrote the same name twice (in vv. 11 and 12) although he knew that they were two different persons (R. Ward, 1640:10, who says he has followed Beza; Z. Pearce, 1777 I, 3; A. Schlatter, 1948:3; H. Elsley, 1844 I, 60; J. H. Godwin, 1863:4; G. L. Haydock, 1850 III; *The New Testament...translated from the Latin Vulgate.; Holy Bible, The, containing the Old Testament and the New with the Apocrypha*. 1769; E. Leigh, 1650:3; J. B. McClellan, 1875 I, 409; J. MacKnight, 1756 I, 11; H. L. Mansel, 1878 I, 4; F. Martin, 1838:210; J. Morison, 1895:5; J. H. Parker, 1855 I, 8; D. Scott, 1741:5; R. Wait, 1769:4; D. Whitby, 1703 I, 5). J. MacKnight (1756:11) noted this possibility and added: "What confirms the remark is, that not the evangelist only, but the LXX and Josephus, have given these two kings one common name." But according to another writer Josephus distinguished the two kings orthographically: "So Josephus saith [*Antiq.* lib. 10. c. 8] that Nabuchodonosor, Ιωακιμον interfecit, & Ιωαχιμον τον υιον αυτου . . .; that is, "Nabuchodonosor slew Joachim, and made Joachim his son [king]" (D. Whitby, 1703 I, 5).

I. Williams (1844:111) has pointed to the same common name in 1 Esdras 1:34-43 to confirm his view in Matthew 1:11. The *New Revised Standard Version* (1989) translates 1 Esdras 1:34-45 as: "The men of the nation took Jeconiah[d] son of Josiah, who was twenty-three years old, and made him king in succession to his father. [35] He reigned three months in Judah and Jerusalem. Then the king of Egypt deposed him from reigning in Jerusalem . . . . [37] The king of Egypt made his brother Jehoiakim king of Judea and Jerusalem . . . . [39] Jehoiakim was twenty-five years old when he began to reign in Judea and Jerusalem . . . . [43] His son Jehoiachin[e] became king in his place; when he was made king he was eighteen years old . . . . [45] A year later

Nebuchadnezzar sent and removed him to Babylon . . . . and made Zedekiah king of Judea and Jerusalem. Zedekiah was twenty-one years old, and he reigned eleven years." Footnotes to the text read: <sup>d</sup> 2 Kgs 23:30; 2 Chr 36:1, Jehoahaz. <sup>e</sup> Greek Jehoiakim.

The *NRSV* translation of "Jehoiachin" at 1:43 (Greek 1:41) has virtually no textual support unless the translators understood Ιωακειμ as a passable transliteration for Jechoniah as in 2 Kings 24:6, 8, 12, 15, 27 (2x); Jer 52:31, and Ezek 1:2.

The *NRSV* translation of "Jeconiah" at 1:34 (Greek 1:32), has some, but by no means conclusive, textual support. The *RSV* has "Jehoahaz." There are more witnesses for "Jehoahaz," which agrees with 2 Kings 23:30, "And the people of the land took Jehoahaz the son of Josiah, and anointed him, and made him king in his father's stead. Jehoahaz was twenty and three years old when he began to reign; and he reigned three months in Jerusalem." In 1 Esdras 1:34 where reference is made to τὸν Ἰεχονίαν υἱὸν Ἰωσείου, "Jechoniah son of Josiah," here Jehoahaz is meant, which is how the *RSV* translates 1:34, "And the people took Joachaz the son of Josias."

W. C. Allen (1922:5) hypothesizes that Matthew also meant Jehoahaz by τὸν Ἰεχονίαν and that his καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ was a summary way of describing Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin and Zedekiah, of whom the first and third were brothers of Jehoahaz, whilst the second was his nephew, if it were not for the fact that in 1:12 Ἰεχονίας is clearly Jehoiachin. We shall see later that the confusion in 1 Esdras 1:37-43 is no greater than that in the LXX where Ιωακειμ is a passable transliteration for Jeconiah [יְכָנְיָ], which happens to coincide with the transliteration of Jehoiakim [יְהוֹיָקִים].

A. Hervey (1853:70) brings forward one example of similar confusion in non-biblical literature. His example comes from Epiphanius (AD 403) which tallies with the difficulty in Matthew; namely: Ἰωσίας (γεννᾷ) τὸν Ἰεχονίαν, τὸν καὶ Σελοὺμ καλούμενον· ὁ Ἰεχονίας οὗτος γεννᾷ τὸν Ἰεχονίαν τὸν καλούμενον Σεδεκίαν, καὶ Ἰωακείμ; where observe the triple confusion. Jehoiakim is called Ἰεχονίας, and Jechoniah is called Ἰωακείμ, and father and son are also both called Ἰεχονίας. Josephus seems to have distinguished Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin by Ἰωάκιμος and Ἰωάχιμος respectively (*Antiq.* lib. x. c. 8).

J. Morison (1895:4) suggested that the phrase "and his brethren" was perhaps intended to determine that the Jechonias in v. 11 was really Josiah's son Jehoiakim, and not his grandson Jehoiachin who had no brethren, only one brother, Zedekiah. A. C. Custance (1977 VII, 255) endorsed this view and adds: "Indeed, what better assurance could God have supplied us as a means of identification and distinction, especially if He foresaw that the names which are so distinct in their Hebrew form should in due time become confused in the Greek?" F. H. Dunwell (1876:68-72) attempted to draw up a diachronic view of how the confusion arose.

> Reckon David once and Jechoniah twice, or rather reckon two Jechoniahs. ...v.11...v.12...[which] are not one and the same, but two persons...probably father and son....The difference between Jehoiakim (Ἰωακείμ), and Jehoiachin (Ἰωαχείμ), is so trifling, being merely that between κ and χ, or *k* and *ch*, that it could excite no surprise, if they were occasionally confounded. Several instances have been given, where these

two names have been confounded by writers (Dr. John Mill's *Sermons*, p. 151; A. Hervey, *Genealogies*, p. 72.). . . . If one name indicates father and son . . . it is also probable that the similarity in the two names may have caused a part of the text of Mt to have been, by some oversight, omitted. For in every other case, every name in this list is written twice, first as son and then as father. Nor does there appear to be any reason, why this should not be the case here. Thus the full expression, to be in conformity with the others, would be of this kind, "Josiah begat Jehoiakim and his brethren, and Jehoiakim begat Jehoiakin, about the time they were carried away into Babylon: And after they were brought to Babylon, Jehoiachin begat Salathiel." When the words Jehoiachim and Jehoiachin were confounded, Jechoniah, the name by which the latter was also called, would stand for both.

Note the narrowing of the morphological difference to one consonant by using the names Jehoia<u>kim</u> and Jehoia<u>kin</u>. We noted above the pairs Jehoia<u>chim</u> and Jehoia<u>chin</u>; and Jehoia<u>kim</u> and Jehoia<u>chim</u>. These misleading transliterations had the appearance of truth at the time but they have not stood the test of an elementary knowledge of Hebrew.

### 4.2.1. "Jechoniah" was another name for Johanan
F. X. Patritius (1853:65-67) adopted the opinion of J. Harduin (1700:247-57), who maintained that by the Jechonias first referred to, "Jechonias and his brethren" is meant Johanan, the first-born of Josias.

### 4.3. Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin were both called "Joakim"
A. Hervey (1853:72 n. 1) noticed examples of confusion in non-biblical literature where ᾽Ιωακεὶμ is used for both Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin. His examples are: Example (a) Epistle of Africanus to Origen: καὶ ταῦτα τῇ Βασιλέως αὐτῶν γενομένου γυναικὶ (Σωσάννῃ) ᾽Ιωακεὶμ, ὃν σύνθρονον πεποίητο ὁ Βαβυλωνίων Βασιλεύς· which last expression must refer to what is related of Jehoiachin, Jer 52:30. Example (b) 1 Esdras 1:37, 43, where the son of Josiah is called ᾽Ιωακὶμ, Joakim; and in v. 43 it is said of Jehoiachin, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ ᾽Ιωακὶμ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, [RSV: "And Joakim his son reigned in his stead: for when he was made king he was eighteen (marginal reading: eight) years old; And he reigned three months and ten days in Jerusalem."] where there is not the slightest difference between the two names. Example (c) Archbishop Usher remarks also that father and son were indifferently called Joacim, or Joachim, and quotes from Sulpicius Severus, "Joachim exactis in regno annis decim, filio ejusdem nominis locum fecit;" and from Theophilus of Antioch (AD 180), who calls Jehoiachin, ᾽Ιωακεὶμ ἔτερος, and from Clemens Alexandrinus (AD 215), who calls him, πάτρι ὁμώνυμος ᾽Ιωακεὶμ, (In *Stromata* i. 21 § 140, 1867:431; cf. H. Elsley, 1844:60) and from a MS. treatise on Easter (*Tractatus Paschalis*), composed in AD 243, where it is said that "Joachim annis XI (regnavit) item Joachim filius ejus . . . diebus centum."

Ambrose (AD 397) seems to argue that both kings were called "Joakim" *and* "Jeconias."

> That there were two kings of the name of Joakim, is clear from the book of Kings. *And Joakim slept with his fathers, and Joachin his son reigned in his stead.* [2 Kgs 24:6] This

> son is the same whom Jeremiah calls Jeconias. And rightly did St. Matthew purpose to
> differ from the Prophet, because he sought to shew therein the great abundance of the
> Lord's mercies. For the Lord did not seek among men nobility of race, but suitably chose
> to be born of captives and of sinners, as He came to preach remission of sin to the
> captives. The Evangelist therefore did not conceal either of these; but rather shewed
> them both, inasmuch as both were called Jeconias.

And a little later he writes:

> Again, from Jeconiah to Joseph are computed twelve generations; yet he afterwards
> calls these also fourteen. But if you look attentively, you will be able to discover the
> method by which fourteen are reckoned here. Twelve are reckoned including Joseph,
> and Christ is the thirteenth; and history declares that there were two Joakims, that is
> two Jeconiahs, father and son. The Evangelist has not passed over these, but has named
> them both. Thus, adding the younger Jeconiah, fourteen generations are computed. (T.
> Aquinas, 1841:27, 38; and J. Morison, 1895:4)

He is right in the statement that both kings are referred to under the
one name of Ιωακιμ (although his quotation comes from MS. B of the
Septuagint of 2 Kings 24:6 which has -κ- and -χ-to distinguish the two men!).

However the majority of the other Old Greek and Old Greek Revised
and Lucian manuscripts do not make this distinction and the one name,
Ιωακιμ, is used eight times it would seem (five times in 2 Kings, twice in
Jeremiah and once in Ezekiel) for both kings; and others have drawn on this
apparent confusion and applied it to the problem of "Jechoniah and his
brothers;" where it appears that Jechoniah had no brothers whereas
Jehoiakim had, consequently the Jechoniah of v. 11 must be Jehoiakim (H.
Elsley, 1844:60; M. D. Johnson, 1969:179; followed by Davies W. D. & Allison
Dale C. 1988 I, 178; J. C. Gray, 1871 I, 4).

In his method of computing fourteen names Ambrose appears to make
a blunder by including both Jehoiakim and Jechoniah in the third series,
unless he believed that Josiah closed the second series and Jehoiakim opened
the third. Leigh mentions this as the view of some reverend divines in 1650
(cf. E. Leigh, 1650:3). Matthew 1:17 might leave open this possibility because it
states that "from David to the deportation to Babylon fourteen generations"
and if Ambrose saw fit to interpret the deportation as beginning in 605 BC,
which is only three years after the death of Josiah, then he could consider
Josiah as the last king before the deportation. He was wrong, however, to state
that there were two Jeconiahs, or that both were called Jeconias. E. Leigh
(1650:3) mentions that "the name Jehoiakim is rendered by Matthew *per
euphoniam Jechonias* (so Spanheim, Gomarus and Piscator).

The statement of E. Lohmeyer (1956:3) that in the LXX the same name,
Ιωακιμ, is used throughout for both kings is false. Ιεχονιας (not Ιωακιμ) is used
throughout Jeremiah (except twice in Jer 52:31) and always in Chronicles to
translate Jehoiachin.

Yet another suggested that wicked sons of wicked fathers are
excluded—hence the omission of the three kings—"and being razed from the
public records of generations, could not be extracted, though it was fit that

they should be left in the books of Kings and Chronicles for a warning to others," but here Jehoiakim had a good father so that Jehoiachin "stood in the register to represent his father" (Anonymous. *Jesus, the Son of David*, 1730:7). This would mean that though Jechoniah's name appears twice in the genealogy, the first mention (in 1:11) is a substitute for Jehoiakim and so Jechoniah is not counted twice. This means that Jehoiakim concludes the second series, and Jehoiachin opens the third.

In reply it was objected by D. Scott (1741:6) that if Jechonias in v. 11 is intended to represent, or is, Jehoiakim under a different name then there is a variation in vvs. 11-12 from the style employed in the remainder of the genealogy, for in the other verses each name is mentioned twice, first as the son and then as the father, which is not the case in this instance. This objection was upheld by J. MacKnight (1756 I, 11) who argued that he had found a parallel in 1 Chron 9:41. Here in Jonathan's genealogy, he notes:

> there is an omission of a branch of the descent, similar to that under consideration, but which is supplied by the translators [LXX] from chap. 8:35. Wherefore if the branch omitted in Matthew was so supplied, the genealogy would run:- And Josias begot Jechonias and his brethren about the time they were carried away to Babylon. And Jechonias begot Jechonias, [v. 12] And after they were brought to Babylon Jechonias begot Salathiel.

## 5.    An alternative solution

There is one main question that needs to be answered. Did Matthew intend us to understand Ἰεχονιας in verse 11 as Jehoiakim? If so, has he included Jechoniah, Jehoahaz, and Zedekiah under the words "and his brethren"? If the answer is Yes, then we have the further difficulty of Jeremiah's prophecy in 36:30 that none of Jehoiakim's seed would follow him on the throne of David, and yet Jehoiachin, his son, ruled after him for three months. Alternatively, if Matthew intended us to understand Ἰεχονιας in verse 11 as Jehoiachin then has he included Jehoiakim, Jehoahaz, and Zedekiah under the words "and his brethren"? If the answer is yes, then we still have the difficulty of Jeremiah's prophecy in 36:30 that none of Jehoiakim's seed would follow him on the throne of David.

The first difficulty is whether Ἰεχονιας in verse 11 can be another name for Jehoiakim. The straight answer is No. Nowhere in the OT or apocryphal literature is there an unambiguous case where Jehoiakim is called Ἰεχονιας. Granted, then, that there is no direct route to introduce Jehoiakim into Matthew's genealogy is there an indirect way? The answer is a qualified yes. Qualified in the sense that nowhere in the Hebrew does יְהוֹיָקִים refer to Jehoiachin or יְהוֹיָכִין refer to Jehoiakim. But in the Septuagint there is clear evidence that the translators have given the two distinct Hebrew names the same Greek transliteration, but that transliteration is Ἰωακειμ not Ἰεχονιας, which poses a further problem of how to introduce Jehoiakim without resorting to yet another indirect step.

In order to read Ἰεχονιας in v. 11 as a reference to Jehoiakim we would need to postulate the following steps. First, beginning from the certain knowledge that Ἰωακειμ is used for both kings we could postulate Beza's

reconstructed text: Ἰωσιας δε εγεννησε τον Ιακιμ, και τους αδελφους αυτου, <u>Ιακιμ δε εγεννησε τον Ιεχονιαμ</u> επι της μετοικεσιας Βαβυλωνος; or Hervey's reconstructed text: Ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωακεὶμ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ· <u>Ἰωακεὶμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωαχεὶμ</u> ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας βαβυλῶνος.

Beza's "Jakim" is not found anywhere in Greek (unless as a corruption of Ιωακιμ. Ιακειμ occurs at 2 Kgs 24:6 in one MS, and at 25:27 in MS e^a?). It is Beza's own invention. Unfortunately it entered the margin of the King James Version and remained there ever since influencing countless commentators to end their search for an explanation at this point. On the other hand Hervey's Ἰωαχεὶμ, while it looks a good candidate to be confused with Ἰωακεὶμ, is again without warrant as a translation of Jehoiachin in the OG because it appears only as a variant to correct what was thought to be a mistake on the part of the LXX translators at 2 Kgs 24:6, 8, 12, 15, 19, 27 (*bis*). All the evidence is confined to a sub-group of manuscripts belonging to the OGR, which further weakens the possibility that this form ever existed at the OG stage as an optional transliteration of Jehoiachin's name. It too is an invention, this time by the revisers of the OG text, for by the alteration of one letter they were able to make a distinction between the two kings and so correct what they perceived to be a mistake, or that others might conceive to be a mistake.

The fatal defect in this reconstruction is that it would produce fifteen names for the second series, but only fourteen are required according to 1:17.

The second step, if one accepts either the reconstruction of Beza or Hervey, is to assume that the underlined words, in the example above, dropped out of Matthew's Gospel. But their omission tallies with the fourteen generations credited to this period by Matthew. So it would appear that Matthew (or his source) had already excluded Jehoiakim from the list of kings along with three other kings to produce the required number of generations.

The third conjecture—assuming that the underlined words were once in Matthew's text (first assumption), and then were dropped (second assumption), is to assume a third step, namely, that the remaining name Ἰωακεὶμ was replaced by Ιεχονιας. The need for these three assumptions is an obstacle against the reinstatement of the underlined words in the text of Matthew. What is the textual evidence for these words having been in Matthew's Gospel?

### 5.1. The textual evidence for the inclusion of Jehoiakim's name

In this section we shall refer only to those commentators who have explicitly referred to textual support for their position.

The only papyri evidence for Jesus' genealogy consists of three manuscripts. For Matthew's genealogy there is 𝔓1, which is dated III. cent. Unfortunately this papyrus contains only Matthew 1:1-9, 12, 14-20, so that it lacks the important verse 11. The papyri evidence for Luke's genealogy is contained in two papyri: 𝔓4, dated to III cent. It contains the complete genealogy (plus other portions between 1:58 and 6:16); and 𝔓75 which is dated to II/III. This contains only Luke 3:33-38 (plus other portions between 3:18 and 15:8). These are the earliest evidences we have of Jesus' two genealogies.

The main text of UBS³ has: Ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰεχονίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας βαβυλῶνος. The textual apparatus

gives only one variant, namely, ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰωακίμ, Ἰωακὶμ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰεχονίαν (see K. Aland, 1983:xvi).

