THE GENEALOGIES OF JESUS

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Abstract: throughout time the genealogies of Jesus (Matt 1.1-17 and Luke 3.23-38) have been interpreted specifically through harmonization theses and theses that include Mary. However, these theses possess a conjectural and artificial basis that creates unconvincing and unacceptable complications to a critical study. This article reviews those theses, pointing out their errors and incongruities. Subsequently, the author engages in a minute analysis of the genealogies. The result of the analysis is the revelation of new details and observations that lead to more logical, appropriate and enlightening solutions.

Introduction

Throughout History, Christians as well as Jews and Gentiles have ardently discussed the genealogies of Jesus found in Matt 1.1-17 and Luke 3.23-38 (see the respective lists in items 2.1 and 2.2). The discussion is due to the fact that there are great differences between them, which are:

(a) Matthew follows a descending line with forty-one names, and Luke an ascending line with seventy-seven names, plus one supernumerary, that is, God (see item 2.2).[1]

(b) Matthew is more select because he intends only to demonstrate that Jesus is a Jew (by means of Abraham) and is a descendant of David's, whereas Luke adds to this his human nature (through Adam) and his divine nature (through God).

(c) Matthew wants to express the fact that Jesus possesses regal status by listing the kings of Judah, starting with Solomon; whereas Luke prefers to exclude this condition, for in his list there is a deviation to other descendants of David who were not kings, that is, Nathan (see 2 Sam 5.14 and 1 Chron 3.5) and his unknown successors. So while Matthew prefers to construct his list by regal generations, Luke opts for simple filiations.

(d) Luke adds twenty-one names before Abraham to his genealogical list.

(e) From David to Salathiel, Matthew lists sixteen names, and from Zorobabel to Jesus, twelve names. Luke mentions twenty-two and twenty-one names, respectively.

(f) While Matthew makes suppressions and does not repeat names, Luke, apparently, does not proceed to exclusions and repeats several names systematically.

(g) From Abraham to David the lists resemble each other, only coming together in Salathiel, Zorobabel, Joseph, and Jesus.

(h) Matthew places Salathiel and Zorobabel in the kings' lineage, but Luke does not.

(i) Luke writes some names differently from Matthew: Arni instead of Aram; Sala instead of Salmon; and Booz instead of Boez.

(j) Matthew, contrary to Luke, cites some of the mothers' names: Thamar, Rahab, Ruth, Uriah's wife (Bathsheba), and Mary.[2]

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[1] In general, biblical genealogical lists are in a descending order. But there are exceptions as in 1 Chron 6.18-32 and in the LXX, Jdt 8.1.

[2] This probably happens so that there is an opportunity to justify the last mother (Matt 1.16), which was necessary due to her virginal conception (Matt 1.18). Some scholars say that the women mentioned by Matthew are like Mary, to the extent that the power of God has been manifested in them (see J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, Fortress Press [Minneapolis: 1975] 293). This view is confirmed by the irregular biblical situation of the women quoted in Matthew, which can be compared to the extramarital conception of Jesus' mother (for Thamar, see Gen 38.6-30; for Rahab, see Josh 2; 6.17, 25, even though in Matt 1.5 it appears to have occurred a fictitious and forced attribution of maternity, for there is no mention of Rahab in the genealogical lists in 1 Chron 2.12 and Ruth 4.21; for Ruth, see Ruth 2.8-13; 3.7-18; 4.13; and for Bathsheba, see 2 Sam 11). Others, however, prefer to see in the women a universalist intention by Matthew in relation to the recipients of his Gospel, considering the fact that they were not

(k) In the same way, Matthew mentions brothers: the brothers of Judah, and Zerah, the brother of Phares.[3]

(l) Matthew asserts that Jechonias is Salathiel's father, Zorobabel is Abiud's father, and Jacob is Joseph's father, whereas Luke asseverates that Neri is Salathiel's father, Zorobabel is Reza's father, and Eli is Joseph's father.

On one side, the Christians tried to justify some of these differences through harmonization theses on account of the theological need that there should only be one genealogy. They also brought up hypotheses including Mary in one of the two genealogical lists, for Jesus had to be a flesh and blood descendant of David through her virginal conception.

However, the proposals are based on mere suppositions and forced artifices. This conjectural and artificial basis attributes an unconvincing and unacceptable complication to the question from the point of view of a critical study.

On the other hand, this complication has even been adopted at times in critical studies that prefer to formulate incongruous propositions that fall short through lack of adequate and minute analysis. This tendency has led to many errors, which make matters worse. Therefore, it is necessary to review the theses that involve Jesus' genealogies.

The present article proposes to review these theses and engage in a thorough analysis of the structures of the lists and of the names that compose them. In order to do so, new details and observations shall be presented that should lead to more logical, appropriate and enlightening solutions.

1. Theses on the lists in Matt 1.1-17 and Luke 3.23-38

1.1 Review of the theses

Throughout time, the controversy has focused upon the question of the fathers' different names (letter l above). The suggested solution to the problem was to harmonize the lists. Julius Africanus (c. AD 240) was the first to do so through the levirate.[4]

The levirate was a Jewish law that determined that the brother-in-law was to marry his sister-in-law if she became a widow (Deut 25.5-10; Gen 38.8). Based on this law, Africanus came to the conclusion that Jacob and Eli were brothers on their mother's side in the following way: Mathan, a descendant of Solomon's, begot Jacob; when he died, Melchi (in truth, Mathat, according to Luke),[5] a descendant of Nathan's, married Mathan's widow and begot Eli; with Eli's death, Jacob wed his wife and begot Joseph; though legally Joseph was also considered Eli's son; thus, from Africanus's viewpoint, Matthew gives us the genealogy of Jesus' natural ascendants, whereas Luke provides us with his legal ascendants.

Jews (Thamar was sometimes seen as a proselyte; Ruth was a Moabite; Rahab was a resident of Jericho; and Bathsheba was probably a Hittite, like her husband Uriah). For the various hypotheses on the subject see M. D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus*, NTSMS 8, Cambridge University (Cambridge: 1969) 152-179; R. E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, Doubleday (Garden City, New York: 1977) 71-74; C. I. Blomberg, 'The Liberation of Illegitimacy: Women and Rulers in Matthew 1-2', *BTB* 21 (1991) 145-150; R. Bauckham, 'Tamar's Ancestry and Rahab's Marriage: Two Problems in the Matthean Genealogy', *NovT* 37.4 (1995) 313-329; J. Nolland, 'Genealogical Annotation in Genesis as Background for the Matthean Genealogy of Jesus', *Tyndale Bulletin* 47.1 (May, 1996) 115-122; W. J. C. Weren, 'The Five Women in Matthew's Genealogy', *CBQ* 59.2 (1997) 288-305; W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *Matthew 1-7*, International Critical Commentary, T & T Clark Ltd. (London: 2004) 170-172; and U. Luz, *Matthew 1-7*, Hermeneia, Augsburg Fortress (Minneapolis: 2007) 83-85.

[3] These may have appeared briefly in the list because they send us on to Jacob's twelve sons, and the fact that Phares and Zerah were twins (Gen 38.27-30). On this matter, see W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *Matthew 1-7*, International Critical Commentary, T & T Clark Ltd. (London: 2004) 169-170.

[4] Julius Africanus, *Letter to Aristides*, in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.7.1-17.

[5] Africanus appears to ignore the correct name, that is, Mathat. He may have had in hand an incomplete list. This deficiency occurs in other manuscripts, such as in B N U (seventy-six names) and sy.[sin.] (seventy-three names). Irenaeus, in *Adv. Haer.* 3.22.3, speaks of seventy-two names. On the other hand, some believe that, instead of seventy-seven, the Luke 3.23-38 list had fewer names originally if we consider that Africanus also did not know of Mathatha and Levi, even as in other manuscripts Aminadab and Menna are missing (respectively, B and A).

