

# **These mentioned by name**

A form-critical analysis of biblical genealogies,  
with a special focus on women

**Hedda Klip**



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# **Deze bij name genoemden**

Een vorm-kritische analyse van bijbelse genealogieën,  
met een speciale focus op vrouwen

Proefschrift

Ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de Protestantse Theologische Universiteit  
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1

# Chapter 1

Introduction



## 1.1 Motivation

As a player of the alto recorder I have come to love the beautiful rhythm and regularity of Baroque Sonatas. The technique behind them continues to fascinate me: the counterpoint, the changes in keys and the occasional deliberate dissonance. This same musical rhythm seems to be present in the genealogies of the Bible.<sup>1</sup> I hope to discover in this study the technique behind this regularity. What are the rules and patterns? Are they fixed or can they change? And what is the meaning of the dissonances, we surprisingly also find in the texts? I hope to prove in this dissertation, especially by comparing the genealogies of the Pentateuch, of Chronicles and of Matthew, that there is a clear development in the patterns used. There are also fixed rules, as in Baroque music. But these regular patterns are, according to me, flexible and can adapt themselves, for instance to incorporate women.

My initial study concentrated on daughters in the Old Testament in genealogies and the narrative texts. Gradually, I became more and more fascinated by the biblical genealogies themselves. Not so much because of their content, but because of the significant repetition of words and phrases. In my ears the biblical genealogies are examples of texts which are beautifully rhythmic in their structures. They provide us with an insight in the musical regularity of the language of the Hebrew Bible. The genealogies provide valuable information on the way different biblical authors structured and systemised the past. This dissertation is an endeavour to analyse systematically all genealogies in the Old and New Testament and look for recurring patterns and repetitions, and for changes and developments, using the method of form criticism. In 1.4 I will specify the research question and explain the form-critical method used, from the background of general genre studies. The traditional division into sources will be briefly discussed in 1.5 but will not be guiding in categorising the genealogies. Only the pattern used will be decisive. In 1.3 I will give some examples of the interpretation of genealogies throughout history, from different traditions. This dissertation is a literary study. Only in 1.2

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<sup>1</sup> For a comparison of the biblical text with music, see Cees Houtman and Klaas Spronk, *Jefta's dochter, Tragiek van een vrouwenleven in theologie en kunst* (Zoetermeer: Meinema, 1999), 5ff. On p. 15 Houtman compares the text of the daughter of Jephthah to a score, functioning in the midst of other sheets of music. The task of the scholar is the correct rendition of the score, so the music will sound as it was meant to be. But of course even a seemingly unbiased scholar often gives a variation on the biblical theme since the personality of the interpreter is part of the process of reading and understanding the text. See Klaas Spronk, *De ware eenvoud vinden: het Oude Testament als object van wetenschap en als bron van inspiratie, Rede uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het ambt van hoogleraar Oude Testament aan de Theologische Universiteit van de Protestantse Kerk in Nederland op 3 november 2006* (Kampen: Theologische Universiteit van de Protestantse Kerk in Nederland, 2006), 20-21.

we will look beyond the literary level, to the historical-religious level of biblical genealogies, to place the genealogies in their context. But first we need to define what a genealogy is.

## 1.2 On biblical genealogies

1

In this introductory paragraph the concept of ‘genealogy’ will be defined. Since the sub-focus of this dissertation is the presence of women in biblical genealogies, the possible meaning of their presence will be briefly introduced in this paragraph, after a discussion on the importance of genealogies for societies based on families. The last part of the paragraph tries to answer the question why genealogies are present in the Pentateuch and in Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles but hardly in the other books of the Bible. Genealogies might have been especially necessary in times when the state did not function well.

### Definitions

We define genealogies as lists of parents and descendants comprising at least three generations. Robert Wilson created the tools and the definitions that since are standard in the study of biblical genealogies.<sup>2</sup> According to Wilson a genealogy is:

“a written or oral expression of one’s descent from an ancestor or ancestors by enumeration of the intermediate persons.”<sup>3</sup>

Wilson made a useful distinction between a genealogical reference of two generations, and a genealogy encompassing more generations: “Finally, the analysis of linear genealogies will be confined to those genealogies which have a depth of at least three generations. This step is necessary to remove from the discussion the numerous Semitic names having the form ‘PN1 son of PN2’.”<sup>4</sup> All genealogies comprising less than three generations we will call ‘genealogical references’. Gary Rendsburg makes the same distinction. He defines genealogical references as

<sup>2</sup> “...his work has become the standard in the discussion of the Biblical genealogies...” James T. Sparks, *The Chronicler’s Genealogies, Towards an Understanding of 1 Chronicles 1-9* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature 2008), 200.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Rutherford Wilson: *Genealogy and History in the Old Testament, A Study of the Form and Function of the Old Testament Genealogies in Their Near Eastern Context* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1972), 9.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 69.

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“phrases embedded into narratives which merely highlight the most famous individual at the head of the family tree.”<sup>5</sup> Marshall Johnson defines genealogical references as “... brief lists or allusions to parentage that serve mainly to identify an individual in a narrative or the author of a prophetic book.”<sup>6</sup> In fact, those short references form the main genealogical body. It is worth mentioning that extra-biblical Hebrew inscriptions usually contain short genealogical references of two generations’ depth.<sup>7</sup> We will not, seeing the scope of this dissertation, study the genealogical references, but concentrate on the biblical genealogies, comprising three generations or more. We will study them all, finding patterns and structures that occasionally leave room for women’s names.

There are two main types of genealogies, namely segmented and linear genealogies. Abraham Malamat uses the terms horizontal and vertical genealogies.<sup>8</sup> The segmented or horizontal genealogies list the names of all sons and occasionally a daughter of a parent or parents, and the names of their descendants; the linear or vertical genealogies just follow one family line, of a parent to one child, presumably the oldest son, and one grandchild, and so on. In such a way, the linear genealogy can reach great depth. The segmented genealogy often covers just a few generations, concentrating on width.

An important concept in the study of genealogies is fluidity, which includes telescoping. Genealogies are not static but are able to change. They are flexible and fluid. Some parts of a genealogy are more fixed than others. At the head of the list we find the most important ancestor: the genealogy is named after him or her. At the end of the list comes the name of the descendant who in Genesis is often the main character in the continuing story. The genealogy is written from main ancestor to main character. Wilson’s definition also stresses the importance of the beginning and the end of the genealogy. In the intermediate generations, fluidity may occur. This description of the different forms of fluidity in genealogies forms an important part of Wilson’s study. He distinguishes three ‘manifestations of fluidity’:

1. relationships of names change, or names move from one generation to the other.

<sup>5</sup> “References such as Laban ben Nahor in Gen. xxix 5 and Jair ben Manasseh in Num. xxxii 51 (41, HK); Deut. iii 14, are not attempts at true linear genealogies, rather they are phrases embedded into narratives which merely highlight the most famous individual at the head of the family tree.” Gary A. Rendsburg: “The Internal Consistency and Historical Reliability of the Biblical Genealogies” in *Vetus Testamentum* XL, 2 (1990), 201, note 32.

<sup>6</sup> Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies, with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2002), 3.

<sup>7</sup> John C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, vol.1 Hebrew and Moabite Inscriptions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

<sup>8</sup> Abraham Malamat, “King Lists of the Old Babylonian Period and the Biblical Genealogies”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88,1 (1968), 163-4.

2. names or segments are added to the genealogy. This form is called lineage growth.
3. names are omitted from the genealogy. This last form is called 'telescoping'.<sup>9</sup>

According to Rendsburg telescoping only occurs in the later parts of the Bible,<sup>10</sup> for example in Chronicles and in the genealogies of Jesus. Lineage growth is much more common.<sup>11</sup>

Crüsemann states that the general genealogical depth is normally ten to 14 generations. To reach this depth names can be dropped in the middle. At the other hand, if necessary, non-related persons might be integrated in the genealogy.<sup>12</sup> According to Rendsburg the usual biblical genealogy is shorter, namely 3-6 generations back to the ancestor.<sup>13</sup> Crüsemann calls the genealogies researched by anthropologists 'contradictory and malleable'. The same name might for example point to a different figure.<sup>14</sup> We will also find examples of such fluidity in the biblical genealogies.

1

### Why study genealogies?

Genealogies were and are an essential part of the Jewish religious identity. Matthew Thiessen underlines the continuing importance of genealogy for the Jewish identity: "Even in the second Temple period, many Jews continued to define Jewishness in genealogical terms, refusing to view circumcision as a ritual remedy for the deficits of a Gentile identity."<sup>15</sup> Religion and lineage were connected: "We must take care not to condemn ancient Israelite and early Jewish religion as inferior. In antiquity, religion and ethnicity were not separate categories, they were, in fact, integrally related, perhaps in no way distinguishable from one another..."<sup>16</sup>

Genealogies are the stream of life through which we can see the working of God.

<sup>9</sup> Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 35-39.

<sup>10</sup> But David Henige remarks critically that there might be more telescoping than we realise, since people also just forgot the past, apart from the deliberate attempts of blotting out the memory of kings condemned by later generations, which also occurred. David Henige, "Comparative Chronology and the Ancient Near East: A Case for Symbiosis", 57-67 *BASOR* 261 (1986), 64.

<sup>11</sup> Rendsburg, "The Internal Consistency", 201, note 4.

<sup>12</sup> Crüsemann, "Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity", 63.

<sup>13</sup> Rendsburg, "The Internal Consistency", 189 and elsewhere.

<sup>14</sup> Crüsemann, "Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity", 61.

<sup>15</sup> Matthew Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion, Genealogy, Circumcision, and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Christianity* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 143.

<sup>16</sup> Thiessen, *Contesting Conversion*, 144. Thiessen states that the focus on genealogy as essential to religion was connected with the hegemony of the priests, who themselves were priests by descent. After the destruction of the Temple, the rabbis, who held their office by merit instead of descent, became the religious leaders. This resulted in an increasing leniency: conversion became possible. But still, Thiessen emphasises, "this increasing leniency did not result in a complete undermining of genealogical concerns and genealogical definitions of Jewishness." (145). In a way, after conversion Gentiles became Jews ethnically. Their Jewishness would not leave them, even if they no longer followed a Jewish lifestyle. (144-146).

## Chapter 1

For it is in the genealogies, as Bernard Renaud states in a poetic description, that the “puissance active et fécondante de Dieu” works in a mysterious, invisible way. The genealogies constitute as it were the “tissu de l’histoire humaine, son épaisseur vivante, ..., dynamisées qu’elles sont par cette puissance vitale.”<sup>17</sup> The blessing of creation becomes a reality in the long lists of descendants of Adam and Eve.

Genealogies provide a sense of order and position. Kenneth Hoglund, in explaining Greek historiography, describes this function of genealogies: “These genealogical materials gave a sense of place and succession, a rooting of a person (and thus a family) in a specific place.”<sup>18</sup> Through genealogies people were no longer isolated individuals, but they belonged to a line of generations and formed part of a family and tribe. “Genealogies also established relationships between persons, families, and political entities.”<sup>19</sup>

Frank Crüsemann points to the importance of genealogies for people who are not organised in states: “..., genealogies play a role which hardly can be overestimated. The whole social order is described by means of them. The place of each individual in society - and beyond that, in part, the entire creation - is grasped by them, i.e., rank and status, claims and expectations of all kinds. The kinship connections remain, wherever a state is young or weak, the basic framework of order. The world is experienced and described as family.”<sup>20</sup> Life circled around family. Family provided security. William Dever, in describing eighth century village life, suggests there was little sense of the individual and probably no sense of the state. People solely depended on their families to survive. Family was “the only security there was. Thus the family, and the family heritage, was the fundamental social value.”<sup>21</sup> Genealogies were essential for a society based on family.

### Women and genealogies

Even though women are often the unseen and unnamed members of families, they occasionally figure in the biblical genealogies.<sup>22</sup> We will study especially the literary constructions used to

<sup>17</sup> Bernard Renaud, “Les généalogies et la structure de l’histoire sacerdotale dans le livre de la Genèse” *Revue Biblique* 97/1 (1990), 8.

<sup>18</sup> Kenneth G. Hoglund, “The Chronicler as Historian: A Comparativist Perspective”, in: *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. P. Graham, K.G. Hoglund, S.L. McKenzie (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 22.

<sup>19</sup> Hoglund, “The Chronicler as Historian”, 22.

<sup>20</sup> Frank Crüsemann, “Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity: Israel’s Self-definition in the Genealogical System of Genesis”, in *‘Ethnicity and the Bible’*, edited by Mark G. Brett (Leiden: Brill 1996), 63.

<sup>21</sup> William G. Dever, *The Lives of Ordinary People in Ancient Israel, Where Archeology and the Bible Intersect* (Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2012), 204.

<sup>22</sup> “In particular it is the patriline, that is, the line of male descendants that evokes interest within the priestly writings. This interest is evident by the fact that the priestly genealogies generally list only male names; the names

include some women in the long lists of fathers and sons. Surprising adaptations of the pattern will occur to reach and include female names.

Do we need to find special reasons why some women are included? Peter-Ben Smit thinks so: “Their occurrence is always worth careful consideration, given the patriarchal structure of both the genealogies and the societies that produced them (and are reflected in them).”<sup>23</sup> He lists several reasons why women are mentioned in genealogies.<sup>24</sup> Summarising his list, we find that according to Smit the function of the inclusion of women is mostly related to a man, especially to their male descendants. Sarah Shectman interprets the inclusion of women in genealogies as serving “a particular purpose in advancing some ideology.”<sup>25</sup> She is comparing the genealogical information on women in the Pentateuch with legal texts and narrative texts, thus putting the genealogies in context.

Can women be a natural, self-evident part of the genealogy? Can their presence be as self-evident as the presence of men? Form-critically speaking, to answer this question we will search whether we do only find female names in the deviations, or also in the pattern itself, indicating a more established presence or even a necessary part of the genealogy, possibly even as necessary as male names. Might patterns be adapted to their presence? How flexible is the structure they figure in? Which genealogical forms are best equipped to include women?

Smit concludes that “the agreement in gender between the five women in Jesus’ genealogy in Mt 1.1-16 provides an interpretative tool.”<sup>26</sup> Do the women indeed function as an interpretative tool? And if so, in which genealogies does this come to light? How do they function in the other genealogies in the Bible? Our object is to uncover the position of women in their different genealogical roles, in the patterns of the different sources. In our study we will

of wives and daughters are absent.” Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, “The Problem of the Body for the People of the Book”, in: *Women in the Hebrew Bible, a Reader*, edited by Alice Bach (London/New York: Routledge, 2013), 58.

<sup>23</sup> Peter-Ben Smit, “Something about Mary? Remarks about the Five Women in the Matthean Genealogy”, 191-207 *New Testament Studies* 56 (2) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 196.

<sup>24</sup> They might be mentioned, according to Smit, “because of their prominence and importance for the person whose genealogy is being presented...or because it can be shown that someone has a particularly virtuous mother. Incidentally, women also appear because of their association with a prominent person (...), or, especially in later Jewish genealogies, most prominently Pseudo-Philo *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, out of a certain ‘midrashic’ interest in giving unknown names to protagonists. Furthermore, mentioning someone’s mother in a genealogy or narrative (...) can, but need not be, a sign of this person’s special character, especially when it is connected with a difficult or miraculous birth,” or as a means to nicely order the names of the sons. Smit sees the text in Matthew 1 as an exception. Here the inclusion of female names has no apparent function. Smit, “Something about Mary”, 196-7.

<sup>25</sup> Sarah Shectman, *Women in the Pentateuch: A Feminist and Source-Critical Analysis* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2009), 79.

<sup>26</sup> Smit, “Something about Mary”, 206.

limit ourselves to genealogies, comparing the different structures and expressions to reach an interpretation of the occurrence of women in genealogies.

### **Where do we find genealogies in the Hebrew Bible? And why only there?**

We find genealogies mainly in I Chronicles 1-9 and in the Pentateuch, and there especially in Genesis 1-11 and the patriarchal cycle.<sup>27</sup> Claus Westermann agrees on the importance of Genesis for the study of genealogies. He states: “The genealogies begin to disappear from the book of Exodus on. When they occur again they have but a partial function, to demonstrate, for example, that the claim of a particular priestly family is legitimate.”<sup>28</sup> Especially in Genesis 1-11 the genealogies are essential: “Everything that happens between these two points, that is, between Adam and Abraham, takes its origin from and comes back to these genealogies. They give that continuity to all that happens which makes the biblical account of the origins unique in its kind in the history of religions.”<sup>29</sup>

The genealogical system in Genesis is unique. As Crüsemann writes: “..., none of the parallels known from ethnology, or from the ancient Near East, has a structure such as the system of Genesis.”<sup>30</sup> The genealogies of Genesis offer a worldwide view on all generations of humankind, as known in those days. Why does Genesis, especially Genesis 1-11, have so many genealogies? Why are there hardly any in the books following Genesis? And why do we find them again in abundance in Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah? Is it due to the fact, as Westermann and Crüsemann indicate<sup>31</sup>, that genealogies were mostly important to people in times when the state did not function? But did the state ever function well in ancient Israel? During the monarchy, the role of the genealogies seems to have been taken over by the short genealogical references we find all over in the Deuteronomistic History.

Niels Peter Lemche, in discussion with Wilson, defends the importance of genealogies during the monarchy. Wilson maintains that the lineage structure was no longer relevant after the introduction of the monarchy, especially segmented genealogies were no longer possible because the tribal system was no longer important.<sup>32</sup> Lemche states clearly that this was not the

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<sup>27</sup> Wilson, *Genealogies and History*, 168.

<sup>28</sup> Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1-11, A Continental Commentary*, translated by John J. Scullion (Minneapolis: Fortress Press 1994, originally published Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1984), 8.

<sup>29</sup> Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 6.

<sup>30</sup> Crüsemann, “Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity”, 63.

<sup>31</sup> Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 7 and Crüsemann, “Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity”, 63.

<sup>32</sup> Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 194.



case. The lineage system was still important, especially at the local level.<sup>33</sup> Apart from this there were genealogies of individuals. In Samuel we find a segmented genealogy of David. The linear backwards genealogy will be used to introduce persons. Genealogies still had a role to play.

### 1.3 History of the interpretation of genealogies

In this paragraph I will give examples of the interpretation of genealogies throughout history. Since especially on Genesis many commentaries have been written, this overview cannot be complete. I will try to highlight interpretations that are important to different traditions.

#### Biblical times

The Bible itself shows a great interest in genealogies. The extensive genealogical preamble of Chronicles is a clear example. This interest in genealogies continued in Hellenistic times. In the Pseudepigrapha rewriting the Bible, like Jubilees and Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, the biblical genealogies have a prominent place. The New Testament starts with a genealogy, placing Jesus in a line of ancestors from Abraham through David. Luke inserts a genealogy leading back the descent of Jesus through Adam to God. Flavius Josephus opens his autobiography *Vita* with his own genealogy, claiming descent from the chief sacerdotal family and even claiming royal blood.<sup>34</sup>

Josephus explains in his apologetics of Judaism *Against Apion* the accuracy of especially the genealogies of the priests. Records are with great precision retrieved in times of war and the genealogies of prospective wives of priests are studied in detail to keep the priesthood pure.<sup>35</sup> Contrary to the negligent Greeks, who did not bother to make records, "our chief-priests for the last 2,000 years are listed in the records by name, in line of descent from

<sup>33</sup> Niels Peter Lemche, *Early Israel, Anthropological and Historical Studies on the Israelite Society Before the Monarchy* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 265.

<sup>34</sup> Steve Mason, *Flavius Josephus, Translation and Commentary*, Volume 9: *Life of Josephus, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2001), 3-6.

<sup>35</sup> John Barclay, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, Volume 10: *Against Apion* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), *Against Apion* 1:7, 24-25.

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father to son,”<sup>36</sup> (οἱ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖς οἱ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀπὸ δισχυλίων ἐτῶν ὀνομαστοὶ παῖδες ἐκ πατρὸς εἰσὶν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς).<sup>37</sup> The lineage determined a person’s religious role.

Thus genealogies served to provide an impressive background to the people concerned, convincing the readers by their precision. The genre of genealogies even has a special pattern, the backwards genealogy, to introduce people and connect them to well-known ancestors.

### Early Church

The main interest of Christian interpretation is in the genealogy of Seth, which is seen as the heavenly city (Augustine), the genealogy of the believers of the nations (Angelomus) or the church (Luther, Calvin), in contrast to the Cainite branch, which represents the earthly city, the devil (partly), or the anti-church. Apart from this general symbolic interpretation, the comments made are not on the genealogies themselves, but on the short narrative parts within the genealogies. There is a lot of speculation about Lamech’s poetic statement in Genesis 4:23-24; with regard to Genesis 5 the focus is on the ascent to heaven of Enoch.

Genesis 4:23<sup>38</sup> reads as follows: “I have slain a man for wounding me, a young man for striking me.” Some church fathers interpret this statement as a double killing. Ephrem the Syrian suggests that Lamech wanted to erase the burden of guilt put on the Cainites by the fratricide committed by Cain. That is why Lamech killed his ancient ancestor Cain, and his own son, who resembled Cain. In that way he tried to bring the Sethites and the Cainites together again.<sup>39</sup> Others, like Basil the Great, think Lamech did commit a double murder, but did not kill Cain.<sup>40</sup> The wives of Lamech function in the commentaries as an audience for Lamech. Augustine remarks that Adah and Zillah and Eve are the only wives known before the flood.<sup>41</sup> He underlines the contrast between the two family branches: the Cainites represent the earthly city, starting and ending with a murderer; Seth represents a new beginning and a resurrection of Abel. He is a symbol of the heavenly city.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>36</sup> John Barclay, *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, Volume 10: *Against Apion* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), *Against Apion* 1:7, 27.

<sup>37</sup> Benedictus Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera, Vol. V: De Iudaeorum vetustate sive Contra Apionem libri II* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1889), 30.

<sup>38</sup> All Bible quotations are from the New Revised Standard Version.

<sup>39</sup> *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, Old Testament I, Genesis 1-11*, edited by Andrew Louth and Marco Conti (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 113.

<sup>40</sup> *Ancient Christian Commentary I*, 113.

<sup>41</sup> *Ancient Christian Commentary I*, 111.

<sup>42</sup> *Ancient Christian Commentary I*, 116-117.

The importance of the seventh generation in both texts is recognised. Bede, interpreting this number seven for the Sethites, sees Enoch as prefiguring Jesus Christ and “the full grace of the Holy Spirit, which is described by the prophet as sevenfold,...”.<sup>43</sup> Augustine is counting the number of sons in Genesis 10, adding the numbers to the families, and is discussing in detail some of the problems of the text, like interpreting 10:21: “To Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber,..., children were born.” Shem is the father of all generations that came after him.<sup>44</sup> Augustine is also adding up the ages of the patriarchs in Genesis 11 upon becoming a father and calculates there are 1072 years between the flood to Abraham.<sup>45</sup> There is no special awareness of daughters in the genealogies in these texts.

### Middle Ages

Wigbod’s Commentary on Genesis, dedicated to Charlemagne, was an early collection of excerpts from the works of the church fathers. Several compilations of Christian interpretations were made, which would later on result in the popular *Glossa Ordinaria*, the main Bible commentary till the Reformation. In the ninth century the French benedictine monk Angelomus of Luxeuil compiled a commentary on Genesis, which would, in the twelfth century, become part of the *Glossa Ordinaria*. He also uses patristic sources, blending them together in an innovative way. In his compilation he comments on the differences between the genealogy of Cain and the genealogy of Seth. The female element is a distinctive trait for him. He notices the number of wives mentioned in the genealogy of Cain and the absence of women in Seth’s lineage. “*Hic notandum est quod in progenie Seth nulla ibi progenita femina nominatim exprimitur, nisi tantum in progenie Cain commemorator...*”

Contrary to modern interpretation, in which the presence of women often is seen as a sign of the importance of a genealogy, Angolemus interprets the presence of women negatively as a sign that Cain was living in an earthly city (*terrenam civitatem*).<sup>46</sup> Women - and men - in the genealogies are interpreted in a typological way. The two wives of Lamech symbolise the two churches, the visible and the invisible one, that need to listen to the sermon that Lamech (Christ) killed Cain (the devil). Seth’s birth is interpreted both spiritually and morally, representing spiritually the believers of the nations, born out of Christ (Adam) and the Synagogue (Eve) and morally *sensus perfectus*, born out of the saint (Adam) and flesh (Eve).