What is significant about the UBS³ variant is that the phrase "and his brothers" does not go with Jehoiakim but with Jechoniah. This is at variance with the reconstructions of Beza and Hervey which represent their own thinking. The UBS³ variant would rule out the suggestion that the brothers are Jehoiakim's and consequently the phrase cannot refer to Jehoahaz and Zedekiah who also ruled. The variant could be used to prove that Jechoniah had more than one brother, but it still leaves unanswered the question why they should be associated with him when they did not rule.

### 5.1.1. Support for the UBS³ variant reading

Ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησεν <u>τὸν Ἰωακίμ, Ἰωακὶμ ἐγέννησεν</u> τὸν Ἰεχονίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας βαβυλῶνος. The underlined text shows what has been added to the text. The evidence for this reading is: (D^luc it^dLuke Ἐλιακίμ, Ἰωακίμ) M U Θ Σ $f^1$ 33 258 478 661 954 1216 1230 1354 1604 l54 syr^h with *, pal geo Diatessaron (Irenaeus^lat) Africanus Eusebius Aphraates Epiphanius.

A closer examination of these witnesses reveals the following information. First, (D^luc it^dLuke Ἐλιακίμ, Ἰωακίμ). In D^luc the order of the names is reversed and reads: "of Jechonias, of Ioakim, of Eliakim, of Josias." The blunder here is that Ioakim (Jehoiakim) is made the son of Eliakim, who is set down as the son of Josiah. Eliakim was just another name for Jehoiakim which the scribe was not aware of. F. H. Chase, (1895:82) pointed out that the only difference between MS D and Aphraates in his Homily "On the Cluster" is his omission of this false generation. We noted elsewhere that MS D should never be used to establish any reading, and especially when it has unique readings as it does in Luke 3:23-31, 36. The "most striking feature of MS D is its perpetual tendency to interpolations which are unique to it or found in very few other MSS" (F. H. Scrivener, 1864:xlix). For a thorough and damning analysis of Codex Bezae consult Scrivener's work. His conclusion concerning the state of the Greek text of Acts was: "It is hardly an exaggeration of the facts to assert that Codex D reproduces the textus receptus of the Acts much in the same way that the best Chaldee Targums does the Hebrew of the Old Testament . . . so constant and inveterate [is] the practice of expanding the narrative . . . which seldom recommend themselves as genuine by even a semblance of internal probability" (1864:liv).

Second, the uncials M U Θ Σ are dated IX. IX. IX. and VI. centuries respectively.

Third, $f^1$ consists of manuscripts 1, 118, 131, 209; and are dated XII. XIII. XIV. and XIV. centuries respectively.

Fourth, the nine cursives: 33 258 478 661 954 1216 1230 1354 1604 are dated IX. XIII. X. XI. XV. XI. AD 1123. XIV. XIII. respectively.

Fifth, the Greek lectionary, l54, is dated AD 1470.

Sixth, the syr^h with * indicates a reading in the Syriac text, marked by asterisks to indicate the existence of a variant. The variant clause is found in the Hierosolymitana version and noted in Adler's work on the Syriac versions (J. G. C. Adler, 1798:158, 201. Cf. J. W. Etheridge [1843] who dated the

Hierosolymitana version to the 4/5th century.). The geo [Georgian] is a fifth century translation.

Seventh, the Diatessaron when used without superscript designation in the UBS[3] critical apparatus usually refers to the Arabic version (Introduction, p. xl.), which has been extensively accommodated to the Syriac Peshitta. The Diatessaron was removed by the Syrian Bishop Theodoret (*d.* 458) in the fifth century because it was found not to contain the genealogies of Jesus. These are found in an appendix in some Arabic manuscripts and presumably it is this evidence that is referred to here under the term "Diatessaron."

Eighth, early Christian writers: (Irenaeus[lat]) Africanus Eusebius Aphraates Epiphanius.

Irenaeus (AD 202) is thought to have had a text which mentioned both kings' names (cf. *Haer.* L. III. c. 21 al 30.§ 9) (F. X. Patritius, 1853:67; J. B. McClellan, 1875 I, 7). It is on the strength of Irenaeus' words: "Joseph enim Joachin et Jeconiae filiis ostenditur, quemadmodum et Mattaeus generationem ejus exponit;" or: "Joseph is shown to be the son of Joachim [*sic.?*] and Jechoniah as also Matthew sets forth in his pedigree" (P. J. Gloag, 1895:253), that the critical apparatus cites him in support of both kings appearing in Matthew's genealogy. If the Latin reading "Joachin" is correct (and not Joachim) then it might be another name for "Jeconiae." In other words, Irenaeus has referred to Joseph's ancestor (Jehoiachin=Joachin and Jechoniah=Jeconiae) under his two Greek names. The English translator has assumed that "Joachin" stands for Joachim. He may be wrong; in which case Irenaeus cannot be used with confidence in support of the presence of Jehoiakim in Luke's text.

In any case the *descending* order of the names is against the identification of Joachin with Jehoiakim. Jehoiakim was the father of Jehoiachin, therefore the text ought to have read: "Joseph is shown to be the son of Jechoniah and Joachim (ascending order)." Jesus is said to be the son of David, son of Abraham (ascending order), never: Jesus the son of Abraham, son of David (descending order).

J. A. Bengel (1877:87) commented that Irenaeus wrote, "Ante hunc *Joachim* (Joseph enim Joachim et Jechoniae filius ostenditur, quemadmodum et Matthaeus generationem ejus exponit);" and the editor, in order to support Irenaeus' text, has added: "So M Cod Reg. Paris of 9th century, and U Cod. Venetus of same date, in opposition to the ancient authorities, insert Ἰωακείμ." H. L. Mansel (1878 I, 4) examined Irenaeus' text and concluded: "The inference, however, from this passage is too uncertain to be insisted upon."

The rest of the patristic evidence consists of Africanus (AD 240), Eusebius (AD 339), Aphraates (AD 367), and Epiphanius (AD 403).

The evidence from Epiphanius is given by A. Hervey (1853:72) thus:

> Another very remarkable instance is to be found in Epiphanius, *Adv. Haeres.* Vol. I. p. 21, and which singularly tallies with the present error in St Matthew. Ἰωσίας (γεννᾷ) τὸν Ἰεχονίαν, τὸν καὶ Σελοὺμ καλούμενον· ὁ Ἰεχονίας οὗτος γεννᾷ τὸν Ἰεχονίαν τὸν καλούμενον Σεδεκίαν, καὶ Ἰωακείμ, where observe the triple confusion. Jehoiakim is called Ἰεχονίας, and Jechoniah is called Ἰωακείμ, and father and son are also both

called 'Ιεχονίας. The mention of Zedekiah as a name of Jechoniah, seems to refer to 1 Chr 3:16.

Such confusion hardly constitutes sound evidence for the original text of Matthew 1:11.

In conclusion, the witnesses for the variant reading are not very substantial, or reliable in some cases. If we discount MS D then the earliest Greek manuscript to carry the variant is MS Σ, a VIth cent. manuscript. The variant first appears in translations of the Greek NT and this is where we might expect to find any "solution" to a problem in the Greek to appear. A translation which translates a difficulty that inheres in the Greek might be suspected of being a faulty translation and so the translator is under pressure to reconcile such difficulties in his work rather than let the Greek difficulty stand in his translation.

There were not wanting many supporters of this variant (J. Mill, 1761:6; *Imperial Family Bible*, 1845:993; F. P. Kenrick, 1849:35; J. A. Alexander, [1861], 6; Anonymous. *An Essay on the Genealogy of the Lord Jesus Christ*, 1843:12; A. Clarke, 1840 I, 37; W. Newcome, 1796 I, 2; J. E. Riddle, 1843:8; D. D. Whedon, 1874 I, 22). The case was sometimes strengthened by comments such as "twelve Greek codices have: 'Josias begot Joakim; Joakim begot Jechonias and his brethren' " (P. Devine, 1884 I, 5). Or, "This reading is found in many MSS and should probably be received into the text" (*The Holy Bible* [London: Samuel Bagster], 1846:1006). Or, "Several mss noticed by Griesbach and Schott have this additional descent" (F. P. Kenrick, 1849:35). But it has been rejected by others as a mere interpolation, because wanting in the oldest manuscripts now extant, which however are at least four hundred years later than the date of composition. It is also objected that Jechoniah had no brothers, or at least not more than one (1 Chr 3:16; 2 Chr 36:10) (R. Ward, 1640:10; G. Campbell, 1789:347 (he rejects: Josiah begat Jehoiachin, Jehoiachin had Jeconiah); D. Bagot, 1844:11; C. J. Ellicott, 1897 I, 2; J. Morison, 1895:4).

A. Birch noted this variant in 1788 which he found in three MSS. namely, "Vat. 349. Efc 9.12. Syra hieros. Syra phil. edit. Whitii cum asterisio, sed in codice Assem. 2 in margine." His note on Codex Vat. 349 indicates that it is dated to the XI/XII cent. Support for the variant can be found in two MSS. in C. F. Matthaei's Greek Testament (1782-88) where the name is spelled 'Ιωακείμ and 'Ιωακημ respectively.

### 5.1.2. Support for Beza's reconstruction

Theodore Beza [d. 1605] approved the text: ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν ἰωακείμ. ἰωακειμ δὲ ἐγέννησεν ἰεχονίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ in his first and second editions of his Latin translation, published in 1556 and 1565. The English translation reads:

> "And Josias begate Iakim. And Iakim begate Iechonias and his brethren about the time they were caryed away to Babylon. And after they were caryed away unto Babylon, Iechonias begate Salathiel." That is, the captivitie fell in the daies of Iakim and Iechonias: for Iechonias was borne before their carying away into captivitie. (T. Beza, 1576, *ad loc.*)

The English Version printed at Geneva, in AD 1561, reads: *And Josias begate Jacim. And Jacim begate Jechonias and his Brethren about the Tyme they were caryed away to Babylon.*(from D. Scott, 1741:6). *The Bishop's Bible* (1572) has the marginal reading: *Josias begat Jakim, and Jakim begat Jechonias*, which is endorsed by J. J. Griesbach (1798) and many commentators (W. Fulke, 1589, *ad loc.*; J. Bowes, 1870:1; M. A. Carr, 1916 [orig. 1887], 30; *New Testament, The, in an Improved Version upon the basis of Archbishop Newcome's New Testament*, 1817, *ad loc.*;); chiefly on the grounds that it supplies the missing fourteenth generation.

T. J. Conant (1861:3) makes the observation:

> In the margin of the common version it is said (from the Bishop's Bible): *"some read, Josias begat Jakim, and Jakim begat Jechonias."* This reading of a few late MSS., and of some uncritical editions, does not deserve a place as a marginal reading. Colinaeus in his critical edition of the Gk NT, 1534 prints the text thus: ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν ἰωακείμ. ἰωακειμ δὲ ἐγέννησις [*sic.*] ἰεχονίαν. It was noted by Stephens, as a marginal reading, in his edition of 1550; and on his authority it was adopted by Beza into the text of his Latin version, but was rejected by him in the later editions of his NT. (In his note he [Beza] says: Sic ex vetusto codice restituit Robertus Stephanus;...et ea quae paulo post sequitur genealogiae distributio in tres τεσσαραδεκάδας ita legendum esse convincit. Scrivener is mistaken (*Notes on the Authorized Version*, p. 131) in supposing that Colinaeus was the authority which misled Beza and Castalio.).

C. Blackwood (1658:10) advocated restoring Robert Stephens' Greek text, "Josias begat Jakim, Jakim begat Jechonias and his brethren," and the very matter itself speaks forth the truth of Stephen's copy, (says Blackwood) so that the reading is to be restored thus: "Josias begat Jakim and his brethren, and Jakim begat Jechonias." Note the blatant transposing of the phrase "and his brethren" from Jechonias to Jakim.

J. Calvin (1845:91 n. 3) appears to have been influenced by Robert Stephens' Greek text. The critical edition of John Mill gave the evidence for this variant as follows:

> ἰωσιας δε εγεννησε τον ἰακειμ. ἰακειμ δε εγεννησε *Steph.* ι8. Eph. quod & ad marginem Catenae gr. notatum reperit *Petavius* εγεννησε τον ἰωακειμ. ἰωακειμ δε εγεννησε. *Gon.* (sed in hoc postea deleta sunt) *Mont.* Bibl. *Wech.* Cod. vetustiss. *Barb.2. Seld.2. Bodl.6.7. Col*[inaes] interposito, ne laboraret Tessaradecas, aut etiam diceretur *Josias Jechoniae* pater, qui avus erat, Joachimi nomine. Caeterum intercalatione ista bis peccatum. Primo, quod a receptissima lectione recedatur absque causa: Prior siquidem *Jechonias* is ipse *Joachimus* omnino videtur, quem insertum volunt; quod observatum *Epiphanio, Augustino, Ambrosio*, etiam & ipsi, ni fallor, *Irenaeo.* l.3.c.30. Deinde vero quod *Jechoniae* posteriori fratres tribuantur, qui, quantum ex S. literis colligimus, nullos habuit. Quod unum si advertiss et interpretator, certe temperass et manum.

The critical text of Simonis Colinaei's Greek edition of 1534 has: ἰωσίας δε εγεννησε τον ἰωακειμ. ἰωακειμ δε εγεννησε ἰεχονίαν at Matt. 1:11. Stephens' text of 1550 has the same reading in the margin except he uses ἰακειμ.

J. Morison (1895:4) has plotted the rise in popularity of the variant thus:

It was admitted into the printed text of the Greek Testament by Simon Colinæus in his edition of 1534, and by Henry Stephens in his editions of 1576 and 1584. It was also admitted by Erasmus Schmid in his postumously published NT of 1658. Robert Stephens put the reading in the margin of his folio edition of 1550. Beza approved of it for a season, and indeed introduced it into the first and second editions of his Latin translation, published in 1556 and 1565. From there it entered the text of the English Geneva version, and then into the margin of the Authorised Version of 1611.

Knowledge of the variant clause began to spread into other editions of the Greek New Testament as W. Newcome (1796 I, 2) noted:

> Birch has added three MSS. in his Greek Testament (4to), Hasniae; and [by] Matthaei two [MSS.] in his Greek Testament (8to), Rigae. The clause occurs also in vers. Syr. Hierosol. of which Adler speaks so highly in Novi Testamenti versiones Syr. Hasniae, 1789 (4to). See p. 158, 201.

### 5.1.3. Support for Hervey's reconstruction

'Ιωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν <u>Ἰωακεὶμ</u> καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ· <u>Ἰωακεὶμ</u> <u>δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωαχεὶμ</u> ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας βαβυλῶνος. The underlined text shows what has been <u>added</u> to the text or <u>altered</u> (A. Hervey, 1853:70; cf. H. Alford, 1958 [1859], 3).

P. J. Gloag (1895:256-57) believed this reading was supported by Codex Bezae, by two uncial manuscripts of the 10th century, M U, by thirty cursive manuscripts, by several Syriac manuscripts, and by Irenaeus, who says: "Joseph is shown to be the son of Joachim and Jechoniah, as also Matthew sets forth in his pedigree" (A. Hervey, 70 n. 1: Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* iii.21.9). It was inserted by Henry Stephens in his editions of the Greek Testament, published in 1576 and 1584.

Gloag was obviously unaware that Hervey's text had no textual support of any description, or else he did not compare his text with the text of Stephens very closely. He did, however, reject Beza's text.

### 5.1.4. Other suggestions

'Ιωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν <u>Ἰωακεὶμ</u> καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας βαβυλῶνος. The underlined text shows what has been altered.

This reading appears to be endorsed by A. Vögtle, (1965:32-49; cf. G. W. Butler, 1875:13; and W. D. Davies & Dale C. Allison, 1988 I, 179). P. Dodderidge (1761 I, 48) professed to follow the Bodleian MS (=Robert Stephens No. ιδ) text (the UBS³ variant) but his translation: "And Josiah begat Jehoiakim, and his Brethren: And about the Time of the Babylonish Captivity, Jehoiakim begat Jehoiachin," does not bear this out.

H. Hammond (1653, *ad loc.*)states that Robert Stephens records a variant reading: 'Ιωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν 'Ιωαχεὶμ, 'Ιακεὶμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν 'Ιεχονίαν. Note the two spellings for Jehoiakim.

Ιωσιας δε εγεννησε τον <u>Ιακιμ,</u> και τους αδελφους αυτου, <u>Ιακιμ δε</u> <u>εγεννησε τον Ιεχονιαμ</u> επι της μετοικεσιας Βαβυλωνος. The underlined text shows what has been <u>added</u> to the text, <u>transposed</u> or <u>altered</u>. In practice this is the text that is followed by those who think that the phrase, "and his

brothers" ought to go with Jehoiakim's name. The Greek text has finally been brought into line with the desired interpretation.

In several Greek MSS. the reading is Ἰακείμ, or Ἰωακείμ; and Schmidius very justly (says Z. Pearce, 1777 I, 3) conjectures, that Matthew wrote this verse thus, Ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰακείμ (LXX Ἰωακείμ) καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ Ἰακείμ (LXX Ἰωακείμ) δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰεχονίαν ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος. And Josias begat Jehoiakim and his brethren (viz. Jehoahaz and Zedekiah) and Jehoiakim begat Jechonias about the time they were carried away to Babylon.

### 5.1.5. Conclusion

There is no disagreement between the present Greek text of UBS³ and the Majority Text, both read: Ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰεχονίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος. 1·12 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετοικεσίαν Βαβυλῶνος Ἰεχονίας ἐγέννησεν τὸν Σαλαθιήλ.

Given this unanimity and the weaknesses of any alternative we are bound to accept the above as the original text. This is strengthened by v. 17 which requires only fourteen names in the second series. If Jehoiakim was included this would make fifteen names. Any solution which is not based on the above text has a built-in weakness from the outset.

### 5.2. The transliteration of Jehoiakim's name in the Septuagint

The object of this and the next section is to examine the facts regarding the transliteration of Jehoiakim's name in the LXX and also Jehoiachin's name, to see if there is any substance for the oft-repeated assertion that the LXX confused these two names and hence Matthew is not to be blamed for following them in this confusion.

The name Jehoiakim occurs thirty-seven times in the Hebrew Bible (23x in Jeremiah; 7x in Kings; 5x in Chronicles; and 2x in Daniel). Jehoiakim was also called Eliakim which occurs twice (2 Kgs 23:34; 2 Chr 36:4) and is transliterated as Ελιακειμ in the LXX. The Greek transliteration of Ιωακ(ε)ιμ in Daniel and Chronicles presents no difficulty. But in Jeremiah and 2 Kings the case is not straightforward.