On the other hand, Eusebius considered that Mary must have been from the same tribe as Joseph, for Mosaic Law did not permit marriage between members of different tribes (Num 36.8-9).[6] More precisely, the Fathers of the Church were unanimous in asserting that Mary was David's descendant due to the theological need to confirm Jesus' carnal Davidic origin in accordance with the literal interpretation of Rom 1.3.[7]

Others add that Mary was also Eli's daughter. If so, Mary would have been Joseph's half sister. That is why Luke's list would bring us Mary's ancestors, while Matthew's, Joseph's.[8] In an attempt to confirm this hypothesis there are those who mention the passage in the rabbinical *Ḥăgigāh* 77d treaty in the Talmud of Jerusalem, in which a character called "Mary, daughter of Eli" can be found.[9]

Another explanation would be Joseph's adoption by Eli, Mary's father, who did not have any brothers (Ezra 2.61; Neh 7.63; 1 Chron 2.21-22, 34-35; Num 27.3-11).[10]

Recently, a new thesis has come to light based on the Jewish genealogies of the Second Temple period, in which the names Joseph and Mary were quite common. Because of this, said thesis defends the existence of four different and independent genealogical sources that form the genealogies of Matthew and Luke, and that an incorrect juxtaposition between them must have occurred, causing Mary, Jesus' mother, to have both a father and a husband called Joseph, in which the first was the son of Eli and the second the son of Jacob.[11]

With respect to the names of Salathiel's father (Jechonias-Neri) and Zorobabel's son (Abiud-Reza), there are not only internal but external problems in the lists. In full agreement with Matthew, 1 Chron 3.17 gives Jechonias as Salathiel's father and not Neri, who is unknown. Nevertheless, both Matthew and Luke differ from 1 Chron 3.19-20 in regard to the names Abiud and Reza, who do not appear among Zorobabel's sons. The solutions proposed to these divergences are the following:

(a) Melchi, according to levirate law, married the widow of Joachim (this name does not appear in Matt 1.11-12; see item 2.1 and note 23), Jechonias's father, begetting Neri. Thus, Jechonias would be Neri's brother on his mother's side. Neri having died, Jechonias married his widow, begetting Salathiel through her.[12]

(b) No explanation has been offered to justify why the so-called Abiud should be Zorobabel's son, but Reza has been considered to be a name that should be understood as an attribute to Zorobabel, who had supposedly been a "prince" – *rēʾšāʾ* in Aramaic – of Judah, just as his predecessor Sheshbazzar had been (Ezra 1.8). Following this line of thought, Joanan

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[6] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.7.17.

[7] For example: Justin, *Dial.* 100; Ignatius, *Eph.* 18; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 3.21.5; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 2.32 (*PG* 2, 852); Epiphanius, *Haer.* 51.11; Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 1.2 (*PL* 42, 471-472), in which he interprets Rom 1.3 in the biological sense.

[8] According to F. X. Patrizzi, in *De Evangeliis* (Freiburg in Breisgau: 1853) 2, 84-91, this thesis was first formulated by Annius of Viterbo (c. 1490), in his comment on the work *Breviarium de Temporibus* by Philo.

[9] The quotation by *y. Ḥăg.* 77d was first made by John Lightfoot, in *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae in quatuor Evangelistas*, J. B. Carpzov (Leipzig: 1679). There is a synthesized repetition of the same report in *y. San.* 23c. On the other hand, the thesis that Mary's father was called Eli goes against the 2nd century AD Christian tradition expressed in the Proto-evangel of James, in which Mary's father is called Joachim, not Eli. Cornelius à Lapide, in *Luke 3:23*, *The Great Commentary*, John Hodges et al., 4th ed., trad. by Thomas W. Mossman (London: 1890), attempts to conciliate Eli with this tradition by considering that this name may be an abbreviation for Eliachim, which is an alternative for Joachim (see 2 Kings 23.34 and 2 Chron 36.4). In counterpart, John Damascene, in *Fide Orthodoxa* 4.14, states that Eli was Joseph's cousin, and Patrizzi, in *De Evangeliis* (Freiburg in Breisgau: 1853) 2, 98, based on an analysis of John Damascene's text, believes that Joseph was Mary's uncle.

[10] According to a proposal by V. U. Holzmeister, 'Ein Erklärungsversuch der Lk-Genealogie (3, 23-28)', *ZKT* 47 (1923) 184-218; and by L. Nolle, 'Old Testament Laws of Inheritance When He taught', *NTS* 5 (1958-59) 291-98. But Augustine, in *De Consensu Evang.* 2.4 (*PL* 34, 1072-1073), had already formulated this proposal although he later gave it up (see *Retractat.* 2.12, *PL* 32, 632-633). Recently, Yigal Levin, in 'Jesus, Son of God and Son of David: The Adoption of Jesus into the Davidic Line', *JSNT* 28.4 (2006) 415-42, has shown that this thesis can be discarded because this kind of adoption system was unknown in Jewish Law at the time of Jesus' birth.

[11] This thesis was formulated by Barbara Sivertsen, in 'New Testament Genealogies and the Families of Mary and Joseph', *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 35, no. 2 (2005) 43-50.

[12] As it was suggested by A. Plummer, in *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Luke*, Scribner (New York: 1922) 104; and I. H. Marshall, in *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, Paternoster (Exeter: 1978) 163.

should be identified as Hananiah, Zorobabel's son (1 Chron 3.19, 21), for Joanan is an alternative nominal form for Hananiah (both mean "God is merciful"). Therefore, the Joanan-Reza-Zorobabel set should be interpreted in the following manner: Hananiah, (son of) Prince Zorobabel.[13]

1.2 Objections to the theses and solutions proposed for Jesus' genealogies

In truth, all of these attempts are unconvincing owing to the following objections:

(a) That the kings listed by Matthew should be insignificant to the point where Luke would scorn them is inadmissible. In other words, one way or another, if the kings were truly Jesus' ancestors, Luke would never have been able to detour to Nathan. Hence, there was no reason for Luke to scorn Solomon's descendants near Joseph, in other words, Mathan and Jacob, since they came from a more important branch.

(b) Africanus's hypothesis is quite seductive in its arguments, and even quite versatile in the particular that states that it might have been conceived not only by starting on Matthew's side, but also on Luke's, in the following manner: Mathat, Nathan's descendant, begot Eli; after his death, his wife marries Mathan, Solomon's descendant; from this union Jacob was born; when Jacob died, Eli marries his widow, who gives birth to Joseph; notwithstanding all this, Jacob is still Joseph's father legally. Through this alternative, Matthew would give us the legal lineage and Luke the natural one.[14] Obviously, Africanus must have opted for the alternative with Matthew because his Gospel lists the kings of Judah as Jesus' ancestors, preferring thus to give this last one a royal nature. Yet, Africanus's thesis has a serious shortcoming: it is restricted to only part of the generations, forgetting all the others and ignoring the problem caused by the presence of Salathiel and Zorobabel in both lists, which emphasizes the facts that Matthew's genealogy is composed of kings, from Solomon to Jechonias, contrary to Luke's, which is not, and that the names before Salathiel and after Zorobabel are totally different in both lists.

(c) The levirate proposal between Melchi and Joachim could provide a completion to Africanus's thesis. However, it is easily dismantled the moment we realize that Joachim's son was ignored by Matthew (in reality, in Matt 1.11-12, Jechonias is Joachim, Jechonias's father; see item 2.1 and the end of note 23), and the fact that the father of both Melchi and Joachim would have had to be the same person obligatorily (in Matthew, he is Josias, and in Luke, he is Addi). In addition, this proposal brings another complication: levirate law between Melchi and Salathiel causes the return to Luke's list if we consider that Abiud is unknown. This return to Luke ends up invalidating Matthew completely from Abiud onwards.[15]

(d) It is also difficult to accept the thesis that presents Reza as only an attribute and not a name if we take into account the fact that Reza would have to be an ancestor perforce in order to obtain exactly twenty names in the first part of the forty-name group in which Jesus' unknown ascendants are found (apart from Zorobabel and Salathiel; see Luke 3.23-31). Furthermore, the name Joda, which precedes Joanan, does not appear in the list of Hananiah's sons in 1 Chron 3.21. This detail leads us to the conclusion that the Joanan mentioned in Luke's genealogy is not Hananiah (see J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, Fortress Press [Minneapolis: 1975] 296).

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[13] A. Hervey, in *The Genealogies of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, Cambridge, MacMillan and Co. (London: 1853) 111-121, was the person who formulated this hypothesis.

[14] A. Hervey, in *The Genealogies of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, Cambridge, MacMillan and Co. (London: 1853) 13, defends this alternative thesis, contrary to Africanus's, in which Matthew gives the legal lineage and Luke the natural lineage. In spite of this, there are other scholars who prefer to create new levirates. It is the case of J. Masson (see note 23). However, the creation of more levirates does not exempt from the possibility of inversion (see A. Valdez, in 'Response to the article Some Questions Regarding Adylson Valdez' Treatment of the Genealogies of Jesus', *Living Tradition* 161 [Nov. 2012] 1-4, esp. 3).

[15] It is possible to reason that Matthew jumped Zorobabel's sons, going straight to Abiud, doing the same with some of the following names, with the purpose of reducing their number to 14. However, even so, the names he lists never coincide with Luke's, which should have happened at some point, even more so since Luke gives us a much more reliable number of names.