<sup>43</sup> *Ancient Christian Commentary I*, 118.

<sup>44</sup> *Ancient Christian Commentary I*, 162-163.

<sup>45</sup> *Ancient Christian Commentary I*, 172.

<sup>46</sup> Angelomi Luxoviensis Monachi, *Opera Omnia* (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1852), 154.

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His birth is a resurrection, a replacement of Abel. That is why his birth is recorded after the death of his brother, as a new beginning.<sup>47</sup>

The Table of Nations in Genesis 10 is taken as describing the historical world. For the explanation of the differences with ‘today’ Augustine is quoted. Enemy attacks and migrations must have changed the world.<sup>48</sup> In the same way, the authors of the *Glossa* are puzzled by contradictions when taking the biblical text literally (*secundam litteram*), for example in the age of Shem on conceiving his son (100 instead of 102, which it ought to be when the numbers in Gen 5 and 7 are added). At the other hand, the text is often interpreted in a non-literal way. Thus the order of the names of Abram and Nahor represents according to the *Glossa* not the order of their birth but the order of their future significance.<sup>49</sup>

Rashi is also puzzled, as are the authors of the *Glossa*, by the discrepancy of two years in the age of Shem and thus by the order of birth of Shem and Japheth.<sup>50</sup> He is mostly interested in the more narrative genealogies. On the genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11 he hardly comments. His remarks are all on deviations of the pattern.<sup>51</sup> The other genealogies seem more enticing to him. He freely comments on issues of Hebrew grammar, gives explanations of names, adds stories and tries to explain the text, in discussion with others. In his commentary on Chronicles, Rashi makes an important statement on the order of the different genealogies, by telling a story about a king who, upon losing a pearl, sifts the sand till he retrieves the pearl. The less important genealogies-the sand- are told first.<sup>52</sup> Calvin will share this observation. Rashi does not add statements on the overall meaning of the text, but has a striking eye for detail. No idiosyncrasy of the text goes unnoticed, like the superfluity of the ך in Genesis 36:24. In between he makes fascinating remarks on the overall intentions of the Torah. The Torah is given not to obscure

<sup>47</sup> Angelomi, *Opera Omnia*, 153.

<sup>48</sup> Angelomi, *Opera Omnia*, 163.

<sup>49</sup> The *Glossa Ordinaria* of Anselm of Laon and his school. Online edition of the university of Zürich (<http://mlat.uzh.ch>, Caput XI vers.10-25, 26-30).

<sup>50</sup> Noah was 500 years old, when he became the father of three sons (Gen 5:32). He was 600 years old when the Great Flood came (Gen 7:11). Shem was 100 years old, when he became the father of Arpachshad, two years after the flood (Gen 11:10). It is impossible to harmonise these dates. Shem should have been either 102 when his son was born, or 98 during the flood. Further confusion is caused by the order of the sons. Implicated in Gen 5:32 seems to be that all three were born in one year, but they cannot be triplets, since Gen 10:21 clearly states that probably Shem, but possibly Japheth is the older brother. Gen 9:24 probably also implies an order of birth: Ham is the younger one/ the youngest. Benedikt Hensel regards Ham as the eldest, but inferior son (his translation of חָמֹן), in line with his thesis that after disqualification of the firstborn son (Ham), a younger son (Shem) is now qualified to become the new firstborn. Benedikt Hensel, *Vertauschung der Erstgeburt in der Genesis. Eine Analyse der narrativ-theologischen Grundstruktur des ersten Buches der Tora*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 423 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2011), 59. For this generation and the generation of Abram, his interpretation is not entirely convincing.

<sup>51</sup> Gen 5:1-3, on Enoch and on the end of the genealogy, the birth of Noah and his descendants; Gen 11: only on the first verse, vs. 10.

<sup>52</sup> Rashi's commentary on Chronicles, *I Chronicles, a New English Translation*, translation of text, Rashi and commentary by Rabbi A.J. Rosenberg (New York, the Judaica Press, 1992), 3-4.

but to clarify the meaning of the text (on Gen 10:25), or: there is no earlier and later in the Torah, no chronological order (on the death of Isaac, Gen 35:29).

### The 16th and 17th century

Luther had a different method of studying and interpreting the text than the *Glossa*. He left their detailed interpretations and endeavoured to grasp the overall meaning of a Bible book, especially in his later works. This was not a sudden change, but “this method for treating the whole of the biblical construction of God’s narrative and the human story took place gradually.”

<sup>53</sup> In the last ten years of his life, from 1535-1545, Luther taught the book of Genesis, teaching and preaching intermittently. In line with this search for unity, he describes the overall meaning of the first four chapters of Genesis as a call to believe that there is resurrection of the dead after this life and eternal life through the seed of a woman: “*Est autem haec quatuor priorum Caputum summa, ut credamus post hanc vitam resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam aeternam per Semen mulieris.*”<sup>54</sup>

Luther also has an eye for detail. Discussing Genesis 5, he notices the superfluous use of the sentence ‘and he died’, interpreting it to indicate that the patriarchs were sinners, with the exception of Enoch, since death and sin are connected. “*Adam mortuus est. Ergo fuit peccator.*”<sup>55</sup> But still Genesis 5 is the genealogy of the better family branch. Luther as Angelomus puts the genealogies of Genesis 4 and 5 in juxtaposition to each other, as the genealogy of the cruel Cainites versus the genealogy of the true church, the *generatio iustorum*. He notices the meaning of all the Hebrew names in the genealogies and sometimes interprets a character from a name. Thus Adah might have been a beautiful woman, he suggests, since her name אָדָּה means ornament. Luther strongly disagrees with what he calls derogatorily a “Jewish invention”, the story of Lamech as the man who—by accident—would have murdered Cain, “for it is not at all probable Cain lived to the time Lamech became old and blind”. He chooses a rational explanation for the story of Lamech, while interpreting it negatively. The words of Lamech on revenge are not divine words, but come from his own mind: “This is what the wicked church is accustomed to do.”<sup>56</sup> The whole lineage of Cain is seen by him as an anti-

<sup>53</sup> Robert Kolb, *Martin Luther and the Enduring Word of God, The Wittenberg School and Its Scripture-Centered Proclamation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016), 31.

<sup>54</sup> D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe 42.Band, Weimar 1911, *Vorlesungen über 1.Mose*, Kap. 4,26, 24.

<sup>55</sup> Luther, *Vorlesungen über 1 Mose*, Kap.5,1, 244.

<sup>56</sup> John Nicholas Lenker, *Luther on Sin and the Flood, Commentary on Genesis, Vol.II* (Minneapolis: the Luther Press, 1910), 72.

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church, but the women are an exception. Luther calls the wives of Lamech “good and pious women” in contrast to their husband Lamech.<sup>57</sup> And Eve is quite humanly portrayed as devotedly visiting and teaching her children and grandchildren through Seth, while sighing over the offspring of her other son, Cain.<sup>58</sup>

Calvin’s commentary on Genesis appeared a few years later, in 1554. As Luther’s commentary, it is the result of his years of lecturing Genesis to students. As Luther, he rejects the story of Lamech killing Cain.<sup>59</sup> The polygamy of Lamech in his marriage to two women he sees as a characteristic of a “perverse and degenerate race”.<sup>60</sup> For Calvin Adah and Zillah merely function as a—scared—audience for their husband Lamech, whom he portrays as a cruel and evil man. Women are hardly present in Calvin’s discussion of these genealogies. Only Eve plays a role, as a woman who is rightfully ashamed of what she did.

Calvin is very aware of the structures and order in the biblical texts. In Genesis 4 Calvin highlights a structure in the line of thought of the biblical genealogies, namely a tendency to focus on the line of Seth. More children must have been born already before the birth of Seth, than described in the genealogy of Genesis 4, but they are passed by. That is because the author “designed to trace the generation of pious descendants through the line of Seth”. The focus of the genealogy is on Seth’s family, since “that family worshipped God in purity”, and could truly be called “the Church of God”.<sup>61</sup> He does not mention the absence of women in Genesis 5.

In his commentary on the genealogy in Genesis 10 Calvin comments, as Rashi, on the deliberate order of the genealogy. What is least important, comes first: “But since he (Moses, HK) had determined to weave the history of the church in one continuous narrative, he postpones the progeny of Shem, from which the church flowed, to the last place. Wherefore, the order in which they are mentioned is not that of dignity; since Moses puts those first, whom he wished slightly to pass over, as obscure.”<sup>62</sup> The least important might, however, appear to be first in the eyes of the world. And that is why Moses put them first. “Besides, we must observe, that the children of this world are exalted for a time, so that the whole earth seems as if it were made for their benefit, but their glory being transient vanishes away; while the Church,

<sup>57</sup> Lenker, *Luther*, 68-76.

<sup>58</sup> Lenker, *Luther*, 100.

<sup>59</sup> This story goes as follows: Lamech though blind was hunting in the woods. A boy directed his hand to shoot some animal in the forest, but this animal proved to be a man, Cain. Lamech then killed the boy as revenge. The story tries to explain the use of the past tense: I have killed a man. And it explains the doubling of the murder in the poem. Calvin translates it as a statement regarding future intent: “I will kill a man”, thus solving the patristic difficulties with this text.

<sup>60</sup> John Calvin, *Commentaries on the First Book of Moses called Genesis*, translated by John King, 1<sup>st</sup> Volume (Printed Edinburgh 1847, Reprinted by Baker Books: Grand Rapids, 2009), 217.

<sup>61</sup> Calvin, *Commentaries on Genesis*, tr. by John King, 223.

<sup>62</sup> Calvin, *Commentaries on Genesis*, tr. by John King, 315.

in an ignoble and despised condition, as if creeping on the ground, is yet divinely preserved, until at length, in his own time, God shall lift up her head.”<sup>63</sup> After a while, the true order is revealed. This question of order Calvin debates more often. He pleads that Abram was not the firstborn, but was deliberately placed first by Moses, in a kind of reversed argument of his commentary on Genesis 10. Calvin carefully tries to understand the underlying intention of the author, but in general he is not overly interested in the subject of genealogies. He admits, commenting on Genesis 10: “1. *These are the generations*. If anyone pleases more accurately to examine the genealogies related by Moses in this and the following chapter, I do not condemn his point. Let them enjoy, as far as I am concerned the reward of their labours. It shall, however, suffice for me briefly to allude to those things which I deem more useful to be noticed, and for the sake of which I suppose these genealogies to have been written by Moses.”<sup>64</sup> And indeed, just a few pages are dedicated to a long genealogy like Genesis 36, and no commentary is dedicated to the women in the passage.

Around 1600 the *Tsenerene*, a Yiddish commentary on the Torah, Megillot and Haftarat, was composed by Yankev ben Yitskhok Ashkenazi, drawing from Midrash, Rashi and other sources. Men and women could read his retelling of the Bible, but the book was especially written for women, as the title, quoting Song of Songs, indicates. They, as daughters of Zion, had to come out and see (*Tz’edah ur’edah*, hence the title) king Solomon, symbolising all biblical characters. And indeed, the *Tsenerene* became the Bible for women. Discussing the genealogies, the *Tsenerene* comments on the number of generations, explains differences in phrases and adds stories. It gives for instance a story connecting the genealogies of Genesis 4 and Genesis 5. More or less by accident Lamech killed his ancestor Cain and his own son Tubalcain.<sup>65</sup> His wives did not accept this and left him. Lamech called on Adam for help. In the discussion between Adam and the two wives, the wives criticised Adam for not having intercourse with his wife for 130 years. Adam took this to heart and Seth was born. This story not only explains the verse “I killed a man”, but gives also a reason for the puzzling gap in the birth of the second and third son of Adam.<sup>66</sup> The *Tsenerene*, being a women’s Bible, has of course a lot of stories about women in the Bible. As in the remarkable story above, these are often about women directing and leading men towards correct and ethical behaviour.

<sup>63</sup> Calvin, *Commentaries on Genesis*, tr. by John King, 315.

<sup>64</sup> Calvin, *Commentaries on Genesis*, tr. by John King, 312-313.

<sup>65</sup> This explanation of the biblical text was also given by some church fathers, but was rejected by Luther and Calvin.

<sup>66</sup> *Tsenerene*, on parshah Bereshit (Tel Aviv: Sinai Publishing House, 1982), 26.

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Of the very regular genealogies in Genesis 5 and 11 every detail and every deviation from the pattern is seen and discussed. As Luther before him, Yankev ben Yitshok Ashkenazi notices the apparently superfluous ‘and he died’ in the genealogy of Genesis 5, but he interprets it in a very different way: the people of those days were Zaddikim. Therefore they died in their beds and not in the flood. Since the descendants of Noah were no longer threatened by a flood, the addition was no longer needed in their genealogy.<sup>67</sup> Some pages further different explanations are given. One has a theological explanation: from the descendants of Noah the phrase ‘and he died’ is missing, since from Shem came the house of David and the Messiah, who will live for ever.<sup>68</sup>

Discrepancies, like the different names of Esau’s wives or the background of Timna, are solved. Following Rashi, the name Judith in Gen 26:34 is explained as a nickname given by Esau to Oholibamah to mock his father, who wanted her to be Jewish. The strange fact that Timna, being a princess, is content to be the concubine of Eliphaz, is explained by his descent from Abraham. In such a way the genealogies are explained, interpreted and supplemented, with the overall view of instructing and encouraging women.

### The 18th and 19th century

Calvin severely criticizes people who ridicule biblical texts and call certain events in the Bible ‘fabulous’. He himself sees the design of the Holy Spirit in the more miraculous biblical events, like the fast repopulation of the earth after the flood, thus upholding the historical truth of the Bible.<sup>69</sup> This faith in the historical accuracy of genealogies generally prevailed till the rise of historical criticism at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, though contradictions were noted before this. Spinoza mentions for example the differences in numbers in Ezra and Nehemiah in the lists of inhabitants of Judah, who had returned from exile. But he explains them seeking to understand Scripture’s meaning and sense. Trying to reconcile such differences is in his eyes blurring the light with darkness. Calling Scripture in certain parts to be erroneous is not blasphemous, but instead respectful to the sense of Scripture, the “*verum Scripturae sensum*”.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup> *Tsenerene*, on parshah Bereshit, 26. *Zeenah u-reenah: Frauenbibel, Übersetzung und Auslegung des Pentateuch von Jacob ben Isaac aus Janow*, nach dem Jüdisch-Deutschen bearbeitet von Bertha Pappenheim (Frankfurt am Main: J. Kaufmann/ Jüdischer Frauenbund, 1930), 30-31.

<sup>68</sup> *Tsenerene* on parshah Bereshit, on discussing Gen 10-11, 45.

<sup>69</sup> Calvin, *Commentaries on Genesis*, tr. By John King, 315.

<sup>70</sup> Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, Opera Vol. III, Lipsiae 1846, 162-163.



At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Johann Eichhorn<sup>71</sup> wrote the *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (published first in three tomes, later in five tomes), which was very influential for the distinction of texts in earlier and later elements and the development of the documentary hypothesis, discerning a Jehovistic and an Elohist Document—the later P. He applied this distinction on genealogies. In the third tome of the edition in five tomes, he states on the genealogies in Genesis:

“Die Genealogie I B. Mose 10 zeichnet sich im 9ten Vers durch den Namen Jehova aus; und nach andern Erscheinungen zu urtheilen, würde in der verwandten Genealogie, I B. Mose 11, der Name Elohim gebraucht seyn, wenn eine Veranlassung, den Namen Gottes zu nennen, da gewesen wäre. Und diese Verschiedenheit im Ausdruck erstreckt sich nicht bloss auf die von Gott gebrauchten Namen, sondern ist auch in andern Stücken in der ganzen Phraseologie und der Einkleidung der Sätze fühlbar.”<sup>72</sup>

The genealogies of both sources are not only distinctive in the possible use of the name of God, but also in character: „Die Urkunde mit dem Namen Jehova fasst ihre Genealogien nach kosmographischen Gesichtspunkten ab, und die mit Elohim nach chronologischen. (...); jene liefert geographie der Welt nach der Fluth, und diese Genealogie Sem’s, mit Chronologie verbunden.”<sup>73</sup> The content is different: “Die Urkunde mit Jehova verfolgt recht absichtlich die Geschichte der Erfindungen: ... Die Urkunde mit Elohim ist es bloss um die Familiengeschichte der Israeliten zu thun.”<sup>74</sup> So Eichhorn continued to draw the individual character of the sources, which he also discerns in the genealogical texts, remarking wisely that final conclusions on the purpose of the documents are hardly possible, given their present incompleteness.

Eichhorn was interested in the genealogies as examples of parallel passages, which he used as sources for these studies. Eichhorn lists the genealogies of I Chronicles with Genesis and II Samuel, and Ezra with Nehemiah as parallel passages. According to him the comparison of such parallel texts can lead to very important discoveries on the genesis and redaction of the books of the Old Testament and their passages, thus leading to the reconstruction of the history

<sup>71</sup> In his series of portraits of Old Testament critics Thomas Kelly Cheyne, himself a pioneer of historical criticism in England, called Johann Gottfried Eichhorn the founder of modern Old Testament criticism. Thomas Kelly Cheyne, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism, biographical, descriptive, and critical studies* (London: Methuen, 1893), 13 ff

<sup>72</sup> Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Dritter Band, 4th Ed (Rosenbusch: Göttingen, 1823), 52.

<sup>73</sup> Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, Dritter Band, 60.

<sup>74</sup> Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, Dritter Band, 61.

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of the Hebrew text: “Die höhere und niedere Kritik kann durch die Vergleichung solcher verwandten Stellen die wichtigsten Entdeckungen machen. Jene kann durch ihre Beyhülfe auf die Spur kommen, wie manche Bücher und einzelne Abschnitte derselben entstanden, und nach welcher Manier alle Werke in spätern Zeiten überarbeitet worden sind; und diese erhält durch sie Resultate für die Geschichte des hebräischen Texts.”<sup>75</sup>

The modern school of biblical critics also considered the genealogies to be ancient and reliable documents. Ernst Hengstenberg for instance claimed that the statement that Moses did not write Genesis 10 was proven wrong by modern research, since “The new discoveries and investigations in Egypt have shown that they maintained, even from the most ancient times, a vigorous commerce with other nations, and sometimes with very distant nations.”<sup>76</sup> Egyptology confirmed the Bible, according to Hengstenberg: “But not merely in general do the investigations in Egyptian antiquities favour the belief that Moses was the author of the account in this tenth chapter of Genesis. On the Egyptian monuments, those especially which represent the conquests of the ancient Pharaohs over foreign nations, not a few names have been found which correspond with those contained in the chapter before us.”<sup>77</sup>

Slowly the appreciation of the genealogies started to change. According to Wilson, the attack on the historicity of the genealogies of the Bible came from two directions, namely from scholars of Near Eastern texts and anthropologists interpreting the genealogies as describing a mythical past, reflecting only the intertribal relationships of the times they were composed and from literary critics, who regarded the genealogies as late material, at best containing some older material, at worst being artificial frameworks connecting early oral units.<sup>78</sup>

One of the most influential critics was Julius Wellhausen, in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He asked the rhetorical question: “Was ferner die Geschlechtsregister und Stammbäume betrifft, sind sie deshalb historisch, weil Ihre Elemente für uns undurchsichtig sind und unserer Kritik entziehen?”<sup>79</sup> And he denies their historicity on the basis of the modern feel of the language used: “Die Sprache lässt keineswegs vermuten, dass man hier Excerpte aus uralten Dokumenten vor sich hat (...), und Eigennamen, wie z. B. Eljoenai und andere (4,35s.), bestehen nicht durch altertümliches Aussehen.”<sup>80</sup> The genealogies are at best “Spreu mit dem

<sup>75</sup> Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Erster Band, 4<sup>th</sup> Ed. (Göttingen: Rosenbusch, 1823), 394/395.

<sup>76</sup> Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the books of Moses, or the Books of Moses Illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt*, trans. R. Robbins (Edinburgh: T. Clark, 1845), 195.

<sup>77</sup> Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the books of Moses*, 195/196.

<sup>78</sup> Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 1,2.

<sup>79</sup> Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 6. Ausgabe 1905 (Nachdruck Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2001), 208.

<sup>80</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 208.

Waizen vermischt.”<sup>81</sup> This is also true for the genealogies in Genesis. Especially Genesis 5, the P list, makes the impression of an artificial new structure made out of refuse.<sup>82</sup> “Zerstört ist der ursprüngliche Gehalt dieser augenscheinlich mythologischen Elemente sowohl in Gen. 5 (P) als in Gen. 4 (JE), aber nur die jehovistische Liste macht noch den Eindruck der Ruine, während dagegen in der anderen die Trümmer zu einem künstlichen Neubau benutzt worden sind, in welchem sie sich nun eben nicht mehr wie Trümmer ausnehmen.”<sup>83</sup> In Wellhausen’s eyes the JE source was more authentic than the P source.<sup>84</sup> The JE source was “bildsam und lebendig” and had an essence of truth.<sup>85</sup> The genealogies however, formed an unauthentic part of this ancient source.

Due to interpretations like these, the biblical genealogies were no longer generally regarded as reliable sources of information of the history of Israel. And they were even painted in a bad light. With the loss of their historical value came -unnecessarily- a loss of their moral and spiritual value. In a way it is a pity that so much scholarly energy in genealogies was for centuries focused on debating the historicity of the genealogies, instead of concentrating on the function and form of the genealogies. Genealogies were extremely important for the implied audience of the texts, even though especially Westerners might be tempted to discard them after having cast doubt on their historicity.

### Recent times

In 1969 Marshall Johnson published *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*.<sup>86</sup> Johnson was one of the first modern scholars who started taking the biblical genealogies seriously again, a few years later followed by Robert R. Wilson. Johnson’s focus was on the genealogies of Jesus, but the whole first part of his book is dedicated to the genealogies in the OT. He discerns several functions, like legitimation, periodisation of history or continuity. Different genealogies have different functions. In the segmented genealogy of Genesis 25 the main purpose is for instance to give a tribal classification. Parts of the OT תולדות Book<sup>87</sup> share this purpose, but the overall

<sup>81</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 212.

<sup>82</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 313.

<sup>83</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 308.

<sup>84</sup> HaCohen, *Reclaiming the Hebrew Bible*, 125.

<sup>85</sup> Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, 325.

<sup>86</sup> A new, revised edition of his book was published in 1988 (Cambridge University Press), reprinted by Wipf and Stock in 2002.

<sup>87</sup> Like the genealogies of Ishmael in Genesis 25 and of Esau in Genesis 36. They give a tribal classification.

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purpose of the תולדות Book is towards the cult. It culminates in Aaron.<sup>88</sup> In later Judaism the focus is on the ancestry of the Messiah. Johnson wrote about the speculation on the ancestry of the Messiah and about the genealogies of Jesus Christ in the second part of his book.

Wilson shared Johnson's interest in the function of genealogies. He wrote his dissertation on genealogy and history, published 1972, studying the form and function of oral and Near Eastern and biblical genealogies.<sup>89</sup> Where many tend to compare the biblical genealogies to material from the Ancient Near East, Wilson also used data from anthropological studies. According to Wilson, the segmented genealogies of Ancient Israel probably had a socio-political function, as oral genealogies have. They might have functioned in this way in times of absence of a centralised government, like in the period of the judges. In a period of centralised government, the (linear) genealogies would have had the function to legitimise the power of the king, as in the Ancient Near East.<sup>90</sup>

James Sparks underlines Wilson's conclusion on the sociological function of the genealogies and states: "The importance of this conclusion for understanding the Biblical genealogies cannot be overestimated.... Tribal genealogies are not created for the purpose of 'history' or 'historiography'. Genealogies are instead created for domestic, politico-jural, or religious reasons, although there is often not a clear distinction between these areas, with one area often overlapping with another."<sup>91</sup> Wilson also tries to overcome the impasse of the debate on the historicity of genealogies. He concludes that there is no easy solution to the debate. "Genealogies may function historically even if they do not actually contain historically accurate information. For these reasons we should conclude that the adjectives 'historical' and 'unhistorical' cannot easily be applied to genealogies. Most of the material which we have collected indicates that genealogies are not normally created for the purpose of conveying historical information." "...historical information is preserved in the genealogies only incidentally. In general, the makers of genealogies are not historians."<sup>92</sup>

Gary Rendsburg, however, does apply the word historical for the genealogies and goes against the general direction scholarship is taking: "The general trend among scholars in recent

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<sup>88</sup> Marshall D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies, with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2002), 27: "But the compiler of the Toledoth Book had a purpose beyond this. Once the stage had been set with its great tribal confederacies, the line did indeed narrow until it reached Aaron,..."