An examination of the twenty-three occurrences of Jehoiakim in Jeremiah reveals that for twenty of these the LXX gives the uniform transliteration Ιωακ(ε)ιμ. But there are two occasions (Jer 27:20 [LXX 34:17]; 28:4 [LXX 35:4]) where the identification phrase "son of Jehoiakim king of Judah" following the name of Jechoniah is omitted in all MSS. These two instances present no case that the names of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin were confused by the translator.

The remaining case of Jer 37:1 [LXX 44:1] is different. The Hebrew reads: "Zedekiah the son of Josiah, whom Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon made king in the land of Judah, reigned instead of Coniah the son of Jehoiakim." The name of Coniah is dropped in the LXX so that Zedekiah is made to follow Jehoiakim, and not Coniah, on the throne of Judah. Considering that Jehoiakim was king for the previous eleven years and Coniah ruled for only three months, and considering also that Coniah's brief reign—in terms of political influence—was insignificant, these two factors might have led the Septuagint translator(s) to abbreviate the text as they have done on many

other occasions. A similar case occurs in 2 Kings 24:19 where it is said of Zedekiah's rule that "he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, according to all that Jehoiakim had done." A few manuscripts substitute Jehoiachin (Ιεχονιας) for Jehoiakim (namely MSS e*gjnxy). But as these manuscripts do not form a definite group their witness is dissipated to some extent, although it should be pointed out that MSS gjn are OG manuscripts and form almost half the evidence for the OG group (apart from the uncial MSS). We have shown above that the three manuscripts which best represent the OG text in 1 Kings were MSS. ujn. However it should be borne in mind that even these average out at 77.4 per cent. for their purity of transmission compared with 95 per cent. for Lucian and 85 per cent. for the OGR.

It is certain, as I shall show later, that Jehoiachin's three months reign occurred in his accession-year, but Judean kings were not crowned until the end of the accession-year, and consequently, although Jechoiachin was king he was never crowned. Consequently, Zedekiah was the next *crowned* king after Jehoiakim. It will be seen that this circumstance would satisfy the wording of Jeremiah 36:20 where it is prophesied that Jehoiakim would have none to sit upon the throne of David. If "to sit upon the throne" refers to a crowned king then Jehoiachin did not sit upon the throne of David.

But to return to the transliteration of Jehoiakim's name. In 2 Kings the best representative manuscripts for the OG text are MSS. hugni; so that here again MSS. gn are relatively good representatives although their purity of transmission is about 74 per cent, which must detract from their witness to some extent.

To return to the question of the text of Jeremiah as a whole it should be pointed out that the Göttingen text has identified five distinct groupings of manuscripts that contain the text of Jeremiah and in only one of these groups—the B-text (comprising only seven MSS.)—is Coniah's name omitted. The other four groups between them make up the bulk—approximately thirty-six manuscripts—of the LXX MSS. It can always be argued that the B-text is superior to the other four groups but the evidence is not yet available to show this.

In conclusion the case of Jeremiah 37:1 cannot be used as definite proof that Coniah was called Jehoiakim.

## 5.3.    The transliteration of Jehoiachin's name in the Septuagint

The case with Jechoniah or Jehoiachin is different. The name occurs a total of twenty-one times in the Hebrew Bible (9x in Jeremiah; 6x in 2 Kings; 4x in Chronicles; 1x in Esther; and 1x in Ezek.). In 2 Kings (five times), Ezek 1:2, and Jeremiah 52:31 (2x) we have a problem in that Ιωαχειμ appears to refer to Jehoiachin.

It should be noted at the outset that in general the LXX does not use the transliteration Ιωαχειμ but Ιεχονιας (=יְכָנְיָ) throughout to transliterate the seven Hebrew forms of Jehoiachin's name (9x as יְהוֹיָכִין; 1x as יְהוֹיָכִן; 1x as יוֹיָכִין; 1x as יְכָנְיָה; 3x as יְכָנְיָה; 1x as יְכָנְיָהוּ; 3x as כָּנְיָהוּ). An eighth(non-biblical) form, יוֹכִן, has been found (see A. M. Honeyman, 1948:1; W. F. Albright, 1941:19; D. W. Thomas, 1946:40; O. Tufnell, 1953:332. However, P. James [1991:172 n. 26] has cast doubt on the identification of "Yawkin" with Coniah due to a change of

date for the levels at which the seal impressions were found. He dates them to before 701 BC).

Where Ιωαχειμ =Jehoiachin is used it will be found to be a variant reading to change Ιωακειμ =Jehoiakim into Jehoiachin. A good example of this is found in MS B, and in a sub-group of the OGR in 2 Kings 24:6, 8, 12, 15, 27(2x) and in 2 Kings 24:19 (found only in MS. e*).

| Kings (Heb. refs.) | UNCIALS | SEPTUAGINT | | | Mixed | Lucian |
| | | Old Greek | Old Greek Revised | | | |
| | | | a | b | | |
| | ABN | ghjuniv | dpqstz | efmw | xy | boerc |
| 2 Kgs 24:6 | 141 | 7661617 | 141136 | 4414 | 66 | 11111 |
| 2 Kgs 24:8 | 141 | 7611611 | 141111 | 4444 | 66 | 26811 |
| 2 Kgs 24:12 | 141 | 7611111 | 141111 | 4444 | 11 | 11111 |
| 2 Kgs 24:15 | 141 | 7661611 | 141111 | 4441 | 66 | 11111 |
| 2 Kgs 24:27 | 141 | 1111111 | 141111 | 4111 | 11 | 11111 |
| 2 Kgs 24:27 | 141 | 1111111 | 141111 | 5111 | 11 | 11111 |

Variant readings

1 = Ιωακ(ε)ιμ
2 = Ιωακειν
3 = Ιακ(ε)ιμ
4 = Ιωαχ(ε)ιμ
5 = Ιαχειμ
6 = Ιεχονιας
7 = Ιεχωνιας
8 = 1+υιος ων Ιωακειμ

One interpretation of the data in this table is that the original text of the OG for 2 Kings 24:6 read Ιεχονιας (no. 6 in the above variants) because three MSS have it and for some reason Ιωακειμ (no. 1) replaced it from 24:8 and following because four or more MSS have it. Against this is the fact that OGRa (apart from MS. p) has Ιωακειμ. Why should it introduce ambiguity into the text by giving both kings the same Greek name? Secondly, the variant in OGRb presupposes Ιωακειμ, because by the alteration of one letter (K to X) it produced Ιωαχειμ consequently Ιωαχειμ can be considered secondary and not original. An exact transliteration would have produced Ιωαχειν (however, see further on this below).

An alternative interpretation of the data is that the OG Ιεχονιας/Ιεχωνιας (nos. 6 and 7) in 2 Kings 24:6 represents a trend toward the MT which has been imperfectly carried through, in that five out seven MSS (apart from the uncials) have Ιεχονιας/Ιεχωνιας.

But why make such a glaring error as to mistake Jehoiachin for Jehoiakim unless the original difference between the two names in Greek was the difference of one letter—K/X? The two names may have been ΙΩΑΚΙΜ and ΙΩΑΧΙΜ respectively, as MS B has it; and if in some instances the copying process was done by one scribe reading the text to another who wrote it down then the confusion between the two names would have been greater and total. We have noted above that there was no uniformity in the transliteration/ translation of the names of the three missing kings in Kings and Chronicles so it comes as no surprise to find that the Chronicler has preferred always to use Ιεχονιας (and never Ιωαχειμ) as the translation of Jehoiachin's name.

I suspect that the the translator of 2 Kings adopted Ιωαχ(ε)ιμ as his standard transcription for Jehoiachin and Chronicles adopted Ιεχονιας for his. Very soon after the 2 Kings translation was made ΙΩΑΚΙΜ and ΙΩΑΧΙΜ coalesced into ΙΩΑΚΙΜ. This error was then partially corrected in the OG by adopting Ιεχονιας from the parallel passage in 2 Chronicles 36:8, 9. (MS. B either retained the distinction or altered K to X.) The OGR was made before the error was corrected in OG and this accounts for its retention of the same

name for both kings, which confusion was subsequently corrected in OGRb to read Ιωαχειμ to distinguish Jehoiachin from Jehoiakim (Ιωακειμ).

The second case is the apparent replacement of Jehoiachin by Jehoiakim in Ezekiel 1:2. The Hebrew form of Jehoiachin's name is unique here, it is יֹויָכִין Ιωακιμ in LXX (with no variants). Apart from the final μ this is a tolerable transcription of the Hebrew. There are approximately seventy other names in the LXX where a final Hebrew *nun* is transliterated by a Greek *mu*. For example 'Ακειμ = הַקַּיִן (Jos 15:57); Δωθαειμ = דֹּתָן (Gen 37:17); and 'Ιαχειμ = יָכִין (Gen 46:10). The reverse is also found where Hebrew *mem* is transliterated by a Greek *nu* in approximately seventy names. For example 'Ενακειν = עֲנָקִים (Deut 2:10); Καρναιν = קַרְנַיִם (Gen 14:5); and Χεττειν = כִּתִּים (Ezek 27:6); and in Matthew's own list he has 'Ιωάθαμ which is closer to the Hebrew יוֹתָם but the LXX has 'Ιωάθαν (E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, 1983 III, 1-162).

In defence of the LXX transliteration of Jehoiachin's name as Ιωακιμ there are two facts to be borne in mind. Firstly, the name Jehoiakim does not occur in Ezekiel and Jehoiachin appears only once at Ezekiel 1:2, so that we cannot compare how the LXX translator of Ezekiel would have transliterated Jehoiakim's name.

Secondly, the fact that both kings are given the same transcription in the LXX by coincidence (when compared with Kings) is no problem, because there are a number of instances, of which I have documented eighteen, where the same Greek transcription is used to represent different Hebrew names.

Thirdly, the representation of Hebrew כ and ק by both Greek κ and χ is not uncommon; so there is the strong possibility that the translator of Ezekiel 1:2 has made an independent transliteration of Jehoiachin (יֹויָכִין Ιωακιμ) and not that he has confused the fifth year of Jehoiakim with the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity.

The third case involves Jeremiah 52:31 where twice Jehoiachin is transliterated as Ιωακιμ with no division among the manuscripts. Elsewhere in Jeremiah Jehoiachin is referred to as Ιεχονιας, so that this change appears to represent a change of translation policy. However, the solution lies in the consistency of the translator: his policy is to transliterate the Hebrew text before him and not to impose a standard Greek name for each Hebrew king (as the Chronicler has done).

Jehoiachin is mentioned nine times in Jeremiah. In seven of these the abbreviated divine name YAH or YAHU is *suffixed* to the verb כון ("established") and this is reflected in the Greek Ιεχονιας where the —ιας syllable represents the divine element in the name. In the other two occurrences of Jehoiachin's name in Jeremiah the divine name YeHO is *prefixed* to the verb כון and this is reflected in the Greek Ιωακιμ where the Ιωα— syllable represents the divine element in the name. In trying to represent the Hebrew text in front of him the translator has unwittingly produced a form that coincided with that given to Jehoiakim.

Only when we isolate the transcriptions from their contexts is it possible to make out a case for confusion between the two kings. Even if a case could be made out that the name Ιωακιμ could theoretically stand for either king this throws no light on the omission of Jehoiakim's name in Matthew because the name that stands in the genealogy is Ιεχονιας and

nowhere in the Hebrew or Greek Old Testament is Ιεχονιας used for Jehoiakim.

2 Kings 23:34, "And Pharoah Neco made Eliakim the son of Josiah king in the place of Josiah his father, and changed his name to Jehoiakim." Note that Jehoiakim is not said to rule instead of his brother Jehoahaz, but instead of Josiah his father. If his son, Jehoiachin, was made coregent at the same time as his father then he, too, could be said to rule instead of Josiah his (grand-)father, and this would account for his name appearing after Josiah's in Matthew's genealogy. The relevance of this will become apparent later on.

### 5.4. Instances where a younger son has been promoted

It is worth noting here that Jehoahaz (who is the same person as "Johanan the firstborn" 1 Chr 3:17) was two years younger than Jehoiakim (cf. 2 Kings 23:31 with 23:36) yet he was promoted over his older brother by Josiah as his "firstborn." We have a further example of this unusual type of promotion in 1 Chronicles 26:10, "And Hosah, of the sons of Merari, had sons: Shimri the chief (for though he was not the firstborn, his father made him chief)." Jacob promoted the sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh, to the status of direct sons, in other words they were *moved back* one generation, so that their uncles became "their brothers" just as in this case the uncles of Jechoniah (Jehoahaz and Zedekiah) are called "his brothers." Now if Josiah (or was it the people?) made Jehoahaz "chief" then it is also possible that Josiah could have promoted his grandson, Jehoiachin, to the status of "son" just as his ancestor Judah had done. Is there any evidence that he *might* have done so? I believe there is in the phrase "Jechoniah and his brothers."

There is a good case for arguing that Jehoiakim may not have been older than Jehoahaz by two years. Jehoahaz was officially crowned king in Tishri, 609, whereas Jehoiakim was not officially crowned until Tishri, 608 BC. There is room here for two years depending on the birthdays of these two kings. If, however, the age of a king is taken from the moment he commences to rule (which could be up to eleven months before his official coronation, known as his non-accession year) then Jehoiakim was older than Jehoahaz. For the chronology of these two kings see L. McFall (1991:38).

### 5.5. Who was Shallum?

J. Lightfoot (1644:57) wrote"Jechonias was also called Shallum, that is finished, because the race and line of Solomon did end in him." If this is true it is interesting that Jehu's dynasty terminated with a Shallum also. But is Shallum the same person as Jechoniah? 1 Chr 3:15 reads: "The sons of Josiah: Johanan the first-born, the second Jehoiakim, the third Zedekiah, the fourth Shallum." And in Jer 22:11 we have, "For thus says the Lord concerning Shallum the son of Josiah, king of Judah, who reigned instead of Josiah his father, and who went away from this place: 'He shall return here no more, but in the place where they have carried him captive, there shall he die, and he shall never see this land again.' " It is possible that Jeremiah is referring to Jehoahaz, if so, then he had three names: Jehoahaz, Johanan, and Shallum.

A similar prophecy is made concerning Jechoniah (Coniah) in Jeremiah 22:24 prophesying that he will die in Babylon and not return again. There is a prophecy in Jer 22:1-4 sandwiched between addresses to Zedekiah

and Shallum which promises a continued Davidic dynasty if the Judean kings obey Yahweh's word. If they do not Yahweh threatens to make the Temple and City a desolation (Jer 22:5). The prophecy could relate to Jehoahaz or Jechoniah if either of them is called Shallum. It cannot relate to either Jehoiakim or Zedekiah because to neither of these was a continued dynasty promised.

Who Shallum was is disputed in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Shekal.* fol. 49. 4.): "R. Jochanan saith, Jochanan and Jehoachaz were the same. And when it is written, *Jochanan the first-born,* it means this; that he was the first-born to the kingdom: that is, he first reigned. And R. Jochanan saith, Shallum and Zedekias are the same. And when it is written, Zedekias the third Shallum the fourth; he was the third in birth, but he reigneth fourth." The same things are produced in the tract *Sotah* (Fol. 22. 3). But R. Kimchi [In Jer. xxiv. and 1 Chron. iii.] has the interesting note: "Shallum is Jechonias, who had two names, and was reckoned for the son of Josias, when he was his grandchild" (J. Lightfoot, 1823 XI, 14).

If the firstborn Johanan is Jehoahaz, as he appears to be, then Shallum cannot be Jehoahaz, which means that Kimchi may be right that Jechoniah was promoted in Josiah's lifetime to the status of son—the fourth son of Josiah. If Josiah set the succession then Jechoniah must be the son of Josiah legally because "his brethren" are Jehoahaz who reigned before him, Jehoiakim reigned contemporaneously with him, and Zechariah reigned after him when he was removed to Babylon. But even in Babylon Jechoniah is considered to be the legitimate king and as Zechariah reigned contemporaneously with him then Jechoniah's kingship spanned the rule of these two "brethren." This explains why they are not mentioned in their own right but are subsumed under Jechoniah's generation.

## 5.6. Jehoiachin's Coregency

The object of this section is to suggest that Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin ruled contemporaneously for eleven years and that Jehoiachin out-reigned his father by three months.

E. R. Thiele (1983:189) apparently regarded the two statements in 2 Kgs 24:8 and 2 Chr 36:9 as contradictory with the remark: "Jehoiachin was eighteen years of age at his accession and the beginning of his captivity in Babylon (2 Kings 24:8; cf. 2 Chron 36:9 where his age is given as eight in most Hebrew manuscripts)."

The discrepancy in these two texts troubled older commentators in the past. Four solutions had been put forward to resolve the difficulty. First, a corruption of the number "eighteen" resulted in the "eight" of 2 Chr 36:9. This was urged by F. Fawkes (1761); W. Rider (1763-67); T. Haweis (1765-66); W. Dodd (1770); Anonymous, *The Christian's Complete Family Bible,* (1786); J. Hewlett (1811-12); J. Kitto (1836-38); E. Greswell (1837 III, 502); T. J. Hussey, (1844-45); *The Imperial Family Bible* (1845); *The Universal Family Bible* (1877); and in more recent times by R. J. Coggins (1976:305); J. M. Myers (1965:218); R. B. Dillard (1987:296); and A. Green (1982:103-09). The *NIV* alters 2 Chr 36:9 to read "eighteen" so that Thiele (1983:189) is not alone in following the view that the Hebrew number of "eight" is corrupt at 2 Chr 36:9. The *Revised English Bible* (1989) retains "eight" at 2 Chr 36:9.

Others conjecture that a corruption happened the other way, that "eight" was corrupted into the "eighteen" of 2 Kgs 24:8 (J. H. Blunt, 1881:26; J. Temple & W. Hickman Smith, 1873, which reads: "2 Chr 36:9 and 1 Esdr 1:43 says Jehoiachin was eight not eighteen. This agrees best with Mt 1:11 which fixes the time of his birth during his father's captivity."). The suggestion that "ten" has dropped out of the Hebrew text somewhere along the line of transmission is not as simple a solution as it might appear. The two texts read:

2 Kings 24:8    שָׁנָה עֶשְׂרֵה בֶּן־שְׁמֹנֶה    "Son-of-eighteen year..."

2 Chron 36:9    שָׁנִים      בֶּן־שְׁמֹנֶה    "Son-of-eight years..."

Note that the word "years" is singular when used with numbers greater than ten, but it is plural when used with numbers less than ten. Consequently, if עֶשְׂרֵה ("ten") did drop out of the text by accident it must have been followed by a deliberate alteration of שָׁנָה to שָׁנִים in order to obtain the correct grammatical agreement between number and years.