(e) The hypothesis that Matthew gives us Joseph's ancestors, and Luke, Mary's, has no grounds, for the evangelists were not worried about this distinction: both of them wanted to express Joseph's genealogy with real vehemence. The insistence that Joseph was David's descendant is clearly expressed in Matt 1.20 and in Luke 1.27; 2.4. About Mary's origins, they declared not a thing. This fact had an obvious reason: among the Jews, the genealogy could only be formed by the male ancestors of the father of the descendant in question. Therefore, in order to have credibility both genealogies could not be based on Jesus' mother's ancestors.[16]

(f) Moreover, if it is biologically and theologically necessary that Mary belong to Judah's tribe and be David's descendant, then, instead of looking for such complex explanations as the levirate, it would be preferable to imagine, hypothetically, that Mary may be David's descendant through one of his other sons, rather than Solomon and Nathan (see 1 Chron 3.1-9).[17]

(g) Thus it being evident that the evangelists had only to express Joseph's genealogy and that Mary could have descended from another one of David's sons, the hypotheses of legal, natural and adoption lineages lose their significance, causing them in truth to become rather forced, imaginative theses that create suppositions that go beyond the Gospel texts and the evangelists' original intentions. The same can be said with respect to the levirate idea.

(h) Finally, *Ḥăgigāh* 77d is of no use in forwarding the idea that the character called Mary that appears in it is Jesus' mother, for this text refers to Eli Bitsaliym's daughter, seen in a dream by a Jewish holy man. The character appears there in a merely figurative function and, according to the context, seems to be related to a spell. Therefore, there is no possibility of identification and confirmation.[18]

Faced with all of this, we may conclude that all the hypotheses are invalid. In reality, whether through separate analysis or through harmonization attempts, the two lists are incompatible, and, undoubtedly, neither Luke nor Matthew knew of the other's list.[19]

Because of this conclusion, it becomes necessary to formulate other more logical theses to explain Jesus' genealogies.

In the following we shall attempt to undertake this formulation with a thorough analysis that shall take into consideration:

(a) The systems used by the evangelists to form the lists.

(b) The morphology and meanings of the names that compose them.

(c) The comparison of the names in the list to other biblical names.

(d) The possible historical, biblical, theological, analogical and typological relations that involve them.

Thus, let us go on to the analyses.

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[16] The genealogies would also have had to be made through the father and the respective male ancestors even if the descendant in question were a woman, as we see in 1 Chron 2.34-41 and Jdt 8.1.

[17] However, one should remember that Luke 1.5, 36 seems to insinuate that Mary was from a sacerdotal lineage, for Elisabeth, a descendant of Aaron's, was her relative. Even so, according to J. A. Fitzmyer, in *The Gospel according to Luke I-IX*, I, Anchor Bible, Doubleday (Garden City, New York: 1981-1985) 357, there is a great chance that such an insinuation be a Luke's creation.

[18] In the text *y. Ḥăg.* 77d we find "Miryam, daughter of Eli Bitsaliym". The last name can be translated as "Eli Onion". In the passage Miryam appears to a Jewish holy man in a dream, in which she is to remain hanging from the nipples of her breasts with the bolt of Gehenna gate fixed in her ear until Simeon bar Shatah should come. It is significant to point out that the character is quite allegoric, representing some kind of immoral situation that happened at the time when the text was written.

[19] According to F. D. Bruner, in *Matthew: a Commentary, The Christbook, Matthew 1-12*, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. (Michigan: 2007) 15, the recommendation given nowadays by most scholars is not to try to harmonize the genealogies.

2. Analysis of the genealogies

2.1 Analysis of the genealogy in Matt 1.1-17

The genealogy in Matt 1.1-17 seeks mainly to demonstrate that Jesus Christ has regal ascendancy represented by David and his descendant kings, thus claiming for him the right to inherit David's throne and the quality of the Messiah. Yet, secondarily, it aims at stating that Jesus is a legitimate Jew by means of Abraham's figure.

Besides these explicitly declared aims in the first verse, the evangelist wanted to attribute the aspect of perfection to his genealogy when he observes in verse 17 that there were three sets of generations, each formed by number 14, summing up forty-two generations. This numerical workmanship would leave the impression that the regal lineage, the chronology, and the Jewish History had been determined on a perfect, occult divine plan.[20]

Let us see how these sets were composed obeying the configuration in Matt 1.2-16 and transposing them into English so as to bring them closer to the original Greek:

1. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Judah, Phares, Esron, Aram, Aminadab, Naasson, Salmon, Boez, Jobed, Jesse, David.

2. David, Solomon, Roboam, Abiah, Asaph, Josaphat, Joram, Ozias, Joatham, Achaz, Ezechias, Manasses, Amos, Josias, Jechonias.

3. Jechonias, Salathiel, Zorobabel, Abiud, Eliachim, Azor, Zadok, Achim, Eliud, Eleazar, Mathan, Jacob, Joseph, Jesus.

Notably, in contrast to what is stated by the evangelist in verse 17, what exists in reality in Matt 1.2-16 are fourteen names in the first set, fourteen generations in the second (which, therefore, has fifteen names), and fourteen names in the third.[21] Thus, the only set that contains fourteen generations is the second one, being that the others are composed of thirteen generations each, summing up forty generations, instead of forty-two.[22]

Besides this, the evangelist omitted several kings, who were Achaziah, Joash, and Amaziah, between Joram and Ozias, as well as he intentionally considered Joachim to be Jechonias, who was in truth his son and successor, thus causing this "Joachim-Jechonias" to become Salathiel's father.[23] He also eliminated the principal descendants after Zorobabel: Hananiah, Meshulam,

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[20] Some scholars profess that Matthew adopted number 14 because he was thinking of the gematria of the name David, which comes to 14 (see J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, Fortress Press [Minneapolis: 1975] 292). W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, in *Matthew 1-7*, International Critical Commentary, T & T Clark Ltd. (London: 2004) 165, believe that the name David is the key to the numerical pattern of Matthew's list, since David appears in the fourteenth position and because the name has three consonants, symbolizing the three sets or the historical periods of fourteen generations. Nevertheless, the most logical choice would be to think that the numerical pattern in Matthew was born from the evangelist's simple observation of the fact that the first set, intentionally initiated and ended in important names, that is, Abraham and David, summed up fourteen names. And thus, due to this, he decided to force this pattern upon the other sets, even if it were to be done in a specious and artificial manner, with the intention of giving the impression that there had been perfect historical cycles (see Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, Word Biblical Commentary, 33A, Word Incorporated [Dallas: 1993] 8).

[21] The sets of generations would may have been formed in the following way: (a) from Thare-Abraham (Gen 11.27) to Jesse-David; (b) from David-Solomon to Josias-Joachim (1 Chron 3.15-16); and (c) from Joachim-Jechonias to Joseph-Jesus. The apparent mistake in Matt 1.17 is due to the forced desire to begin with Abraham (Matt 1.1), to suppress several names, and to divide the list into three historical periods with identical symbolical numbers.

[22] The evangelist added the Josias-Jechonias generation to the end of the second set (Matt 1.11). Because of this decision, the second set ended up actually being formed by fourteen generations. On the other hand, it is possible to find two gaps on the Matthew's genealogy: between Josias-Jechonias and Jechonias-Salathiel, by regarding Josias-Jechonias as Josias-Joachim (1 Chron 3.15-16; see note 23); and between Jacob-Joseph and Mary-Jesus (Matt 1.16). In this manner, in spite of verifying fifteen names in the third set, there would be thirteen generations in this interpretation anyway, not fourteen. For the different hypotheses on the topic, see Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, Word Biblical Commentary 33A, Word Incorporated (Dallas: 1993) 5-6.

[23] The suppression of Achaziah, Joash, and Amaziah may have been result of a purist attitude on the part of the evangelist if we consider that these kings were sinners (2 Chron 22.3-4; 24.17-27; 25.2-4), or it may have been the result of an error (see J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, Fortress Press [Minneapolis: 1975] 294). There are also those who believe that the elimination occurred because those kings had been assassinated. As for the suppression of Joachim, it is understood that a mistake was committed because of the similarity between the names Joachim and Jechonias, also called Joachim (see J. Masson, *Jésus, Fils de David dans les Généalogies de Saint Mathieu et de Saint Luc* [Paris: Téqui, 1982] 42-55; and A. Vögtle, 'Josias zeugte den Jechonias und seine Brüder

Shechaniah, Neariah, and Elioenai. We found these missing names in 1 Chron 3.10-24. Therefore, he suppressed at least nine characters with the obvious intention of making his genealogy conform to the number 14 principle. The same can be said about the names listed between Zorobabel and Joseph: there should have been at least twenty generations in this interregnum, considering the approximately six-hundred-year time span.[24]

The evangelist's initial source for the composition of his list may have been 1 Chron 1-3, except for preferring to follow the Hag 1.1, Ezra 3.2 and Neh 12.1 tradition with respect to Salathiel, since 1 Chron 3.19 states that Zorobabel's father was Pedaiah, not Salathiel.[25]

The names found between Zorobabel and Joseph form a set of nine unknown forbearers. Next we shall analyze each one of them.