<sup>89</sup> *Genealogy and History in the Old Testament* (1972); in 1977 published as *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World*.

<sup>90</sup> Robert R. Wilson, *Genealogy and History in the Old Testament, as study in the form and function of the Old Testament genealogies in their Near Eastern context* (New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972), 238-239

<sup>91</sup> Sparks, *The Chronicler's Genealogies*, 10.

<sup>92</sup> Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 245.

years has been to treat the genealogies recorded in the Bible with an increased skepticism. (...) The current approach is that the genealogies may retain some value for the reconstruction of political ties on a national and tribal level, but that in no way should they be taken at face value.”<sup>93</sup> Rendsburg reaches a different conclusion. He points to the internal consistency of the genealogies, which can be seen from the similar length of the line of descent and from the interconnection of the genealogies. Focusing on the lineages from Moses onwards, he states: ... “for each individual in Exodus through Joshua for whom we have a recoverable genealogy, there is a distance of 3-6 generations between that individual and Jacob’s sons.”<sup>94</sup> He interprets this consistency “as evidence of general accuracy and historical reliability.”<sup>95</sup> and concludes: “...the inner consistency of the biblical genealogies points to their general veracity...they may act as a reliable guide for historical research.”<sup>96</sup>

But the question of historicity is no longer in the centre of attention of most scholars of genealogies. The focus has since Johnson changed to the function of genealogies. Why are there genealogies in the Hebrew Bible? What is their purpose? Most recent studies on genealogies concentrate on the function of genealogies. Very carefully scholars try to prevent forcing all genealogies artificially into one function. Instead different functions are found, depending on the form of the genealogy. The very thorough study of Thomas Hieke of especially the תולדות is an example of this.<sup>97</sup> Hieke also connects forms with functions. After discerning separate functions of different texts of genealogies, he tries to find the overall function in the last part of his book. The תולדות give unity and structure to the book of Genesis; they lead to a certain expectation, which the narrative interrupts (infertility) and they lead the concentration more and more on what will become the people of Israel.<sup>98</sup>

But possibly by now, enough studies were written on the subject of the function of biblical genealogies. Jason Hood concludes succinctly: “Scholarly literature on the genealogies after Wilson’s ...work...unfortunately reflects the abbreviated focus on function,... This trend has reached something of a saturation point.”<sup>99</sup> One can conclude that this approach to biblical genealogies has done its purpose. There is not much new to be said on the subject of the function of genealogies. It is time for a change in the direction of scholarship.

<sup>93</sup> Rendsburg, “The internal consistency”, 185.

<sup>94</sup> Rendsburg, “The internal consistency”, 186.

<sup>95</sup> Rendsburg, “The internal consistency”, 198.

<sup>96</sup> Rendsburg, “The internal consistency”, 204.

<sup>97</sup> Thomas Hieke, *Die Genealogien der Genesis* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2003).

<sup>98</sup> Hieke, *Die Genealogien der Genesis*, 311-319.

<sup>99</sup> Jason B. Hood, *The Messiah, His Brothers, and the Nations, Matthew 1.1-17*, Library of New Testament Studies (London-New York: T&T Clark, 2011), 15.

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Instead of concentrating on function, I will concentrate on form. There is no study till now completely dedicated to the form and development of the biblical genealogy. My research in this direction is inspired by the work of Jan Fokkelman. According to him, the basic question in biblical scholarship is not “What is said?”, but “How is it said?”.<sup>100</sup> And, changing his statement slightly, the basic question is not “Why is it said?”, but “How is it said?”

I will analyse the different literary structures of genealogy and their ability to change and adapt themselves. Within the form I will still discuss the function. For me ‘function’ means not the socio-political impact of the text, but the genealogical meaning a specific pattern can have. To give an example: the Backwards Pattern has the function of connecting somebody we do not know with somebody we know very well. Two men we do not know are in I Samuel by means of a Backwards Pattern firmly placed within a tribe; Ezra is connected through Phinehas to Aaron and Jesus is connected to God. Thus the Backwards Pattern fulfils this function of introducing somebody. The לְקַדְּשׁ וְנַתְּתֵם לְקַדְּשׁ Pattern has the function to emphasize the importance of the ancestral couple. Adam and Hawwah and Cain and his wife proudly stand as ancestors at the beginning of a linear genealogy using other patterns. As such I will use the term function regularly. Only occasionally I will make a tentative remark on a broader function. The form must remain the centre of this study.

In the last decade two books have been published on the other subject of this study: the role of women in the biblical genealogies. Ingeborg Löwisch wrote an original, interdisciplinary analysis of the insertion of women into the genealogies in Chronicles, comparing the genealogies to the film “Mein Leben Teil 2 (My Life Part 2)”, by Angelika Levi, in which Levi reconstructs her often traumatic and suppressed family history as a descendant of Jacob through Levi. For Löwisch the genealogies of Chronicles work the same way. They also form an archive of traumatic and partly suppressed history, dealing with the trauma of exile and the struggle for identity after the return.<sup>101</sup> “On the one hand it (I Chronicles 1-9, HK) capitalizes on the primacy of patriarchal succession for the constitution of Israel, focuses on continuity and aims at asserting normative power relations. On the other hand, I Chronicles 1-9 is a text that expresses a gendered subtext that interrupts and subverts patriarchal succession and brings forth moments of discontinuity.”<sup>102</sup> Löwisch divides the women in categories (secondary women, women as

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<sup>100</sup> Jan P. Fokkelman, *Reading Biblical Narrative, An Introductory Guide*, trans. Ineke Smit (Louisville Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1999), 26-27.

<sup>101</sup> Ingeborg S. Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy: Gender and Memory in Chronicles* (Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2015), 35.

<sup>102</sup> Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 209.

subjects of opening and closing formulas etc.), trying to reach a deep conceptual understanding of the text. Löwisch even coins a new term: gynealogy, for the female-centred genealogy.<sup>103</sup>

D. Charles Smith published a study on the mothers in the genealogies of the sons of Jacob. He traces the order of Jacob's sons in all lists where they occur, not only genealogies. The mothers are present, even if absent, by the order in which the sons are presented. The matriarchs are as essential as are the patriarchs, or even more so, since they, more than the fathers, cooperate with God to preserve the correct family line: "The mothers behind the twelve sons of Jacob/Israel are critical to their survival and, subsequently, to the survival of what will be 'Israel'."<sup>104</sup>

Both Löwisch and Smith are as Johnson, Wilson and Hieke concerned with the function of the genealogies, though in different ways. Smith explains the presence or absence of sons and mothers from the function of the lists and the genealogies.<sup>105</sup> The—what he calls—"Political-Jural and Cultic-Religious Functioning Lists" of Chronicles for instance do not need female presence, contrary to the "Domestic Functioning Lists". He distinguishes between the original function of these lists and their function in Chronicles. In the genealogy of Asher, despite its political-jural function in Chronicles, women are according to Smith still present because of the original domestic function of the genealogy.

Löwisch explains the presence of women in the function of genealogies as an answer to trauma. According to her, gendered genealogies are relevant "for meaningful memory acts in response to fractured pasts."<sup>106</sup> Smith's and Löwisch' question is thus mostly: why are women present? And Löwisch' underlying question is also: why women? In answering these questions, Löwisch develops new concepts and offers a broad perspective of the general function of genealogies and memories. Smith formulates sagacious and inspiring observations on the meaning of women in the Hebrew Bible.

The main question regarding women in the Hebrew Bible in this research is not: why are they present, but how are they present in the genealogies? I will focus on the formulas used, the pattern of the genealogies and their development. In these patterns, women might sometimes have a place. In the summary in chapter 7 I will try to bring the information about the women

<sup>103</sup> Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 6.

<sup>104</sup> D. Charles Smith, *The Role of Mothers in the Genealogical Lists of Jacob's Sons* (Leuven/Paris/Bristol: Peeters, 2018), 164.

<sup>105</sup> Instead of discerning historical grouping of tribes (e.g. Leah tribes, Rahel tribes, Joseph tribes), Smith concludes that a single system of 12 tribes existed. According to him the genealogies of the sons of Jacob were "established and 'frozen' in place at a point before the biblical narratives were recorded." They were inserted by the author/editor of the narratives to connect the family. Smith, *The Role of Mothers*, 133-134.

<sup>106</sup> Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 233.

together, the data of all women in all biblical genealogies, in their function as mother, sister or daughter. This research is limited to the level of letters, words and phrases. Are women only present as exceptions or are they integrated in the regular genealogical system? Are patterns changed to include women? To answer these questions, I will use the tools of form criticism. How can the study of genealogies be combined with the findings of modern form criticism?

A recent attempt to use the method of form criticism for the study of biblical birth scenes is undertaken by Timothy Finlay. He studies the birth report as a type-scene, a “recurrent pattern in biblical narrative”.<sup>107</sup> Finlay distinguishes between longer birth reports and shorter birth notices. A longer birth report is for instance: “And he went into his wife; and she conceived and bore a son”, the shorter birth notice: “And she bore a son”. In my own analysis I will make the same distinction. I will list both under ‘female pattern’, because of the use of לִי feminine. The birth report is the full female pattern, the לִי וְיָלְדָהּ לְאִשְׁתּוֹ Pattern, and the birth notice the Independent Female לִי. They will be two of the patterns found in the genealogies in the Bible. Finlay studies the birth report and birth notice in all texts in which they occur, whether they are genealogies or different types of narrative. In my research I will concentrate on genealogies only, taking them as a developing genre, worth studying for their own sake.

#### 1.4 Methodological foreword and research question

There is a lively debate in biblical studies whether such a thing as modern form criticism is even possible. Essential questions are being asked. Are the genres artificial categories, which are being forced on biblical texts? Can we make any statements at all on genres or are they in reality modern inventions foreign to ancient texts? In short, do ‘genres’ exist? Is form criticism still possible?

We find the same debate in other branches of literary studies. Paul Battles nicely summarises the argument in his article on Old English Poetic Genres: “Opposition to genre criticism essentially boils down to the charge that the various literary kinds that scholars have postulated, particularly elegy and epic, are retrospective classifications.”<sup>108</sup> And he adds sarcastically: “Similarly, it has been argued that attempts to categorize religious narratives such

<sup>107</sup> Timothy D. Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre in the Hebrew Bible*, *Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 2,12 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 2.

<sup>108</sup> Paul Battles, “Toward a Theory of Old English Poetic Genres: Epic, Elegy, Wisdom Poetry, and the “Traditional Opening”, *Studies in Philology*: 1-33, Volume 111, No. 1 (Winter 2014).



as *Andreas, Elene, and Juliana*<sup>109</sup> as epics are grounded in the theories of nineteenth-century Germanophile critics (and hence, presumably, both mistaken and ideologically repugnant).<sup>110</sup>

In biblical studies we encounter the same hesitance to embrace the categories of form criticism, as based on the literary analyses of German (and other) scholars of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, though on different grounds. Where in those days there was confidence among biblical scholars in the dating and situating of genres, nowadays we realize that these dates and contexts are beyond our grasp. We just do not know what the earliest versions of a genre once looked like. We can only speculate. And certainly, such a hypothetical earlier version should not be regarded as a restricting and critical model, judging the biblical text. For, as Marvin Alan Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi say: “They (form-critical scholars, HK) will realize that they put forward theories, not assured facts.”<sup>111</sup>

So the question rises, whether form criticism is still possible in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. According to Antony Campbell we have two options: “either to go back or to go beyond.”<sup>112</sup> The first option is not realistic. Therefore he describes a possible going forward, avoiding the false certainties of the past, but maintaining its valuable insights. He sums these insights up as follows: “whatever is regarded as an individual text, whether shorter or longer, needs to be treated as a whole, and each individual whole will be affected by the influence of the typical.”<sup>113</sup> So hypothetical assumptions should be avoided, while the positive legacy of Gunkel and the generations following him is powerful enough to lead form critics in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

This positive legacy is to treat the text as a whole. From the understanding of the text as a whole the decision about the genre is made. So a literary genre can only be determined if the text is already analysed. Then the identification of a text as a literary genre “helps situate a text within a general class so that it can be more easily understood.”<sup>114</sup> As such it is “a summary of observations about a given text validating an initial intuition as to its nature.”<sup>115</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Formerly they were categorised as Christian epic, an adaptation of ancient Anglo-Saxon epics to Christianity. The critics of this categorisation maintain that Christian epic is not really one genre, since the works so called “lack cohesion as a group”. Ivan Herbison, “Christian Epic” in: *Studies in English Language and Literature: ‘Doubt Wisely’ Papers in honour of E.G. Stanley*, ed. by M.J. Toswell and E.M. Tyler (London: Routledge, 2012), 354.

<sup>110</sup> Battles, “Toward a Theory of Old English Poetic Genres”, 3.

<sup>111</sup> Marvin Alan Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi, *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-first Century* (Grand Rapids/ Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003), 11.

<sup>112</sup> Antony F. Campbell, S.J., “Form Criticism’s Future”, 15-31 in: Marvin Alan Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi, *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-first Century* (Grand Rapids/ Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2003), 16

<sup>113</sup> Campbell, “Form Criticism’s Future”, 23.

<sup>114</sup> Campbell, “Form Criticism’s Future”, 24.

<sup>115</sup> Campbell, “Form Criticism’s Future”, 25. Campbell first gives a clarifying list of statements what a literary genre is not: “1. It is not a license to launch out into uncertain surmises about a distant past. 2. It is not an invitation to indulge in subjective speculation about how a text might have come to be what it is. 3. It is not a key to unlock the secrets of a text’s understanding.” Campbell, “Form Criticism’s Future”, 24).

Form criticism is still very important.<sup>116</sup> Or, as Roy Melugin writes: “As we enter the twenty-first century, form criticism remains an invaluable tool in the study of biblical literature.” Campbell even states that “Form-critical assessments need to be made for every text we deal with.”<sup>117</sup> There is a future for form criticism, but in a more humble and limited way. As Sweeney and Ben Zvi say poetically: “The old ‘face’ of form criticism is disappearing; in its place a number of related ‘faces’ are beginning to take shape.”<sup>118</sup> There still exists a way to understand an ancient text as a certain genre, namely by analysing precisely the characteristics that distinguish the text. These characteristics are so distinct in the texts we will be studying in the present book, that they give a clear indication of the existence of a genre of genealogies. Campbell says encouragingly: “When a literary genre or type is obvious, the task is easy.”<sup>119</sup> Only occasionally we will have a harder task to define the boundaries and the genre of our texts.<sup>120</sup> Apart from that, Battles says, you can look at contemporary discourse to establish a genre.<sup>121</sup> Of course in the biblical texts such a contemporary discourse is rare, but where available we will use it. The Chronicler does single out the genealogies of the Pentateuch and uses them in the preamble of his book.

By analysing the texts, the conventions of the genre can be understood. We will know what to expect when we encounter other texts and we will better discern the special features of that specific text, where it follows the conventions and where it modifies and extends the possibilities of the genre or where certain characteristics seem to be missing. Genres are not static.<sup>122</sup> They change and develop and adapt themselves to the wishes of the writer/speaker and the audience. For, as Melugin rightfully says, a biblical text is both unique and typical and it is essential “to pay serious attention to the *interaction* between the typical and the unique in their formulation.”<sup>123</sup> Melugin wants form criticism to focus on this interaction. For according to him, the “unique artistic creativity” of the biblical text is often overseen in form criticism.<sup>124</sup>

This dissertation is an attempt to study the genealogies as one continuous form throughout the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament and, briefly, beyond the Bible in the

<sup>116</sup> Roy F. Melugin, “Recent Form Criticism Revisited in an Age of Reader Response”, 46-64 in: Sweeney and Ben Zvi, *The Changing Face of Form Criticism*, 46.

<sup>117</sup> Campbell, “Form Criticism’s Future”, 29.

<sup>118</sup> Sweeney and Ben Zvi, *The Changing Face of Form Criticism*, 11.

<sup>119</sup> Campbell, “Form Criticism’s Future”, 29.

<sup>120</sup> For example, in determining what is the case in Gen 25:19, the genealogy of Isaac.

<sup>121</sup> Battles, “Toward a Theory of Old English Poetic Genres”, 3.

<sup>122</sup> “Since classical antiquity, genres have often been regarded as unchanging patterns that constrain what and how an author writes. From this perspective, genre is an artificial and normative force that inhibits authors’ creativity. Yet for the past thirty years genre theory has moved steadily away from this model of literary kinds.”

Battles, “Toward a Theory of Old English Poetic Genres”, 5.

<sup>123</sup> Melugin, “Recent Form Criticism Revisited”, 48.

<sup>124</sup> Melugin, “Recent Form Criticism Revisited”, 48.

genealogies of Pseudo-Philo. Where most studies concentrate on genealogies within a certain biblical context, we will concentrate on the genealogies as a developing literary genre, analysing typical and unique elements. Genre is since Antiquity a very useful concept in the fields of art and rhetoric. It is a concept that is even more widely studied today. As a leading scholar in applied linguistics, John Swales writes: “Specifically, in the intervening years (from 1990-2004, HK) there has been a continuing and accelerating interest in centralizing the concept of genre in specialized language teaching and in the development of professional communication skills.<sup>125</sup>” The term ‘genre’ is used in such different fields as communication science, film analysis and in educational studies, to name a few. We will briefly look at some results of these genre studies, as far as they are helpful in our study of biblical genealogies.

Not only literary genres, but all genres are based on language. The linguists Ninke Stukker, Wilbert Spooren and Gerard Steen state in their introduction to “Genre in Language, Discourse and Cognition”: “The importance of language as a base-material for constructing genres is beyond doubt. Linguistic regularities play an important role in genres.” Their study is interesting, since it analyses genre phenomena in a very broad range of contexts. The present world is filled with genres, ranging from run apps to Snapchats to editorial comments in newspapers, but also to the ageless poems from the book of Psalms we still sing in church. According to Battles, there is broad consensus on the following four points (in my summary):

1. We find genres everywhere, where people are trying to organise discourse in categories.
2. Genres are dynamic, not static. Genres can be changed. They will probably change when society changes.<sup>126</sup>
3. Literary works can belong to different genres. Genres mix. (for example genealogical phrases used in creation story; mixture narrative-genealogy with Isaac).
4. Literary genres are fluid.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>125</sup> John Swales, *Research Genres, Explorations and applications* (Cambridge/ New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1.

<sup>126</sup> An example of this is the inclusion of the female ancestors of Jesus in the genealogy in Matthew.

<sup>127</sup> Battles, “Toward a Theory of Old English Poetic Genres”, 5/6. For illustration of point 4, see Philip L. Tite, *Valentinian Ethics and Paraenetic Discourse: determining the Social Function of Moral Exhortation in Valentinian Christianity* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), 68 ff. On p. 68 he states explaining the fluidity of genres “No literary work will perfectly fit the designations of genre...” We should not rigidly try to contain a genre within certain fixed boundaries.

### On genre

Stukker, Spooren and Steen define genre as follows: “Genre, . . . , refers to the level of discourse, to linguistic units typically larger than one sentence. It refers to the phenomenon that the same event in reality may be put into words differently, depending on the communicative function the text has to fulfil; . . .”<sup>128</sup> Applied on genealogies we might expect to find the information on descendants not only in genealogies but also in different types of text, like narratives or poems. And especially the narratives in the Bible do of course contain extensive genealogical information, but they belong to a different genre. The choice of the genre of genealogy is a deliberate one,<sup>129</sup> once made by the unknown authors of our texts. In a narrative this communication would be less straightforward, since dramatic and intriguing story lines might distract the audience or the readers. They chose regularly structured and succinct verses describing the lineages of the first men, and occasionally women, on earth.

We will limit ourselves here to the genre of genealogy.<sup>130</sup> Finlay in his introduction on form criticism defines the literary genre as follows: “A group of written texts marked by distinctive recurring characteristics, whether these characteristics are structural, stylistic or of content.”<sup>131</sup> We will study the regularities of the genre of genealogies: what does the audience expect to hear or to read whenever they hear the introduction “An account of the genealogy of Jesus the Messiah”? They do not expect to listen to a hymn or hear a parable. We will list the characteristics of the genre genealogies, to define its grounding. I define grounding as:

*the basic elements that constitute the patterns of the genre of genealogies.*

These constant features make the genre intelligible to the audience or the reader. Unfortunately, only a text level remains of what was once a solemnly spoken rendition of the lineages of men. We are missing the whole level of voice inflection, facial expression and reactions of the audience. We dearly miss the whole material context of the genealogy, the space and the sounds and the smells. We can only by a flight of the imagination visualise the circumstances in which

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<sup>128</sup> *Genre in Language, Discourse and Cognition*, Ninke Stukker, Wilbert Spooren, Gerard Steen (Eds.), Series: Applications of Cognitive Linguistics (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2016), Introduction to the volume, 6.

<sup>129</sup> *Genre in Language, Discourse and Cognition*, 9: Stukker, Spooren, Steen also state this on introducing the different investigations in their book: “In themselves, any of the studies reported in this book provides evidence in favor of the general idea that discourse genres are cognitive constructs, recognized, maintained and employed by members of a given discourse community.”

<sup>130</sup> Löwisch also considers the genealogies to be a separate genre. Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 184.

<sup>131</sup> Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre*, 15.

genealogies once functioned. Were genealogies once recited only in the Temple or also elsewhere? Did children have to learn their lineages by heart? How important were they to the people? Were they the framework of society, the way they still sometimes function in African tribal communities?<sup>132</sup>

The biblical genealogies form one genre, with certain characteristics but also with a possibility to change. They build on each other and react to each other. The genealogies develop, for they must be useful in the context in which they operate. Changes are brought about by the social groups behind the texts, who need the genealogies to perform certain things. The genealogies show stability and dynamics. Others might be inspired by them and adapt them. "...genres (...) change over time;" as Daniel Chandler points out in his *Introduction to Genre Theory*<sup>133</sup>, but "One may acknowledge the dynamic fluidity of genres without positing the final demise of genre as an interpretive framework."

The genre has flexibility and openness within a certain framework. As Steve Neale says: "..., genres are, ..., best understood as processes. These processes may, for sure, be dominated by repetition, but they are also marked fundamentally by difference, variation and change."<sup>134</sup> The genre itself can change and grow, as will happen with the genre of genealogies. By fluidity genealogies can "change according to the needs of the situation in which they are performed", as Löwisch says.<sup>135</sup> The possibilities of the genre were much broader in the New Testament than they were in the days of the Priestly Document. The genre had grown, for as Neale says "...any generic corpus is always being expanded."<sup>136</sup>

<sup>132</sup> "Such genealogies are the framework of all social groups in Somaliland from the smallest to the largest." In: I.M Lewis, *Peoples in the Horn of Africa*, Part 1 North Eastern Africa (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017, reprint 1955), "Fang genealogies, which average fifteen generations, list ancestors in the patrilineal lines back to mythological times. ...The recitation of genealogies was the centerpiece of traditional Fang education." Alisa LaGamma, *Genesis: Ideas of Origin in African Sculpture* (Metropolitan Museum of Art: New York; New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 69/70.

<sup>133</sup> "As the generic corpus ceaselessly expands, genres (and the relationships between them) change over time; the conventions of each genre shift, new genres and sub-genres emerge and others are 'discontinued' (though note that certain genres seem particularly long-lasting).", Chandler, Daniel, *An Introduction to Genre Theory* (visual-memory.co.uk, 1997), 3.

<sup>134</sup> Steve Neale, "Questions of Genre", *Screen* 31/1 (1990), 56.

<sup>135</sup> Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 169. She names as example the Kenites, who were distinct from Israel in e.g. Gen 15:9, but are genealogically integrated into the tribe of Judah in I Chron 2:55. Finlay quotes as examples of fluidity in genealogies the varying names of Esau's wives and the differences in the genealogies of Manasseh in Numbers 26 and I Chronicles 7. Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre*, 83.

<sup>136</sup> Neale, "Questions of Genre", 56.