A number of older commentators agreed with the comment of W. Wall (1734, II, p. 354) that: "It is in my opinion pity, that the translators [of the AV] have not mended such apparent errata of the scribe of the present Heb. out of Kings; 2 Kings xxiv. 8. or out of ό [the LXX]; or out of common sense."

The second solution suggested that Jehoiachin was eight years old when Jehoiakim began to rule and proposed to retranslate 2 Chr 36:9 as follows: "Jehoiachin was eight years old when he [Jehoiakim] began to reign" (W. Gouge, 1651; and S. Clark, 1690). A similar solution was proposed by Tremellius for 2 Kgs 16:2, "twenty years old was Ahaz when he [Jotham, his father] began to reign;" this was proposed in order to avoid the difficulty that Jotham would have been only eleven years of age when he begat Ahaz. The difficulty with this solution was that Jotham was only twenty-five years of age when he began his rule (cf. 2 Kgs 15:33) which would make him the father of Ahaz at five years of age! (cf. W. Wall 1734 II, 258). While this interpretation might be possible in English grammar it is not permissible in Hebrew which uses a suffixed infinitive (בְּמָלְכוֹ) here. Wherever the suffixed infinitive is used in Kings and Chronicles it always refers to the immediate antecedent. Literally the Hebrew reads: "Son-of-eight years—Jehoiachin—when he began to reign (בְּמָלְכוֹ)." An examination of the formula, "N was X years old when he began to reign (בְּמָלְכוֹ)" shows that it does not discriminate between coregencies and kingships. The formula is used to introduce the coregencies of Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs 22:41), Azariah (2 Kgs 15:2), Jotham (2 Kgs 15:33), Ahaz (2 Kgs 16:2), and Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:1); and the kingships of Jehoram of Judah (2 Kgs 8:16), Ahaziah of Judah (2 Kgs 8:26), Jehoash (2 Kgs 11:21), Amaziah (2 Kgs 14:2), Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:2), Amon (2 Kgs 21:19), Josiah (2 Kgs 22:1), Jehoahaz (2 Kgs 23:31), Jehoiakim (2 Kgs 23:36), and Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 24:8//2 Chr 36:9).

The third solution proposed that the phrase "a son of eight years" does not relate to the age of Jehoiachin but to the Era of the Babylonian Captivity which is said to have begun in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (Jer 25:1) (M. Poole, 1700; A. Purver, 1764:559). M. Poole (1700) pointed to other eras such as Saul being "a son of a year" (1 Sam 13:1) and Ahaziah who is said to be a "son of forty-two years" which would make him older than his father by two years, and to Ezekiel's era of the Captivity (33:21, 40:1).

It is fortuitous that Jehoiachin did begin his reign in the eighth year of the Captivity. The 8th year of Nebuchadnezzar also marked the beginning of Jehoiachin's kingship as distinct (2 Kgs 24:12).

The fourth solution proposed a coregency for Jehoiachin. At 2 Chr 36:9 the Geneva Version (1560) has the marginal note: "That is, he began his reigne at eight yere olde, and reigned ten yeres when his father was alive, and after his fathers death, which was the eightente yere of his age, he reigned alone thre moneths and ten dayes." This note is retained in the 1609 edition of the Geneva Bible. Other early works which supported the coregency solution were R. F. Herrey (1608), T. Haak (1657), J. Edwards (1694). M. Poole (1700), S. Patrick (1727, 1822), J. F. Ostervald (1787-88), R. Jamieson & E. H. Bickersteth (1861), and M. Henry (1842 [originally pub. in 1706]).

If there is no corruption of the text then either solutions three or four become possible. Solution three recedes in possibility with the observation that 2 Chr 36: 9 is preceded (v. 5) and followed (v. 11) by the same formula: "A son of X years is N in his reigning, and Y years he reigned in Jerusalem, and he did the evil thing in the eyes of Yahweh" where the reference is to the named individual. This leaves the coregency option. Indeed, on Thiele's principles of interpreting such data it becomes a distinct probability. Thiele has demonstrated that coregencies were quite normal in Judah and we have noted above that בְּמָלְכוֹ is just as frequently used to introduce a coregency as it is to introduce a kingship.

If we postulate a ten-year coregency for Jehoiachin we get the following chart. The relevant texts surrounding the appointment of Jehoiachin as coregent are given below. Departures from the text of the RSV are in italic script. The addition of *"as coregent"* or, *"as king"* are not in the Hebrew, but have been inserted to clarify the historical situation because the Hebrews did not make a verbal distinction between coregencies and sole reigns, but their numbering system implies this distinction (see L. McFall, 1991a:38; 1991b:6; 1992:35 for the basis of the chronology of the Hebrew kings).

No.1.    2 Kings 23:31 "Jehoahaz was twenty-three years old when he *became king*, and he reigned three months in Jerusalem." E. R. Thiele (1983:182) calculated that Jehoahaz became king in Tammuz (25 June-23 July) of 609 BC and ended his rule three months later in Tishri (Sept/Oct). Because Jehoahaz's rule spilled over into the next regnal year Jehoiakim had an accession year of about eleven months.

| B.C. | 610 | 609 | 608 | 607 | 606 | 605 | 604 | 603 | 602 | 601 | 600 | 599 | 598 | 597 | 596 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 30 | 31 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Josiah |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jehoahaz |
| | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | | ←11 | | Jehoiakim |
| | | | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) | | ←(11) | | Jehoiachin (coregent) |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | Jehoiachin king |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | Zedekiah |

No. 2.    2 Kings 23:36 "Jehoiakim was twenty-five years old when he *became king*, and he reigned eleven [accession] years in Jerusalem." Compare the

parallel in 2 Chr 36:5. Jehoiakim became king about Oct 609 and he died on the 21 Marheshwan (= 9 Dec) 598 BC (cf. E. R. Thiele 1983:187).

No. 3.   2 Chr 36:9 "Jehoiachin was eight years old when he *became coregent*, and he reigned three months and ten days *as king* in Jerusalem." Jehoiachin became coregent in Tishri 608 BC and was king from 21 Marheshwan to 10 Nisan (=9 December 598 to 22 April 597 BC). The 21 Marheshwan marked the end of Jehoiakim's rule which was the middle of winter (cf. the mention of 'cold' in Jer 36:30).

No. 4.   2 Kgs 24:8 "Jehoiachin was eighteen years old when he became king, and he reigned three months *as king* in Jerusalem."

No. 5.   2 Kgs 24:18 (=Jer 52:1-2=2 Chr 36:11), "Zedekiah was twenty-one years old when he became king, and he reigned eleven [accession] years in Jerusalem" (597-586 BC.)

Jeremiah noted that, "For twenty-three years, from the thirteenth year of Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah, to this day . . . ." (Jer. 25:3) he had prophesied. The reference to "this day" refers to the "fourth year of Jehoiakim." The twenty-three years is correct only if Jehoiakim had an accession year. Similarly the dates in Jer. 25:1 and 32:1 are correct only if Zedekiah had an accession year.

For Jehoiakim to be credited with a rule of eleven accession-years his first regnal year and Jehoiachin's first year as coregent would have commenced on the same New Year's day in 608 BC. Father and son were crowned on the same day in the month Tishri—Judah's New Year's day.

In the ninth month of Jehoiakim's fifth year (Chislev, 603 BC), when Jehoiachin was thirteen years of age, his father cut up and burnt Jeremiah's scroll (Jer 36:9, 22-23). As a result of this action his dynasty was cursed with the words: "He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David" (36:30). Yet in 2 Kgs 24:6 it is recorded: "And Jehoiachin his son succeeded him as king." For the words of Jeremiah's prophecy to be fulfilled it must be legally recorded (cf. Jer 22:30, "Write ye [plural] this man childless") that Jehoiakim's son, Jehoiachin, was not his child or "son." Zedekiah is said to be the "son" of Jehoiachin (1 Chr 3:16). Some think that this Zedekiah is his uncle, because he succeeded him in the throne, but more likely it refers to a son of Jehoiachin, which is the natural meaning of the term "son" throughout 1 Chr 3:16-24. To introduce another meaning for the term—an exception in fact—seems forced.

We noted in Chapter one that there may be a direct reference to the result of the curse on Jehoiakim in the omission of his name in the genealogy of Joseph in Matt 1:11, "And Josias begat Jeconias and his brethren." What appears to have happened is that because of Yahweh's curse on Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin knew that he could not inherit David's throne *as a son of Jehoiakim*, but if he were moved back one generation into his father's place he could inherit David's throne *as the son of Josiah*. A precedent was set for this possibility when Jacob moved Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, back one generation and their uncles became their brothers; the same could have happened in the case of Jehoiachin where his uncles are called his brothers in Mt 1:11. By this declarative device Jehoiachin was able to succeed Jehoiakim but not as his own *declared* son. He derived his legitimacy, or right to the throne of David, through Josiah his (grand-)father. The genealogy of Matthew takes on the character of a spiritual or divinely-approved list of

legitimate sons of David in which Yahweh excluded Jehoiakim and his seed and also the three Judean kings who ruled contemporaneously with Jehu's approved dynasty.

Jehoiachin showed complete indifference to the fate that befell his father. His arrogance and contempt for Yahweh eventually led to a curse being placed on him and his seed: "Record this man as if childless . . . for none of his offspring will prosper, none will sit on the throne of David or rule any more in Judah" (Jer 22:30). The terms of this curse appear at first to renege on the "everlasting covenant" made with David, but it would appear that Jehoiachin's son, Shealtiel, who was directly affected by the curse from succeeding his father as his son saw a way of continuing the Davidic dynasty by disowning his father, as Jehoiachin had disowned his father, and had himself grafted into the family of Neri. In this way he provided himself with a righteous branch which ascended to David through Nathan. It was no loss to Shealtiel to graft himself into a non-royal branch because the terms of the curse excluded any Davidide from ever sitting upon the throne of David, but at least he cut himself off from a cursed branch of the House of David. The element that does link David to the future Messianic King is that the Messiah would emerge from the royal branch which Shealtiel represented and continued, even though none of his descendants would exercise royal authority.

Luke 3:27 seems to provide a remarkable confirmation of Shealtiel's action for there he is called the "son of Neri" and not the "son of Jehoiachin". The fulfillment of the command to Jeremiah to write down Jehoiachin as "childless" is given concrete expression in Luke's genealogy of Joseph.

What made the displacement of Jehoiakim's name in Matthew's genealogy possible was the fact that Jehoiachin began to rule *at the same time* as his father, and so it was quite a simple matter to delete Jehoiakim's name and substitute his son as ruler for the eleven years that he was king.

It may be that the Chronicler was aware of how Jehoiachin circumvented the curse on his father's dynasty by becoming the "son of Josiah" (which Matthew's genealogy endorses), and realised that the descent had to be traced from Josiah to Jehoiachin and so, by by-passing Jehoiakim, this accounts for his interest in giving the younger age at which Jehoiachin began to rule. Consequently there is no need to resort to the 'knee-jerk' appeal to textual corruption either at 2 Kings 24:8 or 2 Chronicles 36:9.

## 6.    Conclusion

We are now in a position to bring together two pieces of research in connection with the second series of fourteen generations. We have concluded that the three kings were omitted because the Kingdom was given to Jehu for four generations. That is a good enough reason for excluding them from a list of legitimate ruling kings.

We have concluded in the above section that Jehoiakim's name was cut out because of the curse on him and his sons. We have conjectured from the given facts of the case that Jehoiachin circumvented the curse by disowning his father and in consequence of this he was considered to be the son of Josiah, his grandfather. In this way Jehoiakim was deliberately

excluded from the list of legitimate ruling kings. We noted that Jechoniah began to rule at the same time as Jehoiakim when he was eight years old and he commenced his rule within three months of the death of Josiah; so there was hardly any gap between Josiah and Jechoniah.

It can now be seen that the omission of these four particular kings was not arbitrary, but arose out of historical judgments meted out against them by Yahweh.

In the light of this the mention of "Jechoniah and his brothers" can be seen to make sense because by being recorded as the son of Josiah he was moved back one generation and his uncles became his brothers. His former uncles, Jehoahaz and Zedekiah, now his recorded brothers, also ruled, but so long as Jechoniah was reckoned the true successor to Josiah their reigns could be included in the single generation that "Jechoniah and his brothers" conveys. Honour is paid to "his brothers" (Jehoahaz and Zedekiah) while at the same time dishonour is paid to Jehoiakim whose name ought to have appeared in the list. The term "brother" may have a wider latitude of meaning in Semitic cultures than it does in other cultures, but never wide enough for a son to call his own father "his brother."

Another difficulty solved by this solution is the retention of Jehoram in Matthew's list, who was the real culprit, in that he married Athaliah but why is his name included? The answer is that until Jehu's dynasty was set up he was the rightful king over Judah. When the kingdom of Jehu was established by Yahweh he ruled Israel until his dynasty came to an end, when the kingdom was once again restored to the Davidic kings.

Thus we can conclude with some confidence that the four kings selected themselves for exclusion from the list of true Davidic kings which came into Matthew's possession. This list of fourteen generations constituted the second series, and Matthew already had the first series of fourteen generations from Ruth 4, it only remained to add to these twenty-eight generations the list of generations from the Captivity to Jesus, and we have only Matthew's word for it that a list emerged which came to fourteen names. The coincidence was so surprising that Matthew saw in it a pointer to Jesus as the terminus of the promise made to Abraham and David the king. Abraham was the *last* of the second set of ten generations in Genesis 11; David was the *last* in the first set of fourteen generations; and Jesus was the *last* in the third series. David and Jesus marked the end of one series but each inaugurated a new form of rule in Israel. Both commenced as private citizens, but ended their days as kings having been anointed by Yahweh.

# Contents of Chapter four

# Luke's qualifying clause—"As was supposed"

# Chapter four

## IV. Luke's qualifying clause—"As was supposed"

### Introduction

Some have seen in Jesus' baptism a coronation ceremony in which the king's age on accession is noted ("Jesus was about thirty years of age") and it was at this point, it is held, that Yahweh recognised him as the legitimate occupant of David's throne with the words, "Thou art my beloved Son" (cf. G. H. P. Thompson, 1972:83). The month of Tishri was the month in which Davidic kings were traditionally crowned and officially entered their reign (L. McFall, 1991a). If Jesus had a ministry lasting three and one half years before his crucifixion then he would have begun his ministry in Tishri.

There are two main assumptions lying behind the many interpretations of the phrase "as was supposed" in Luke 3:23, either (i) it is Joseph's genealogy in some sense, or (ii) it is Mary's. The latter assumption has produced a number of interpretations based on the content of what constitutes the parenthetical material.

### 1. The Greek text of Luke 3.23

The UBS[3] text of Luke 3:23 reads: Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ὢν υἱός, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, Ἰωσὴφ τοῦ Ἠλί. Literally: "And he—he was—Jesus, beginning, about thirty years, being the son, as was supposed, of Joseph, of Heli." This is also the reading found in the Greek texts of Lachmann, Tregelles, Alford, Westcott and Hort, and the R.V. Tischendorf, however, made one small alteration to the text, reading: ὢν υἱός, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ τοῦ Ἠλεί. This was endorsed by P. Holmes (1866 II, 92 n) as the true and grammatical explanation of Luke's words because this article connects Jesus directly as "the son of . . ." each ascending link. The textual support for it is given as: B. H. Γ. 1. 33. 118. 131. 209, and among the Fathers, Eusebius, Athanasius, Epiphanius, and Cyril. This reading is said to have the support of F. Gomar (1631:45), J. Lightfoot (Gandell edition, III, 54), G. J. Vossius (1642:30), and E. Yardley (1739), according to W. H. Mill (1842:185).

The Textus Receptus and the Majority Greek Text (hereafter MT) of Hodges & Farstad (1982) has: Καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος, ὢν, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, υἱός Ἰωσὴφ τοῦ Ἠλί. Literally: "And he—he was—the Jesus, about thirty years, beginning, being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph, of Heli . . . ."

Unfortunately the UBS³ critical apparatus does not present any variants for v. 23. Hodges & Farstad show that there are three textual variants concerning the underlined words in bold type. They are as follows:

(1) the presence of the definite article before Jesus. It is omitted by אB but it is present in the Majority Text (=MT) and MS. A.

(2) the word ἀρχόμενος is placed either before (אB) or after (MT, D and A) the words "being thirty years." The difference is probably stylistic and so would not affect the sense (but see below).

(3) the word υἱός is placed either before (אB) or after (MT, D and A) the words "as was supposed." The difference is stylistic and does not affect the sense.

Codex D reads: ἦν δὲ Ἰησοῦς ὡς ἐτῶν λ· ἀρχόμενος ὡς ἐνομίζετο εἶναι υἱός Ἰωσὴφ τοῦ ἐγένετο Ἰακωβ τοῦ Μαθθαν. "Now Jesus was about thirty years, commencing—as he was thought to be—son of Joseph, son of Mattan." The barbarism of the Greek is as awkward as the translation, but it is clear enough that the order of the Greek words would rule out the longer parenthesis that some want to see here. But it has been suggested that Codex D may be interpreted to mean that Jesus, at the beginning of his thirtieth year, was (really), as he was supposed to be, the son of Joseph, but that, at the moment of baptism, he was begotten again of the Holy Spirit (cf. T. K. Cheyne, 1899 II, 1779). It is difficult to follow this line of interpretation.

The Syriac Sinaiticus has: "And Jesus, when he was about thirty years old, as he was called the son of Joseph, son of Heli," which is not a complete sentence. We need to insert "was" as the missing verb, "Jesus . . . [was], as he was called, the son of Joseph"(cf. T. K. Cheyne, 1899 II, 1779).

R. H. Charles (1894:447) suggested that the genealogy had been tampered with in order to adapt it to its new environment, and noted that in the Syriac MS., instead of "was supposed" we have "was called," which, according to the familiar Hebrew idiom means "was." He mentions a conflate reading of MS. *a* of the Old Latin which is said to support this idiom.

Beza would read with Epiphanius, ἦν δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος εἶναι ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ὢν υἱός κ.τ.λ. "Now Jesus was beginning to be about thirty years of age, being the son . . . ." This would favour ἀρχόμενος as a qualifier of Jesus' age (cf. A. Hervey, 1853:351).

Concerning the two different Greek styles Godet wrote: Which is correct? The Alexandrine reading, *"being a son, as it was believed, of Joseph,"* or the Byzantine reading, *"being, as it was believed, a son of Joseph."* There is internal probability that the copyists would have been drawn to connect the words *son* and *Joseph*, in order to restore the phrase frequently employed in the Gospels, *son of Joseph*, than to separate them. This observation appears to decide for the Alexandrine text (cf. F. Godet, 1879:199).