The name of Abiud is only repeated in 1 Chron 8.3 in reference to one of Benjamin's grandsons, the son of his first-born Bela. Considering not only the fact that this personage descends from Jacob and ascends from King Saul (1 Sam 9.1-2; 1 Chron 8.33; 9.39), but also that Benjamin is constantly mentioned with Judah (2 Chron 15.2, 8-9; 25.5; 31.1; Ezra 4.1-2; 10.9), it is probable that the presence of the name Abiud on the list indicates a desire to connect Jesus to the royal status of Benjamin's tribe through Benjamin's companionship with Judah (see 1 Kings 12.21; 2 Chron 11.10-12, 22-23). Whereas, on the other hand, placing Abiud on the list may have something to do with the name Joseph, which reminds us of Benjamin's brother and Jesus' father.

Eliachim refers to the King of Judah, son of Josias, also called Jechonias, found in 2 Kings 23.34 (see 2 Chron 36.5-8). In Matt 1.11-12, this king appears with the name Jechonias (see the end of note 23).

Azor originates from the same root of the name Azariah, in reference to the king of Judah also called Ozias (1 Chron 3.12; 2 Chron 26; 2 Kings 14.21-22; 15.1-7), who can be found in Matt 1.8-9.[26]

Zadok refers to David's priest, in 1 Chron 6.8 and 18.16 (see 2 Sam 8.17).[27]

Achim is the abbreviation for Achimaaz, which refers to the son of Priest Zadok, who was David's ally, as we see in 1 Chron 6.8-9 and 6.53 (see 2 Sam 17.17). Thus, it is not by chance that in Matt 1.14 Achim is the descendant of a so-called Zadok.

Eliud is not repeated in the Bible. But it would appear that the evangelist came up with this name based on Abiud since they are both close in meaning: Abiud, "Father of praise", and

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[Mt 1,11]', *Lex tua Veritas* [Festschrift H. Junker, Paulinus; Trier, 1961] 307-13; 'Die Genealogie Mt 1,2-16 und die matthäische Kindheitsgeschichte', *BZ* NF 8 [1964] 45-58, 239-62; 9 [1965] 32-49, reprinted in *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien* [Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1971] 57-102). J. Nolland, in 'Jechoniah and His Brothers (Matthew 1:11)', *BBR* 7 (1997) 169-178, asserts that the expression "Josias begot Jechonias and his brothers" in Matt 1.11 – which is wrong since Josias was really Jechonias's grandfather, besides the fact that Jechonias had only one brother, as shown in 1 Chron 3.15-16 – indicates that Matthew indirectly suggested his father Joachim through Jechonias in order to evoke significant features of the period of the Babylonian conquest and to span the final two generations of the Judean Monarchy. However, if truth be told, it appears that Matthew simply wanted King Joachim to be confused with Jechonias so that he could go directly to Salathiel. Thus, from the point of view of the evangelist's intentions, the beginning of the third set would be "correct", since Jechonias was Salathiel's father (see 1 Chron 3.17), and the expression "Josias begot Jechonias and his brothers" would not be wrong, for Matthew's "Joachim-Jechonias" really did have three brothers (see 1 Chron 3.15).

[24] According to J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, Fortress Press (Minneapolis: 1975) 294; and R. E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah*, Doubleday (Garden City, N. York: 1977) 93. In reality, the total of the counting of years among the generations can be even higher (see A. Valdez, in 'Response to the article Some Questions Regarding Adylson Valdez' Treatment of the Genealogies of Jesus', *Living Tradition* 161 [Nov. 2012] 1-4, esp. 2).

[25] According to W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, in *Matthew 1-7*, International Critical Commentary, T & T Clark Ltd. (London: 2004) 180, Matthew must have adopted the LXX, for this places Salathiel as Zorobabel's father in 1 Chron 3.19. In the same way, see D. J. Harrison, *The Gospel of Matthew*, Sacra Pagina, Michael Grazier Book, Liturgical Press (Minnesota: 2007) 29.

[26] Azor belongs to the same name root as Azariah (2 Chron 29.12), Azur (Jer 28.1; Ezek 11.1), and Azereel (1 Chron 12.6).

[27] The Vulgate numeration has been adopted in this article for the verses in chapters 5 and 6 of 1st Chronicles. In the Massoretic Text and in the LXX, 1 Chron 6.1-15, it corresponds to 5.28-41 and in 1 Chron 6.16-81 to 6.1-66.

Eliud, "God is my praise". Furthermore, apart from Jesus, they lead two subgroups which are formed by five names each: from Abiud to Achim and from Eliud to Joseph.[28]

Eleazar reminds us of the son of Aaron and Zadok's forbearer in 1 Chron 6.3 (see Num 20.24-28 and Deut 10.6).

Among the seven names mentioned above, it is important to understand that Eliachim appears in Matt 1.12 in the form of Jechonias, and Azor or Azariah in the form of Ozias in Matt 1.8-9. It is also important to observe the connection that exists between Abiud and Joseph (Matt 1.16), Zadok and Achim, Eliud and Abiud, Eleazar and Zadok (Matt 1.14). It is interesting to notice that the names Azariah, Zadok, and Achimaaz appear together in 1 Chron 6.8-10. Perhaps this passage inspired the evangelist to compose the Azor-Zadok-Achim set in Matt 1.14.

Finally, we can add that Mathan (Matt 1.15) is an abbreviation for Mathaniah, which designates the last king of Judah before the Babylonian exile, who was also called Zedekiah, son of Josias (as was Eliachim or Jechonias) in 2 Kings 24.17 and 2 Chron 36.11.[29] This observation appears to be of significance in understanding the list in Matt 1.13-15: similar to what happened in the History of Judah, Mathan, or Mathaniah, is the last member in the intermediary list, preparing it for Jacob and Joseph (Matt 1.15-16), names which also refer to another Hebrew exile, that of Egypt (Gen 25.26; 30.22-24; Exod 1.1-14; 1 Chron 2.1-2). As a matter of fact, this intentionally analogical connection is confirmed by Matt 2.13-15 (Joseph's and Jesus' refuge in Egypt).

Confronted by all these observations, we can raise the hypothesis that the nine names in Matt 1.13-16, from Abiud to Jacob, possess a historical-theological background that relates to sacerdotal, Benjaminite and Davidic lineages. It would appear that this background determines a typological analogy between the exile of the Jews and that of Jesus in Egypt through the names of Mathan (Mathaniah), Jacob, and Joseph.[30]

It is possible that some names have been abbreviated (Azariah-Azor, Achimaaz-Achim, and Mathaniah-Mathan) and repeated by means of modifications (Joachim-Jechonias-Eliachim, Ozias-Azariah-Azor, and Abiud-Eliud) with the simple purpose of filling the gaps and completing the perfect number of fourteen names in the third group. The possibility of this technique is confirmed through the identifications that exist between several of the names and, especially, through Mathan's internal typological function.

2.2 Analysis of the genealogy in Luke 3.23-38

In the text that we are about to analyze we did not find a declaration of the evangelist's objectives for presenting his genealogy. However, in a general way, we can say that the intention of indicating the Davidic lineage does exist, just as that of showing Jesus' human and divine nature due to the mention of the names David, Adam, and God. But more specifically the evangelist connects him to the Hebrew race through the name of Abraham.[31]

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[28] W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, in *Matthew 1-7*, International Critical Commentary, T & T Clark Ltd. (London: 2004) 181, observe that the name Eliud appears in the LXX text in the Alexandrian Codex, in 1 Chron 12.20-21. Nevertheless, it is probably a copy error since in the other LXX codexes, it is Elimuth, and in the Massoretic Text, Elihu.

[29] Mathan is also the name of a priest of the god Baal (see 2 Kings 11.18; 2 Chron 23.17). K. H. Rengstorf, in *Das evangelium nach Lukas*, NT Deutsch 3 (Göttingen: 1965) 60, assumes that the name Mathan has to do with the name Mathat, which is in Luke 3.24, and who, like Mathan, precedes Jesus' grandfather. J. Jeremias, in *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1975) 292, states that it is impossible to be sure of this since the Mathat in Luke may not be original. In truth, considering the whole formation of Matthew's genealogical set, the tradition adopted by him is visibly independent from that of Luke's. Thus, such a hypothesis has no reason to be considered.

[30] The typological function of the Jacob-Joseph-Jesus group had already been observed by H. C. Waetjen, in 'The Genealogy as the Key to the Gospel according to Matthew', *JBL* 95 (1976) 205-230, esp. 225-227.

[31] The placement of God in Luke's list has the clear intention of stating Jesus as the direct descendant of God, and, because of this, that he had a divine nature. No other genealogical list in the Old Testment nor in non-canonical texts mentions God. In general, the veterotestamentary text presents God merely as the creator. Thus, to Luke, Jesus was not only the son of man, through Adam, but also the son of God, and the only one who could have God as his genealogical ancestor. For this matter, see R. T. Hood, 'The Genealogies of Jesus', *Early Christians Origins*, FS H.