### Genre in Form Criticism

In modern poetry the unexpected will be expected.<sup>137</sup> Deviations belong to the conventions of the genre of the modern poem.<sup>138</sup> But for genealogy the opposite is true. Regularity is one of the determining features of the genealogy.<sup>139</sup> The rhythm of the text is intended to be stable and regular. We can see the rhythm of the text in the repetitions and regularities we find, but by times we also seem to hear it, for instance in the repetitive letter *shin* in the years and numbers in the texts. We also find deviations. And because the regularity of the genealogies is so strong, these deviations immediately catch the eye of the reader. We feel that they must have a meaning. These disruptive elements change our way of thinking. We must tune in better or even restructure our ideas. The expected and the unexpected are two elements that work together in building the biblical text. Therefore, the object of this study will be twofold: to describe the expected and to analyse the unexpected.

This research will first try to describe the form of the biblical genealogies in order to be able to distinguish the expected from the unexpected elements of the genre. What does the expected form look like? What are the typical elements of a biblical genealogy?

Through text analysis I will try to find the verbal and nominal structures, that constitute genealogies. The System for Hebrew Text: Annotations for Queries and Markup (SHEBANQ) is used for the more complicated syntactic and grammatical searches. In such a way patterns appear, with fixed characteristics and a certain flexibility. How can we distinguish the different patterns? Which fixed elements do they contain? In which context are they used?

The patterns are divided into groups, using the same noun or verb. By the characteristic verb  $\text{וְיָ}$  four distinctive patterns are formed: Hiphil Masculine, Qal Masculine, Qal Feminine and Passive. The noun  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  forms the dominant pattern. It can be used for both sons of the father and sons of the mother and can include daughters. Variations can be found, like  $\text{בְּנֵי}$ . And the noun  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  can be used for a Backwards Pattern too. Which patterns are the main ones that are able to independently structure a biblical genealogy? And which are auxiliary, only used in

<sup>137</sup> As Anna Piata writes: “However, such a deviation is not unexpected; it is a typical, if not prominent, feature of poetic discourse.” Piata, “Genre “out of the box”, 228.

<sup>138</sup> “..., the overarching concept in the grounding box of poetry is the expectation of schema disruption; poetic discourse that is, *par excellence*, *schema disrupting*. The hallmark of literariness, at least of what is generally understood to be aesthetically valued literature, schema disruption applies to all kind of schemas, namely world schemas, text schemas and language schemas.” Piata, “Genre “out of the box”, 232.

<sup>138</sup> Piata, “Genre “out of the box”, 232.

<sup>139</sup> Stukker, Spooren and Steen write in their introduction: “Linguistic regularities play an important role in genres.” *Genre in Language, Discourse and Cognition*, 2.

combination with a main pattern? Which patterns do we find in longer genealogies? Are there different patterns used in the scattered genealogies, outside the main genealogical corpus?

Only after thus grounding the genre the main research question can be answered:

*How does the genre of genealogies change, in its patterns and in its deviations?*

The Pentateuchal genealogies generally precede the genealogical corpus of Chronicles, though it is possible that an individual genealogy in Chronicles might use a different, possibly older, text. Still, it is clear that the genealogical preamble of Chronicles presupposes the Pentateuchal genealogies. The genealogies in the New Testament are a further development. In following this very general diachronic division: Pentateuch, Chronicles and New Testament, we will try to analyse the development over time of the biblical genealogies:

- *Is there a change within the genre?*
- *Do the patterns used remain the same?*
- *Is there a change in the popularity of some patterns?*
- *Can we discern a specialisation of certain patterns?*

The genealogical texts themselves will be studied synchronically. There will be no effort in this study to further distinguish and split up the genealogies. As they stand, they functioned in the society they were written for.

We will define the patterns of the genre of genealogies and describe the regularities we may expect. By this process we will establish the criteria of the genre. Thus, we are able to distinguish the deviations to the pattern, and we can “better appreciate the inherent tensions between convention and originality that result from the use of and departures from the traditional genres.”<sup>140</sup> The second part of the research question concerns these unexpected elements. In almost every genealogy we find departures from the pattern<sup>141</sup>, disruptions of the typical. These departures are there for a reason. As John Nolland states: “Very rarely will we

<sup>140</sup> “The point of genre criticism is not to create an artificial set of generic criteria against which poems can be weighed and found wanting but to better appreciate the inherent tensions between convention and originality that result from the use of and departures from the traditional genres. Unless we attend to these and other conventions of Old English poetry, we cannot recognize when poems modify or violate them for creative purposes.” Battles, “Toward a Theory of Old English Poetic Genres”, 32-33.

<sup>141</sup> Ruth 4:18-21 is an exception. The text has no annotations and is completely regular. We will call it an idealised genealogy.

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find anything which could be considered only a careless departure from a pattern.”<sup>142</sup> He sees these breaches of the pattern as means to “fit the genealogy into the wider literary context” and to ensure “that the genealogies function as compressed tellings of the history that stands behind each.” Nolland especially focuses on the annotations, the additions to the pattern.<sup>143</sup> In these deviations we see glimpses of histories, either known to us from other Bible texts or histories to which we have no other access than through these short enticing sentences.

As second part of the research question we will analyse these elements:

- *What are those very significant breaches of the pattern?*
- *Do these deviations change and adapt themselves to new circumstances?*
- *Are these unexpected elements adding to the flexibility of the genre? And does this flexibility to include the unexpected change over time?*

In the different stages of the development of the genre, different strategies will be used to include women. As sub-question to the research question we will ask after the role of women in the genealogies:

- *How are daughters included? Can they be part of the main pattern, of the expected? Or are they part of the deviations, the unexpected? Are daughters described as daughters or as sisters?*
- *How are mothers included in the genealogies? Can mothers be the main ancestor? Which patterns allow this?*

D. Charles Smith concludes firmly in his book on mothers in the genealogies of the sons of Jacob: “Mothers in particular, and women in general are important contributors to their families, to the Promise, to the advancement of the theological message of the Hebrew Bible.”<sup>144</sup> He deplores the absence of any explanation of the importance of the mothers of the sons of Jacob in the history of research.<sup>145</sup> According to Frank Crüsemann women are mentioned at relatively few, but central places.<sup>146</sup> Hieke agrees with Crüsemann that women

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<sup>142</sup> John Nolland, “Genealogical Annotation in Genesis as Background for the Matthean Genealogy of Jesus”, *Tyndale Bulletin* 47.1 (May 1996), 117 Nolland calls the use of “The days of Adam” instead of “Adam lived” in Gen. 4:4 such a careless departure from the pattern. NB He limits his short study to Genesis and Matthew.

<sup>143</sup> Nolland, “Genealogical Annotation”, 171.

<sup>144</sup> Smith, *The Role of Mothers*, V

<sup>145</sup> Smith, *The Role of Mothers*, 25

<sup>146</sup> Crüsemann, “Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity”, 58.



play a decisive role at moments of transition and crisis, at breaking points. They slow down the lineary genealogy, adding distinction to the genealogy they are part of.<sup>147</sup> Or as he summarises in a later article: “An wesentlichen Stellen kommt es auf die Frauen an”.<sup>148</sup> References to women show, according to Löwisch, the “fissures in the male mirror”, pointing “to the fragility of the material of the mirror itself.”<sup>149</sup>

Some patterns naturally include women; some even abound with female elements, but other patterns hardly leave room for them. Within these patterns, annotations can become important for the inclusion of women. If the pattern excludes women, the annotations might shape possibilities for the inclusion of female elements. We will study how the inclusion of women is possible in the form of the given text and analyse the literary strategies used for this inclusion. These short annotations can invoke, as Nolland says, features of a history no longer accessible to us.<sup>150</sup> That makes the genealogies a source of otherwise lost material, through which some women are remembered who would otherwise have disappeared into oblivion.

Using the method of form criticism, we will remain within the literary reality and not enter the historical-cultural context of the lists. Likewise, the question of the historicity of genealogies is beyond the scope of the study. There has been a significant increase in the study of genealogies since the publications of Wilson, but there is still no overarching form-critical study. As Westermann says:

“A form-critical study of the genealogies is yet to be elaborated. Point of departure would have to be the many appropriate texts in the patriarchal cycle; then there would follow the study of the genealogies of the primeval story, their history outside Israel, and finally their revival throughout the Old Testament right up to the genealogies of Jesus in the gospels.”<sup>151</sup>

We will endeavour to be as complete as Westermann suggests and follow the development of genealogies throughout the Bible, up to the genealogies in the gospels.

<sup>147</sup> Hieke, *Die Genealogien*, 278. He speaks about “Schaltstellen, Schwachstellen und Krisen”.

<sup>148</sup> Hieke, Thomas, “Genealogie als Mittel der Geschichtsdarstellung in der Tora und die Rolle der Frauen im genealogischen System”, in *Die Bibel und die Frauen, Eine exegetisch-kulturgeschichtliche Enzyklopädie, Hebräische Bibel-Altes Testament, Tora* edited by I. Fischer, M. Navarro-Puerto, A. Taschl-Erber (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2010), 185.

<sup>149</sup> Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 116.

<sup>150</sup> Nolland, “Genealogical Annotation”, 121.

<sup>151</sup> Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1-11, A Continental Commentary*, trans. John J. Scullion (Minneapolis: Fortress Press 1994, originally published Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1984), 9.

## 1.5 Genealogies and Source Criticism

Genealogies have traditionally been divided over the sources, based on masculine forms of the verb  $\text{לָלַד}$ , “to become the father of.” Paradigms have shifted enormously in the field of source criticism. A common opinion no longer exists. We will present below what was once more or less a general view, i.e. a division in sources P, non-P/J and Chronicler. The genealogies in the Pentateuch were mostly attributed to the Priestly source and the Yahwist. Johnson stated: “Apart from the Yahwistic and Priestly sections of the Pentateuch and the works of the Chronicler, there are only scattered occurrences in the OT of genealogical material.”<sup>152</sup> According to him the other sources show a marked lack of genealogical interest. So we need only to consider the “(...) what are probably the earliest and the latest traditions of the Pentateuch, J and P, as the only sources in which actual genealogies have been preserved.”<sup>153</sup> Actually, Johnson concentrated within the Pentateuch mainly on P’s genealogies, which he described as the ‘Toledot Book’. He pointed especially to P because: “...the priestly narrative...reveals the most complex and comprehensive genealogical speculation.”<sup>154</sup> Joseph Blenkinsopp went even further, calling P “addicted to genealogies”.<sup>155</sup> Westermann agreed on the importance of Genesis for the study of genealogies. However, he did not single out P as much as Johnson does.

Reinhard Kratz has a very thorough and detailed source critical analysis of the texts. Just as the creation stories form doublets, the genealogies of Genesis 4-5 and Genesis 10-11 form doublets. They must be independent sources, not just additions.<sup>156</sup> Kratz divides the genealogies over the sources as follows<sup>157</sup>:

### P

Genesis 5<sup>158</sup>

Genesis 11

Genesis 25: Toledot of Ishmael

<sup>152</sup> Johnson: *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 3.

<sup>153</sup> Johnson: *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 4.

<sup>154</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 14.

<sup>155</sup> Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Wisdom and Law in the Old Testament* (Oxford: University Press, 1983), 105.

<sup>156</sup> Reinhard G. Kratz, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament*, translated by John Bowden (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 244.

<sup>157</sup> Kratz discusses this division in two sections on the Priestly Writing and the Non-Priestly Narrative, 225-293 of *The Composition*.

<sup>158</sup> To this P list are then often added the verses with information on the sons of Noah: Gen 6:9-10 and on the age of Noah: Gen 9:28-29. Also by Kratz, *The Composition*, 235.

Genesis 25: Toledot of Isaac

Genesis 36

Genesis 46

Exodus 6

### **Non-P**

Genesis 4

Genesis 25: Genealogy of Keturah

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A special case is Genesis 10. By a scholar like Rudolph Smend Genesis 10 was regarded as a mixture of P and non-P, as follows<sup>159</sup>:

**P:** Gen 10:1a-7, 20, 22, 23, 31, 32

**Non-P:** Gen 10:1b, 8-19, 21, 24-30

P is in this division seen as the editor and adapter of the Yahwistic material. Kratz turns this around. What was seen as P material, is for him an older, independent source, adapted by the Yahwist. For the Yahwist this was a method to connect two blocks of material, namely Genesis 2-4 and Genesis 10. Kratz interprets Genesis 10 thus<sup>160</sup>:

Genesis 10:2-5, 6-7, 20, 22-23, 31: basic stratum, independent source, unconnected to 2-4

Genesis 10:8-19, 21,24-30: Yahwistic revision, connecting Genesis 10 to Genesis 2-4

Genesis 11:28-30 and Genesis 22:20-24, often ascribed by source critics to non-P<sup>161</sup>, are for Kratz additions to P, from an unknown source. Also the lists and genealogies in Numbers 26-27 are secondary material.<sup>162</sup>

<sup>159</sup> Rudolph Smend, *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1981) 40-47. Westermann makes the same division. Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 9-18.

<sup>160</sup> Kratz, *The Composition*, 255.

<sup>161</sup> So Shectman, *Women in the Pentateuch*. She treats the genealogical non-P material on pages 79-82 and in chapter 3, 91-121. Blenkinsopp gives a list of J texts in Gen 1-11 in his article on "P and J in Genesis 1:1-11:26: An Alternative Hypothesis" in *Fortunate the Eyes that See, Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman*, ed. by A. Beck e.a. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 2 and 3. He notes dissension on Gen 11:28-30: (note 9 p.3) "Uncertain; several e.g., Fohrer and Kaiser, assign these verses to P."

<sup>162</sup> Kratz, *The Composition*, 112.

### The order of P and J

The use of the root  $\text{גל}$  was seen as distinctive between P and non-P: P often uses Hiphil Masculine. Non-P has instead Qal Masculine. Or to put it precisely: P never uses Qal Masculine; non-P never has Hiphil.<sup>163</sup> This difference is usually explained in a chronological way. Ronald Hendel describes the development as follows: "...the distribution of Qal: Hiphil of...  $\text{גל}$  is a diachronic change. That is, the Hiphil replaced the Qal in this use."<sup>164</sup> Both Genesis 5 and Genesis 11 follow the Hiphil pattern accurately and use a linguistically later form than the non-P genealogies.

What is the historical order of the sources of the Pentateuch? Until the development of the Documentary Hypothesis scholars regarded what are now known as the P-genealogies as ancient sources. Smend explains the power of attraction of this theory. "Ist der Gedanke nicht verführerisch, dass die Geschichtsschreibung aus der Genealogie erwachsen ist und wir dann in den Toledot der Gen historiographisches Urgestein vor uns haben?" But: "Das hat sich als Irrtum herausgestellt. P repräsentiert ein Spätstadium in der Geschichte der isr. Erzählung."<sup>165</sup>

Formerly J was dated earlier than P. Johnson clearly took this order as working hypothesis, as can be seen in his preface, stating the object of his work: "The present work is intended to offer a synoptic view of the purpose of biblical genealogies from the earliest occurrences of the form in the J-strand of the Pentateuch through the genealogies of Jesus in Matthew and Luke."<sup>166</sup> Westermann dated J in the days of David and Solomon: "Such a broad view (viz. the view of the Yahwistic work, HK), surveying extensive and different epochs, is only possible from the era of David and Solomon on."<sup>167</sup> P stems from a very different time: "P here is speaking into his own time. (...)..the contemporary situation in which the Jewish community is struggling for its existence."<sup>168</sup>

But dissension is still there, arguing for pre-exilic dating. Richard Friedman describes himself as a defendant of Menahem Haran's hypothesis of pre-exilic dating of the Priestly portions of the Torah.<sup>169</sup> Friedman and Haran are following in the footsteps of Yehezkiel Kaufmann, who based his arguments for pre-exilic dating on the development of the Hebrew

<sup>163</sup> P and non-P also have some forms in common, like  $\text{גל}$  Qal F.

<sup>164</sup> Ronald Hendel, "'Begetting' and 'Being Born' in the Pentateuch: Notes on Historical Linguistics and Source Criticism", *Vetus Testamentum* 50 (2000): 38-46, Quotation 41.

<sup>165</sup> Smend, *Die Entstehung*, 56.

<sup>166</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, Preface ix.

<sup>167</sup> Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 589.

<sup>168</sup> Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 598.

<sup>169</sup> Richard Elliott. Friedman, "Some recent non-arguments concerning the documentary hypothesis, Texts, Temples and Traditions", a Tribute to Menahem Haran (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1996): 87-101.

language.<sup>170</sup> Friedmann is a firm defender of the Documentary Hypothesis, pointing to similar editing processes in other texts from the Ancient Near East, like the Gilgamesh Epic.<sup>171</sup> In a lively debate with the Kaufmann school, Blenkinsopp defends a later, post-exilic date for P.<sup>172</sup> Crüsemann also defends a Persian date for P, at least for the final version of the genealogical system, even though “some of the elements of the genealogical tradition of the Old Testament stem from a time of a pre-state, purely tribal society.”<sup>173</sup> But also the J material is post-exilic according to Blenkinsopp. He draws the conclusion that the order of P and J ought to be reversed: “...the material conventionally assigned to the Yahwist (J) is a narrative expansion and explication of a reflective kind,...., of the basic Priestly (P) narrative schema.” But he adds: “In these matters certainty is beyond our grasp;...”<sup>174</sup> This reversal of J and P would be at variance with the statement of Hendel, that Hiphil replaced Qal over time.

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### Genealogies, P and the overall structure of Genesis

Crüsemann regards the Priestly Codex to be the hidden hand behind the structure of genealogies in Genesis. He gives a beautiful overview of the whole system of genealogies in a chart.<sup>175</sup> Only a few lists do not fit in this system. They form separate elements.<sup>176</sup> But all the other genealogies are connected “..., all of humanity and the kinships of Israel are grasped in a single system;...”<sup>177</sup> This is the design of the Priestly Codex.<sup>178</sup> P is the main source of the Pentateuch. “... sie ist die quantitativ umfangreichste, nach üblicher Auffassung die zeitlich letzte und

<sup>170</sup> Yehzekiel Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel, from Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile*, trans. and abridged by Moshe Greenberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

<sup>171</sup> Richard Elliott Friedman, *Thoughts about the Documentary Hypothesis* (2017: <http://richardelliottfriedman.com>), accessed 2<sup>nd</sup> November 2018.

<sup>172</sup> A summary of this discussion is given by Kyung-Jin Min in: *The Levitical Authorship of Ezra-Nehemiah* (London/ New York: T&T Clark, 2004), 58 and further. Kyung-Jin Min dates the P source in the 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century BC: “To sum up, the priestly source must be treated as spanning a period from the time immediately after Ezekiel through to Ezra, which is assumed to be 458 BCE. On this basis, we may take the relationships between the priests and the Levites in P to reflect the religious situation in the period *circa* 571-458 BCE.” Min, *The Levitical Authorship*, 61.

<sup>173</sup> Crüsemann, “Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity”, 64: “This might be true of the basic features of the twelve-tribe system, but also of the connections with the closely related neighbouring peoples.”

<sup>174</sup> J. Blenkinsopp, “P and J in Genesis 1-11: An Alternative Hypothesis,” in: *Fortunate the Eyes that See. Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman*, ed. A.B. Beck et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995): 1-15.

<sup>175</sup> Crüsemann, “Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity”, 74-75.

<sup>176</sup> “These are the ‘giants’ (nefilim) in Gen 6:4, the peoples mentioned in 14:5f.-the Rephaites, Zuzites, Emites and Horites, pre-inhabitants of the eastern Jordanian areas (cf. Deut.2:8ff.)- and, in 15:19f., the Kenizzites, Kadmonites and Perizzites.” Crüsemann, “Human Solidarity”, 62. Crüsemann makes an exception of the Horites since they have a link to the genealogy of Edom in Oholibamah and even have their own genealogy within the framework of the Edomite lists.

<sup>177</sup> Crüsemann, “Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity”, 65.

<sup>178</sup> See below: P, genealogies and the overall structure of Genesis.

sicher auch die alles am meisten prägende Schicht des Pentateuch.”<sup>179</sup> The delineations of the P source meet with a general consensus. No serious opposition is yet recorded.<sup>180</sup>

The main question at stake today is, according to Norbert Lohfink and Magne Saebø, how the P-source understood itself. What actually *is* the P-source? This is the „...es ist die Frage -die wirkliche Kernfrage des Sachfeldes- was nun eigentlich die Größe ‘Priesterkodex’, oder wie es nunmehr heißt: ‘Priesterschrift’, sei bzw. sein darf.”<sup>181</sup> Different proposals have been made. Saebø underlines the cultic-ritual and legal aspect of the Priestly traditions.<sup>182</sup> Lohfink focuses on the narrative and historical aspect of P. He understands P as a ‘Geschichts-Erzählung’, giving hope to Israel in exile.<sup>183</sup> Though when one “penetrates to the heart of this document the more one doubts whether it possesses the kind of humility in face of the fact that is ultimately decisive for an intention to write history.”<sup>184</sup> So the final intention of P seems to be according to Lohfink not telling history but transmitting some very precisely conceived theological statements.<sup>185</sup> That’s why P “introduces names, numbers and order: names through the genealogies and the table of nations and tribes, numbers through a well-constructed chronological system, and order through a variety of structural systems within the whole that sometimes contain one another and sometimes overlap.” History is important for P since it is not over. “...all that once happened can be repeated in the readers’ own time. In this way the Then can illuminate the Now.”<sup>186</sup>

Clear is, that the basic structure of the genealogies stems from P. The texts of P we find in Genesis form a well-structured unity. P will have used older material, thereby sometimes

<sup>179</sup> Norbert Lohfink, “Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichte”, in *Congress Volume Göttingen 1977. Vetus Testamentum Supplements 29* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 189.

<sup>180</sup> “Die Ausgrenzung der Priesterschrift ist bisher nicht ernsthaft angefochten worden”. Hans Heinrich Schmid, “Auf der Suche nach neuen Perspektiven für die Pentateuchforschung”, in *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 32* (1980), 379. Cf. Also, Blenkinsopp on the P-source: “I accept with only minor modifications the division of sources as found in the standard introductions and commentaries”. J. Blenkinsopp, “P and J in Genesis 1-11”, 1. John van Seters states rather polemically: “For some inexplicable reason the source P is retained, as well as the distinction between P and non-P.”, in: John Van Seters, “The Report of the Yahwist’s Demise Has Been Greatly Exaggerated!” in *A Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation*, ed. Christopher R. Matthews, no.34, Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series (Atlanta: Society of Biblical literature, 2006), 143.

<sup>181</sup> Magne Saebø: “Priestertheologie und Priesterschrift, Zur Eigenart der priesterlichen Schicht im Pentateuch”, in *Vetus Testamentum 32* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 364. Cf. Also Lohfink, „Die Priesterschrift”, 189.

<sup>182</sup> Saebø, “Priestertheologie”, 372.

<sup>183</sup> Saebø, “Priestertheologie”, 224.

<sup>184</sup> Norbert Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch, Themes of the Priestly Narrative and Deuteronomy*, translated by Linda M. Maloney (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 154.

<sup>185</sup> Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch*, 158-9: “We have lost the key to most of the genealogical and chronological material in Pg, and yet the few doors we are still able to open do not lead us into a history.” As an example, he gives as plausible reason for P lengthening the ages of the descendants of Noah to Abraham, that all ancestors of Abraham were able to witness the birth of their descendant Abraham. An overall chronology might have led to the year Solomon built the Temple.

<sup>186</sup> Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch*, 161.

creating tension with his own material, but still the unity is there. And this unity might in fact be the framework of the whole book of Genesis. The genealogies are an essential part and give structure to the whole book of Genesis.<sup>187</sup> Crüsemann calls the genealogies “something like the skeleton of this book, a stable framework which holds together and carries all other parts.”<sup>188</sup> Naomi Steinberg goes further. The genealogies are according to her not only the skeleton of the narratives. The stories move towards the goal of genealogy.<sup>189</sup> Or to put it the other way around: from the genealogies the stories evolve.<sup>190</sup>

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### Evaluation of P in scholarship

All genealogies are structured by repetition of nouns and verbs. The structures of the P genealogies however are especially regular and rhythmical. Formerly, this characteristic regularity of P was not appreciated by scholars. P’s style met an extremely negative response. Sean McEvenue treats examples of the general bias against P’s style in the introduction of his book on the narrative style of the Priestly Writer and concludes: “In the face of this evaluation of P as a writer, I cannot point to any scholar who has written a minority report in favour of him.”<sup>191</sup> This lack of appreciation of P’s style is according to Jenson part of an overall negative evaluation of P, due to a negative attitude towards the cult. Biblical criticism has its roots in German Protestant thought: “A negative evaluation of the cult was reinforced by the alignment of the Priestly material with Roman Catholicism, Pharisaism and legalism.”<sup>192</sup>

There was also negative influence from British anthropology: “In the last century (19<sup>th</sup>, HK) the study of the Old Testament cult was often carried out in dialogue with the discipline of anthropology. This phase of study can be represented by the two great Victorian scholars,

<sup>187</sup> “Neglecting, for the moment, the problem of the unconnected names in Genesis 14; 15 and 36, everything else can be brought together into a thoroughly meaningful and overtly intended system.” Crüsemann, “Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity”, 60.