It is also possible to argue that bringing the phrase ["as was supposed"] to the beginning of the sentence is evidence of a desire to protect the doctrine that Jesus was virgin born. But there is so little in it that nothing of any moment can hang on it. Indeed it could be argued that placing the phrase after the word "son" might be a later shift because more logical. It is the word "son" that is qualified by the phrase "as was supposed," not the word "being" which, if it were, might be taken to protect his divine being, as if some had argued that he was a mere man and nothing more.

S. T. Bloomfield (1878:131) took a theological interpretation of the expression ὡς ἐνομίζετο which he rearded as evidently alluding to his *Divine* origin, as only the reputed son of Joseph, though really conceived by the Holy Ghost.

The balance of probability is that Luke placed the phrase before the words "son of Joseph" to pre-empt the idea that Jesus was the physical son of Joseph, which the previous story made plain he was not. Only later, it can be conjectured, was it seen that the phrase could have been understood to qualify the word "being" with possible heretical consequences and so the phrase "son of Joseph" was broken up and the qualifying phrase—"as was supposed"—inserted into it, thereby ruling out any ambiguity as to which word was being qualified.

S. T. Lachs (1987:48) understood the clause "as was supposed" to be the equivalent of the Hebrew *kemo sheḥuḥzaq* "a presumption," from Qid. 4.66a; and remarks that this phrase seems to be an addition to harmonize the genealogy with the virgin birth.

### 1.1. "as was supposed"—an interpolation

G. W. Wade (1934:29, following G. H. Box, 1916:35, 223) remarked that there is slight textual evidence for the omission of "as was supposed." A. R. C. Leaney (1976:111) noted that although "as was supposed" is differently placed in the MSS. there is no reason for suspecting its authenticity. It is quite inept to accuse Luke of inconsistency. He does indeed include a genealogy which makes claims for Jesus from his descent through Joseph, in a gospel which elsewhere claims that his conception was virginal and miraculous. But in company, for example, with Matthew, he is in effect claiming that whatever way is taken of testing Jesus' claim to lordship, the test will establish the claim. Formal inconsistency may indeed be alleged, but it is clearly no barrier to the evangelists, who throughout the Synoptic tradition equate Jesus both with the pre-existent Son of Man and with the child born at Bethlehem or Nazareth. But Luke, nevertheless, remembers the significance of the story of the virginal conception, as he does here.

The two words, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, are an interpolation, alleges H. Sahlin (1945:76), because Joseph was the natural father of Jesus. It is incredible that the compiler could prefix such a phrase to his list, so long as he put the slightest faith in it himself. Apart from those two words, there is no sign that the compiler looked on this long series of names with the least misgiving; and the conclusion follows that the words are not his, and that in fact they are interpolated. The removal of these two words brings out in stronger light the fact that, for the genealogist, the descent of Jesus from Abraham was strictly natural. This was also the view of the anonymous work *The Four Gospels as Historical Records* (1895:159). R. H. Charles (1894:447) thought that the words "was supposed" means "was" and thus Jesus was the natural son of Joseph.

For some the hand that wrote the account of the virgin conception was not responsible for inserting the parenthesis. J. M. Pryse (1914:706) commented: It is clear that whoever drew up the table, unless he was feeble-minded, regarded Joseph as the actual father of Jesus, and the words "as was reputed" were foisted in the text after the doctrine of the supernatural birth

had been invented; and by this interpolation the genealogy was made even more foolish than it was in the first place.

## 1.2. Compatibility with the virgin conception

For others the hand that wrote the account of the virgin conception was also responsible for inserting the parenthesis. It was recognised that both could go together as the present record stands. G. B. Caird (1963:30) accepted that Davidic descent through Joseph was not entirely incompatible with the virgin birth. The Jews were well accustomed to the notion of legal parentage, since in the curious institution of levirate marriage (Dt 25:5-6) a child's legal descent was reckoned through his mother's first husband instead of through his natural father. But there can be little doubt, he adds, that the Lucan genealogy was compiled by someone who believed that Jesus was the son of Joseph and that it was accommodated to the belief in a virgin birth by the editorial parenthesis—*being the son (as was supposed) of Joseph* (3:23). This being do, it is clearly in order to ask whether the nativity story has at some time undergone a similar revision. He gives two reasons for believing that in the original Judean tradition Joseph was regarded as the natural father of Jesus. In the first place, it would never have occurred to a Jew to consider the overshadowing of Mary by the Holy Spirit as a substitute for normal parenthood (see *Niddah*, 31a: "There are three partners in the production of man: the Holy One, blessed be He, the father, and the mother." Cf. *Sotah*, 17a; *Genesis R.* 8:9). But this manner of speech could very readily be misunderstood by a Gentile, such as Luke.

Secondly, says Caird, both Matthew and Luke make use of the prophecy of Isaiah 7:14. In the early Palestinian Church this verse must have been applied to Jesus because of the name Immanuel. For in its original Hebrew form this prophecy said nothing of a virgin birth. In the LXX, however, the Greek word *parthenos* (virgin) was used when the gospel was disseminated throughout the Greek world. It would naturally give the impression that Jesus was born of a virgin. For a parallel example of the influence of prophecy on tradition see Matthew 21:7, where the evangelist has added an extra donkey to the story in Mark in order to make it conform to what he erroneously believed to be the meaning of Zechariah's prophecy. C. K. Barrett (1947:20-24), however, claims that there is no instance in Judaism of the Spirit's activity in *begetting* a child. For rabbinical references to supernatural births see F. P. Badham (1895:438 and C. Gore (1895b:462).

It is obvious that if Jesus was only "supposed" to be the son of Joseph there is no point in giving Joseph's ancestry. Clearly, therefore, the compiler of the genealogy regarded Jesus as the son of Joseph. This phrase, then, will have been added by Luke himself, or by some earlier editor who, like Luke, accepted the story of the miraculous conception (H. K. Luce, 1936:115).

N. Geldenhuys (1971:153) argued that the phrase cannot here mean: "according to legitimate calculation," seeing that the family tree goes back not only to David but to God, but should be taken in the sense, "as was supposed by them," thus indicating that Joseph was not the real father of Jesus. From this it also follows that the genealogical table is not that of Joseph but of Mary, for otherwise it would have been of no value for the purpose for which Luke recorded it, namely, to show that Jesus is linked up with the whole human

race through Adam. The contention by Creed and others that "as was supposed" was inserted by Luke in the original genealogical table to prevent its clashing with what he had recorded concerning the virgin conception of Jesus is without any foundation, argued Geldenhuys.

J. E. Carpenter (1890:144) comes out into the open with his statement that the genealogies are incompatible with the story of Jesus' miraculous birth from Mary. The Third Evangelist, he says, displays an uneasy consciousness of this by inserting the curious words "as was supposed" into his statement that Jesus was the son of Joseph (Lk 3:23). And as the pedigrees cannot be reconciled with the birth-stories, so neither can the two birth-stories be brought into accord either. A similar view was held by E. Renan (1877:184 n. 2) and J. Priestley (1786 III, 161). Sturdy defenders of the virgin conception have never been lacking; compare T. Boslooper (1962), R. E. Brown (1973), C. E. B. Cranfield (1988:177-89), R. G. Gromacki (1982); C. Gore, (1895); J. G. Machen (1930); M. O'Carroll (1982); J. Orr (1907); V. Taylor (1920); T. J. Thorburn (1908). The literature on the subject is voluminous, see T. Besterman (1965), A. F. Toomey (1977), C. A. Evans (1989), W. S. Kissinger (1985), G. Wagner (1983 and 1985), A. Day & J. M. Harvey (1990), M. J. Walsh (1981), *Religious Books 1876—1982* (1983), W. N. Lyons & M. M. Parvis (1948), this work covers only 1943-45 but it is very thorough; B. M. Metzger (1966), J. C. Hurd (1966), and R. E. Brown (1986). For earlier bibliographies see W. M. Smith (1931), H. Malcom (1870), and S. G. Ayres (1906).

## 2.0.  The meaning of ὡς ἐνομίζετο

### 2.1.  Popular opinion or hearsay

The phrase "as was supposed" is said to clarify the *known* genealogy that Luke is about to write out for the benefit of his readers. He has already clearly shown that Joseph was not his real father, but only his adopted father; but public opinion is under the impression that Joseph was, in fact, his true human father. Luke knows better, and so he is able to refer to the common misinformation about Jesus' ancestry in the phrase "as was supposed" by the common population (W. Newcome, 1796 I, 251; cf. A. Plummer, 1922:103; E. V. Rieu, 1952:124; R. F. Stoll, 1931:65; G. W. Wade, 1936:271). R. Watson (1833:574) explained the phrase "as was supposed" thus:

> This was the general belief; the account of the miraculous conception not being made public, but reserved in the breasts of Joseph and Mary. When it was first declared does not appear. The absence of all allusion to it in the subsequent history of the Gospel, makes it probable that it was not declared even to the disciples themselves, so that they as well as others *supposed* him to be the son of Joseph as well as Mary, and that it was one of these things which Mary kept in her heart, under divine direction, till after Jesus' resurrection from the dead. The previous publication of it must have exposed her to numerous and often captious interrogatories after Christ had entered upon his ministry; and when there was so much division of opinion respecting him, with his enemies, it might have exposed her to some danger, or placed her, at least, in very trying circumstances. These considerations make it strongly probable, that this fact was not made known to any during the life of Christ. St. Luke, however, by his qualifying clause, *being* as was supposed, *the son of Joseph*, shows that it had been among the

earliest facts made known to the first disciples after the ascension, and was, without doubt, received.

Augustine (1844, Sermon I, 28; 1873:198) understood Luke to clarify the relation between Jesus and Joseph by the insertion of the phrase "as was supposed" and so correct public opinion about that relationship which was erroneous but understandable. He asks: Why supposed? Because men's thoughts and suppositions were directed to what is usually the case with men, a suggestion that was favoured by Albert Barnes (1868:31), and G. Campbell (1789 I, 541).

Numerous translations bring out this idea, thus: "Being as men supposed the sonne of Joseph," wrote T. Beza (1576, *ad loc.*; cf. W. Manson, 1930:33). Or: "And Jesus hym selfe beganne to be about thirtie yeeres of age, beyng (as he was supposed) the sonne of Joseph, which was [the sonne] of Heli" (Bishop's Bible). Or: "And Jesus him selfe was beginning to be about thirtie yeeres olde: as it was thought, the sonne of Joseph, who was of Heli" (W. Fulke, 1589:92; W. L. Liefield, 1984:861). Or: "being, as was acknowledged, the son of Joseph, of Heli" (J. Bowes, 1870:94). Or: " because he was supposed to be the son of Joseph, the son of Helias" (E. S. Buchanan, 1904, *ad loc.*). Or: "the general assumption was that he was the son of Joseph, whose pedigree went back through Eli" (N. Marrow, 1977:103). Bar-Hebraeus (1925:102) commented, "supposed by the Jews, since in truth he was not Joseph's son, but the son of God."

The interpretation of *as was supposed*, is a difficult one for Bible translator's. The recommended translation supports the idea that Luke is giving Joseph's genealogy (and not Mary's). The advice given is that the phrase is to be taken to mean "as people saw it (i.e. according to people)." It qualifies the relationship between Jesus and Joseph only, and does not suggest a supposed son, or even a supposed Joseph (as has been the case in one older version); in many cases the phrase is better placed at the head of the sentence, e.g. "people thought he was the child of Joseph" (Manobo). Several versions make some kind of incision after Joseph, e.g. "people regarded him as the son of Joseph. Joseph (was) Heli's, he (was) Matthat's . . . Adam's, he (was) God's son" (Marathi) (see J. Reiling, & J. L. Swellengrebel, 1971:184).

J. B. McClellan (1875 I, 178) takes the phrase "as was supposed" to mean in law, usage, or popular opinion; the opposite would be in reality, or by nature. He gives the following examples from Greek literature. Demosthenes [4th cent. BC]: "They which be children by nature commend their dead parents, but they which be *reputed* their children, yet by birth are not so, ofttimes revile them." Dionysius Halicarnassensis [1st cent. BC]: "Faustulus, *reputed* to be the father of Romulus and Remus." Pausanias [2d cent. AD]: "He was really the child of Philip, but *reputed* the son of Lagos, his mother being with child with him, when Philip gave her in marriage to Lagos."

E. Leigh (1650:95) drew attention to a parallel misunderstanding about "Jesus of Nazareth," because Jesus was born at Bethlehem. He should have been called "Jesus of Bethlehem." So Luke could have written "Jesus of Nazareth, as was supposed, but really of Bethlehem." The common people thought he was from Galilee (Mt 21:11; Lk 23:6; Jn 7:41). The leading Pharisees in Jerusalem also thought Jesus was from Galilee of the Nations (a racially

mixed people in their eyes) and therefore not the place to expect their Messiah to come from. "Is the Christ to come from Galilee?" (Jn 7:41). The question is rhetorical. "Has not the scripture said that the Christ is descended from David, and comes from Bethlehem, the village where David was?" (Jn 7:42). Prophets did not come from Galilee (Jn 7:52) was a given assumption; and so Jesus did not even have a pedigree as a prophet, never mind as the Messiah. This point is well brought out by Augustin Calmet (1797:441).

I. H. Marshall (1978:162; cf. C. H. Irwin, N.D. p. 399; E. J. Goodspeed, 1943:139) summed up the conservative view that the phrase ὡς ἐνομίζετο may have been added by Luke to his source in order to avoid possible misunderstanding in relation to chs. 1-2. Both Cyril and Ambrose are quoted in Aquinas' *Catena* to the same effect (T. Aquinas, 1843:133).

Against the self-consistent use of the phrase by Luke to accommodate the story of the virgin conception others saw in it an opportunity to read a natural birth for Jesus which would not be consistent with a virgin conception.

R. E. Brown (1973:60) suggested that the modifying phrase in Luke 3:23 ("Jesus being the son, *as was supposed*, of Joseph, the son of Heli....") may be Luke's correction of a genealogy that originally listed Jesus as the natural son of Joseph. Personally, he adds, I find Matthew's genealogy of less significance than Luke's, since I think that Matthew added the names of Joseph and Jesus to an already existing popular genealogy of the Messiah king, and therefore there was no previous attitude in the genealogy toward Jesus as the son of Joseph.

J. M. Creed (1953:59) remarked that in both Gospels the descent is traced through Joseph, not through Mary, and it may be safely inferred that the circles in which the genealogies originated regarded Jesus as the son of Joseph. "as it was supposed" will be an addition to cover a discrepancy with the circumstances of the conception as they had been related in chap. 1.

How could Joseph be Jesus' father if Mary was a virgin when Jesus was conceived? This is not as serious an objection as it appears to be. When Joseph married Mary he would be in the eyes of both public opinion and of the Jewish law, the legal father of Jesus. Besides, there is no word for foster-father in either Hebrew or Greek, and so the Gospel writers were probably just recording the common description of Jesus as "Jesus son of Joseph." Luke certainly thought this was what he was doing (3:23) (J. Drane, 1984:39). A. S. Lewis (1913:98) decided on the Marian translation, "And actually, he was descended, this Jesus—(who at the beginning of His public appearance was about thirty years old), he who was supposed to be Joseph's son—from Heli, from Matthat."

From a form-critical view it is a parenthesis, an editorial comment by Luke which is an indication of his awareness of the difficulty of tracing Jesus' descent from Joseph while at the same time holding to the tradition of the virgin conception. Other views, such as that this phrase indicates that Luke was recording a tradition different from Matthew which he knew to be incorrect, or that the parenthesis includes also the mention of Joseph, are inept efforts at harmonization of Matthew and Luke at this point. Yet nowhere else in Luke 3-24 is there any hint of the idea of the virgin conception. Rather, Luke's use of the Son of God title seems to be at variance

with the tradition of 1:26-38. Perhaps the phrase is best taken as an indication of Luke's uncertainty concerning the historical value of the list, or his realization that the genealogical descent of Jesus was already a matter of polemics. In any case, v. 23 in its present form is Lukan, and a strong indication that the genealogy—perhaps in somewhat different form—originated at a time prior to Luke (so M. D. Johnson, 1969:230).

W. Manson (1930:34) pointed out that Luke's genealogy occurs not like Matthew's as part of the birth-records, but in connexion with Jesus' baptism. It came therefore from a source (doubtless L) which started not with Jesus' birth but with his call as Messiah. Luke, however, inserts "as people supposed" in order to harmonize the genealogy with the other account of Jesus' divine Sonship. If the Virgin-birth was an article of faith among those by whom the genealogy was framed, Joseph's relation to Jesus would, as in Matthew 1:16, be understood as that of *legal* paternity.

The Jews fully recognized this father-son relationship by referring to Jesus as the son of Joseph (Mt 13:55; Lk 2:48; 4:22; Jn 1:45; 6:42). Given such unqualified statements as: "Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?" (Jn 6:42), is it not any wonder that Luke had to insert the disclaimer "as was supposed"?

## 2.2. As was reckoned by legal records

The definition of the clause that is frequently given includes: to lay down a thing as law; to hold by custom, or usage; to reckon correctly, or take for granted. See Mt 20:10; Lk 2:44; Acts 7:25; 14:19; 16:13, 27 (see e.g., *The Companion Bible*, 1910:1440). Or, "as was reckoned in the legal records," *ut lege sancitum est,* as the very same word is used by Herodotus (lib. iv), for one who was only supposed the son of another, τουτου παις νομίζεται, *ejus filius censetur* (J. Foote, 1858 I, 162; cf. W. F. Burnside, 1913:104). "As was supposed" means "nominally," which has the sense of legal standing or standing established by custom. Jesus was the son of Joseph legally, but not naturally. John 6:42 "whose father and mother we know," accepts this claim (A. C. Custance, 1977 VII, 264).