The list is formed by seventy-seven principal names that may be divided into three groups, in which the first contains seven names and the others are composed of thirty-five names each, subdivided into five groups with seven names, summing up seventy names. At the end of the list the name of God appears as a culminating supernumerary. Let us see how they are displayed by separating them into groups and subgroups while respecting the original Greek format as far as possible when transposing them into English:[32]

Group 1: Jesus, Joseph, Eli, Mathat, Levi, Melchi, Jannai.

Group 2:

2.1. Joseph, Mathathias, Amos, Nahum, Esli, Naggai, Mahath;

2.2. Mathathias, Semein, Josech, Joda, Joanan, Reza, Zorobabel;

2.3. Salathiel, Neri, Melchi, Addi, Cosan, Elmadam, Er;

2.4. Jesus, Eliezer, Jorim, Mathat, Levi, Simeon, Judah;

2.5. Joseph, Jonam, Eliachim, Melea, Menna, Mathatha, Nathan.

Group 3:

3.1. David, Jesse, Jobed, Booz, Sala, Naasson, Aminadab;

3.2. Admin, Arni, Esron, Phares, Judah, Jacob, Isaac;

3.3. Abraham, Thare, Nachor, Serug, Ragau, Phaleg, Eber;

3.4. Sala, Cainan, Arphaxad, Sem, Noah, Lamech, Mathusalah;

3.5. Enoch, Jaret, Malaleel, Cainan, Enos, Seth, Adam.

Supernumerary: God.

The principle list formative in Luke 3.23-38 is number seven, which is repeated eleven times to sum up seventy-seven (without counting God at the end).[33] In the Bible, number seven indicates plenitude; in fact, Jesus' coming signifies the plenitude of the times in the Gospels (Mark 1.15; Matt 4.17; Luke 4.21; John 1.16), in other words, the time when the prophecies and the divine promises were fulfilled.[34] And it would appear that the evangelist wants to show this condition of plenitude, both chronologically and historically, by using number seventy-seven in his genealogy.[35]

Group 1 should be distinguished from the others for three reasons:

(a) It is also a formative principle in itself, especially for the second group if we consider the names Jesus and Joseph, which appear as leaders of subgroups 2.1, 2.4, and 2.5, and the names Melchi, Mathat, and Levi, which are repeated in subgroups 2.3 and 2.4.

(b) There are names that have similar forms both in the first and second groups: Joseph-Josech, Eli-Esli-Elmadam-Eliezer-Eliachim, Mathat-Mathathias-Mahath-Mathatha, Melchi-Melea, and Jannai-Jonam.

R. Willoughby, ed. A. Wikgren, Quadrangle Books (Chicago: 1961) 14-15; and J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I-IX*, I, Anchor Bible, Doubleday (Garden City, New York: 1981-1985) 504.

[32] The list of names in Luke 3.23-38 presented in this article follows Nestle-Aland's[27] textual criticism.

[33] In regard to excluding God from the counting of the names, see J. M. Heer, 'Die Stammbäume Jesu nach Matthäus und Lukas', *BS* 15[1-2] (Freiburg: Herder, 1910). As shall be seen, Luke's symbolical-numerical system requires the separation of God. On the other hand, in Luke's list God's isolation appears to be necessary in view of the fact that God transcends the human race, and because only Jesus can be His legitimate descendant.

[34] The meaning of plenitude related to number seven was first attributed by Augustine, in *De Gen. ad Litt.* 4.16 and *De Civitate Dei* 11.31. Luke's Gospel appears to insinuate this meaning in two passages: 8.2 (the seven demons would indicate the full domination of Evil) and 10.1, 17 (the seventy or seventy-two disciples would denote not only the numerousness as well as the full action and the full power of God's reign, as seen in verses 18-20 of the same chapter).

[35] There are non-canonical writings that divide the History of the World into ten weeks with seven generations each, summing up number seventy, as in 1 Enoch 93.1-10 (200 BC-AD 50). Others divide it into twelve periods, as in 2 Baruch 53-72 (AD 110-120), 4 Ezra 14.11 (AD 70-120), and Revelation of Abraham 29 (AD 70-150). There are scholars that presuppose the adoption of this last schema by Luke, mixed with that of 1 Enoch. Thus, the evangelist would have been listing eleven periods of seven, being that the twelfth period would have come from the Messianic Era (see J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, Fortress Press [Minneapolis: 1975] 292; and R. Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church*, T&T Clark [London: 2004] 315-373). Nevertheless, the best option would be to believe that Luke and Matthew only wanted to form a basic symbolical quantity, in other words, of seventy and forty, so as to later add special groups to each genealogy and make them stand out: for Luke it was the first seven names (Jesus, Joseph, Eli, Mathat, Levi, Melchi, and Jannai, according to his private principle of seven) and for Matthew it was the last two names (Joseph and Jesus, who are the main characters in his first two chapters).

(c) Its separation permits us to locate David between the second and third groups within the symbolic total of seventy names. In this way, David serves as a partition marker between his descendants, who lead directly to Jesus, and his ascendants, who lead to God.

Of the names in group 1 in the Bible we find Jesus, Joseph, Eli, Levi, and Jannai (see 1 Chron 5.12). As for Mathat, it is an abbreviation for Mathathias, and Melchi, it is the abbreviation for several biblical names (see the following).

Group 2 is peculiar because it contains certain unknown names in the Bible. However, among them some are approximate in form to the following names:

(a) Josech: Joseph (son of Jacob: Gen 30.24; the symbolical-numerical correspondence established between the two names by Luke confirms the proximity: see further on).

(b) Joda: Judah (son of Jacob: Gen 29.35).

(c) Reza: Rezon (Solomon's adversary: 1 Kings 11.23-25) and Rezin (or Resin; King of Syria: 2 Kings 15.37; 16.5-9; 2 Chron 28.5).

(d) Neri: Ner (father of Abner: 1 Sam 14.50-51; 1 Chron 9.39) and Neriah (father of Baruch: Jer 32.12; 36.14).

(e) Melchi: Melchiel (1 Chron 7.31; Num 26.45; Gen 46.17; can also be transliterated as Malchiel), Melchiram (1 Chron 3.18; also Malchiram), Melchishua (1 Chron 9.39; also Malchishua), Melchizedek (Gen 14.18-20), Melchiah (1 Chron 6.40; also Malchiah).

(f) Addi: Adiel (1 Chron 4.36).

(g) Elmadam (which can also be transliterated as Elmodam): Elmodad (Gen 10.26; 1 Chron 1.20; also transliterated as Almodad).

(h) Jorim: Joram (2 Chron 21; 2 Kings 1.17).

(i) Jonam: Joanan (1 Chron 6.9-10; the symbolical-numerical correspondence established between the two names by the evangelist confirms the proximity: see further on).

Only Esli, Naggai, Cosan, Melea, and Menna do not have approximate forms in the Bible.[36]

By way of reference and placement, we also mention well-known names in the Bible that are in group 2:

(a) Joseph: son of Jacob (Gen 30.24).

(b) Mathathias: a Maccabean priest (in the LXX: 1 Macc 2.1), a Levite (1 Chron 9.31), and a singer (1 Chron 25.3).

(c) Amos: a prophet (Amos 1.1; in the LXX: Tob 2.6).

(d) Nahum: a prophet (Nah 1.1; in the LXX: Tob 14.4).

(e) Mahath: a Levite (1 Chron 6.20; 2 Chron 29.12; 31.13).

(f) Semein, in the form Semei: several characters; Pedaiah's son and Zorobabel's brother (1 Chron 3.19).

(g) Joanan: a warrior of David's (2 Kings 25.23), son of Josias (1 Chron 3.15), son of Elioenai (1 Chron 3.24), and a priest (1 Chron 6.9-10).

(h) Zorobabel: a governor, David's descendant (1 Chron 3.19; Ezra 2.2; Neh 7.7).

(i) Salathiel (also Shealtiel): Zorobabel's father (1 Chron 3.17; Ezra 3.2).

(j) Er: Judah's son (Gen 46.12; 1 Chron 2.3).

(k) Jesus: Sirach's son (in the LXX: Ecclus 51.30 or 18).

(l) Eliezer: several characters; Moses' son (Exod 18.4; 1 Chron 23.15, 17).

(m) Levi: Jacob's son (Gen 29.34).

(n) Simeon: Jacob's son (Gen 29.33).

(o) Judah: Jacob's son (Gen 29.35).

(p) Eliachim: king, Josias's son (2 Kings 19.2; 23.34).

(q) Mathatha: Ezra 10.33.

(r) Nathan: a prophet (2 Sam 12.1; 1 Kings 1.8), a son of David's (1 Chron 3.5; 2 Sam 5.14).