<sup>188</sup> Crüsemann, “Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity”, 60.

<sup>189</sup> Naomi Steinberg, “The Genealogical Framework of the Family Stories in Genesis,” *Semeia* 46 (1989), 41-50. Steinberg describes four functions of genealogy: 1. It describes the ideal temporal sequence of family succession. 2. It provides the structure for Genesis. 3. It provides the structure that allows narratives to explore the problem of generational continuity 4. It allows for the transition between universal history and Israelite history.

<sup>190</sup> Steinberg argues that the genealogy of Shem should be included in the patriarchal history, to provide the anchorage for the stories. The patriarchal history would start with the list of descendants of Shem in chapter 11, or even with the earlier genealogy in chapter 10. Naomi Steinberg, “The Genealogical Framework of the Family Stories in Genesis,” *Semeia* 46 (1989), 41-50.

<sup>191</sup> Sean E. McEvenue, *The Narrative Style of the Priestly Writer*, *Analecta Biblica* 50 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971), 8.

<sup>192</sup> Philip Peter Jenson, *Graded Holiness: Key to the Priestly Conception of the World*, JSOT Supplement Series no.106 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 16.

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James Frazer and William Robertson Smith. For them, the Priestly cult shared many features with ‘primitive’ societies.”<sup>193</sup>

Modern German scholars show a more neutral, but still not positive evaluation of P’s style: “Der Stil ist monoton, umständlich, formelhaft.”<sup>194</sup> “...; in P they (genealogy and narrative, HK) are monotonous, uniform and systemized to the last detail.”<sup>195</sup> McEvenue concludes in 1971: “Most recent publication has not changed its view of priestly writing.”<sup>196</sup> Though McEvenue’s book worked as an eye-opener for many, this negative evaluation can still be found. Even Oeming still calls the style of P “schwerfällig” in his 1990 publication on Chronicles<sup>197</sup>. In a recent article Howard Eilberg-Schwartz calls the genealogical activity of the Priestly author “obsessive interest in detailing genealogies”.<sup>198</sup> McEvenue himself remembers feelings of “wonder and pleasure on first hearing the genealogies of Gen 5,...”<sup>199</sup> and attempts “to find a new entry”<sup>200</sup> to the study of the Priestly Document, by comparing its style with the style of children’s literature. He specifies: “By children’s literature, I do not mean literature written by children, or necessarily literature written for children. I mean literature which *in fact* children appreciate,...”<sup>201</sup> He gives as an example the story of the Little Red Hen.<sup>202</sup> “This technique of structure (used in Little Red Hen, HK) we shall call “panelwriting”. In this case each of the panels is almost identical in form, and almost identical in content as well,

<sup>193</sup> Jenson, *Graded Holiness*, 18.

<sup>194</sup> Smend, *Die Entstehung*, 49.

<sup>195</sup> Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 16.

<sup>196</sup> McEvenue, *Narrative Style*, 8.

<sup>197</sup> Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, 74.

<sup>198</sup> Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, The Problem of the Body for the People of the Book, in: *Women in the Hebrew Bible, a Reader*, ed. Alice Bach (London/New York: Routledge, 2013), 59.

<sup>199</sup> McEvenue, *Narrative Style*, 8.

<sup>200</sup> McEvenue, *Narrative Style*, 11.

<sup>201</sup> McEvenue, *Narrative Style*, 12.

<sup>202</sup> The little red hen found a seed. It was a little wheat seed.

The little red hen said, “Who will help me plant the seed?”

The pig said, “Not I.” / The cat said, “Not I.” / The dog said, “Not I.” / The little red hen said, “I will.”

And she did.

The little red hen said, “Who will cut the wheat?”

The pig said, “Not I.” / The cat said, “Not I.” / The dog said, “Not I.” / The little red hen said, “I will then.”

And she did.

The little red hen said, “Who will thresh the wheat?”

The pig said, “Not I.” / The cat said, “Not I.” / The dog said, “Not I.” / The little red hen said, “I will then.”

And she did.

The little red hen said, “Who will grind the wheat?”

The pig said, “Not I.” / The cat said, “Not I.” / The dog said, “Not I.” / The little red hen said, “I will then.”

And she did.

The little red hen said, “Who will make the bread?”

The pig said, “Not I.” / The cat said, “Not I.” / The dog said, “Not I.” / The little red hen said, “I will then.”

And she did.

The little red hen said, “Who will eat the bread?”

The pig said, “I will.” / The cat said, “I will.” / The dog said, “I will.” / The little red hen said, “You shall not eat the bread. I will eat it.” And she did.



except for the last. The literary delight is partially the repetition, and partially the logical play of putting different materials in identical forms.(...). “The Little Red Hen” is an extraordinarily lean and pure example of writing with repetition, enumeration, and panels.”<sup>203</sup> This style we also find in P according to McEvenue:

“Surely the style of Gen 1 is identical, if slightly less strict, to that of “The Little Red Hen”, enumerating the 6 days of creation in structured, repetitive, panels.(...). The whole priestly writing is marked through and through with this style.”<sup>204</sup>

McEvenue’s positive attitude towards P might be seen, according to Jenson<sup>205</sup>, as resulting from the positive appreciation of ritual in the Roman Catholic tradition. He values McEvenue’s new approach as refreshing, but “far from convincing, particular when extended to the cultic texts.”<sup>206</sup> And continues: “There are more plausible explanations for the particular style of the Priestly writings. It is likely that they are meant to be esoteric, technical and informative...”

Lohfink appreciates McEvenue’s study more: “... The Narrative Style of the Priestly Writer,” has finally filled a scandalous gap and has for the first time put us in a position to trace the literary technique of Pg and thus to give individual observations their proper place in the larger picture. This remains true in spite of the skepticism one might maintain in face of the opinion that this is something like an Israelite children’s literature.”<sup>207</sup>

### Evaluation of non-P

Formerly, the Yahwist received a much more positive evaluation than P. Whereas P was considered stiff and uninspiring, the narrative qualities and liveliness of J were highly esteemed. There was, as seen above, a connection between the negative evaluation of scholars of P and their appreciation of the (Jewish and Roman Catholic) cult. Somehow especially German OT scholars identified more with the J source, probably due to the Romantic tradition of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Yahwist was considered to be a lively author, living in the early monarchy, who was able to combine traditions to tell a consistent and convincing story with a deep, theological meaning. His God is “a God of the universe”, who will save humanity and overcome “human

<sup>203</sup> McEvenue, *Narrative Style*, 15.

<sup>204</sup> McEvenue, *Narrative Style*, 15.

<sup>205</sup> Jenson, *Graded Holiness*, 17.

<sup>206</sup> Jenson, *Graded Holiness*, 18.

<sup>207</sup> Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch*, 143.

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wickedness and human unfaithfulness”,<sup>208</sup> Westermann praises the narrative quality of the genealogies in J: “Es hat sich ergeben, dass die Genealogien bei J eine ganz erstaunliche Fülle von Motiven aufweisen...”. The genealogies are according to him „Planzstätten von Erzählungen vierlei Art”.<sup>209</sup> But Johnson already has a different opinion: “In the J-strand, leaving aside for the moment the genealogy of Cain in Gen 4:17-22, the genealogical material appears to be simply a classification of Semitic tribes around Palestine as descendants or kinsmen of Abraham, the Semite *par excellence*.”<sup>210</sup>

The question is whether the non-P source can still be identified with the Yahwist. Thomas Römer calls the state of the debate on the existence of the Yahwist to be “confused. Some scholars have buried him; others, on the contrary, remain loyal to the “old” Yahwist of von Rad and Noth, while still others have attempted to rejuvenate him.”<sup>211</sup> And it is the question who the Yahwist in the different opinions is. John van Seters summarises this debate as follows: “Thus, the question over the existence of the Yahwist (by whatever name one wishes to call him or her) boils down to this one issue: Is the non-P corpus of the Pentateuch or Hexateuch (excluding D and Dtr) to be regarded as the work of an author and historian, or is it to be viewed as the result of a complex editorial process?”<sup>212</sup> In light of this confusion, it is hard to make any general statements on the characteristics and qualities of the non-P genealogies. The J-source, if still adhered to,<sup>213</sup> is sometimes dated to the late exilic or Persian times. As we saw above, for some scholars J has become an expansion on the P-source.<sup>214</sup>

The division made in this study will not follow the traditional division in sources. Though it is important to place the genealogies within the larger context of the source they belong to and to study them in relation to the narratives of that same source, the source critical approach only gives limited results in distinguishing the genealogies themselves. There seems to be a much bigger distinction between the well-structured genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11 and the ׀׀ Pattern Genealogies of Genesis 36 and 46, for example, than the regular division allows for. With the Hiphil Pattern of the linear genealogies we seem to be in a different, very

<sup>208</sup> Otto Kaiser, *Introduction to the Old Testament, A Presentation of its Results and Problems*, transl. by John Sturdy (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984 reprint of 1975), 89.

<sup>209</sup> Claus Westermann, *Genesis, I. Teilband Genesis 1-11* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974), 17

<sup>210</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 5.

<sup>211</sup> Thomas Christian Römer, „The Elusive Yahwist: A Short History of Research”, in *A Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation*, edited by Thomas B. Dozeman and Konrad Schmid, no.34, Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series (Atlanta: Society of Biblical literature, 2006), 21

<sup>212</sup> John van Seters, “Report of the Yahwist’s Demise”, 146.

<sup>213</sup> ...”, a growing number of authors, especially in Europe, have given up the classical Documentary Hypothesis as a relevant model for explaining the composition of the Pentateuch, including the theory of a distinct Yahwistic source or author (J).” Römer, “The Elusive Yahwist”, 9.

<sup>214</sup> For a detailed overview of the history of source criticism and the present ideas, see Sheckman, *Women in the Pentateuch*, 2-7.

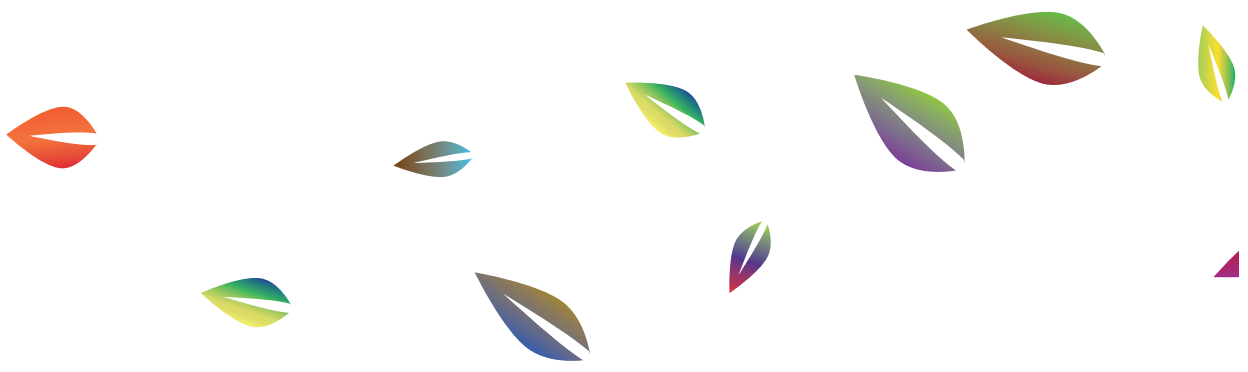
well organised and planned world, away from the more extensive and sometimes chaotic בְּיָד Pattern genealogies, which are traditionally attributed to the same source. The mixture of patterns that has been recognised in Genesis 4 and 10 (traditionally J-source) also happens in Exodus 6 (traditionally P-source). There is an important similarity between especially Genesis 4 and Exodus 6: both use the Female Pattern for the main lineage and another pattern for the less important lines. When we look at patterns, we recognise similarities and combinations that give us more insight in the way genealogies are built up. Such a form-critical approach gives more information than the division into sources. Patterns are used in a context. The Hiphil Pattern is used for the lineage of royals and high priests. In Genesis, the Hiphil Pattern marks the lineage of Adam to Abram. That is why Ruth 4 has the ‘perfect’ Hiphil Pattern. And the use of the same pattern in I Chronicles 8 marks the importance of the tribe of Benjamin.

The traditional division of the genealogies over sources is too controversial to be used as a tool for a diachronic order. Therefore, the genealogies will be analysed linguistically in the order we presently find them in the Hebrew Bible, in order to respect the integrity of the Biblical text.<sup>215</sup> We will study the genealogies in their final form, as we find them in the Masoretic Text of the Codex Leningradensis, as it is published in the scholarly edition of the Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia. For the genealogies in Matthew and Luke the fifth revised edition of the UBS Greek New Testament is used. Where the Hebrew text seems unclear and confused, occasionally the Septuagint text will be added as a means to better understand the Masoretic Text. For the genealogies in the gospels, the Septuagint will be used as a translation of the Hebrew vocabulary to clarify the genealogical language used in Greek.

There is a chronological order assumed in this study. I Chronicles 1-9 is taken as a separate source (or sources), of later date than the Pentateuchal genealogies, which rewrites the Pentateuchal sources and innovates patterns. The gospels are a later source again. Especially Matthew will develop the genre of the genealogies further. He will use the innovation of Chronicles to combine the Hiphil Pattern with mothers, to describe the lineage of the fiancé of the mother of the last descendant. In such a general way, a diachronic order will be possible.

The genealogies of the Pentateuch will be analysed in the order of the Bible in chapter 2 and systematically, by pattern, in chapter 3. In the same way the genealogies of Chronicles and the scattered genealogies in other books will be analysed in chapter 4 and 5. In chapter 6 an analysis of the genealogies in the gospels of Matthew and Luke follows, with a short excursus to Pseudo-Philo. In chapter 7 I will draw the final conclusions, also regarding the role of women.

<sup>215</sup> Smith does the same in his description of the genealogies of the sons of Jacob, to avoid “any preconceptions regarding the listings, especially those of prior scholarship...” Smith, *The Role of Mothers*, 49.



2

# Chapter 2

Genealogies in the Pentateuch



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### List of Pentateuchal genealogies:

Genesis 4  
Genesis 5  
Genesis 10  
Genesis 11:10-26  
Genesis 11:27-32  
Genesis 22:20-24  
Genesis 24:15 and 24  
Genesis 25:1-4  
Genesis 25:12-16  
Genesis 36:1-19  
Genesis 36:20-30  
Genesis 46:8-27  
Exodus 6:14-25  
Exodus 31:2 and Exodus 35:30  
Numbers 26  
Numbers 27:1

## 2.0 Descriptions of patterns: an overview

Before the analysis of the genealogies I will for the sake of clarity summarise and organise the patterns we are going to find in them, with a short description of each pattern. There are four patterns based on the verb ילד. In the text analyses all ילד patterns will be marked purple, to distinguish them from the patterns based on בן, marked red. Single occurrences of בן or בת are also marked red. The words אָהוּת and אָ, present in different patterns, are highlighted in green.

1. Female Pattern. The Female Pattern is the first pattern used in Genesis. The longest version has three verbs, namely masculine verb/conceived/gave birth, for example יָדַע וַתַּהַר וַתֵּלֶד; the shorter version has masculine verb/gave birth. I will call these two versions the לקח ותלד Pattern, consisting of a masculine verb and feminine gave birth. For the masculine verb there are different possibilities, namely לקח, ידע, בוא אל. There are in total three variants of the לקח ותלד Pattern: namely the נתן ותלד Pattern, used for special cases in which the subject

of לָקַח is a different person than the husband; the Divine Female Pattern, in which God takes over the role of the husband and finally the לָקַח וַיִּזְלַד Pattern, consisting of two masculine verbs, used in a few cases where a man marries several nameless wives.

The shortest version of the Female Pattern has 'gave birth' without prior masculine verb. I will call the last form the Independent Female Pattern.

2. Passive יָלַד. In the passive the child or the children are the subject of the verb יָלַד. The father and in some cases also the mother, are connected to the birth of the child or the children by a preposition.
3. Qal Masculine. Father and child are connected by Qal Masculine יָלַד.
4. Hiphil Masculine. Father and child are connected by Hiphil Masculine יָלַד.

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Three patterns are based on בָּנָה:

5. בָּנָה Pattern. בָּנָה Pattern is used in nominal sentences to introduce an enumeration of the descendants of a father or mother. In the concluding analyses I will distinguish between a linear בָּנָה Pattern, listing several descendants per generation but only following one line of descent, and segmented בָּנָה Pattern, following more lineages.
6. בָּנוּ Pattern. בָּנוּ is used after the name of the son, referring back to the father. It is used for the first time in I Chronicles 3.
7. Backwards Pattern. The pattern goes back in time, to connect a descendant with an ancestor over several generations. It uses בָּנוּט / בָּנוּ, or בָּת, once בָּנוּת.

There are two other patterns:

8. אָבִי / אֶמָּה Pattern. אָבִי is used directly after the name of the father to connect father and descendant, often a profession or village. The אָבִי / אֶמָּה Pattern rarely has a separate clause. אָבִי is also to be found in the feminine as אֵמָּה. This pattern is marked blue in the text analyses.
9. Ancient Near Eastern Pattern. This pattern consists of an enumeration of names, without conjunction or any other addition. It is found only in Chronicles.

## 2.1 Genealogy of Cain, Genesis 4

In Genesis 4 three patterns are used interchangeably, namely לָקַח וַיִּזְלַד, Passive Pattern and Qal Masculine Pattern. Genesis 4 starts with the full Female Pattern:

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4:1 וְהָאָדָם יָדַע אֶת־חַוָּה אִשְׁתּוֹ וַפְסָה וַתַּלֵּד אֶת־קַיִן

4:2 וַתִּסְּף לָלֶדֶת אֶת־אֶחָיו

The genealogy of Cain starts with the same pattern, and continues with the Passive and Qal Masculine Patterns:

4:17 וַיִּדַע קַיִן אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ וַפְסָה וַתַּלֵּד אֶת־חֲנוֹךְ

4:18 וַיִּנְלַד לְחֲנוֹךְ אֶת־עֵיֶרֶד,

וְעֵיֶרֶד יָלַד אֶת־מְחוּיָאֵל

וּמְחוּיָאֵל יָלַד אֶת־מֶתוּשָׁאֵל

וּמֶתוּשָׁאֵל יָלַד אֶת־לָמֶךְ.

The Lamech section uses the Female Pattern again, twice, in the shorter version:

4:19-22 וַיִּקְחֵה־לוֹ לְמֶדְבַּר שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים וַתַּלֵּד עֵדָה אֶת־יָבֶל  
וַצִּלְהָ גַם־הִוא יָלְדָה אֶת־תּוֹבֵבֵל קַיִן

The genealogy of Adam and Eve restarts with the shorter version of the Female Pattern, and continues with a passive:

4:25 וַיִּדַע אָדָם עוֹד אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתַּלֵּד בֵּן

4:26 וּלְשֵׁת גַּם הוּא יָלַד בֵּן

For the most important births the לקח ותלד Pattern is used. We find it in Genesis 4:1, 17, 19-22 and 25. Twice the most complete version of the pattern is used: interaction husband-wife (knew, took), followed by the female conceiving and childbearing. In both cases it is connected to Cain, namely for the birth of Cain in 4:1 and the birth of Cain's son Enoch in 4:17.

In the division of Lamech a shorter version of the pattern is used (took/bore/bore), as in verse 25 for the restart of the genealogy of Adam and Eve (knew/bore). Apart from this, we find the Independent Female ילד Pattern, which may be called the shortest version of the לקח ותלד Pattern, for the birth of Abel. His birth account has no masculine verb. And there is no explanation of his name given. For this second son one clause is enough.



The order of the patterns is as follows:

**Adam and Eve**

Female (נדע ומהר ומלד): Cain

Independent Female (והסרף ללדת): Abel

**Cain**

Female (נדע ומהר ומלד): Enoch

Passive: Irad

Qal M (3x)

Female (two wives): לקח ומלד /לקחה

**Adam and Eve**

Female (נדע ומלד): Seth

Passive: Enosh



Adam knowing Eve and Eve bearing sons enfolds the genealogy of Cain. Because of the fratricide committed by Cain, another son needs to be born, to replace Abel, Seth.<sup>1</sup> His genealogy will follow in Genesis 5. Thus the Female לקח ומלד Pattern gives structure to Genesis 4. It heads the divisions. In Exodus 6 the לקח ומלד Pattern is used for the main lines of descent.<sup>2</sup> In Genesis 4 this is the case too. The Passive Pattern follows twice on the לקח ומלד Pattern, in 4:18 and 4:26. For the generations directly following the start of the genealogy of Cain and restart of the genealogy of Adam only the father is mentioned. The imperfect passive is accentuated as Niphal (18) and the perfect as Pual (26).<sup>3</sup> The passive connects לקח ומלד to the masculine patterns, Qal and Hiphil (Gen 5). The Qal Masculine ילד gives a succinct list of descent:

Mehujael ילד אֶת־ Irad  
 Methshael ילד אֶת־ Methujael  
 Lamech ילד אֶת־ Methshael

Rhythmically fathers generate sons, in a strictly linear sequence. The ילד Qal Masculine accelerates Cain’s lineage and rushes through the generations to reach the seventh generation of Lamech, using just a few words for each generation. In the seventh generation the dominant לקח ומלד Pattern takes

<sup>1</sup> Hensel regards him as the new firstborn, replacing Cain. Hensel, *Vertauschung der Erstgeburt*, 51.  
<sup>2</sup> In Ex 6 the second pattern used for the less important lineages, is קָנָה Pattern.  
<sup>3</sup> The Niphal and Pual of ילד were originally Qal passive. See under Gen 46.

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over again, to tell us in detail about the wives and children of Lamech, the most important person in the genealogy of Cain. Three times the number of verses is dedicated to Lamech. In the whole genealogical narrative of Genesis 4 women matter. The *לְקַח וּנְתַלֵּךְ* Pattern needs the explicit cooperation of the woman. Her giving birth is part of the pattern. In Exodus 6, two women are mentioned by name and receive a genealogical reference. In the third case she remains anonymous, though having a genealogical reference. This is similar in Genesis 4. Eve and Adah and Zillah are named, but Cain's wife is nameless and of unknown and puzzling descent.

In the linear *יָלַד* Qal Masculine sequence no women figure. You might say that women slowly disappear in verses 17-18 and the male element becomes stronger. From the nameless wife of Cain, who is still mentioned as being known, becoming pregnant and giving birth, to the passive construction used for the birth of Enoch's son<sup>4</sup> to the strictly male active 'begetting' of verse 18. In contrast, the extraordinary segmented narrative genealogy of Lamech abounds with female names. Two wives, who are each called by name three times. Hieke remarks that the women have an essential function: "Sie treten dort auf, wo Differenzierungen nötig werden." The mentioning of female names "verlangsamt also den linearen Fluss der Generationen und unterstreicht die Bedeutung der einzelnen Söhne."<sup>5</sup> The narrator slows down the pace of the genealogy of Lamech, by inserting a poem and by providing many details. It uses the *לְקַח וּנְתַלֵּךְ* Pattern, but now for two women instead of one. As in the case of Esau in Genesis 36:2-5, the whole sequence is an extended *לְקַח וּנְתַלֵּךְ* Pattern:

וַיִּקַּח-לוֹ לְמֶדֶד שְׁתֵּי נָשִׁים  
וַנְתַּלֵּךְ עֵדָה הוּא הָיָה אָבִי  
וְשֵׁם אֶחָיו יוֹבֵל הוּא הָיָה אָבִי  
וַצִּלָּה גַם-הוּא יָלְדָה  
וַאֲחֹת תוֹבֵל-קִין נַעֲמָה

<sup>4</sup> Nolland sees this passive as a possible inspiration for Matthew to use the passive in Mat 1:16. Nolland, "Genealogical Annotation", 118. The passive still has the object in the accusative: Gesenius/ Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, trans. Cowley, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), par.121b, where it is called an impersonal use of the passive.