Z. Pearce (1777 I, 322) commented that the word νομίζεσθαι seems to signify here to be, *allowed by the law,* or, to be agreeable to it; in which sense it is that Luke says in Acts 16:13, οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχή [variant: ἐνομίζομέν προσευχήν] εἶναι, *where an oratory (or, place for prayer) was allowed by law to be;* not as in the English Translation *where prayer was wont to be made.* He notes that the word νομίζουσι in Thucydides (ii. 15) is thus explained by the scholiast κατὰ νόμον ποιοῦσι, *they do according to law.* Thus likewise it is common among the Greek writers to use the word νόμιμα or νομιζόμενα, when they would express, that things were done according to the laws: in which sense Josephus says in *Bell. Jud.* vii. 5. 4. εὐχὰς ἐποιήσαντο τὰς νενομισμένας, *they prayed, as the laws appointed.* In another place he uses the same expression ἐυχὰς νενομισμένας: and in his *Antiq.* xv. 5. 4. Herod is said to have sacrificed κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα. In 2 Macc. 14: 4. mention also is made of νενομισμένοι θάλλοι, *boughs* (or *branches*) *appointed by the law of Moses.* Other instances can be seen in J. J. Wetstein's *Novum Testamentum* on this place and on Acts 16:13. What circumstance the word ἐνομίζετο refers to, is not easy to say: but when Josephus set forth his pedigree, he says, that he found

such an account of it ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένην, *entered in the public registers;* from this it appears, that such registers were then made and carefully preserved; and agreeably to this it is not unlikely, that, when Jesus was by his parents presented in the temple (Lk 2:22), an entry was then and there made, by the registering priest, of his name, and of the name of Joseph as his father, as well as of Mary as his mother. Upon this supposition (cf. R. Wait, 1769:39) Suidas has given us a long and strange story of the matter, in Lex. x. Ἰησοῦς. Pearce recommends the translation: *Being, as he was by law allowed to be, the son of Joseph.*

Others (J. S. Thompson, 1828:33; A. C. Custance, 1977 VIII, 263) see the phrase as a reference to custom: "Being according to the custom of pedigrees," or entered in the public registers. (T. Belsham, 1819:122). I. Da Costa (1851:471 quoted by M. W. Jacobus, 1863 III 162) suggested—*as He was considered in the eye of the law,* alluding not to the mistaken notion of men, but to the Israelite law—νομος—which made this extraordinary child to be David's seed.

## 2.3.　As was legally reputed to be (but really Mary's genealogy)

Some hold that because Mary was the daughter of Heli this gave Heli the only direct male connection with Jesus as his grandfather, whereas Joseph had no direct or physical connection with Jesus. He was only the reputed or legal father of Jesus (*An Essay on the Genealogy of the Lord Jesus Christ,* 1843:24). A. T. Robertson (1930, II, 46) remarked that:

> Luke evidently means to suggest something unusual in his genealogy by the use of the phrase "as was supposed (*hos enomizeto*)." This phrase is used repeatedly in official Greek documents and means, "according to the law it is reckoned." Thus Luke says Jesus was to all intents and purposes the legal son of Joseph—i.e., "according to the law it is reckoned" that He is the son of Joseph . . . the official Jewish records list Him as their child.

One reason given for this interpretation by W. W. Barndollar (1963:38, 118) is that the Greek text omits the definite article with Joseph, whereas it is used with all the other names in the list. Literally the Greek is: "being son as was supposed of Joseph, the son of Heli, the son of Matthat." The omission of the definite article strongly suggested to Barndollar that the name Joseph also belonged in the parenthesis. Therefore, a possible literal translation is, "being the son (as was supposed of Joseph) of Heli, of Matthat." This translation would suggest that Jesus was not the son of Heli through Joseph. Therefore if He were not, then He must have been the son of Heli through Mary. There is no other alternative. Thus the genealogy would have to be Mary's. He adds: note, however, that if Joseph's name is left *outside* the parenthesis he would be called "the son of Heli," and yet it is possible to construe it in the *legal* sense of "son-in-law" by marriage to Heli's daughter, Mary. But if Joseph's name is placed within the parenthesis, then it would make Jesus the "grandson" of Heli.

F. Godet (1875, I, 201; followed by J. S. Thompson, 1828:361) wrote:

> The word *son,* separated as it is from its first complement, *of Joseph,* by the words *as was thought,* may very well have a second, *of Heli.* The first is only noticed in passing, and in order to be denied in the very mention of it: "Son, as was thought, of Joseph." The official information being thus disavowed, Luke, by means of the second complement,

substitutes for it the truth, *of Heli;* and this name he distinguishes, by means of the article, as the first link of the genealogical chain properly so-called. The text, therefore, to express the author's meaning clearly, should be written thus: "being a son-—as was thought, of Joseph—of Heli, of Matthat."

C. C. O. Van Lennep (1938:21) suggested that Matthew gives the *official* Jewish pedigree carried down to Jesus' *legal* parent; whereas Luke's Gospel was written for a Gentile, Theophilos, who very likely knew nothing of Jewish official records, so Luke gives the real, the human pedigree through his mother, the Virgin Mary; the pedigree, in fact, that any Christian, at any time, would like to know: seeing that a Christian is aware that Mary was his only human parent. But the Greek "as was supposed," here in the third person singular imperfect passive rendered "as was supposed" (and correctly so as to one of its senses), primarily means to *recognize as a right*, to *hold by custom*. The verb is, in fact, directly derived from the noun *nomos*, meaning law, custom. So here the probability is that what Luke meant would best be translated:—Jesus was "the son (as legally recognized) of Joseph . . . ." He then backs up his case with the reference to Mary in the Jerusalem Talmud (Chag. 77. 4) where she is called the daughter of Heli. Her marriage with Joseph, who was actually the son of Jacob (Matt. i. 16), caused Joseph to be called, *"according to law,* the son (in fact the son-in-law) of Heli." And Jesus was *usually recognized* to be the son of Joseph.

I. Riggenbach (1885:584; cf. P. Vogt 1907:81 and A. S. Lewis 1913:98) rejects the idea that Luke gives Joseph's genealogy because, if it were his, Luke would never have taken all value and interest out of it by prefixing to it the words "as was supposed."

J. H. A. Ebrard (1863:155) believed that it cannot have been Luke's meaning or intention to give Joseph's genealogy because, in the words of A. F. Gfrörer: "who would give 76 successive links in a pedigree and then finish up by saying, this all rests upon a mistake?" Consequently, Gfrörer (but not Ebrard) thought that the author of the genealogy supposed Jesus to be the son of Joseph. But Ebrard believed that when Luke adopted the genealogy which was already drawn up he inserted the words "as was supposed." He believed that it would be much *more logical* to take the fact of Luke having distinctly stated at the *beginning* (not at the *close*) of the genealogy that Jesus was *not* the son of Joseph, as a proof that the genealogy which he gives is that of Mary and not of Joseph. And even if he had *found* the genealogy already prepared, as that of Joseph, he could not have introduced it, after such a statement as: "as was supposed" without giving his readers good reason to think that it was both superfluous and unmeaning. There is evidently a presumption, therefore, that the author intended to give the genealogy of Mary.

## 2.4.   As was legally reputed to be (Joseph's genealogy)

Others, however, rejected the Marian interpretation of Luke's rider. W. B. Crickmer (1881:98) advocated the translation: "And Jesus himself was now beginning to be about thirty years of age, being as was *always* supposed *by people,* a son of Joseph who was the son of Heli, *he* of Matthat, . . . " This translation protects the two elements that make this Joseph's genealogy. First, Luke corrects the false assumption made by the ordinary man in the street

that Jesus was the *natural* son of Joseph. Second, it makes it clear that Joseph was the son of Heli. It might have been more precise to have translated the words: "Joseph who was the son of Heli," as: "Joseph he of Heli," because Joseph was not the *natural* son of Heli, though he was his "son" in another sense, just as Adam was not the natural son of God at the end of the genealogy.

J. A. Fitzmyer (1981:499) understood the clause to mean in the minds of the people, Jesus was the son of Joseph. As in the Matthean genealogy, Jesus' ancestry is traced through Joseph, not through Mary. To Joseph a legal, or commonly estimated, paternity is thus ascribed; Jesus is regarded as his heir. This is also the reason why Mary and Joseph are described as "his parents" in 2:41, and Mary is made to refer to Joseph, in speaking to Jesus, as "your father" (2:48). The clause "as it was thought," added by Luke, modifies solely "the son of Joseph," and is not to be understood with the further list of genitives.

D. Whitby (1703 I 336) commented: "I know that the critics say, that 'as was supposed, being' is a tautology; but 'being' (ων) belongs not to this, but to the following sentence, 'being as was supposed' (cf. Plato, *De legib.*)." He believed that both genealogies are Joseph's, but that Mary was herself of Davidic origin.

Luke reminds his readers of His miraculous conception by the Virgin; and his being thus only the *legal* son of Joseph. This is the natural sense and no other would have been thought of, but for its supposed improbability and the uncertainty which it seems to throw over our Lord's real descent. The two main objections to the view that Luke gives Joseph's genealogy is that Matthew has already given Jacob as his father and we ought not to resort to the supposition that he had two names, Jacob and Heli. The second objection is that women's genealogies were not given, and so Joseph's name had to be introduced instead of Mary's, in conformity with the Jewish custom in such tables. These arguments were thought to be attended with fewest difficulties and convinced many that Luke was giving Mary's genealogy under the name of her husband (D. Brown 1969 [1864], 235).

### 2.5.    "As was supposed" applies to each name in the pedigree

The idea that the phrase applied to each name in the list was suggested by J. A. Bengel (1866 I, 379 and 1877 II, 45). He argued that Luke does not say, "being the son of Joseph, as was supposed . . ." but: "being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph . . . ." Therefore both clauses, *being the son* and, *as was supposed,* apply to each step of the pedigree and in such a wise that each step must be understood according to its appropriate character and relation. Jesus *was, as was supposed,* the son of Joseph, i.e. in the estimation of men and Joseph's own civil role. *He was, as was supposed,* the son of Heli; and was so in fact; for his mother Mary was Heli's daughter. "He was, as was supposed, the son of Cainan." Luke guards beforehand against error arising from the popular opinion, while leaving unaltered, or in fact sanctioning the rest of the genealogy, as consonant with the OT, the other public records, and the universally acknowledged historical truth.

This solution is a key to unlock every real and apparent difficulty connected with this long list of individuals. Bengel can re-use the phrase whenever he encounters a difficulty in the list of names.

## 2.6. Mystical—we are not what we appear to be

Philoxenus' so-called Commentary on Matthew and Luke was written in AD 511. He suggested that Luke may be using the expression, "it is supposed," with another meaning, since the Jews of old by supposition were thought to be the sons of God. But men who in reality are sons of grace, are known today as men *by supposition* but in reality as sons of God, because the adoption of sons which they have received is not taken away or changed, but their mutability is in keeping with the Person in whom they have become members.

When the Evangelist compares the birth of the (divine) nature with that of grace, he calls it first by a supposition: "it was supposed that He was the son of Joseph." The saying is fulfilled in Jesus because He was not the son of Joseph in truth. (It is also fulfilled) in the men who have become members of His (body) in that their first birth was not real. Because of this, a second (birth) was needed which made them, not men by supposition, but [eternal] sons of God. Our first birth was not associated with nature in reality but [only] in appearance and in supposition (D. J. Fox, 1979:168, 204).

## 2.7. Luke quoted a genealogy which he knew to be incorrect

The phrase "as was supposed" is held to be Luke's way of telling Theophilos that the genealogy he is about to give is not correct (because Matthew has already given the true pedigree of Jesus).

Both genealogies date from a time when it was important for the Church to demonstrate that Jesus was the Messiah of Jewish expectation by proving that he was descended from David. When the new religion began to attract non-Jews in numbers, this christological argument was subordinated to others more likely to appeal to Gentiles. Nevertheless Luke incorporates this version of Jesus' family tree, perhaps out of loyalty to his sources, even though he no longer believes it to prove anything (since he accepts the account of Jesus' supernatural generation). The parenthesis (*as was supposed*) is his editorial apology for doing so, and at the same time evidence that the list as a whole was not Luke's own compilation (W. L. Liefield, 1984:82).

Eusebius commented: Let us then more carefully explain the meaning of the words themselves. For if when Matthew affirmed Joseph to be the son of Jacob, Luke had in like manner affirmed that Joseph was the son of Eli, there would be some dispute. But seeing the case is that Matthew gives his opinion, Luke repeats the common opinion of many, not his own, saying, *as was supposed*, I do not think that there is any room for doubt. For since there were among the Jews different opinions of the genealogy of Christ, and yet all traced Him up to David because to him the promises were made, while many affirmed that Christ would come through Solomon and the other kings, some shunned this opinion because of the many crimes related of their kings, and because Jeremiah said of Jechonias that "a man should not rise of his seed to sit on the throne of David." This last view Luke takes, though conscious that Matthew gives the real truth of the genealogy (T. Aquinas, 1843:134).

M. D. Johnson (1969:230) noted that others believe that this phrase indicates that Luke was recording a tradition different from Matthew which Luke knew to be incorrect, or that the parenthesis includes also the mention

of Joseph, but Johnson considers these as inept efforts at harmonization of Matthew and Luke at this point. Perhaps the phrase is best taken as an indication of Luke's uncertainty concerning the historical value of the list, or his realization that the genealogical descent of Jesus was already a matter of polemics. Luke, necessarily taking account of their opinion—though it was not his own—added to his account the phrase "as was supposed." In doing this he allowed Matthew to relate the matter, not on the basis of supposition but as having the truth in the matters of genealogy. Eusebius' view is that Matthew's genealogy is correct but Luke has simply stated another Jewish tradition which purported to trace the Messiah through Nathan's line. However, Luke disclaims this tradition by the phrase "as was supposed." Luke merely recorded the opinion held by some, though not by himself.

### 3.    The content of the parenthesis

The focus on what words are to be added to the parenthesis "as was supposed" arose mainly from those who understood Luke to be giving Mary's genealogy.

### 3.1.    Being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph (MT)

This was the orthodox translation of the Textus Receptus until the Greek text of Wescott and Hort began to dominate translations and commentaries. The assumption of the above translation is that Luke gives Joseph's and not Mary's pedigree. Thus: "And Jesus himself was about thirty years of age when he began *his ministry*, being as was acknowledged, the son of Joseph, *who was the son* of Heli, . . . " (R. Ainslie, 1869:102). Exceptions are J. Kitto (1862:786) and W. W. Barndollar (1963:38) who retain the translation "being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph" (MT) while believing that Luke gives Mary's genealogy. N. Scarlett (1798:116), also a supporter of Mary's genealogy preferred the translation: "And Jesus was, when beginning *his ministry*, thirty years of age, being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, *the son-in-law* of Heli, *the son* of Matthat."

J. A. Fitzmyer (1981:499) made the point that the clause "as it was thought," added by Luke, modifies solely "the son of Joseph," and is not to be understood with the further list of genitives.

### 3.2.    Being (as was supposed of Joseph) the son of Heli (MT)

J. J. van Oosterzee (1869:63) supported this translation on the grounds that Luke gives Mary's genealogy. T. Starback (1809 I, 338) translated the clause as: "being (as was supposed the son of Joseph) the son of Heli." Son of Joseph by common report, but in reality the son of Heli by his mother, who was Heli's daughter. Luke gives the "seed of the woman."

W. W. How argued that those who think Luke gives (as we must confess it would be natural he should give) the genealogy of the Virgin Mary, as being our Lord's *real—instead of his* legal—descent, either suppose Joseph to be called son of Heli, though only son-in-law, or else, placing all the words ("being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph") within brackets, understand "[son] of Heli" to be spoken of Jesus, Heli being Jesus' grandfather, and the Virgin Mary's name being omitted, because the Jews did not name women in

their genealogies. It should be remembered that the word "son" never occurs in the Greek throughout this genealogy except only in the first instance "son of Joseph" (W. W. How, 1872: *ad loc.*). F. Gomarus (1631:46; cf. A. Hervey, 1853:351) and G. Raphelius (1746; cf. J. Bevans, 1822:130) preferred: καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος, ὢν (ὡς ἐνομίζετο υἱός Ἰωσήφ) τοῦ Ἡλί.

P. J. Gloag (1895:266) took as his starting point the discrepancy between the two genealogies. It is not disputed, he says, that Joseph was the son of Jacob, but that Joseph was the son of Heli is not so distinctly stated. But the parenthesis may be properly extended so that the words might be read: "Being (the son as was supposed of Joseph) the son of Heli." According to this reading, the meaning might be that Jesus was the supposed son of Joseph, but through His mother Mary, the real son or grandson of Heli. Besides, it is to be remarked that the article τοῦ is omitted before the name Joseph, whilst it is to be found before all the other names belonging to the genealogical series. From this it may be inferred that the name Joseph belongs to the parenthetical clause introduced by Luke; so that the genitive τοῦ Ἡλεί depends, not on Joseph, but on being the son of Heli. The sentence would then read: "Jesus, as was supposed the son of Joseph, being the son of Heli."

F. Godet (1879:198) defines the difficulties as: (i) The absence of τοῦ before the name Ἰωσήφ, and before this name alone, which has never been explained. (ii) We are met by an all but insoluble contradiction between the two evangelists,—the one indicating Heli as the father of Joseph, the other Jacob,—which leads to two series of names wholly different. We might, it is true, have recourse to Africanus' hypothesis. Heli and Jacob were brothers; one of them died without children; the survivor married his widow, and the firstborn of this union, Joseph, was registered as a son of the deceased. But this hypothesis is not sufficient; a second is needed. For if Heli and Jacob were brothers, they must have had the same father; and the two genealogies should coincide on reaching the name of the grandfather of Joseph, which is not the case. It is supposed, therefore, that they were brothers on the mother's side only, which explains both the difference of the fathers and that of the entire genealogies. This superstructure of coincidences is not absolutely inadmissible, but no one can think it natural. (iii) It is not only with Matthew that Luke would be in contradiction, but Luke would be in contradiction with himself. He admits the miraculous birth. But that Luke should have handed down with so much care this series of seventy-three names, after having severed the chain at the first link, as he does by the remark, *as it was thought;* that, further, he should give himself the trouble, after this, to develop the entire series, and finish at last with God Himself;—this is a moral impossibility. What sensible men, asked A. F. Gfrörer (1838), could take pleasure in drawing up such a list of ancestors, after having declared that the relationship is destitute of all reality?

F. Godet (1879:198) refuted the view that both evangelists found conflicting Jewish-Christian genealogies of Joseph composed on the assumption that Joseph was the actual father of Jesus. After the evangelists published their genealogies these were found to conflict with another early theory concerning the virgin birth of Jesus. The evangelists consequently adapted their genealogies to accommodate the virgin birth theory as best they

could. Luke did it with the insertion "as was supposed," while Matthew did it with the periphrasis of 1:16.

On the infancy narratives Godet sees two sources. Matthew got his material from Joseph and Luke from Mary. Something similar occurs again in regard to the two genealogies. That of Matthew which has Joseph in view must have proceeded from his family; that which Luke has transmitted to us, being that of Mary's father, must have come from this latter quarter. This difference of production is connected with a moral cause. The meaning of one of the genealogies is certainly hereditary, Messianic; the meaning of the other is universal redemption. Hence, in the one, the relationship is through Joseph, the representative of the civil, national, theocratic side; in the other, the descent is through Mary, the orgasm of the real human relationship.— Was not Jesus at once *to appear* and *to be* the son of David?—to appear such, through his supposed father; to be such, through Mary from whom He really derived His human existence?