Another detail in groups 1 and 2 is that there are secondary subgroups in them, besides successive subgroups which are identified by their initial letters, notwithstanding inversions,

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[36] However, Esli has certain similarity with Eli (which is confirmed through Luke's symbolical-numerical connection, since there are ten names from Eli to Esli). As well, the name Naggai is close in meaning to Neri: the first means "clarity", "brightness", and "light", and the second, "my light". It may be possible to confirm this correspondence through Luke's numerical symbolism since ten names can be counted from Naggai to Neri.

displacements, and possible repetition, modification and addition of a name. They stand out when we form a new group with forty names by joining group 1 with group 2, though excluding the names of Zorobabel and Salathiel, which are in the center of this new list. These forty names make up the group in which Jesus' unknown ascendants are. In order to compare them, we shall divide this group of forty names into two parts. The list is the following:

(a) First part: Jesus, Joseph, Eli, Mathat, Levi, Melchi, Jannai, Joseph, Mathathias, Amos, Nahum, Esli, Naggai, Mahath, Mathathias, Semein, Josech, Joda, Joanan, Reza.

(b) Center: Zorobabel and Salathiel.

(c) Second part: Neri, Melchi, Addi, Cosan, Elmadam, Er, Jesus, Eliezer, Jorim, Mathat, Levi, Simeon, Judah, Joseph, Jonam, Eliachim, Melea, Menna, Mathatha, Nathan.

Let us see then what the secondary subgroups within the two parts of the group are:

(a) J-J-E-M-L corresponds to J-E-J-M-L: Jesus-Joseph-Eli-Mathat-Levi corresponds to Jesus-Eliezer-Jorim-Mathat-Levi (inversion of Joseph-Eli for Eliezer-Jorim).

(b) S-J-J-J corresponds to S-J-J-J: Semein-Josech-Joda-Joanan corresponds to Simeon-Judah-Joseph-Jonam (inversion of Josech-Joda for Judah-Joseph).

(c) E-N-M-M corresponds to E-M-M-M-N: Esli-Naggai-Mahath-Mathathias corresponds to Eliachim-Melea-Menna-Mathatha-Nathan (displacement of Naggai-Nathan; possible repetition of Melea while modifying it to Menna; addition of a name, that is, Menna, probably to form thirty-five names in group 2; modification of the form Mathathias-Mathatha).[37]

(d) M-A-N corresponds to N-M-A: Mathathias-Amos-Nahum corresponds to Neri-Melchi-Addi (displacement of Nahum-Neri).

It is interesting to notice that subgroups J-J-E-M-L and S-J-J-J appear separately in the first part of the forty-name group (at the beginning and end) and together in the second part (in the center), but J-J-E-M-L is in the J-E-J-M-L form. Subgroup E-N-M-M appears before subgroup S-J-J-J in the first part and after it in the second part, in the E-M-M-M-N form. As for subgroup M-A-N, it appears after J-J-E-M-L in the first part and before it in the second, in the N-M-A form, but J-J-E-M-L is in the J-E-J-M-L form.

Another interesting factor between groups 1 and 2 is the repetition of names after a certain numerical interval, counting in succession several combinations become possible, both in direct and in reverse order:

(a) Six groups of 7 in direct order: from Jesus to Jannai = 7, the next is Joseph; from Joseph to Mahath = 7, the next is Mathathias; from Mathathias to Zorobabel = 7, the next is Salathiel; from Salathiel to Er = 7, the next is Jesus; from Jesus to Judah = 7, the next is Joseph; from Joseph to Nathan = 7, the next is David.

(b) Six groups of 7 in reverse order: from David to Jonam = 7, the next is Joseph; from Joseph to Eliezer = 7, the next is Jesus; from Jesus to Neri = 7, the next is Salathiel; from Salathiel to Semein = 7, the next is Mathathias; from Mathathias to Mathathias = 7, the next is Joseph; from Joseph to Joseph = 7, the next is Jesus.

(c) Four groups of 7 x 4 = 28, in direct order: from Jesus to Er = 28, the next is Jesus; from Mathat to Jorim = 28, the next is Mathat; from Levi to Mathat = 28, the next is Levi; from Joseph to Judah = 28, the next is Joseph.

(d) Four groups of 7 x 4 = 28, in reverse order: from Joseph to Mathathias = 28, the next is Joseph; from Levi to Melchi = 28, the next is Levi; from Mathat to Levi = 28, the next is Mathat; from Jesus to Joseph = 28, the next is Jesus.

(e) Two groups of 7, both in direct and in reverse order: from Joseph to Joseph = 7; from Mathathias to Mathathias = 7.

(f) 6 x 3 = 18: from Melchi to Neri = 18, the next is Melchi.

With approximate names:

(a) 5 x 2 = 10: from Joseph to Josech = 10; from Eli to Esli = 10.

(b) 6 x 3 = 18: from Joda to Judah = 18; from Semein to Levi = 18, the next is Simeon; from Joanan to Joseph = 18, the next is Jonam.

(c) 7 x 4 = 28: from Eli to Eliezer = 28.

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[37] According to A. Schlatter, in *Das Evangelium des Lukas* (Stuttgart: 1931) 218, a dittography must have occurred in Melea-Menna.

From these numerical possibilities we realize that some key-names have come to light, that is, the most repeated names: Joseph, Mathathias, Jesus, Levi, and Mathat.[38]

Perhaps we might say that the choice of repeated key-names must have been based on their respective meanings: Joseph, "He adds"; Mathathias, "God's gift"; Jesus, "God saves"; Levi, "linked"; Mathat, "gift". However, some of the other repeated ones, modified at times, also have important meanings: Melchi, "my king"; Eli, "offering"; and Judah, "praise of God". All of them lead to the idea of priesthood and Messianic government, as well as the fact that Jesus is a "gift from God" (Mathathias) by means of Joseph (the one who adds).

From all this analysis, we conclude that groups 1 and 2 are systematized in the following manner:

(a) A part of the names that come after group 1, from Joseph to Nathan, follows the pattern of the names that make up group 1.

(b) They also come close to names that exist in the Old Testament, there being in part identical names and in part abbreviated and slightly modified forms.

(c) The name placing respects an organization through several secondary subgroups of initial letters, which were placed at a distance or close together, in an alternate manner, according to two halves of a forty-name group, separated by Zorobabel and Salathiel, who are at the center of the group.

(d) The order also followed a system of key-names which are repeated after a numerical sequence of seven, twenty-eight, eighteen, and ten, comprising several names that are similar in form.

We should emphasize another detail in the formation of groups 1 and 2. The detail is the deviation to Nathan. Without a doubt, this deviation determines that Jesus is not a descendant of any of the kings who reigned after David. Maybe this determination indicates the intention of disqualify the kingdom of Jesus as being essentially political and human, that is, the kingdom of Jesus is purely spiritual and does not participate in the notorious and historical sins of the Israelite monarchy. On the other hand, the deviation to Nathan may have been the result of reading Zech 12.12.

In regard to group 3, it may be apprehended that it was copied from a defective text in 1st Chronicles that had as its source the Septuagint if we consider the mistakes in the writing of the names and the repeated placement of Cainan (the Septuagint repeats this name between Arphaxad and Sala in 1 Chron 1.24).[39] It appears that the evangelist found this defective text convenient, especially to enforce his numerical principles of septenaries and intervals, for in reverse order the repetition of Cainan after eight names propitiates the completion of thirty-five names up to David, even as it permits the continuity of groups of seven with important top names, such as Enoch and Abraham.

Likewise, within the septennial interval in reverse order appear principal names such as: Enoch, Sala, Abraham, and Admin. The beginning and the end of the list are signaled by God (a supernumerary) and David, while in the middle we find Abraham (a detail which is also evoked by the repetition of Cainan).

In group 3, the names Admin and Arni call our attention.

It is customarily said that the first name is an abbreviation of Aminadab.[40] However, it seems that it is more likely to have been formed from the same root as Admah (Gen 10.19; Deut 29.23), Adummim (Josh 15.7), and Adam (Gen 3.20).[41] A symbolical-numerical set that can confirm the root connection between these names is the fact that from Admin to Adam there are

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[38] J. E. Bruns, in 'Matthew's Genealogy of Jesus', *The Bible Today* 1 (Dec. 1964) 980-85, had already observed the existence of significant names within the septenary intervals, such as Joseph, Salathiel, and Jesus.

[39] According to a suggestion by G. Kuhn, in 'Die Geschlechts Register Jesu bei Lukas und Matthäus nach ihrer Herkunft untersucht', *ZNW* 22 (1923) 216, in general group 3 agrees with the morphology in the LXX.