<sup>5</sup> Hieke, *Die Genealogien*, 278. Also Hieke, "Genealogie als Mittel", 173.

For the slowing down of the narrative pace as a tool for emphasis, see for instance Harold Bloom, *Homer, Bloom's Major Poets*, edited and with an introduction by Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House, 2001), 46: "Homeric narrative has a keen sense of narrative tension and hierarchy, but slowing down is its major tool of emphasis. Its seeming digressions and endless descriptions are, ..., moments of heightened suspense."

In Genesis 4 Lamech<sup>6</sup> is married to two wives and has three sons, who are all the founder of arts and professions. Hieke concludes that already in Genesis 3-4 women are associated with life and men with violence and death, namely “der Waffenschmied Tubal-Kajin und der mit überbordender gewaltsamer Rache prahlende Lamech.”<sup>7</sup> For the connection of the first two sons to these arts and crafts the  $\text{יָבִי}$  Pattern is used. This pattern connects a founder with what he founded. In Chronicles it will be used for a relation between a clan and a village. Whether it is interpreted in a negative or in a positive way, it is clear that the inclusion of women makes the Lamech sequence stand out even more. And there is also a daughter mentioned, Naamah. She is called a sister. Naamah is the first sister, the first daughter, in Genesis. Daughters are more often introduced as sisters. Apparently, their relation to their parents is less important for them than their relation to their siblings. There are several daughters introduced as sisters in I Chronicles, sometimes, as here, introduced at the end of the genealogy. Naamah is not part of the pattern, but is introduced in a separate sentence, just like her half-brother Jubal. Some brothers are also not part of the pattern.<sup>8</sup>

How is the change of Cain’s genealogy from a linear one to a segmented one to be explained? According to Wilson Lamech’s genealogy might originally have been linear. He points to the surprising similarity of the names Jabal, Jubal and Tubal.<sup>9</sup> A segmented genealogy ought to imply more distinction between the genealogical lines. According to him, the genealogy was adapted to the existing narrative, viz. Lamech’s song. The names of the sons were split among the wives. A daughter, Naamah, was added for the sake of similarity (two children each) or because her name was already present in the traditions, “..., by recording Naamah’s name, J may be faithfully preserving a genealogical link already present in the traditions which he was using.”<sup>10</sup> We found more often that a linear genealogy culminated in a segmented one.<sup>11</sup> In Genesis 5 and

<sup>6</sup> Richard Hess underlines the connections between Lamech and Cain. He calls Lamech a new Cain. The poem ties them together and Lamech “brings Cain’s line to an end and begins his own.” Apart from that, “Lamech’s character culminates the murderous trait characteristic of this line,” the same connection recognised by the Early Church.

Richard S. Hess, “Lamech in the Genealogies of Genesis,” *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 1 (1991), 21-22.

<sup>7</sup> Hieke, “Genealogie als Mittel”, 173.

<sup>8</sup> In Gen 10:25/I Chron 1:19 Joktan is also added as a brother to the firstborn son, but contrary to Jubal he is present in the introduction “To Eber were born two sons.”

<sup>9</sup> These three sons represent the founders of the various arts of civilisation, similar to Mesopotamian references to seven antediluvian sages (apkallu’s) and Phoenician traditions of culture-founders. Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 172-180; on the antediluvian founders of civilisation: 180-187.

<sup>10</sup> Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 175.

<sup>11</sup> David Henige states that this expansion of a linear genealogy to a segmented one is normal in royal genealogies that were constructed in retrospect. They resemble “inverted trees, the succession represented as serenely linear in the beginning, but becoming more complicated and troubled later on as the historical horizon and then contemporaneity are reached.” David Henige, “Comparative Chronology and the Ancient Near East: A Case for Symbiosis”, 57-67, *BASOR* 261 (1986), 60. He is mainly making the point in this paragraph, that relatively recent royal genealogies (in India) show that when the genealogy reaches contemporary times, it hits reality and changes. For reality isn’t a neat linear genealogy in which a father is succeeded by the eldest son, but can be quite chaotic, with families changing power regularly, sons dying, or kings ruling simultaneously. Henige, “Comparative Chronology”, 60-63. Though in

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11 the genealogies of Adam and Shem expanded to three sons in the last generation.<sup>12</sup> A linear genealogy seldom remains linear. Also the King List in I Chronicles 3 starts linear, but ends in segmentation in the generation of the descendants of Josiah and then continues as a mixture of a linear and a segmented list.

We find a similar expansion in Genesis 4, but with additional details like the names of the two wives and the name of the sister of the three sons. These are the lively details of a segmented genealogy<sup>13</sup>, like in Genesis 36. Why the name of Naamah is added, whether for the sake of similarity as Wilson says, or because she once figured in a now missing story, we do not know. She unfortunately is not described as a founder of civilisation as her brothers.

In the present form Genesis 4 is a unity, nicely tied together by the repetition of the  $\text{הַאֲדָמָה}$  Pattern. The actions of Cain make a restart of the genealogy of Adam and Eve necessary. Eve's fertility begins and ends the genealogical narrative in Genesis 4.

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Genesis there is a huge gap in time between the supposed time of life of the last descendant of the genealogy and the time the genealogy had its last redaction, the similarity is striking.

<sup>12</sup> Johnson states that it was this "tripartite view of the origins of human civilization that prompted the Priestly writer,...., to trace all human life back to Shem, Ham and Japheth." So the expansion to three sons in Gen 4 was according to him the inspiration for the threefold division in which the genealogies in Gen 5 and 11 culminate. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 12-13.

<sup>13</sup> There is a debate whether Gen 4 had a tribal function. Normally, Gen 4 could not be a tribal genealogy since it is mainly linear. But, according to Johnson: "... it is possible also to consider this distinctive genealogy of Gen 4:17-22 as a tribal genealogy, i.e. a glorification of the tribe by the tracing of its origins to a primeval father from whom, it may have been believed, sprang all civilization." Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 7. According to Johnson the genealogy starting with Cain and culminating in Tubal-cain belonged to the tradition of the Kenite tribe in South-Judah. This interpretation of the purpose and origin of Gen 4:17-22 is in line with Johnson's general theory on the purpose of genealogies in J: "..., in contrast to the lack of interest in genealogies in D and E, J reveals considerable interest. Yet his concern is expressed mainly in the sporadic interpolation into his epic of isolated tribal lists which fit the context of his narrative materials." Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 13. Since according to Wilson Gen 4 was originally a linear genealogy, and still is a linear genealogy for most of the verses, such a tribal function is for him unlikely. Gen 4 can therefore not have functioned as a genealogy of the Kenite tribe. He adds as another argument against the Kenite hypothesis the literary unity of Gen 4. The Cainite genealogy is intended as a continuation of the genealogy in 4:1,2. Parts did not circulate separately, at least not in their present form. Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 189-191. Johnson disagrees. He regards the Cainite genealogy as a more or less self-contained unit, at least in its original form. He postulates earlier that this original form must have been "much the same form as we have it". Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 10. It is difficult to establish the strength of his theory. Wilson denies the importance of ancestor Cain as culture founder, though the normal function of a linear genealogy is "to link the person who cites the genealogy with an earlier ancestor in whom the person wishes to ground his own social, political, or religious position." Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 187.

The function of the Cainite genealogy is twofold according to Wilson:

1. the genealogical notices function as literary connections between the names (this is in line with his hypothesis that the Yahwist might have received from his traditions a group of names and supplied the genealogical links himself. Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 179/180.
2. the kinship ties become the vehicle of transmission of Cain's curse. "By virtue of being Cain's descendants, the people named in the genealogy all inherit his curse." Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 188 Whereas in Gen 5 Shem's descendants inherit the blessing.

## 2.2 Genealogy of Adam, Genesis 5

The genealogy starts with the intriguing *וְהָיָה סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדוֹת* instead of the usual *אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת*. It is the only time in the Hebrew Bible that mention is made of a *סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדוֹת*.<sup>14</sup> According to Renaud and others, this might point to the use of an existing document.<sup>15</sup> Matthew quotes the phrase in the first words of the gospel. The whole genealogy is attributed to Adam.<sup>16</sup> But before the book of the generations of Adam is unrolled, the creation of humankind is retold: “When God created man, he made him in the likeness of God. Male and female he created them, and he blessed them and named them ‘Humankind’ when they were created.” Directly after the title we find theology. The creation story pervades this first longer linear genealogy. From the creation flows the procreation of humankind in repetitive sequences.

one named son	<i>וַיּוֹלֵד</i>
	<i>הוֹלִידוּ</i>
sons and daughters	<i>וַיּוֹלֵד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת</i>

The sequence is repeated eight times. Eight times we find a triple *וַיּוֹלֵד* Hiphil. In every sequence one son is mentioned by name. The son’s birth cuts the age of a man in two: the first years he lived without children, and the years after *וַיּוֹלֵד*, when the man has become a father by the birth of his first son. As a father he has other children, but they are not marked by a reference to age. They do not define him. And they are not defined themselves. They might be any number and of any gender. All the other children are referred to by a standardised, inclusive phrase: *בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת*, a general phrase in the Bible.<sup>17</sup> In the final verse of the sequences the total age of the patriarch is added and his

<sup>14</sup> The Septuagint has another ‘book of generations’ in Gen 2:4: *αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς*.  
<sup>15</sup> Renaud, “Les généalogies et la structure”, 17.  
<sup>16</sup> For Breukelman this title *וְהָיָה סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדוֹת אָדָם* which he abbreviates as *ס'ת"א*, summarises the theme of the book of Genesis as “genealogisch verhaal, dat de wording van Israel temidden van de mensheid tot thema heeft”, a genealogical story that thematises the genesis of Israel in the midst of humanity. Breukelman, *Bijbelse Theologie 1:2*, 15. He also remarks on the fact that the Greek unfortunately translated the plural *תּוֹלְדוֹת* in a singular ‘genesis’ in this text (probably to prevent the concept of more creations in the addition in 2:4a of ‘the book of the origins of heaven and earth), leading to a singular title of the whole book, Genesis. The book of the *תּוֹלְדוֹת* of Adam however, according to Breukelman, encompasses all following genealogies. Breukelman, *Bijbelse Theologie 1:2*, 21-22.  
<sup>17</sup> It can be found in enumerations (e.g. Deut 12:12: “And you shall rejoice before the Lord your God, you together with your sons and your daughters, your male and female slaves, and the Levites etc.”), or in the context of birth (e.g. Deut 28:41: “You shall have sons and daughters, but they shall not remain yours, for they shall go into captivity.”). The expression ‘sons and daughters’ is often combined with a pronominal suffix. From a text like I Sam 30:19 (“Nothing was missing, whether small or great, sons or daughters, spoil or anything that had been taken.”) it is clear that the phrase is indeed a standard expression, a merism, indicating the completeness of children, of the same level as ‘small or great’. For the full list of texts see <https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?id=3655>. For our focus on women, it is interesting to note that without daughters the children are not considered complete.

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death is recorded. Eight times the sequence is rhythmically regular, but in the ninth sequence there is a slight difference:

וַיֹּלֶד בֶּן

Lamech became father of a son. There is no name given yet. The naming of Noah and the explanation of the name are told separately. After this interruption, the pattern continues in the usual way:

הוֹלִידוּ

וַיֹּלֶד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת

The tenth time however, is completely different:

וַיֹּלֶד נֹחַ אֶת־שֵׁם אֶת־הֶם וְאֶת־יֶפֶת

An indication that things are different for the tenth sequence is already given in the first word of verse 32: וַיְהִי instead of the usual וַיֹּלֶד: in the clause וַיְהִי נֹחַ בְּרִחְמֵי מַאֲוֹת שָׁנָה. This change of the verb is missing in the other יָלַד Hiphil genealogy in Genesis 11. In Genesis 11 the widening of the genealogy from a linear to a segmented one is not announced by small changes, like in Genesis 5. There the change comes rather abruptly. In Genesis 5 there are already changes in the preceding sequence. For in Genesis 5 the birth of the main character of the following narrative, Noah, is not recorded in the ultimate, but in the penultimate sequence.

The name Noah is repeated after וַיֹּלֶד in 5:32, another deviation of the pattern. Instead of only the firstborn, three sons are mentioned by name. The list changes from a linear genealogy to a segmented genealogy. The pattern is broken up in order to expand the list of descendants to more sons. Noah probably also had daughters, but they are absent in the genealogy. The general indication וַיֹּלֶד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת and the indication of lifespan after the birth of a son, וַיְהִי אֶת־יָמָיו הוֹלִידוּ אֶת־בָּנָיו, are also missing. The genealogy ends after the expansion to three sons. The story starts from there. The last two sequences of the genealogy give the names of the main characters of the narrative.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Nolland regards these instances of departure from the pattern as the links of this genealogy with the wider context. In Gen 5 this wider context is the repopulation of the earth by the three sons of Noah, summarised in Gen 9:18-19. John Nolland, "Genealogical Annotation in Genesis as Background for the Matthean Genealogy of Jesus", *Tyndale Bulletin* 47.1 (May 1996), 119. Breukelman also sees a continuation of the pattern in Gen 9, but with a significant change: "After the flood Noah lived three hundred fifty years. All the days of Noah were nine hundred fifty years; and

Only after the story of the flood the genealogy will find its ending, in Genesis 9:28-29. There we find the elements missing in Genesis 5: the lifespan after the event, the total age and the death of the patriarch, but in Genesis 9, this event is not the birth of the first son, but the flood. The flood cuts the age of Noah in two parts, just as the story of the flood interrupts Noah's genealogy.

The sequences of Adam and of Enoch do not break the Hiphil Pattern. They follow it accurately. But they do break the overall pattern. The overall pattern is as follows:

age	נִיחִי
Hiphil: son	נִיולֵד אֶת־
after Hiphil: age	נִיחִי ... אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־
Hiphil: sons and daughters	נִיולֵד בְּנִים וּבָנוֹת
total age	נִיחִי קָל־יָמָי
and he died	נִימָת



God created man in the likeness of God and this likeness is multiplied in the genealogy of Adam or Humankind and in the genealogies of Seth and Enosh, whose very name means human being. The creation continues in the procreation of Adam. The sequence of Adam inserts *בְּדָמוֹתָו קָצַלְמוֹ* (פ), connecting it to the narrative of Genesis 1:26. Only the female element is missing in the sequence of generations that follows. As in the Lamech-sequence, you would expect *נִיולֵד בֵּן* instead of *נִיולֵד* forewarning us that the pattern has changed for this reference to the creation story, but *נִיולֵד* immediately continues with *בְּדָמוֹתָו קָצַלְמוֹ*. The explicit naming of Seth by Adam is mentioned in the same verse. Here again there is a reference to the creation. God blessed male and female and named them “Humankind”. At the beginning of the line of generations Adam (and in Gen 4 Eve) continues this divine act and named his son Seth. Forming an *inclusio*, Lamech named his son Noah at the end of the genealogy. Thus the divine naming is also multiplied by humankind. Hess makes some interesting observations on the Lamech in Genesis 5, whose character is partly a repetition of Lamech in Genesis 4. Lamech is the only person who speaks in Genesis 5. In both texts Lamech is a “transitional figure”. Here also Lamech ends a genealogy and introduces the characters of the story following. Then there is a play with the number seven in both texts.<sup>19</sup> The rest of the Adam -

he died.” Instead of the usual ‘after he became father of -name of firstborn son-’, we read now: “After the flood”, indicating that in the life of this tenth father “een geheel ander ante et post dominerend was geworden” (a completely different ante and post had become dominant, HK). Breukelman, *Bijbelse Theologie 1:2*, 32. Indeed, Gen 9:28,29 supplements the missing elements of the Hiphil Pattern of Gen 5.  
<sup>19</sup> Hess, “Lamech”, 22/23. Hess also points to the name Lamech as being in the middle of the alphabet. The abecedaries were mostly written in two halves, with *ס* ending the first half and *ל* starting the second part. Hess, “Lamech”, 24.

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sequence is more in line with the following sequences but there is still a deviation from the regular pattern. The expression ‘(all) the days of x were’ is used here instead of the normal *וַיְהִי* to indicate the lifespan of Adam after the birth of his son Seth.<sup>20</sup> The phrase *וַיֹּלְדֵם בְּנֵיהֶם וַיָּבְנֵהֶם* is there, following the regular pattern. In the final counting of years *וַיִּשְׁרַחֲהֶם* is added, maybe to compensate for the missing *וַיְהִי* in verse 4.

Another case of breaking the pattern occurs in the genealogy of Enoch<sup>21</sup>, verses 21-24:

age	<i>וַיְהִי חַגּוֹר</i>
Hiphil: Methuselah	<i>וַיֹּלְדֵם אֶת מֶתוּשֶׁלַח</i>
after Hiphil: walked with God during 300	<i>וַיִּתְהַלֵּךְ חַגּוֹר אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־</i>
years	
Hiphil: sons and daughters	<i>וַיֹּלְדֵם בְּנֵיהֶם וַיָּבְנֵהֶם</i>
age	<i>וַיְהִי כְּלִימָן חַגּוֹר</i>
walked with God	<i>וַיִּתְהַלֵּךְ חַגּוֹר אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים</i>
then he was no more because God took him.	<i>אֲיֻנְנוּ כִּי־לָקַח אֹתוֹ אֱלֹהִים<sup>22</sup></i>

As indicated above, this sequence does not break the Hiphil Pattern. It has all the regular phrases of the Hiphil Pattern, but we find deviations in the overall pattern. The first clauses are regular, but the third clause is different. Instead of *וַיְהִי* we find *וַיִּתְהַלֵּךְ חַגּוֹר אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים*. In the sixth clause the sentence is repeated, with an addition. The final, succinct *וַיָּמָת* of the regular pattern is replaced again in the seventh generation by Enoch walking with God and by Enoch being no more, because God took him. Life and death both disappeared after the birth of Methuselah.<sup>23</sup> The other elements of the pattern however are remarkably the same: ‘walked with God’ has taken the exact place of ‘lived’ and is followed by the number of years Enoch lived on after becoming the father of Methuselah.<sup>24</sup> Even the short phrase *וַיֹּלְדֵם בְּנֵיהֶם וַיָּבְנֵהֶם* is not missing. In Adam’s genealogy through Seth names are used from Cain’s genealogy. The flexibility of the genealogy shows itself in the

<sup>20</sup> According to Nolland this departure from the pattern has no function. Nolland, “Genealogical Annotation”, 119.  
<sup>21</sup> On Enoch, see C. Rowland’s article on pp. 301-304 in: *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* (edited by Karel van den Toorn, Bob Becking and Pieter W. van der Horst: Brill: Leiden; Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1999).  
<sup>22</sup> The brown colour does not indicate a pattern, but the parts that differ from the pattern.  
<sup>23</sup> Wilson states: “In the case of Enoch, the second appearance of the phrase “and PN1 lived” (wayehi PN1) has been replaced by the cryptic statement “and Enoch walked with God,” while the phrase “and he died” has been replaced by an expanded version of the same statement.” Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 194.  
<sup>24</sup> On his age Rowland remarks: “The allusion to the 365 days of the year in the length of his life accorded to him hints at the calendrical wisdom which was to be such an important component of the ideas about him in later Jewish tradition...”. “There was a wide range of speculation about Enoch of which the brief mention in Genesis is by no means the only or even the earliest example.” Rowland, article on Enoch, in: *Dictionary of Deities and Demons*, 301. Also Enoch’s grandson Lamech seems to have a very symbolic age referring to Gen 4:24.



use of these similar names.<sup>25</sup> Further noteworthy is the use of שָׁנִים. The plural forms an inclusio, connecting the five initial years of Seth with the five initial years of Mahalalel. In between it is used in the final counting of all years of Enosh and Kenan and once in the age of Seth after becoming the father of Enosh. In the passages on Adam, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah and Lamech שָׁנִים is missing.<sup>26</sup>

Since every detail is deliberate in these genealogies in Genesis 5 and 11, it is likely that there are hidden calculations with numbers behind the ages of the antediluvian ancestors. Lohfink's interpretation that they are connected to Enoch and the Flood seems convincing: "The ages of the people before the Flood are given in such a way as to indicate that sinners like Methuselah themselves died in the Flood, and also that all the primeval ancestors could simultaneously experience the assumption into heaven of the perfect man, Enoch."<sup>27</sup> The pious seventh generation of Genesis 5 forms a contrast with the vengeful seventh generation of Genesis 4. There is a play with the number seven in the subdivision of Lamech. In Genesis 5 Lamech lives for 777 years, reminding us of the number of times Lamech ought to be revenged in Genesis 4. Hess notes the importance of the number seven, signifying completion, for this subdivision.<sup>28</sup> And, of course, Lamech formed the seventh generation from Adam in Genesis 4. With Lamech in Genesis 4 the genealogy ends; in Genesis 5 the genealogy expands to a segmented one. In Genesis 6:9 we find a surprising repetition of the last part of the genealogy of Genesis 5, the segmented genealogy of Noah, introduced by אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת. We will discuss the possible function of this short genealogical reference under Shem's genealogy in Genesis 11.

<sup>25</sup> Lohfink points to K. Budde, *Die biblische Urgeschichte* 1883, as still interesting for the understanding of the names in the genealogy of Pg. This name is discussed on pp 98-100. Lohfink gives an interesting explanation for the change of the name Metushael to the Methuselah of Gen 5: "The Yahwistic Methusael is introduced as Methuselah, so that his very name will make him recognizable as a sinner and it will be clear that the Flood was the consequence of sin." The name Methuselah is according to Lohfink either derived from *selah*, *sheol*, the god of the underworld, or from the word *selah*, spear, missile, corresponding to the violence that was the cause of the Flood. Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch*, 157-8, footnote 56. Since this would then be the only occurrence of a change of names in the genealogy, it is hard to assess the value of this interpretation.

<sup>26</sup> The singular is used irregularly, viz. four times in the sequences of Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan and Enoch; five times in the sequence of Mahalalel and Jared and six times for Methuselah and Lamech. In the final sequence of Noah 'year' is only mentioned once.

<sup>27</sup> Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch*, 158. Methuselah lives for 600 years after the birth of his grandson Noah; thus the year of his death corresponds with the year of the Flood. Jerome comments on this verse, telling about the dispute within the churches concerning the year of the death of Methuselah. If the calculation of the LXX is followed, Methuselah would have survived the Flood by 14 years. But if he did, why was he not among those surviving in the ark? So Jerome chooses here the Hebrew text and the Samaritan version over the LXX, in which Methuselah died "in the year when the Flood began", but not necessarily in the Flood. C.T.R. Hayward, trans., *Saint Jerome's Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 35-36.

<sup>28</sup> Hess, "Lamech", 22/23.

### 2.3 Genealogy of the sons of Noah, Genesis 10

Genesis 10 is a special text, since it is composed of three interwoven patterns: Passive Pattern, the בְּנֵי Pattern and Qal Masculine Pattern<sup>29</sup>. Passive is twice used in the introduction of the בְּנֵי Pattern, 10:1, 10:21. There it functions as an auxiliary pattern for בְּנֵי. A third time we find the Passive Pattern in the midst of Qal Masculine, in 10:25. In both Ham's and Shem's genealogy the Qal Masculine Pattern is used three times.