F. Godet (1879:198) is a constant reference point for many commentators (e.g. W. F. Arndt, 1956:123; L. M. Sweet, 1907:211). His view is that the participle ὤν, *being*, makes a strange impression, not only because it is in juxtaposition with (*beginning, being*), and depends on ἦν, the very verb of which it is a part, but still more because its connection with the latter verb cannot be explained by any of the three logical relations by which a participle is connected with a completed verb, *when, because,* or *although*. What relation of simultaneousness, causality, or opposition, could there be between the filiation of Jesus and the age at which He had arrived? This incoherence is a clear indication that the evangelist has with some difficulty effected a soldering of two documents,—that which he has hitherto followed, and which for the moment he abandons, and the genealogical register which he wishes to insert in this place. With the participle ὤν, *being*, there begins then a transition which we owe to the pen of Luke. How far does it extend, and where does the genealogical register properly begin? We have only a hint for its solution. This is the absence of the article τοῦ, *the*, before the name *Joseph*. This word is found before all the names belonging to the genealogical series. The two MSS. H. and I. [*sic?* see § 1 above] read, it is true, τοῦ, before Ἰωσήφ. This lack of the article puts the name Joseph outside the genealogical series properly so called, and assigns to it a peculiar position.

L. M. Sweet (1907:213) has made a concise summary of Godet's position which he rejects. This ingenious theory, which has many great names to support it, is irrevocably shattered upon one simple consideration, he argues, in that it compels us to attribute more than one meaning to the word υιος in a single sentence. The other objections to the theory that Luke is giving Mary's genealogy may be successfully met; this one seems to me fatal, he concluded. Sweet's own solution is that in Luke's researches, he was shown Joseph's civic list, upon which Mary appears as a kinswoman and heir. This interested Luke as did everything concerning Mary, and he adopted the list, merely conforming to etiquette by refraining from the direct mention of Mary's name. In place of doing that, he omitted the article from Joseph's name thus throwing the attention over to Heli, Mary's father and Joseph's uncle, joint heir with Joseph's father in the properties, if such were still in existence.

S. J. Andrews (1891:63; cf. also W. W. Barndollar, 1963:38; J. A. Broadus, 1893:234) follows Godet's reasoning. Two things are in dispute, he says: (i). The position of "son."—υἱός; and (ii), the presence or absence of the Greek article. In the received Greek text the reading is: ὤν, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ, "being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph." The reading of Tischendorf, and Westcott and Hort is: ὤν υἱός, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, Ἰωσήφ, "being the son (as was supposed) of Joseph" (R.V.). The article τοῦ is omitted before Ἰωσήφ (but see Tischendorf for some MSS. which have it [see § 1 above]; cf. also P. Holmes, 1866 II, 92 n), and Joseph is therefore not the first name of the series, but Heli. On what antecedent does Heli depend, upon "son" or "Joseph?" asks Andrews. The alternatives are: "Being son, as was supposed, of Joseph who was the son of Heli," or, "Being son, as was supposed, but falsely, of Joseph, and in fact of Heli." As Luke had already stated in full the manner of Jesus' birth, no reader could fail to understand him that Jesus was not the son of Joseph, as was supposed, but of Heli.

F. Lucas (1712 II, 94) followed by J. MacKnight (1756:10), J. Mill (1761:159), J. Kitto (1862:786), J. H. Godwin (1863:5); J. J. van Oosterzee (1869:62), W. Kelly (1914:425), and W. Hendriksen (1979:220-27), all extend the parenthesis to enclose "of Joseph." N. Scarlett (1798:116) translates as: "And Jesus was, when beginning *his ministry*, thirty years of age, being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, *the son-in-law* of Heli, *the son* of Matthat." J. MacKnight (1756:10; also J. Kitto (1862:786) adds that Jesus was the son of Joseph by common report, but in reality, the son of Heli by his mother who was Heli's daughter. They point to a parallel example in Gen 36:2, where Aholibamah's pedigree is thus deduced, "Aholibamah the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon." For since it appears from vv. 24, 25, that Anah was the son, not the daughter of Zibeon, it is undeniable that Moses calls Aholibamah the daughter of both Anah and of Zibeon as Luke calls Jesus the son of Joseph and of Heli. And as Aholibamah is properly called the daughter of Zibeon, because she was his granddaughter, so Jesus is fitly called the son of Heli because he was his grandson. (The Peshitto, LXX, and Samaritan wrongly altered "daughter" to "son" at Gen 36:2, presumably to avoid giving the impression that Anah was a woman.) Though the words *son of Heli* should be referred to Joseph, they may imply no more than that Joseph was Heli's son-in-law, his son by marriage with his daughter Mary. He notes that the Talmud calls Mary Heli's daughter. T. Starback (1809 I, 338) adds that Luke presents us with the "seed of the woman," because the pedigree goes back to Adam to whom the promise was made.

R. C. H. Lenski (1960:219) asserts confidence in his view when he expostulates: Again, we get no answer when we ask why we have no τοῦ before Ἰωσήφ as we have before every other name, even that of God, if Joseph is one link in this genealogical line? His answer is that Luke distinguishes Joseph from the rest as not being in their line, as being only the supposed father. The objection that, if Luke is giving us the genealogy of Jesus through Mary, Heli would be the grand-father of Jesus and could not be introduced by τοῦ Ἡλί overlooks the fact that sometimes even several links are skipped in the Biblical genealogies; this is the case in Matthew's list and in Ezra 7:3 where six links are omitted as 1 Chr 6:7-11 shows.

He continues: The claim that Mary should have been mentioned as being the daughter of Heli is more than met by Luke's full narrative of how she became the mother of Jesus; every reader knew that ὤν υἱός . . . τοῦ 'Ηλί, "being a son . . . of Heli," could mean only one thing: Heli's son through Mary (and certainly not through a *supposed* father). The parenthesis in our versions should be extended to include the name Joseph: "(as was supposed of Joseph)." To shorten it, as is done in our versions, makes the entire list up to "of God" (v. 38) dependent on "as was supposed," for there is no way to restrict this clause  except by including "of Joseph" in it as a part of the parenthesis.

> The most unwarranted use that is made of the genealogy when it is regarded as presenting Joseph's descent is that of von Hofmann [*sic*.] who is governed by Arian ideas: Jesus has just heard himself called God's Son in v. 22, and this is now to be made clear by the genealogy which shows in what sense alone he is derived from God (τοῦ Θεοῦ, v. 38), only through his legal father Joseph.

Note the scare tactics employed; as if to reject his interpretation one has no choice but to agree with Hoffmann's view. He overlooks the simple fact of Jewish life that a woman's genealogy was known and could be given just as easily as a man's. The genealogy of Judith is given to fourteen generations (cf. Judith 8:1). The reason why so few women's genealogies are given in Scripture is that the conditions or circumstances *did not exist* within the stories covered to give them because the majority of genealogies in the Bible have to do with the continuity of the twelve tribes, or inheritance rights, which was carried forward only in the male line. But that every Israelite woman's birth was registered in Jesus' time is virtually certain given the laws of purity and the laws of marriage that then existed; and probably existed from the days of Ezra and Nehemiah's reforms. It can be argued that if Luke had given Mary's genealogy would not commentators have excused him on the grounds that the paternity of Jesus was unique since he had no human father? If ever a case existed where a woman's genealogy ought to have been given here was that opportunity. But Luke turns it down flat, and instead gives that of Jesus' supposed father. There was no reason why Luke had to conform to male genealogical forms when a woman's genealogy would have suited his purposes at this point. Appeal to the argument that Luke's freedom was curtailed by the rigid customs of those times and he so could not interfere with a registered genealogy at this point is weakened by the fact that he can feel free to insert "as was supposed" into a supposed rigid genealogical form. If he had liberty to make that insertion why not another to the effect that Heli was Mary's father?

J. Kitto (1862 I, 786) had a similar idea, "The Evangelist himself has critically distinguished the *real* from the *legal* genealogy by a parenthetical remark: 'Ιησοῦς ὤν (ὡς ἐνομίζετο) υἱός 'Ιωσὴφ ⟦ἀλλ' οντως⟧ τοῦ 'Ηλί. "Jesus being (as was reputed) the son of Joseph, [but being] the son of Heli," or his grandson by the mother's side; for so should the ellipses involved in the parenthesis be supplied.

### 3.3.  Being the son (as was supposed) of Joseph (UBS³)

H. Alford (1868 I 313; cf. W. H. Mill, 1842:181) is frequently quoted among commentators on this text. His view is that all that we can discover about these two genealogies is that they are *both the line of Joseph*, and *not of Mary*. Whether Mary was an heiress or not, Luke's words here preclude the idea of the genealogy being *hers*; for the descent of the Lord is transferred putatively to Joseph by the clause "as was supposed," before the genealogy begins; and it would be unnatural to suppose that the reckoning, which began with the real mother, would, after such transference, pass back through *her* to *her* father again, as it must do, if the genealogy be *hers*. The attempts of many to make it appear that the genealogy is that of Mary, reading *'the son (as supposed of Joseph, but in reality) of Heli, &c.'* are quite unsuccessful.

It is altogether unnatural to place the comma *after* Ἰωσήφ and not before it: "being the son (as was supposed of Joseph) of Heli"; *i.e.* being supposed to be the son of Joseph, but being really the grandson of Heli. It is not credible that υἱός can mean both son and grandson in the same sentence (W. W. How, 1872: *ad loc.*).

### 3.4.  Being the son (as was supposed of Joseph) of Heli (UBS³)

This translation is intended to facilitate the view that Luke gives Mary's genealogy. The supporters are numerous and include the anonymous *An Essay on the Genealogy of the Lord Jesus Christ* (1843:24), W. W. Barndollar (1963:38), D. Brown (1969 [1864]), p. 235); J. H. A. Ebrard (1863:155); A. S. Lewis (1913:93), J. M. Heer (1910), P. Vogt (1907:81), I. Riggenbach (1885:584), J. Lightfoot (1823:53), F. Lucas (1712:11), J. MacKnight (1756:10), A. T. Robertson (1923:157, 261), J. S. Thompson (1828:33), W. Whiston (1702:177), J. P. Norris (1880 I, 173). The view of B. Weiss (1907:195-200) is much quoted in support of the translation: "Jesus . . . being the son (as it was supposed) of Joseph, [but really the grand]son of Eli." It is urged with much force that Luke would not be likely to present the genealogy of Joseph after having said that Jesus was merely supposed to be the son of Joseph (W. F. Arndt, 1956:123). P. Fairbairn (1858:187) pointed out (following Meyer) that if the meaning had been: "the son, as was supposed, of Joseph, but in reality of Eli" the passage would have read: ὤν, ὡς μὲν ἐνομίζετο υἱός Ἰωσήφ, ὄντως δὲ Μαρίας, τοῦ Ἡλί.

A. Roberts (1895:32) put the issue in black and white terms. Either Heli was only the legal father of Joseph; or Luke gives Mary's genealogy. No writer at the present day dreams of accepting the first of these alternatives; and there is, therefore, no escape from the second. And the clause in question ought, I think, to stand thus: ὤν υἱός (ὡς ἐνομίζετο Ἰωσήφ) τοῦ Ἡλί, etc. The evangelist has it here in view to declare the real pedigree of Christ. "Being the Son," he says, and then guarding against the idea that He was more than putatively the son of the man who was popularly regarded as His father, he adds the parenthetical clause, "as was supposed of Joseph." These words, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, constitute a virtual negation, and it is quite a common habit of language to regard a denial of one thing as implying the affirmation of another, without any formal statement to that effect. In other words, the adversative conjunction may often be left out after a negative clause. Numerous sentences like the following might be quoted: Tacitus says (*Hist.*,

iii. 12), "Ne in Vitellii quidem partibus quietae mentes; exitiore discordia turbabantur;" that is, "Not even on the side of Vitellius were there quiet minds, *but they were really* disturbed with a more fatal discord." And so in the passage before us. It having been denied that Joseph was the real father of Christ, the mind is prepared for accepting Heli as his true human ancestor. There was no necessity to mention Mary; and, indeed, it did not enter into the purpose of Luke, as it did into that of Matthew, to name any women at all.

This translation is refuted by M. D. Johnson (1969:143).

### 3.5.  Being the son (as was supposed of Joseph ... Adam) of God (UBS[3])

The parenthesis is said to include every name except Jesus at the beginning and God at the end. This view was criticised by A. Hervey (1853:10) thus: Certainly to any person of a plain understanding and a candid mind, and a moderate knowledge of Greek, it must be a great relief not to be forced by any stress of weather into such unsafe and unquiet harbours as the notion that ὡς ἐνομίζετο in Luke 3:23, was intended to qualify the whole remainder of the chapter, instead of only the assertion that he was the son of Joseph.

A. Plummer (1922:105), R. J. Bauckham (1990:367), B. S. Easton (1926:44), and A. Hervey (1853:10) rejected this idea: It is very forced and unnatural to take τοῦ Θεός as the genitive of ὁ Θεός, and make this genitive depend upon ὢν υἱός at the beginning of the genealogy, as if Jesus, and not Adam, was styled the "son of God." Thus the whole pedigree from "as was supposed" to "Adam" would be a gigantic parenthesis between "being the son" and "of God". The τοῦ throughout belongs to the word *in front* of it, as is clear from the fact that Ἰωσήφ, the first name, has no τοῦ before it. Each τοῦ means "who was of," that is, either "the son of" or "the heir of." Both AV. and RV. give the sense correctly, says Plummer.

### 3.6.  Beginning to be about thirty years old, being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph

A. S. Lewis (1913:94) judged it is possible in reading Luke 3:23 to shift the bracket, and make the parenthesis to read: "And Jesus Himself was (beginning to be about thirty years old, being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph,) of Heli, of Matthat." The word "son" does not come into the true genealogy at all, but into the supposed one. She says: I would suggest that in Luke's genealogy no man whose name is given is said to be the son of his predecessor in the list. We are only told that our Lord descended from them all; for they all depend separately on the verb ἦν "was". We may assume that the chronological succession is in the main correct, but quite possibly Zerubbabel and Shealtiel ought to come into the list earlier than they do.

### 3.7.  Jesus as the son of each name in the list

J. Lightfoot (1644:54; 1823:53) is frequently quoted directly or indirectly for his support that Luke gives Mary's genealogy. He assumes that Luke drew Jesus' pedigree on the mother's side, who was the daughter of Heli, and this too, as high as Adam, to whom this Jesus was promised. In the close of the genealogy, Luke teaches in what sense the former part of it should be taken; viz. that Jesus, not Joseph, should be called the son of Heli,—and consequently, that the same Jesus, not Adam, should be called the Son of God.

Indeed, in every link of this chain, this still should be understood, *"Jesus* the son of Matthat, *Jesus* the son of Levi, *Jesus* the son of Melchi;" and so of the rest. H. Broughton (1608:10) was the first to suggest this.

Lightfoot argues that this repetition is in conformity with the genealogical style in the book of Genesis 36:2 where Aholibamah's pedigree is thus deduced: "Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the daughter of Zibeon;" for since it appears from verses 24, 25, that Anah was the *son,* not the *daughter* of Zibeon, it is undeniable that as Moses calls Aholibamah the daughter both of Anah and Zibeon, because she was the granddaughter it is plain the repetition must take place in the mind—"Aholibamah the daughter of Anah, Aholibamah the daughter of Zibeon;" so Jesus is fitly called the son of Heli, because he was his grandson (cf. J. Kitto, 1862 I, 786, H. Elsley, 1844 I, 331). Unfortunately for this parallel the term "daughter" (בת) appears before each name in Genesis 36 and so there is no parallel. A. Plummer (1922:103; A. Hervey, 1853:10) criticised Lightfoot's proposal that "Jesus" (viz. υἱός, not υἱοῦ) should be understood throughout; "Jesus (as was supposed) the son of Joseph, and so the son of Heli, and so the son of Matthat . . . . ," but this is not probable because of τοῦ Θεοῦ at verse 38.

The anonymous author of *Jesus, the Son of David* (1730:28) wanted to place the term "son" before each name in the list, concluding with "Jesus son of God." This would deprive Adam of the title "son of God." The justification for such an interpretation is said to be the parallel in Ezra 7:1 where Ezra's name was to be repeated at every person's name, namely, "Ezra the son of Seraiah, Ezra the son of Hilkiah, . . . . Ezra son of Aaron." Let this be applied to Luke 3 and Jesus. Luke directly affirms Jesus to be the genuine son, though not immediately, of Heli . . . of David . . . of Adam. This can be illustrated by Ezra 2:61. Koz as a priest, married a daughter of Barzillai, the Gileadite, and he had many sons descended from him, and afterward from Habaiah. Ezra does not say: "the children of Habaiah, the son of Koz, the son of Barzillai," but speaking of many persons, he repeats the word "children" at every step that he mentions, and says: "the children of Habaiah, the children of Koz, the children of Barzillai."

The same author made the point that the term "son of" is lacking throughout Luke's genealogy hence the nominative "son" at the beginning governs all the names that follow. He rejects the Syriac and Latin translations which make each line a father and son relationship. Luke understood those Certificates in the sense that Ezra did, viz. that the young child initiated is said expressly to be the son of each one in the line of the genealogy. And so, since Jesus is said to be the son of Joseph, with a limitation, "as was supposed," but the son of the rest without limitation; Luke says they were his genuine ancestors, and does not leave it to be drawn by consequence.

I. Williams (1844:105) argued that the construction of the Greek would allow the words "which was the son of" to intervene between each of the successive names; some indeed would understand "Christ which was the son of" to be supplied to each successively: but this seems a forced interpretation.

## 4.0.  Clearing up a misconception—the Greek article

The argument is frequently put forward that the absence of the Greek article before Joseph's name somehow separated him off from the other names in the list. This observation was based on insufficient examples of parallel genealogies. R. Wood (1753) was the first to draw attention to some bilingual inscriptions containing genealogical material discovered in Palmyra (Solomon's Tadmor). The relevance of his discovery to illustrate Luke's genealogy was made by W. Carpenter (1828:217) who in turn was following A. Clarke (1816 IV, 396), who edited the work of T. Harmer (1764:445). F. Martin (1838:86) translated the inscriptions into Latin. The following examples have been collected by G. A. Cooke (1903) which show that it was quite normal to omit the article, without in any way implying that the person so addressed was not the natural son of the named father. I have translated the Aramaic portion using the Greek as a aid to the vocalisation of the names.