[40] According to G. Kuhn's suggestion in 'Die Geschlechts Register Jesu bei Lukas und Matthäus nach ihrer Herkunft untersucht', *ZNW* 22 (1923) 217, no. 2. Because of this supposition, Aminadab could not have been in Luke's primitive list (the name is missing in B and in sy.[sin]). However, its presence is necessary due to its appearance in 1 Chron 2.10 and the other codexes, as well as the fact that it is needed for the symbolical-numerical completion of group 3.

[41] Some manuscripts of the New Testament, such as P[4], 01*, 1241 and sy.[sin], may perhaps confirm this thesis since the name Adam appears in them, sometimes in Aminadab's place, sometimes in Admin's place.

twenty-eight names (that is, 7 x 4). Whereas, on the other hand, Admin may only be a simple addition to permit the appearance of the top names Abraham and Enoch in groups 3.3 and 3.5, just as Melea-Menna (in group 2) and Cainan-Cainan do.

As for Arni, it appears that an error must have been committed by the copyist, for it should have been Aram or Ram in its place. However, it is quite close in form to the name Arnan (1 Chron 3.21). The copyist might have confused *'Aram* with *'Arnan*, and, through a mistake in reading, or in writing, or in pronunciation, or in hearing, ended up by writing it as *'Arní*.[42]

A symbolical-numerical circumstance in group 3 is the appearance of the names Sala and, once again, Cainan, which are repeated in a succession of 18 (6 x 3) and 10 (5 x 2) names, respectively, as happens with some ancestors in group 2.

When we analyze the numerical possibilities between the three groups, we also find several interesting peculiarities:[43]

(a) 6 x 3 = 18: from Jesus (group 1) to Joda (group 2) = 18; from Joda to Judah (both in group 2) = 18; between Judah (group 2) and Judah (group 3) = 18 intermediate names.

(b) If we conceive a circle that begins with Jesus and ends with Adam, we may find the following: 26 names from Addi to Admin; 52 names from Addi to Seth, in other words, 26 x 2, seeing that the next is Adam; between Admin and Adam there are 26 intermediate names; and from Adam to Addi (extending into the list headed by Jesus, from group 1 onwards), we have 26 names as well. This peculiarity once again confirms the root connection between Admin and Adam, and in addition through similarity between Addi and Adam.

There are scholars who defend the idea that Luke is more authentic than Matthew.[44] However, one must say that Luke's apparent faithfulness to a supposed real genealogy must also be set aside if we take into consideration his artificial construction through numbers, the placement of repeated names within numerical intervals, nominal abbreviations, initialed subgroups, unknown names, and theological aims, especially the one that determines that Jesus was not a descendant of the Jewish kings after David. All of this technique indicate that the list is an elaboration, or at the very least that Luke might have used a primitive list, but he ended up manipulating it and even amplifying it systematically.[45] The same can be said of Matthew, with the difference that he tried to make a reduction and not an amplification.[46]

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[42] G. Kuhn, in 'Die Geschlechts Register Jesu bei Lukas und Matthäus nach ihrer Herkunft untersucht', *ZNW* 22 (1923) 217, no. 3, suggests that Arni may be the product of the way the Hebrew name Aram is read. There may have been a corruption of the Greek form *'Aram*, making it *'Arní*. It is also possible to reason that Arni comes from *Arran*, found in the LXX text of Ruth 4.19 (see J. Nolland, *Luke 1-9:20*, Word Biblical Commentary, 35A, Word Incorporated [Dallas: 1989] 172).

[43] We must recall that R. E. Brown, in *The Birth of the Messiah*, Doubleday (Garden City, N. York: 1977) 91, observes that Augustine and the Cappadocian Church Fathers had already found a numerical pattern in Luke's genealogical list. Brown also adds that in it there are seven patriarchs from Adam to Enoch and seventy names between Enoch and Jesus, as well as twenty-one names in the post-exilic period, twenty-one names in the monarchical period, fourteen names in the pre-monarchical period from David to Isaac, and twenty-one names from Abraham to Adam, forming the following numerical pattern: 21 (3 x 7) + 21 + 14 (2 x 7) + 21.

[44] For example, J. Jeremias, in *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, Fortress Press (Minneapolis: 1975) 297, believes that Luke's genealogy is more authentic than Matthew's.

[45] The presence of names without previous or approximate biblical form, such as Naggai, Cosan, Melea, and Menna, and the phrase *hos 'enomízeto* ("as was imagined") in Luke 3.23, seems to indicate this possibility, although, in the case of the phrase, the preference is to say that it means "it was believed" that Joseph and his forbearers were Jesus' father and ancestors, when in reality they were not, in view of the latter's divine origin. Nevertheless, the phrase might be prompting the idea that the evangelist may have copied the list from another document or may have reproduced a list from a certain oral tradition, or that it is the result of a personal research (see Luke 1.3). Even so, the artificial and theological preoccupation of the list is quite clear, which infers the idea that there was some kind of elaboration or manipulation and amplification, something that was not truly impossible in view of the fact that in many parts of Luke's Gospel there are indications that Luke used his creativity quite freely, as W. G. Kümmel teaches us in *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Quelle & Meyer (Heidelberg: 1973) 110-111, when he comments, for example, the exclusive Lukan authorship of the composition of the "narrative of the journey", found in Luke 9.51-19.27, which was created by the evangelist to fill the vacuum created by Mk 10.1; 11.1. On this matter also see, A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke I-IX*, I, Anchor Bible, Doubleday (Garden City, New York: 1981-1985) 499-500. There are other indications of artificiality and creativity, observable on the Luke's genealogical list itself, such as: (a) the mention of names not attested during the pre-exilic period (Luke 3.27-31), of unusual names (Levi, Simeon, Joseph, Judah) to the same period, and of names that do not exist in the Houses of Levi and David (see J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, Fortress Press [Minneapolis: 1975] 296; and R. E. Brown, in *The Birth of*

Conclusion

In the present article it has been demonstrated that Jesus Christ's genealogies were elaborated according to name and lineage models that follow chronological order and biblical History, as well as internal symbolical-theological principles that obeyed intervals with significant numerical groups.

Several new details were brought into the picture, among which the most important are the following:

1. As for the harmonization theses and the theses that include Mary, the hypothetical alternative that she might be a descendant of David's through some other son, rather than Solomon and Nathan. This alternative helps us to discard these complicated theses.

2. In the case of Matthew's genealogy, the use of ascribing different names to some of the ancestors, such as Eliachim in reference to Jechonias and Azor in reference to Ozias; the abbreviations of Achimaaz to Achim and Mathaniah to Mathan; the possible modification of Azariah to Azor if we consider 1 Chron 6.8-10, for this passage must have inspired the creation of the Azor-Zadok-Achim set; the connections between Abiud and Joseph, Zadok and Achim, Eliud and Abiud, Eleazar and Zadok; and Mathan's typological introductory function in the group Mathan-Jacob-Joseph-Jesus.

3. In regard to Luke's genealogical list, the verification that the first seven names form a group that serves as a generating principle for other names, which thus causes its detachment from the rest of the genealogy; the possible influence of several nominal forms found in the Old Testament; the reutilization of names, though with altered forms, such as Joseph-Josech, Eli-Esli, Judah-Joda, Semein-Simeon, and Joanan-Jonam; the existence of subgroups organized according to the initial letters in names; the symbolical-numerical relation between names with approximate forms; the numerical constancy of the intervals with seven, twenty-eight, eighteen, and ten, as well as, in a secondary way, twenty-six and fifty-two; the possible use of meanings for the choice of key-names; the theological intention to remove Jesus' status as Israelite royalty from him through the diversion using Nathan; the connection between the names Addi, Admin, and Adam by similarity and root, which is confirmed through the evangelist's symbolical-numerical system; and the proposal that Arni is closer to the form Arnan.

In Luke's case, it is important to add that care was taken to repeat names that, according to their original meanings, pointed to Jesus. That is why one may say that his list reproduces a certain christocentrism. However, the manner in which he orders his list seems to insinuate something similar to what is stated in Rev 1.8, 17; 22.13: Jesus and God are the beginning and end of all History. From which it may be inferred that Luke's list has a greater theological magnitude than Matthew's.