Genesis 10 consists mostly of segmented genealogies. It starts with the בְּנֵי Pattern. This בְּנֵי Pattern is nicely built up,<sup>30</sup> with a general opening, divisions and subdivisions, conclusions of the divisions and a general end. This structuring will be the standard structure of the בְּנֵי Pattern, which we will also find in the genealogies in Genesis 36 and Genesis 46. In Genesis 36 and 46 the wives will play an important part in this structure. In Genesis 10 the three sons dominate the pattern.<sup>31</sup> We find as overall pattern:

general introduction: Shem, Ham and Japheth	וְאֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת בְּנֵי־נֹחַ שֵׁם חָם וְיֶפֶת
introduction: Passive + after the flood	יִנְלְדוּ לָהֶם בְּנִים אַחַר הַמַּבּוּל
sons of Japheth	בְּנֵי יֶפֶת
conclusion/narrative Japheth	מֵאֵלֶּה נִפְרְדוּ אִנְי הַגּוֹיִם בְּאַרְצֵתָם אִישׁ לְלִשְׁנֹו לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם בְּגוֹיָהֶם
sons of Ham	וּבְנֵי חָם
conclusion Ham	אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי־חָם לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם לְלִשְׁנָתָם בְּאַרְצֵתָם בְּגוֹיָהֶם
extra introduction Shem: Passive	וּלְשֵׁם יֶלֶד גַּם הוּא אָבִי כָּל בְּנֵי עֵבֶר אֲחִי יֶפֶת הַגָּדוֹל
sons of Shem	בְּנֵי שֵׁם
conclusion Shem	אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי־שֵׁם לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם לְלִשְׁנָתָם בְּאַרְצֵתָם לְגוֹיָהֶם
general conclusion/ narrative + after the flood	אֵלֶּה מִשְׁפַּחַת בְּנֵי־נֹחַ לְתוֹלְדֹתָם בְּגוֹיָהֶם וּמֵאֵלֶּה נִפְרְדוּ הַגּוֹיִם בְּאַרְצֵן אַחַר הַסַּבּוּל

<sup>29</sup> "Literary analysis of this chapter must, indeed, begin with the recognition of the alternation of the *bene* and *yalad* formulae." Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 20.

<sup>30</sup> Johnson calls the use of the בְּנֵי formula in Gen 10 "blunt" (Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 19/20). Westermann calls the structure of P "predominantly nominal" opposed to J's structure, that is "predominantly verbal". Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 501.

<sup>31</sup> Löwisch rightfully remarks that "Many biblical genealogies realize segmentation in exclusively male terms." And therefore, biblical texts like Genesis 10 and the genealogies of Levi in Chronicles "bring about segmentation without the help of females, whether they are wives, daughters, or sisters." Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 167.

The general opening and ending embrace the divisions of the three sons of Noah.<sup>32</sup> Phrases and words are repeated. ילד is used in the noun תולדות both in heading and ending and in the passive verbal form in the heading. The בני Pattern is never as complete as it seems from the structure portrayed above: there are always omissions, especially in the subdivisions of the grandsons. Sometimes in the divisions of the sons, elements of the pattern are reversed or missing. In the general heading the order of the sons is: Shem, Ham, Japheth. For the divisions, this order is reversed. The genealogy works towards a climax: it results in the description of the descendants of the most important son of Noah, Shem.<sup>33</sup> Renaud considers this a means to tie this first genealogy of Shem in Genesis 10 to the linear genealogy of Shem in Genesis 11.<sup>34</sup> Japheth starts the genealogy:

Japheth: seven sons	בְּנֵי יָפֶֿתֿ
Gomer: three sons	וּבְנֵי גֹמֶר
Javan: four sons/people	וּבְנֵי יָוָן
part of conclusion/ narrative	מֵאֵלֶּה נִפְרְדוּ אֵיזֵי הַגּוֹיִם בְּאַרְצֵתָם אִישׁ לְלִישׁוֹ לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם בְּגוֹיֵהֶם

Japheth has seven sons and seven grandsons. We would expect seven subdivisions in Japheth's genealogy, for all his sons, but we find וּבְנֵי repeated only twice in Japheth's genealogy. His first and fourth son are given lineages. For the other sons, there is no further genealogy attached to their names. Japheth's division has only one pattern, the בני Pattern. It lacks in the ending the phrase: 'These are the sons of Japheth'. A verse explaining the expansion of the offspring of his fourth son (in wording forecasting the expansion of Noah's descendants in the general conclusion) seems to transform itself into a conclusion to this division. Also the order of the wording of the conclusion of Japheth's division is different. The third and the first element are reversed in order. בְּאַרְצֵתָם comes first; לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם last. Ham's and Shem's divisions have almost the same ending<sup>35</sup>, with a small change in preposition in Shem's line, with לְגוֹיֵהֶם instead of בְּגוֹיֵהֶם. We will take Ham's concluding

<sup>32</sup> According to Johnson there are great similarities in pattern (viz. in introduction and progression) to Ex 6:14-25. He suggests they might be by the same hand. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 20.

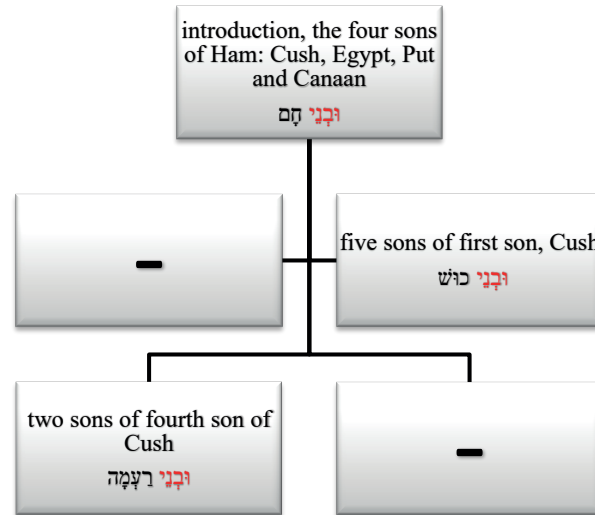
<sup>33</sup> Also Carol M. Kaminski, *From Noah to Israel, Realization of the Primaeval Blessing After the Flood* (London/New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), 62: "It is noteworthy that the patriarchal narratives show evidence of a literary structure that presents the less prominent first, whereas the son belonging to the main line is featured last." She notices this in Gen 25 (Ishmael and Isaac); in Gen 36-37 (Esau and Jacob); Gen 4 (Cain before Seth) and here, but remarks that the order of grandsons/great-grandsons in Gen 10 is maintained, 63. This structuring was already noticed by Rashi and by Calvin, as explained above in the introduction.

<sup>34</sup> Renaud, "Les généalogies et la structure", 11.

<sup>35</sup> Hieke calls this repetition in start and closure of the divisions a "Rahmenmuster". He is treating it under further form elements (weitere Gestaltungselemente) next to for instance the firstborn. Hieke, *Die Genealogien*, 35-36. We will treat the firstborn under auxiliary elements, but the introduction and conclusion under בני Pattern. This enclosing seems to be a characteristic element of the בני Pattern.

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sentence as the regular one, being a combination of both. The division of Ham uses בְּנֵי Pattern in the introduction and the conclusion of the genealogies.



The genealogy restarts on the level of the sons of Ham, with Cush fathering Nimrod. The descent through the second and fourth son of Ham is added. There is still no lineage of Put.

Cush: Nimrod	וכוּשׁ יָלַד אֹתוֹ-
Egypt: seven sons/people/ one grandson/people	וּמִצְרַיִם יָלַד אֹתוֹ-
Canaan: 11 cities/people	וּבְנֵי קְנָעוֹ יָלַד אֹתוֹ-
conclusion	אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי-חָם לְמִשְׁפַּחְתָּם לְלִשְׁנֹתָם בְּאֶרֶצְתָּם בְּגוֹיֵיהֶם

In the בְּנֵי Pattern only Cush gets a segmented genealogy. Also two sons of a son of Cush are named, thus reaching a depth of four generations including ancestor Ham. In the part using the בְּנֵי Pattern this is the only example of a lineage reaching this depth. In total בְּנֵי/וּבְנֵי is used four times in Ham's genealogy. After reaching this generation of the greatgrandchildren, the genealogy restarts with the Qal Masculine Pattern. In verse 15 the first son of Canaan, Sidon, receives the special designation בְּכֹרִי. All the sons and grandsons of Ham together count 28 sons/people, not counting the further descendants. Possibly we find a play here with the number seven as in Japhet's division and in

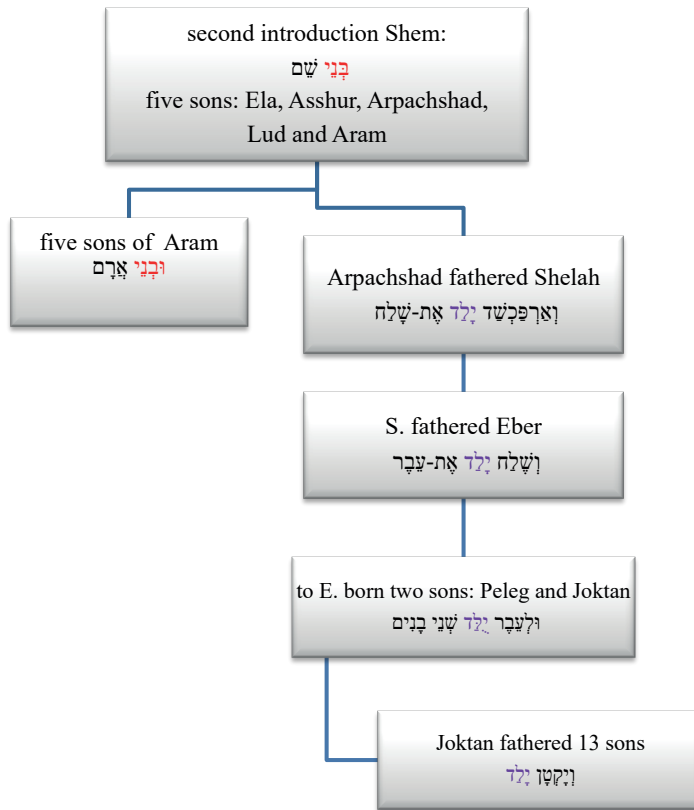
Genesis 4 and 5, though in Ham's case it would be rather hidden. Ham's genealogy ends with the full conclusion.

Between the second and third subdivision the pattern is regular. Shem's genealogy has the expected beginning of the **בְּנֵי** Pattern and the full conclusion. But his section starts with a passive, as the general introduction of the chapter. In this passive there is an auxiliary pattern, **אָבִי**, as in Genesis 4. Here is a special case of the pattern connecting an ancestor with the children of his great-grandson. **אָבִי** is normally not bridging such distant generations. There is assonance with the second family connection attributed to Shem: **אָחִי**.

1<sup>st</sup> introduction

וְלִשְׁם יֶלֶד גַּם הוּא  
**אָבִי** כָּל **בְּנֵי** עֶקֶר  
**אָחִי** יָקַת הַגְּדוֹל

2



conclusion Joktan כָּל-אֶלֶה בְּנֵי יִקְטָן

conclusion Shem אֶלֶה בְּנֵי-שֵׁם לְמוֹשֶׁפְּחָתָם לְלִשְׁנָתָם בְּאַרְצָתָם לְגוֹיָהֶם

In Shem's list of descendants וּבְנֵי is used once, for the subdivision of the lineage of his fifth son, Aram (vs. 23). In the Qal Masculine Pattern, Shem's genealogy follows the lineage of his third son Arpachshad, where it reaches a depth of six generations including Shem. Most of the division of Shem is taken up by this subdivision. In the present combination of patterns in Ham's and Shem's genealogy some subdivisions are still missing. No list of descendants is given for Ham's third son and for Shem's first, second and fourth sons. There is tension between the different patterns with the names S(h)eba and Havilah occurring under the descendants of Ham (10:7, בְּנֵי Pattern) and under the descendants of Shem (10:28-29, Qal Masculine). Shem being called a brother, is repeated in his great-great-grandson Joktan, who is identified in relation to his brother: וְשֵׁם אָחִיו יִקְטָן. He is

the last one whose children will be mentioned. There is a double conclusion using יָנַי Pattern: first for Joktan, but surprisingly not for his father Eber who figured in the introduction, and finally a full conclusion for ancestor Shem.

We find the verb יָלַד active three times in the division of Ham and three times in the division of Shem. Genesis 10:24 has a short very regular linear genealogy of three generations, in the midst of the otherwise segmented genealogies of this chapter. The short genealogy reminds us of the sequences in Genesis 5 and Genesis 11, using יָלַד in Qal Masculine, leaving out all additional phrases. The effect of the very regular linear genealogy of verse 24 is to highlight the lineage of Shem's son Arpachshad, leading to Eber, where it spreads out again. Thus the genealogy is linked to the genealogy leading to Abram's father Terah in Genesis 11, which has the same spreading of the genealogy from a linear one to segmentation in the most important generation.<sup>36</sup> In both genealogies we find the descendants of Shem, but whereas Genesis 10 continues with the descendants of Shem's great-great-grandson Joktan<sup>37</sup>, Genesis 11 follows the lineage of his brother Peleg. In verses 21-24 the יָנַי Pattern and Qal/Pual Masculine are necessary complements, contrary to verse 8, where the Qal Masculine Pattern seems to be a restart of the genealogy of Cush, thus correcting the יָנַי Pattern and creating tension in the current rendition of the text. The son of the Qal Masculine Pattern, Nimrod, is not present in the יָנַי genealogy.

The pattern Qal Masculine יָלַד with more sons/nations is used in 13, 15, 26. As passive the verb occurs also three times in total.<sup>38</sup> In verse 1b we find the Niphal imperfect consecutive plural of יָלַד. This form is presumed to be an original Qal passive, later pointed as a Niphal. Apart from this we find the verb יָלַד pointed as Pual perfect, in verse 21 and 25. Both are connected to Eber, who is the main character in the genealogy of Shem. This is clear from the beginning, in the surprising opening in verse 21, where Shem is called “the father<sup>39</sup> of all the sons of Eber”, putting him on the same level as his own great-grandson. It seems as if Shem needs further designation and description in relation to others, namely his main descendant and his brother.<sup>40</sup> Eber is

<sup>36</sup> For the relationship of Gen 10 and 11 see above.

<sup>37</sup> Gerda Hoekveld sees this division connected to Peleg (in his days the land/earth was divided) as an essential choice of religion. The choice is between being a YHWH believer and a Hebrew or between worshiping Baal and being an Aramean. Gerda Hoekveld-Meijer, *Esau: Salvation in Disguise. Genesis 36, a Hidden Polemic between Our Teacher and the Prophets about Edom's Role in Post-Exilic Israel through Leitwort names* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), 54.

<sup>38</sup> In Gen 46 the passive will also be used as alternative for יָנַי Pattern.

<sup>39</sup> We find here a construction with אָבִי which will become an important auxiliary pattern in Chronicles. In Genesis it is used occasionally, as in Gen 4:21, he was the father of all those who play the lyre and the pipe. For all occurrences of אָבִי, see under Patterns in the Pentateuch and Chronicles.

<sup>40</sup> Rashi interprets this differently. He adds ‘the river’ to eber, thus giving it the meaning ‘across the river’ instead of the personal name Eber. Rashi also concludes from calculations that Shem is not the older brother, but the younger one. So according to him the designation ‘the big’ indicates Japheth. Rashie, *Pentateuch-Commentaar I*, vert. A.S. Onderwijzer (Amsterdam: NIK, 1984<sup>3</sup>), 116-117.

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mentioned three times, in the introductory verse, in the short linear genealogy similar to Genesis 5 and 11 in verse 24, and finally in verse 25, where the second Pual concludes this focus on Eber, in his two sons being born to him.

There is no female presence at all in this segmented genealogy. In this case, the segmented genealogy is not favourable to women. It would have been possible to add in the general opening 'daughters' to the phrase 'and to them sons were born', but the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Pattern is consequent in mentioning only sons. Also there do not seem to be hidden daughters amongst the sons as in Genesis 36. No wives appear. Whereas the descendants of Abraham and of Jacob are divided according to the mothers, the descendants of the sons of Noah are divided according to sons only.

Of course, it is the question whether this text is in fact a genealogy dealing with proper names. Westermann does not consider Genesis 10,  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  source, to be a real genealogy: "While ch. 5 is a genealogy in the proper sense of the word, the 'table of nations' of P in ch. 10 is nothing more than a mere list of names. Nothing is said of birth, begetting, and death; the 'sons' are not sons in the real sense of the word; 'son' has the meaning 'belonging to.' The names are not the names of real persons, but the names of groups, partly in plural."<sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> This would explain the total omission of wives. Breukelman has a similar view. According to him the land allotment in Joshua and the table of nations in Genesis 10 are related to each other. As Israel gets an allotment for each clan, so the peoples of the earth are allotted countries.<sup>43</sup>

### The combination of Genesis 10-11

The linear genealogy of Genesis 11 is preceded by the mixed genealogy in Genesis 10. Part of the genealogical information of Genesis 10 foreshadows Genesis 11. Whereas Genesis 10 shows a broad view on different lineages and lands, Genesis 11 focuses on one family branch, from Shem to Terah. Renaud explains the relationship between Genesis 10 and 11 as follows: "La lignée des Sémites fait bien partie intégrante de l'humanité, mais elle est en même temps destinée à un avenir particulier." That's why the genealogy of Shem is doubled: in chapter 10 within humanity, and in chapter 11 leading to a special future.<sup>44</sup> Alfred Marx makes an interesting structural combination of Genesis 10 and 11 in a so-called 'diptyque': "...diptyque, constitué de deux textes séparés par

<sup>41</sup> Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 14.

<sup>42</sup> For the central name Arpachshad it is not clear which group is behind this. Crüsemann suggests that Babylon is hidden behind this name. The advocates of a Persian dating of P presume that the Medes mentioned in Gen 10:2 include the Persians (Crüsemann, "Human solidarity", 64-65).

<sup>43</sup> Breukelman, *Bijbelse Theologie 1:2*, 35.

<sup>44</sup> Renaud, "Les généalogies et la structure", 11.



une narration et dont le second fait pendant au premier.”<sup>45</sup> The genealogy of Genesis 10 functions as the first panel of this diptych. The genealogy of Genesis 11 as the second panel. Both panels are separated by the narrative of the tower of Babel.<sup>46</sup> The first one is general, the second repeats and specifies the first.<sup>47</sup> Marx agrees with Renaud in underlining that Shem’s genealogy is part of humanity, while leading to one person, Abram. Special is his focus on the unity the texts presently form. A linear genealogy following a mixed genealogy is, with some differences<sup>48</sup>, what we have seen before in Genesis 4 and 5. So the combination of Genesis 10-11 repeats the combination of Genesis 4-5. There was even a similar repetition of the names of the earlier genealogy in the following. In an endeavour to structure Genesis, I will use both these combinations, of Genesis 4-5 and of Genesis 10-11, to give unity to the whole book.

## 2.4 Genealogy of Shem, Genesis 11:10-26

Instead of the longer narrative introduction of Genesis 5, Genesis 11:10 starts compactly with three words: אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת שֵׁם. The genealogy in Genesis 11 is shorter than the one in Genesis 5, the antediluvian list. There is one generation missing, compared to Genesis 5. As in Genesis 5 we find the Hiphil Pattern repeated eight times:

one named son נִיזְלַד

הוֹלִידוּ

נִיזְלַד בְּנִים וּבָנוֹת

Compared to Genesis 5 the special sequence of the ninth generation is missing. In Genesis 5 the first clause of the penultimate sequence started differently with נִיזְלַד בֶּן, omitting the name of the son. The next verse mentioned and explained the naming of this unnamed son. For the birth of the father of the three sons of the last generation, Noah, the pattern was changed, and the sequence extended. For in Genesis 5 the main character of the following narrative is not to be found in the ultimate, but in the penultimate sequence. But in Genesis 11 this is not the case. The Hiphil Pattern

<sup>45</sup> Alfred Marx, “La généalogie d’Exode VI 14-25: sa forme, sa fonction”, *Vetus Testamentum* XLV,3 (Leiden 1995), 329

<sup>46</sup> Marx uses the same image to describe the cohesion of the genealogies of Gen 46 and Ex 6.

<sup>47</sup> Marx, “La généalogie d’Exode VI”, 331.

<sup>48</sup> The differences being that there is no narrative between Cain’s and Seth’s genealogy and that Gen 5, though repeating names of Gen 4, is not supposed to be a doubling of a part of Gen 5.

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is completely regular. The general pattern of the penultimate sequence shows the same regularity, unlike Genesis 5. In the ultimate sequence the Hiphil Pattern is broken off in the same way as in Genesis 5, with the expansion to a segmented genealogy. The ninth time the Hiphil Pattern starts the same way with וַיֹּלֵד, but after that three sons are named as in the tenth sequence in Genesis 5. The overall general pattern is as follows:

age	נִחֵי
when fathering son	וַיֹּלֵד אֶת־
after fathering son age	נִחֵי אַחֲרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ אֶת־
and he fathered sons and daughters	וַיֹּלֵד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת

It is as if the first sequences still need to find this regular form. The first clause of the sequence of Shem is nominal, starting with a concise שָׁם בְּרִמְאָת שָׁנָה instead of the more comprehensive נִחֵי־נָח of Genesis 5:32. Nolland sees a deliberate connection between father Noah in Genesis 5:32 and son Shem in Genesis 11:10 by this use of בָּן instead of הִי or נִחֵי.<sup>49</sup> The second and the third sequence use הִי in their first clause: הִי וְאָרְפָּקֶשֶׁד הִי.

From the fourth to the eighth sequence the pattern is regular. The last two clauses of the overall pattern of Genesis 5 נִחֵי/נִחֵי בְּלִיַּמַּי are missing. So the final word of the pattern is ‘daughters’. The pattern is even more succinct and regular than in Genesis 5: twice נִחֵי and twice וַיֹּלֵד. We are left to calculate ourselves the age of the descendants of Shem. Death is not mentioned either. The pattern immediately continues with the life and the fertility of the next generation.

Why are the words ‘and he died’ omitted? As we have seen in the introduction, Luther thought that the superfluous phrase ‘and he died’ indicated the sinfulness of the antediluvian fathers. Are the post-diluvian fathers better? The Mishnah sees no moral difference between the two lists of fathers: they were all “repeatedly acting provokingly”.<sup>50</sup> Luther says, there is no Enoch standing out between the post-diluvian fathers. They all die, so the phrase is no longer necessary as contrast.<sup>51</sup> But, as Renaud says to these changes: “Il est difficile de faire parler les silences.”<sup>52</sup>

Apart from the variations in the first clause described above we do not find deviations in the pattern. There is only one short addition in the first sequence, “two years after the flood”,

<sup>49</sup> Nolland, “Genealogical Annotation”, 120.

<sup>50</sup> Rabbi Dr. Epstein, transl., *The Babylonian Talmud, Nezikin VIII*, Aboth 5:2 (London: The Soncino Press, 1948, first published 1935 Joh. Enschede en zonen), 59.

<sup>51</sup> M. Luther, *Lectures on Genesis, Chapters 6-14*, Vol. 2, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Daniel Poellot (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1960), 232.

<sup>52</sup> Renaud, “Les généalogies et la structure”, 21.

connecting the birth of Arpachshad to the Flood Story. We do not find the surprising וְיָהִי of 5:32 in the final sequence. Instead the final verse starts the same way as the previous sequences, with וְיָהִי. The seventh generation (Serug) is not as remarkable as the seventh generation in Genesis 5. The pattern is regular. The only singularity is the shortness of the indication of age. As in Seth's sequence, there is a round number after אֶתְרֵי הוֹלִידוֹ and שָׁנָה is only used once.<sup>53</sup>

Terah constitutes the ninth generation from Shem and thus fulfils the place of Noah.<sup>54</sup> As Noah, he has three sons. Terah seems to be the culmination point of the genealogy, as Noah was. The tenth generation is missing.<sup>55</sup> Breukelman considers Noah to be the missing tenth generation, since it was said explicitly in 9:29, that he lived for 350 years after the flood. So Noah is also part of the ten post deluvium generations, as he was of the ante deluvium generations.<sup>56</sup> Seen not from the beginning, but from the end of the genealogy, the absent tenth sequence would describe the לֵד of Terah's eldest son, Abram. The absence seems to be pointing to the following narratives, in which the fertility of Terah's son becomes the central theme. Westermann calls the absence of the tenth generation "striking". "By omitting the tenth P wants to say that something different is beginning with this as yet unnamed tenth member."<sup>57</sup>

### Comparison to the Sumerian King List

A striking parallel to Genesis 5 and 11 was found in the Sumerian King List (SKL). This King List has the same division in an antediluvian list, record of a flood and a postdiluvian list. This would agree with the P genealogies Genesis 5 and 11, divided by the description of the flood. Furthermore, in both SKL and Bible the antediluvian fathers live longer than the postdiluvians. The seventh figure in SKL is described as possessing special wisdom and practising divination, similar to the seventh antediluvian father Enoch possessing spiritual power, being close to God. Are Genesis 5 and 11 literary dependent on SKL? Johnson sees some dependency on SKL or similar tradition, not for the names but for the structure of the text. "The Priestly author used the framework of the king list (or a similar tradition) as the structure of his first genealogy, imposing upon it the Priestly chronological calculations which aimed at determining the year *Anno Mundi* of several pivotal

<sup>53</sup> Some sort of structure might be discerned in the use of 'year' and 'years' after becoming a father. The sequences of Shem and Serug (1 and 7) have 'year'; sequences of Arpachshad and Shelah (2 and 3), and Peleg and Reu (5 and 6) have the plural 'years' and the singular 'year'; Eber in the middle (4) has double 'year' as the final, eighth, sequence of Nahor.