No. 120.   (A.D. 179)

| מרחי | | Μάρθειν Ἀλεξάνδρου | Marthi |
|---|---|---|---|
| בדת יד]א | τοῦ καὶ Ἰαδῆ | | daughter of Yade |
| [בר והבלח] | τοῦ Οὐαβαλλάθου | | [son of Wahab-allath] |
| בר שמעו]ן | τοῦ Συμώνου | | son of Shim'on |

No. 121.   (A.D. 242-43)

| יוליס אורלים ובדלא | | Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζηνόβιον | Julius Aurelius Zabd-ila |
| | τὸν καὶ Ζαβδίλαν | | |
| בר מלכו | δὶς Μάλχου | | son of Maliku |
| בר מלכו | | | son of Maliku |
| נשום | τοῦ Νασσούμου | | of Nassum |

No. 110.   A.D. 139

| לאעילמי | | Ἀαιλάμειν | to Aailami |
| בר חירן | Αἱράνου | | son of Hairan |
| בר מקימו | τοῦ Μοκίμου | | son of Moqimu |
| בר חירן | τοῦ Αἱράνου | | son of Hairan |
| מתא | τοῦ Μαθθᾶ | | of Matta |

No. 111.   A.D. 139

| לברייכי | | Βαρείχειν | to Bariki |
| בר אמרשא | Ἀμρισάμσον | | son of Amrisha |
| בר ירחבולא | τοῦ Ἰαριβωλέους | | son of Yarhi-bole |
| ולמקימוע ברה | καὶ Μόκιμον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ | | and to Moqim[u] his son |

No. 112.   A.D. 140

| אצטעלי | | Ἀστάλειν | Astali |
| בר חירן | Αἱράνου | | son of Hairan |
| שבא | τοῦ Σαβᾶ | | of Saba |
| בר חירן | τοῦ Αἱράνου | | son of Hairan |
| בונא | τοῦ Βωννέους | | of Bonne |
| שבת | (omitted) | | of Shabbath |

No. 113.   (A.D. 247)

| יוליס אורליס ובידא | | Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζεβείδαν | Julius Aurelius Zebida |
| בר מקימו | Μοκίμου | | son of Moqimu |
| זבידא | τοῦ Ζεβείδου | | of Zebida |
| עשתור | Ἀσθώρου | | of 'Ashtor |
| בידא | Βαιδᾶ | | of Baida |

No. 125. (A.D. 251)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ספטמיוס חירן | Σεπτίμιον Αἱράνην | Septimius Hairan |
| בר אדינת | Ὀδαινάθου | son of Odainath |

No. 125. (A.D. 251)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| אורליס פלינוס | Αὐρήλιος Φίλινος | Aurelius Philinus |
| בר מריא פלינא | Μαρ. Ἡλιοδώρου | son of Marius Philius |
| רעי | [...] | of Ra'ai |

No. 127. (A.D. 263)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| יוליס או[ר]ליס נבובד | Ἰούλιος Αὐρη[λιος Νεβο]βαδος | Julius Au[r]elius Nebu-bad |
| בר שעדו | Σοάδου | son of So'adu |
| חירא | τοῦ Αι[ρᾶ] | of Haira |

No. 114. (A.D. 155)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| [זבדע]תא | Ζαβδεαθοῦς | [Zabde-'a]the |
| זבדלא | Ζαβδελᾶ | of Zabd-ila |
| ידי | τοῦ Ἰα[δδαίου] | of Yaddai |

No. 115. (A.D. 193)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| תימרצו | Θαιμαρσᾶ | Taim-arsu |
| בר תימא | Θαιμῆ | son of Taime |
| בר מקימו | τοῦ Μοκίμου | son of Moqimu |
| גרבא | τοῦ [Γ]α[ρβα] | of Garba |

No. 116. (A.D. 129)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| יוליס אורליס שלמלת | Ἰ]ούλιον Αὐρήλιο[ν. . .] | Julius Aurelius Salm-allath |
| | [τὸν καὶ Σαλμάλ]λαθον | |
| בר מלא | Μαλῆ | son of Male |
| עבדי | τοῦ [Ἀβδαίου] | of 'Abdai |

No. 128. (A.D. 263)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| יוליס אורליס | Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος | Julius Aurelius |
| ספטמיוס ידא | Σεπτίμιος Ἰάδης | Septimius Yade |
| בר אלכסנדרוס חירן | Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἡρώδου | son of Alexander Hairan |

No. 132. (A.D. 21)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| חשש | Μάλιχον | Hashash |
| בר נשא | Νεσᾶ | son of Nesa |
| בר בולחא חשש | τοῦ Βωλλᾶ | son of Bol-ha Hashash |

No. 122. (A.D. 131)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| למלא | Μαλῆν | [Male] |
| חגרפא | τὸν καὶ Ἀγρίππαν | [Agrippa] |
| ירחי [לשמש?] | Ἰαραίου | of Yarhai |
| רעי | καὶ Ῥααίου | of Ra'ai |

No. 123. (A.D. 254)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ליוליס אורליס עגא | Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ὄγγαν | Julius Aurelius 'Ogga |
| די מתקרא סלוקוס | τὸν καὶ Σέλευκον | who is called Seleukus |
| בר עזיזו | δὶς τοῦ Ἀζίζου | son of 'Azizu |
| עזיזו | | of 'Azizu |
| שאילא | τοῦ Σεειλᾶ | of She'eila |

No. 124. (A.D. 258-59)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| בלעקב | Βηλάκαβος | Bel-'aqab |
| בר חרשא | Ἀρσᾶ | son of Harsha |

It can be seen that the Greek does not insert the article between the first pair of names, but only before subsequent names. This is an exact parallel with Luke 3:23, so that Godet's argument loses its force altogether.

It seems to me that it would be better to translate the disputed phrase as: "He was the *natural* son, so it was thought, of Joseph." This would not invalidate the use of the genealogy as a legal document giving the legal paternity of Jesus, which is how Luke uses the pedigree and this would not contradict his story of the virgin conception. Indeed, it would be just like Luke to insert the phrase deliberately to pre-empt the suspicion that there was an inherent contradiction between mentioning Joseph as Jesus' father and the previous story of the virgin conception, or to avoid the misunderstanding that might arise in a young convert's mind. Luke anticipated, by this phrase, the objection that Joseph could not be the father of Jesus, which shows that he is quoting a legal family document and must insert this phrase in order to safeguard the virgin conception of Jesus which he has just recorded.

It is interesting that the descendants of David were so numerous at Jesus' birth that He was not able to find room in the inn!. It hardly seems likely that the line of Jesus' two grandfathers, Heli and Jacob, had run out.

My conclusion is that the phrase "as was supposed" refers only to the word "son" and not to the words "son of Joseph, etc." Joseph was Jesus' father, but Jesus was not Joseph's natural son. Joseph did not adopt Jesus. Jesus was placed in Joseph's family by the Father. The translation: "Jesus was the *natural* son, as was supposed, of Joseph," would be in keeping with the story of the virgin conception. Luke has in mind to safeguard the miraculous or divine origin of Jesus' human descent, yet at the same time locating him in the human family for whom he came to give his life in a substitutionary death and resurrection.

# Conclusions

## Chapter I.

Chapter One examined fourteen interpretations of Jesus' genealogies. Two of these would appear to have held the attention of the Christian Church. The first is the levirate solution of Africanus, which has the benefit of being the only solution that is said to have been handed down from the relatives of Jesus. It was also the only solution for the first fifteen centuries of Church history.

The second popular solution is that Luke gives Mary's genealogy—the Marian solution. This has the benefit that the writings of the early Church Fathers, even though there were few of them who actually commented on the subject, attributed a Davidic descent to Mary, though strangely, not a single Christian writer for the first fifteen centuries ever thought of attributing Luke's genealogy to Mary.

The universal, sole, and unchallenged view of the Church for the first fifteen centuries was that both genealogies gave Joseph's pedigree.

Both solutions, however, are seriously flawed. Africanus' is flawed because it is at variance with the law governing levirate marriage: uterine brothers could not raise up seed for one another. The Marian solution failed because the text of Luke nowhere mentions Mary in relation to that genealogy which explicitly states that it is the genealogy of Jesus through Joseph. No male is ever given a genealogy through his mother in Hebrew culture. It is with the benefit of hindsight (that Jesus' birth involved a virgin conception, and hence that he had only one natural parent), and also looking at Luke's genealogy through different cultural perspectives that a woamn's genealogy was thought to be the solution to the presence of two distinct, divergent, genealogies in the Gospels. From the point of view of Jesus' contemporaries who did not (I assume) know about his virgin conception until after the resurrection, they could only assume that Joseph was his natural father and hence that Jesus had a direct line going back to Solomon. In this sense Jesus was a descendant of David "according to the flesh."

From the time of the Reformation (Luther) to the present day the Marian solution has been the natural, or culturally acceptable, solution; though it should be noted that there is a distinct trend in modern times to give the text its due weight and to return to the view that both genealogies are Joseph's on the straightforward exegetical grounds that that is what the text purports to give.

The new interpretation put forward in this thesis is in agreement with the modern trend that both genealogies are in fact Joseph's. However, where modern commentators are forced back to Africanus' solution by default, since there is no other rival in the field, I would suggest that both genealogies are Joseph's if we allow that a man had freedom to adopt or graft into his family any male he chose to so adopt. There are many strange instances in OT history where such has been the case, and I would regard them as being exceptional, over against levirate marriage which was a common enough phenomenon throughout the pre-Christian period. I look to an exceptional, almost unheard of provision that goes back to the pre-Mosaic period whereby

a man could incorporate a stranger (a foreigner, a servant, or a proselyte) into his family on his own say-so. It is adoption in this exceptional sense that I would apply to the case of Shealtiel and Joseph: the two key relationships that must be addressed.

Shealtiel's natural father, through his own fault, brought a curse on his family which was to remain on his posterity *for all time*. Shealtiel, to get out from under that curse, opted out of his own family and was adopted into the family of a collateral branch. In this way he avoided the curse that would have hung around him and his posterity for all time. That is how he came to have two fathers: one natural (Jehoiachin), the other adoptive (Neri).

Similarly, Joseph was the natural son of Jacob (the "begat" of Matthew ensures that), but he was also the adoptive son of Heli. It is the parallel with Shealtiel that enables us to see *how* Joseph could have two fathers, but unlike Shealtiel's case we have not the slightest whiff of a suggestion, or a scandal, that would enable us to deduce *why* Joseph had to opt out of his own family and have himself grafted into Heli's, but grafted he was as the parallel case of Shealtiel would suggest. We know the *how* and the *why* in Shealtiel's case; we know only the *how* in Joseph's case. I have been unable to suggest a *why* that is convincing, but I suspect that it had something to do with an altercation between Jacob and Joseph. Maybe it was Jacob's reluctance to approve Joseph's marriage to Mary, who seemed intent on hiding the knowledge of her virgin conception even from Joseph. Did Joseph walk out or was he pushed? We shall probably never know. But one thing we can be sure of from a close examination of the two genealogies is that *he went*. His walk can be plotted in the genealogical steps he has left behind in the two lists of names. He walked *from* one family *into* another, just like his righteous predecessor, Shealtiel, did. Luke's genealogy contains a tantilising story that any reporter of the times would have loved to have scooped.

It is interesting to speculate on the shape of Jesus' genealogy if Jacob and Joseph had not split up. The post-Exilic names would have been identical in both genealogies, and Luke's genealogy would have contained a total of sixty-eight names, and not the intriguing seventy-seven that it now contains. Matthew's genealogy would have remained unaffected with its intriguing three times fourteen scheme unaltered. The *timing* of the Messiah's coming could not be affected by anything man did on the earth, but the final number of generations in the Messiah's genealogy was open right up until the last moment when suddenly it gained nine extra generations in one altercation between a father and a son over a pregnant bride! Did Jacob urge Joseph to go ahead and marry his pregnant *wife* (for such she was in the eyes of the law) with the argument, What difference does it make *when* she became pregnant (insinuating he had pre-marital intercourse with her)? but Joseph resolved, being a righteous man, to divorce her. Was this the origin of the altercation?

Another area ripe for speculation is the tradition that Joseph was an old man (some say eighty years of age) when he married his teenage bride. Why marry so late? Did he have a previous family—Jesus' "brothers and sisters" of the Gospels, being the fruit of that marriage? And why did the eldest son of *that* marriage not claim the inheritance to Solomon's throne ahead of Jesus? There is enough there to keep the fires of scholarly speculation burning for another millennium!

Luke's genealogy has a theological function in that it constitutes the fulfilment of the prophecies that from David would sprout a Righteous Branch. There is not a known sinner among this list of men, and God is set at the head of this list as the Father of them all. Truly this must be a unique genealogy among the genealogies of men when God would deign to acknowledge these unknown men as His descendants. What a privilege to be one of those names! What a dishonour to have been in and then ejected.

## Chapter Two

The omission of the three kings in Matthew's genealogy has fuelled a substantial number of speculations. All the speculations looked for an *internal* cause for their omission; searching for flaws in the characters of the three kings that would justify their exclusion. The most popular explanation was the curse on Athaliah's family who were excluded "to the third and fourth generation." The limited number of kings who were ejected seemed to encourage looking in that direction for a possible explanation.

Having examined in detail all the common denominators that might have isolated these three kings, and finding them inadequate, I came to the conclusion that the cause was *external* and was not located in the kings themselves. The new interpretation put forward in this thesis is that *while the dynasty of Jehu ran its course, the dynasty of David was suspended.* This would explain why Jehoram, who married Athaliah, was not excluded from the list. He is the clue that the cause of the omission is not to be sought in the character of the three kings who were omitted, who were no worse than some other kings, notably Ahaz and Manasseh, who ought to have been omitted if the character of the kings was the principle cause for their omission.

## Chapter Three

The omission of Jehoiakim's name in Matthew's genealogy troubled many commentators through the ages. The general opinion was that his omission was accidental, especially when this was related to the fact that there are only forty-one names given where Matthew 1:17 states that there should be three series of fourteen generations, or forty-two generations. The missing generation is in the second series, precisely where Jehoiakim's name ought to have appeared. However, there is virtually no textual support for his inclusion, so that I have worked on the assumption that his name was deliberately excluded from the list.

I have suggested that the omission was based on the curse that Yahweh placed on Jehoiakim's family *for all time*, that none of his posterity would sit on the throne of David. I have suggested that in order for this curse to be circumvented his son, Jehoiachin, either disowned his father (not likely, because both hated Yahweh), or was moved back one generation by Jeremiah, or that Josiah in his own lifetime designated Jehoiachin as his son (under the name of Shallum), (like Joseph's two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh), or because Jehoiachin reigned as coregent with his father for the entire duration of his rule, and so could replace him without being his successor ("son"). My

preference is that Jehoiachin was moved back one generation and so he became the direct son of Josiah probably before Josiah died and probably done by Josiah himself. This would then clear up the difficulty that many noted where Josiah is said to have begotten "Jechoniah and his brethren." Jehoiachin's uncles (Jehoahaz, Zedekiah) would have become his "brothers" which they are called in Matthew 1:11, if he was moved back one generation.

If Jehoiakim's name was deliberately excluded how can there be fourteen generations "from David to the deportation to Babylon"? Many answers have been given to this question, but they cannot be detailed here. Suffice to say here that there is a satisfactory answer which does not require the insertion of Jehoiakim's name at Matthew 1:11.

## Chapter Four

If one reads Luke's Gospel from the beginning and the narrative of the virgin conception, and one accepts his record at face value, then, indeed, we have a unique person in the Lord Jesus Christ. It does not surprise us, therefore, when we come to read of Jesus' genealogy in chapter three that the phrase "as was supposed" bears the obvious meaning that Joseph was not Jesus' natural father, but it also tells us that somehow the genealogy is directly relevant to Jesus and his standing among the People of God. It tells us he is a Jew. It tells us he belongs to a long line of righteous men going all the way back to God the Father. It tells us that he is a human being who belongs to all the descendants of Adam, and who has a human relationship with every human that was ever born, because all men have descended from Adam. I have nothing new to add to what others have said who have taken the obvious sense of the words. It is best, therefore, to translate Luke 3:23 as: "He was the *natural* son, as was supposed, of Joseph." This then has a direct reference back to chapters one and two.

The indirect benefit of this examination of the phrase is that it may have undermined the arguments of those who would use the phrase to introduce the idea that in this place we have Mary's genealogy. The heavy dependence on the absence of the Greek article before Joseph's name is seen to be of no consequence whatsoever. I have given a few examples where the article is absent, but, nevertheless, where the father-son relationship cannot be in any doubt. Doubtless many more examples of the same could be found.

The argument that Luke was under some cultural taboo, and so could not give a woman's genealogy is pure fiction. Judith's genealogy going back fourteen generations is just one clear example that explodes that myth. If Luke had intended to give Mary's genealogy there was no cultural barrier to doing so. He did not do so, hence we must take the genealogy at its face value as being that of Joseph, her husband, and no one else, not ever hers by marriage. It would not have affected Jesus' Jewishness if Mary had been a Moabitess, or a Hittite, or an Egyptian, or even a Canaanite, for women from each of these nations were wives to men in Matthew's genealogy. Mary's genealogy is irrelevant. Jesus derived his status and standing through his father like all Jewish men of that period did. The evidence, for what it is, would suggest that she was, like Elizabeth hers kinswoman, from the tribe of Levi.

In conclusion I should point out that the findings of this research have gone *with* the textual evidence in every instance of difficulty. The difficulties of going against the textual evidence I consider to be fraught with too many doctrinaire difficulties, and those who have attempted to by-pass the present text have not convinced me that they had an authority superior to that of the manuscript evidence itself, especially where that evidence is clear, unambiguous, and well-attested.

Another guiding factor had been to seek out interpretations which were in harmony with the culture of the Hebrews, and to examine them carefully with a view to assessing what contribution they might make toward an alternative interpretation to that presented by Africanus and the Marian solution. It was not difficult to recognise those ideas and solutions which were out of harmony with the world of the Bible and I did not feel it necessary to point out this fact in every case. Hence I have simply presented their views without any comment.

Approaches to the text ranged from those who had a very low esteem for the biblical material (and there were very many of them) to those who took a slavishly wooden approach to the inspiration of every single consonant of the text, but who lacked the necessary wider understanding of the cultural norms of the Hebrews, to avoid the pitfalls that await the unwary literalist.

Finally, I have set out a minimum criteria by which every proposed solution or reconciliation of the two genealogies ought to be tested. Any departure from these criteria would have to be thoroughly researched and very convincing before it could become part of the solution.

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