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the Messiah, Doubleday [Garden City, N. York: 1977] 92 and 588); and (b) the possible use of 1st Chronicles as a main source to the search and choice of names and of nominal forms (see table of proportional parts at the end of this article).
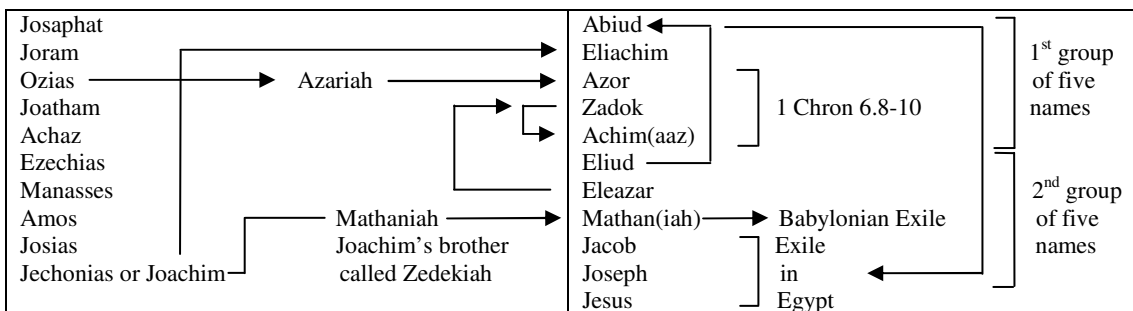
[46] In 1st Chronicles there are versions of genealogy in which names are added or suppressed (1 Chron 7.6-12 and 8.1-40; 2.3-3.4, and 4.1-23). The reasons behind these contradictions must have been based on the need to legitimize the filiations and the fact that the chronicler was determined to register all the genealogical possibilities in accordance to the various traditions which he had gathered. In the case of Luke 3.23-38, the only evangelist's intention was to present only one chronology by filling in the spaces in time with fictitious names in such a way as to form a list with a perfect number (seventy-seven). Naturally, if Luke preferred to detour to Nathan, the names between Nathan and Salathiel would not coincide with those furnished by Matthew since he preferred Solomon's descendants. That is why the difference in names exists. Nevertheless, neither Matthew nor Luke accepted 1 Chron 3.19-20: they chose to extract and modify the names. Undoubtedly, one thing is certain: for theological reasons, Salathiel and Zorobabel would have to be in the genealogies, be they or not royal descendants (especially because Zorobabel has a Messianic character in Hag 2.21-23 and Zech 4.6-10). Yet Luke, contrary to Matthew, calculated the time and number of generations needed to arrive at those characters with more precision since he did not tie himself to such a limited numerical principle as Matthew.

Matthew 1.1-17

Counting of the generations

1. Abraham - Isaac	1. David (by Uriah's wife) - Solomon	1. Jechonias - Salathiel
2. Isaac - Jacob	2. Solomon - Roboam	2. Salathiel - Zorobabel
3. Jacob - Judah (and his brothers)	3. Roboam - Abiah	3. Zorobabel - Abiud
4. Judah (by Thamar) - Phares (and Zerah)	4. Abiah - Asaph	4. Abiud - Eliachim
5. Phares - Esron	5. Asaph - Josaphat	5. Eliachim - Azor
6. Esron - Aram	6. Josaphat - Joram	6. Azor - Zadok
7. Aram - Aminadab	7. Joram - Ozias	7. Zadok - Achim
8. Aminadab - Naasson	8. Ozias - Joatham	8. Achim - Eliud
9. Naasson - Salmon	9. Joatham - Achaz	9. Eliud - Eleazar
10. Salmon (by Rahab) - Boez	10. Achaz - Ezechias	10. Eleazar - Mathan
11. Boez (by Ruth) - Jobed	11. Ezechias - Manasses	11. Mathan - Jacob
12. Jobed - Jesse	12. Manasses - Amos	12. Jacob - Joseph
13. Jesse - David	13. Amos - Josias	13. Joseph (or Mary) - Jesus
	14. Josias - Jechonias (or Joachim) (and his brothers)	

Correlations between the names

Luke 3.23-38

1.1		J	JESUS			
2.1		J	JOSEPH			
3.1		E	Eli			
4.1		M	MATHAT			
5.1		L	LEVI			
6.1			MELCHI			
7.1	1st interval 3 names		Jannai			
2.2			JOSEPH		DAVID	
4.2		M	MATHATHIAS		Jesse	
		A	Amos		Jobed	
		N	Nahum	1st part 20 names	Booz	
			----------------------		Sala	12.1
3.2		E	Esli (E-li)		Naasson	
8.1		N	Naggai - "light"		Aminadab	
4.3		M	Mahath		ADMIN (Admah)	11.2
4.4		M	MATHATHIAS		Arni (Arnan)	
			----------------------		Esron	
9.1		S	Semein		Phares	
2.3		J	Joseph - JOSEPH		JUDAH	10.3
10.1		J	Joda - JUDAH		Jacob	
7.2		J	Joanan (Jannai)		Isaac	
	Central Interval 3 names		Reza (Rezon) - added name		ABRAHAM	
					Thare	
			Zorobabel } Inserted		Nachor	
			Salathiel } names		Serug	
					Ragau	
8.2		N	Neri (Neriah) - "my light" - Nahum		Phaleg	
6.2	Displacement	M	MELCHI (Melchizedek) - Mathathias		Eber	
11.1		A	Addi (Adiel) - Amos		SALA	12.2
3.3	2nd interval 3 names		Cosan		Cainan	13.1
			Elmadam (Elmodad, El-i)		Arphaxad	
			Er		Sem	
1.2		J	JESUS		Noah	
3.4	1st inversion	E	Eliezer - Eli		Lamech	
2.4		J	Jorim (Joram) - JOSEPH		Mathusalah	
4.5		M	MATHAT		ENOCH	
5.2		L	LEVI	2nd part 20 names	Jaret	
			----------------------		Malaleel	
9.2		S	Simeon - Semein		Cainan	13.2
10.2	2nd inversion	J	JUDAH		Enos	
2.5		J	JOSEPH		Seth	
7.3		J	Jonam (Jannai) - Joanan		Adam	11.3

3.5		E	Eliachim (Eli) - Esli		GOD	
6.3 (4.3)		M	Melea (Mel-chi) - Mahath			
		M	Menna - added name			
4.6	Displacement	M	Mathatha - MATHATHIAS			
(8.1)		N	Nathan - Naggai			

The names that head the septenaries (excluding Salathiel) and the most repeated ones appear in capital letters. Side numbers refer to the correspondence between names in the following way: the first number refers to the nominal forms that are repeated or that inspired the creation of other names; the second number is related to the times that those nominal forms appear or to the times that their repetition, re-creations (through abbreviations or modifications) and substitutions appear.

Proportional parts of quoted names among the first 42 names in Luke 3.23-38, which possibly determine the biblical sources most used by Luke.

1st Chronicles
1, 2: Joseph-Josech (1 Chron 2.2); 3, 4: Eli-Esli (Eliel, 1 Chron 5.24); 5, 6: Mathat-Mathathias; 7: Levi (1 Chron 2.1); 8: Melchi (Melchiel); 9: Jannai; 10: Mahath; 11: Semein; 12, 13: Joda-Judah (1 Chron 2.1); 14, 15: Joanan-Jonam; 16: Zorobabel; 17: Salathiel; 18: Neri (Ner); 19: Addi (Adiel); 20: Elmadam (Elmodad); 21: Er; 22: Eliezer; 23: Simeon (1 Chron 2.1); 24: Nathan. $24 \div 42 \times 100 = 57.15\%$.

Genesis
1, 2: Joseph-Josech; 3: Levi; 4: Melchi (Melchizedek); 5, 6: Judah-Joda; 7: Elmadam (Elmodad); 8: Er; 9: Simeon. $9 \div 42 \times 100 = 21.43\%$.

2nd Kings
1, 2: Joanan-Jonam; 3: Reza (Rezin, 2 Kings 15.37); 4: Jorim (Joram); 5: Eliachim. $5 \div 42 \times 100 = 11.91\%$.

1st Kings
1, 2: Eli-Esli (1 Kings 2.27); 3: Reza (Rezon); 4: Nathan. $4 \div 42 \times 100 = 9.53\%$.

2nd Chronicles
1: Mahath; 2: Reza (Rezin, 2 Chron 28.5); 3: Jorim (Joram). $3 \div 42 \times 100 = 7.15\%$.

Ezra
1: Zorobabel; 2: Salathiel; 3: Mathatha. $3 \div 42 \times 100 = 7.15\%$.

Nehemiah
1: Zorobabel; 2: Salathiel. $2 \div 42 \times 100 = 4.76\%$.

Haggai
1: Zorobabel; 2: Salathiel. $2 \div 42 \times 100 = 4.76\%$.

Ecclesiasticus: Jesus; 1st Samuel: Eli(-Esli) (1 Sam 1.3); 1st Maccabees: Mathathias; Amos: Amos; Nahum: Nahum; Exodus: Eliezer; 2nd Samuel: Nathan; Zechariah: Nathan. $1 \div 42 \times 100 = 2.39\%$.

Unknown Names
Esli, Naggai, Cosan, Melea and Menna. $5 \div 42 \times 100 = 11.91\%$.

Abbreviated and Resembled Names
Mathat, Melchi, Josech, Joda, Reza, Neri, Addi, Elmadam, Jorim and Jonam. $10 \div 42 \times 100 = 23.81\%$.