<sup>54</sup> Renaud, "Les généalogies et la structure", 11: "De génération en génération, cette succession aboutit à Téraah, père d'Abram." Terah, and not Abram, is the focus point of the genealogy as we have it now.

<sup>55</sup> Still, also Gen 11 is traditionally considered to cover 10 generations.

<sup>56</sup> Breukelman, *Bijbelse Theologie I:2*, 38.

<sup>57</sup> Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 560.

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events, including the flood, Abraham's migration, the exodus, and the founding of the sacrificial cultus in Solomon's temple."<sup>58</sup>

Hartman denies dependency on SKL: "A case for Hebrew indebtedness had been argued from the number of antediluvians which in both the Sethite listing and the King List stands at ten."<sup>59</sup> Hartman, however, argues with Malamat that the ten-generation pattern belongs to a West Semitic archetype.<sup>60</sup> He also points to the fact that the number of postdiluvians is quite different in both Genesis 11 and SKL (namely ten and 39), thus making dependency of Genesis 11 on SKL improbable. Westermann points to another difference between Genesis 5 and 11 and SKL: the genealogies of SKL are meant to be part of history, whereas "...; the biblical genealogies from Adam to Abraham have no meaning as an actual succession of generations."<sup>61</sup>

### The number of generations

The Sethite and the Shemite genealogies were traditionally considered to be containing ten generations. As the Mishnah says: "(There were) ten generations from Noah to Abraham, in order to make known how long-extended is long-suffering with him; for all those generations were repeatedly acting provokingly, until Abraham, our father, came and receives the reward of all of them."<sup>62</sup> How many generations form the ideal genealogical depth? Often, as in the Mishnah, ten generations are regarded as the ideal depth of a genealogy. Malamat states: "The ante- and postdiluvian lines (..), symmetrically arranged to a tenth-generation depth, are undoubtedly the product of intentional harmonization..."<sup>63</sup> To reach this harmony, in Genesis 5 (nine times the Hiphil Pattern) the last generation (three sons) is traditionally not counted. In Genesis 11 (eight times the Hiphil Pattern) the last generation is counted. Thus in both cases reaching the number ten. Wilson emphasises that in oral genealogies and the Amorite genealogies there is no standard genealogical depth. Usually, these genealogies are "not much deeper than five generations and rarely stretch beyond ten generations."<sup>64</sup> According to Lohfink "the primary comparison (in the Bible to SKL, HK) would be with the ten-generation list of David's ancestors in Ruth 4:18-22."<sup>65</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 31.

<sup>59</sup> Thomas C. Hartman, "Some Thoughts on the Sumerian King List and Genesis 5 and 11b", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 91/1 (1972), 28.

<sup>60</sup> Hartman, "Some Thoughts", 29.

<sup>61</sup> Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 9.

<sup>62</sup> Epstein, *The Babylonian Talmud*, 59.

<sup>63</sup> Malamat, "King Lists", 165.

<sup>64</sup> Robert R. Wilson, "The Old Testament Genealogies in Recent Research", *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 94/2 (1975), 183.

<sup>65</sup> Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch*, 157 footnote 53.

As we saw, the use of the pattern points to a different interpretation. Terah occupies the same position in the pattern as Noah. He ends the linear genealogy and forms the turning point to the expansion to a segmented genealogy. Abram and his two brothers are on the same level as Shem and his two brothers. Terah seems to be the focus of the genealogy, not Abram.<sup>66</sup>

Irmtraud Fischer remarks on the lack of תולדות of the sons of Terah: “Die Generation der Söhne Terachs hat keine Toledot, weder Abraham, noch Nahor und Haran. Daß gerade dem Stammvater Abraham keine Toledot zugeordnet wird, ist auffällig und gab daher zu verschiedenen Erklärungsversuchen Anlaß.”<sup>67</sup> Within the genealogies Terah has a more prominent position than his son Abraham, who dominates the narrative. For Terah and his wife children come naturally, as for the generations before him. For his son Abraham there is only a stumbling story of fertility problems. His genealogy -or lack of it- is in the narrative. Genesis 5 and 11 both end in a segmented genealogy of three sons. Johnson finds the number three for the descendants/ groups of descendants in itself significant: “The plan (of the תולדות Book, HK) hinges on certain pivotal figures, each having three sons or divisions of descendants: Noah, Terah, Abraham<sup>68</sup>, and Levi.”<sup>69</sup> So having three descendants might be a characteristic of several main ancestors in the Pentateuch, though this is not the case for Abraham. His infertility is an open wound.

The pattern of Genesis 5 and 11 is fixed. Both lists are perfectly structured. Irregularities therefore immediately call our attention. Life follows a pattern from generation to generation.<sup>70</sup> Nothing changes, even though sometimes extraordinary things happen.

## 2.5 Genealogy of Terah. Genesis 11:27-32

With Terah becoming the father of Abram, Nahor and Haran, the genealogy of Shem ends, only to be continued in verse 27 with a more narrative genealogy, the תולדות of Terah. This short genealogy starts in the usual way, with תולדות תרה. It then continues with one extra generation, still in the traditional way with the Hiphil ותרן הוליד את-לוט: ילד. It is not the first named son however, but the

<sup>66</sup> Johnson states: “The surprising lack of a Toledoth of Abraham may thus be due to an original emphasis on Terah...” He adds more arguments in favour for this original focus on Terah in his footnotes. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 24/25.

<sup>67</sup> Irmtraud Fischer, *Die Erzeltern Israels* (de Gruyter: Berlin/New York, 1994), 41-42. I Chron 1 partly remedies this by using the וי introduction for Abraham: these are the sons of Abraham (1:28), and the Hiphil Pattern (1:34).

<sup>68</sup> Johnson counts Esau and Jacob instead of Isaac, so reaching three. He also points to Esau having three groups of descendants through three wives. This calculation is not entirely convincing in the case of Abraham.

<sup>69</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 26.

<sup>70</sup> Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 16: “P has expounded with extraordinary power the real meaning of the genealogy, namely the continuous event of generation following generation.”

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third who becomes father of a son.<sup>71</sup> This might still have been the reversal of order we found more often, for example in Genesis 10. But then things start to be different. Haran dies before his time. His children fortunately are very present in the whole text. But the descendants of the other sons are missing. And it will take some time before their names will be revealed. The whole story of the problematic fertility of Abram unfolds directly afterwards and will be the topic of the following chapters. Yair Mazor sees a negative connection between Genesis 11 and the narrative story following, the story of Sarah's barrenness: "Sarah's barrenness comes at the conclusion of a long genealogical list stressing breeding, procreation and descendants (Gen 11:30). The composition and rhetorical devices used in that text serve to emphasize and underline Sarah's childlessness."<sup>72</sup> And also the genealogy of the second son of Terah is postponed. The lineage of Nahor and his wife and niece Milcah follow after the near death of Abraham's son in the final verses of Genesis 22.

What is the function of this seemingly superfluous genealogical reference in Genesis 11? Is it a new beginning or is it an extra conclusion to the preceding genealogy? Or is this short text more important than the preceding one? As indicated above, it looks like a new beginning, especially due to the heading תולדות. Westermann endorses this interpretation. He considers 11:27-32 to be the text that starts the patriarchal history, separating it from chapters 1-11:26.<sup>73</sup>

Naomi Steinberg however sees a strong connection between Genesis 11:10-26 and 27-32. The separation of both texts "cannot be supported by a structural analysis of these traditions."<sup>74</sup> Alfred Marx also regards Genesis 11:10-32 as a unity. He agrees with Westermann on the importance of 11:27-32 for the following stories: "Cette seconde partie joue ainsi, tout comme la dernière partie de la genealogie d'Ex. VI, le rôle de générique." So the genealogy of Terah functions as credits to the following stories of Abraham.<sup>75</sup> Fokkelman in a short overview of structures of stories also sees Genesis 11:27-32 as a prologue to the Abraham stories. He connects it to the genealogy in Genesis 25:1-18 and sees both texts framing the stories of the Abraham cycle as prologue and epilogue.<sup>76</sup> Steinberg agrees with Marx and Fokkelman on this function of Genesis 11:27-32 as credits, but she expands this to Genesis 11:10-16. The genealogy of Shem is an introduction to the genealogy of Terah. She calls the genealogy of Shem "the genealogical

<sup>71</sup> It is unclear who is the firstborn of the three brothers. They are named in this order, Abram, Nahor and Haran, but is this the order of their birth or the order of their importance? Hensel, reasoning in the same way as with Shem, Ham and Japheth, regards Haran as the firstborn, disqualified by his son Lot, whose place is taken by the new firstborn, Abraham. Hensel, *Vertauschung der Erstgeburt*, 102.

<sup>72</sup> Yair Mazor, "Cherchez la Femme, or Sex, Lies and the Bible, Exposing the Anti-Feminist Face of the Biblical Text", in *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* vol.18 no.1 (2004), 51.

<sup>73</sup> Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 566.

<sup>74</sup> Naomi Steinberg, "The Genealogical Framework of the Family Stories in Genesis," *Semeia* 46 (1989), 4.7

<sup>75</sup> Alfred Marx, *La généalogie d'Exode VI 14-25: sa forme, sa fonction in: Vetus Testamentum XLV,3* Leiden 1995, 331.

<sup>76</sup> Fokkelman, *Reading Biblical Narrative*, 212.

superscription which begins the first family cycle; it introduces the genealogy of Terah in 11:27-32 which is actually the heading for the story of Terah’s sons and their wives.”<sup>77</sup> After that the story, with all the fertility problems, follows.<sup>78</sup>

תולדות can indicate a beginning and a conclusion. In 2:4a תולדות constitutes an ending; in 6:9 it constitutes a beginning. There are more similarities to Genesis 11:27-32 in this second text. In Genesis 6:9-10 we also find such a traditional start to a genealogy, where one would expect a full genealogy to follow, either a linear one as in Genesis 10 or a segmented one as in Genesis 36. But in Genesis 6 as here in Genesis 11:27, it does not progress beyond the segmentation in three sons, that ended the preceding genealogy. Both texts use, as their preceding genealogies, the characteristic Hiphil of ילד. And both texts introduce the main characters of the following stories. So the interpretation of the genealogy of Terah as a heading to the following stories seems probable from this analogy, but the text still forms part of the larger genealogies of Shem.

In Genesis 11:27-32 we find several women.<sup>79</sup> We find information on the descent of a wife, namely Milcah. Sarai’s descent remains mysterious. Milcah is called בַּת. The reference to her sister, Iscah, is special.<sup>80</sup> She is not only a sister, as Naamah. She is not firstly a wife, as Milcah. She is standing exclusively in relation to a father. So she is a true case of a daughter, mentioned by name. Why? Why she? Would we have heard from her if it were not for her sister Milcah?

### 2.6 Genealogy of Milcah, Genesis 22: 20b-23 (24)

The Qal Feminine ילדה dominates the genealogy. We find it twice in this genealogy and once in the short genealogical list in verse 24 (ותלד). Milcah heads the genealogy: hers is the first name mentioned. The husband is indirect object. ילדה starts and ends the sequence. In between stands ילד Qal Masculine. The word brother also ties this short genealogy together: ‘to your brother’ in the introduction; his brother for the second son of Milcah and אַחִי Abraham in the conclusion.

Independent Female: sons  
eight sons

הָיָה יְלֵדָה מִלְכָּה גַם־הוּא בָנִים לְנָחֹר אַחִיהָ  
אֵת עֹיֵן בְּכָרוֹ וְאֵת בּוֹז אַחִיו וְאֵת קַמּוּאֵל אָבִי אַרְבֵּם

<sup>77</sup> Steinberg, “The Genealogical Framework”, 43.  
<sup>78</sup> Steinberg, “The Genealogical Framework”, 43.  
<sup>79</sup> Hieke calls the text: “Eine wichtige Schaltstelle im genealogischen System... Daher tauchen wieder Frauen auf, die namentlich genannt sind.” Hieke, *Die Genealogien*, 279.  
<sup>80</sup> In rabbinical tradition both these problems, Sarai’s unknown descent and Iscah’s unexplained presence, are combined in one solution: Iscah is another name for Sarai in her role as prophetess.

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Qal Masculine: one daughter  
conclusion: counting

וְאֵת כְּשׁוּד וְאֵת חֲזוּ וְאֵת פִּלְדֵּשׁ וְאֵת יְדִלְרִי וְאֵת בְּתוּאֵל  
וּבְתוּאֵל יָלַד אֶת־רֵבְקָה  
שְׁמֹנָה אֲלֶהָ יָלְדָה מִלְכָּה לְנָחֹר אִשְׁתִּי אַבְרָהָם

The first three sons of Milcah and Nahor all receive some additional description, in relation to others. Uz is the first born of the father בְּכֹרֹו, Buz is his brother (אָחִי) and Kemuel is the father of Aram (אָבִי). אָבִי functions again as an auxiliary pattern. Of the other five sons we just hear the names. No daughters are mentioned next to the sons. The last son named is Bethuel. More often the last-mentioned person will be the prominent one.<sup>81</sup> It is of course interesting that Bethuel receives this prominent place because of his daughter Rebekah. Twice the genealogy reaches the third generation. Once in the addition ‘the father of Aram’ and in Bethuel becoming the father of Rebekah. Genesis 22:23 is an exceptional case of Qal Masculine connecting father and daughter.

Rebekah appears in a separate clause, as an only child, the centre of attention. No brother is mentioned, though we know from the narrative that she had at least one brother, Laban. In this short clause we find the Qal Masculine Pattern, in which no wife occurs. The clause interrupts the rhythm of the text. An expected addition would have been, ‘Bethuel, the father of Rebekah’, imitating the additional description of the third brother. However, the Qal Masculine Pattern more often comes as a surprise, in the midst of other patterns. We find the Qal Masculine Pattern mixed with other patterns. In Genesis 10 it stands in the midst of the יָבִי Pattern. In Genesis 4 three patterns are used interchangeably, namely the לָקַח וְתָלַד Pattern, the Passive and Qal Masculine Pattern. Genesis 25:3 is the text most similar case to Genesis 22:23 of the Qal Masculine Pattern following the Qal Feminine.

The Qal Feminine in the form וְתָלַד also dominates the second list of descendants (24b), with no introduction and no concluding line:

וּפְרִילֵגְשׁוּ וּשְׁמָה רְאוּמָה וְתָלַד גַּם־הִוא אֶת־שִׁבְחָה וְאֵת־גַּחַם וְאֵת־תַּחַשׁ וְאֵת־מַעֲכָה

In verse 24 the name of the mother, Reumah, is the only one present. The list is not a proper genealogy since it only describes two generations. The last name mentioned is probably the name of a daughter, Maacah. She would in that case be the first hidden daughter we encounter in the genealogies.<sup>82</sup> There other female Maacahs associated with Aram or Geshur in the genealogies in

<sup>81</sup> Oholibamah plays a prominent role, more prominent than her two co-wives. Her list of descendants comes last, in the three genealogies of Esau in Genesis 36. Shem’s genealogy comes last in Genesis 10.

<sup>82</sup> For a whole list of hidden daughters, see under 5:11, the daughter as daughter.



Chronicles. Both genealogies of Nahor by two wives would then end with the name of a (grand-)daughter. Rashi points to the resemblance of the number of sons of Abraham (through Jacob) and his brother Nahor. Both have eight children by the leading wife and four by slaves or a concubine.<sup>83</sup> Hieke also sees a connection to the 12 sons of Ishmael (2<sup>nd</sup> generation) and to the 12 sons of Jacob (3<sup>rd</sup> generation).<sup>84</sup> The genealogies have the same width.

Westermann sees the short genealogy in Genesis 22 as a conclusion to the history of Abraham. According to him the genealogies in Genesis 11:27-32 (birth and marriage of the brothers Abram and Nahor), 21:1-7 (birth narrative of Isaac) and 22:20-24 encompass the 'cycle of Abraham'. The genealogy of Keturah also becomes part of the conclusion.<sup>85</sup> Shectman has a completely different view. According to her the genealogy in Genesis 22 functions as an 'introduction to Genesis 24, the next non-P unit. This is the only instance in which the birth of a female character is reported as an introduction to a narrative, in a similar fashion to the births of Noah and Abraham.'<sup>86</sup> Westermann, however, regards Genesis 24 and the other narratives following Genesis 21:1-7 as supplements.<sup>87</sup> If Shectman's theory is followed, the interruption by the Qal Masculine pattern is functional in highlighting the one whose birth is the culmination point of the genealogy, namely Rebekah. Shectman describes the Terahite lineage as being "one of the most important features of the matriarchs' identities." Rachel and Leah are also of the Terahite line. Only Sarah is an exception.<sup>88</sup> Rebekah is child of this lineage too.<sup>89</sup> For Rashi the phrase: "Bethuel became the father of Rebekah." is the most important verse of the genealogy. Without it, the genealogy would not have been written. The birth of Rebekah as future wife of Isaac sets Abraham's mind at rest, after almost losing his son.<sup>90</sup> Crüsemann notices the discrepancy between

<sup>83</sup> Rashi connects this similarity in number to the surprising use of 'also' at the beginning of the genealogy, which Westermann regards as a connection to the birth of Isaac in Gen 21. A.S. Onderwijzer, *Rashie's Pentateuch Commentaar* (Amsterdam: van Crefeld, 1895, derde herdruk van de heruitgave door het NIK 1984), 264.

Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12-36, A Continental Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 366.

<sup>84</sup> Hieke, *Die Genealogien der Genesis*, 131.

<sup>85</sup> Westermann, *Genesis 12-36*, 367.

<sup>86</sup> Shectman, *Women in the Pentateuch*, 82.

<sup>87</sup> Westermann, *Genesis 12-36*, 367.

<sup>88</sup> "In the genealogical tradition, Sarah's patrilineage was either unknown or deemed unimportant. She is atypical in this regard, as non-P gives some genealogical information for the other matriarchs." Shectman, *Women in the Pentateuch*, 82. According to Gen 20:12, she would be a daughter of Terah and second wife, not the mother of Abraham. In rabbinic tradition she is identified with the mysterious Iscah, the sister of Milcah, both daughters of Abram's brother Haran.

<sup>89</sup> According to Heard, this positive attitude towards the descendants of Bethuel represents the positive attitude of the editors, living in Yehud in Persian times, towards Mesopotamians in general and intermarriage with Mesopotamian women in particular: "Laban points typologically to Mesopotamia as a source of "approved" wives", Heard, *Dynamics*, 181.

<sup>90</sup> *Rashie's Pentateuch-Commentaar*, 264. Hieke agrees: "Die Nahor-Linie wird zwar knapp aufgefaltet, dient aber letztlich dazu, für Isaak eine endogame Eheschliessung zu ermöglichen (und später auch für Jakob)." Hieke, *Die Genealogien der Genesis*, 144. He is pointing to a similarity with the three family branches of Noah: only the branch

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Genesis 22:21 and Genesis 10:22 in the classification of Aram. In Genesis 22 he is a grandchild of Nahor and thus a Terahite; in Genesis 10:22 a son of Shem. This cannot only be ascribed to a difference in layers<sup>91</sup>, but must be for a reason we can no longer grasp.

### 2.7 Genealogy of Rebekah, Genesis 24:15 and 24

This genealogy of Rebekah is contrary to the genealogies of Milcah and Keturah, not a genealogy of her descendants, but of her own descent. In the story of the search for a bride for Isaac, the genealogy of this bride is essential. The first time Rebekah enters the story, her descent is immediately clarified to the audience:

והגה רבקה יצאת אשר ילדה לבתואל בן מלקה אשת נחור אחי אברהם

The description starts with a Passive Pattern, in which the father usually has a central place. The mother of Rebekah is missing. Mothers are in a few cases added to the Passive Pattern in Genesis by means of a subclause, but that is not the case here. To Bethuel's name a genealogical reference is added, using the Backwards Pattern, as an introduction. The Backwards Pattern leads back to Rebekah's grandmother, Milcah, who is here placed in the family of her husband, contrary to Genesis 11:29, where she got her own genealogical background as daughter of Haran. Rebekah is through her father Bethuel, and the husband of her grandmother Milcah, connected to the man in the background of the story, Abraham.

The servant, however, is not as well-informed as the audience and has to ask the essential question, whose daughter Rebekah is. She answers:

בת בתואל אחי בן מלקה אשר ילדה לנחור

Again Milcah is the main grandparent in Rebekah's genealogy. Bethuel is first of all the son of Milcah. His father Nahor is connected through his wife. Rebekah introduces herself with a double

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of Shem will continue. Likewise of the three sons of Terah only the lineage of Abraham will continue. Even though that's only possible through his brother Nahor.

<sup>91</sup> „But given such a widespread and manifold phenomenon as the Arameans, are we really to seek for an explanation simply in literary layers? All this means that, on the whole, the problem of genealogies is not essentially different from the rest of Genesis.” Crüsemann, “Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity”, 61.

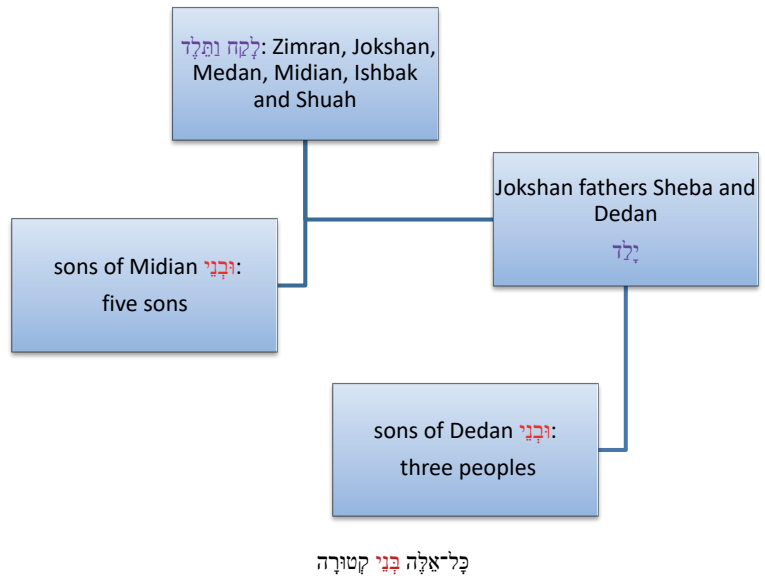
Backwards Pattern, starting with בָּרָא and continuing with בָּרָא. Her brother Laban has no place in her genealogy, as he had no place in the genealogy of his grandmother Milcah in Genesis 22:20-23. In the missing genealogy of Isaac in Genesis 25:19-20, there is a genealogical reference to Rebekah, which includes her brother: “Rebekah, daughter of Bethuel the Aramean of Paddan-aram, sister of Laban the Aramean”, foreshadowing the importance Laban will have for one of the sons of Rebekah and Isaac.

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2.8 Genealogy of Keturah, Genesis 25:1-4

Genesis 25:1-4 starts with the לקח ותלד Pattern, the interaction between Abraham and Keturah<sup>92</sup> (vs. 1), followed by לו ותלד. The לקח ותלד Pattern thereby starts the genealogy, as in Genesis 4.

ניסר אברהם וישמה קטורה  
six sons לו ותלד



<sup>92</sup> Jerome refers here to Jewish sources identifying Keturah with Hagar, who would have gained the status of wife after the death of Sarah. Jerome himself adds wisely: “We leave aside what is uncertain...” and discusses the exact reach of the territory of the sons of Keturah. C.T.R. Hayward, trans., *Saint Jerome’s Hebrew Questions on Genesis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 59.

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In verse 3 we find the second pattern, the Qal Masculine Pattern, in the middle of the genealogy. Here it does not indicate, as in Genesis 10, a short linear genealogy in the midst of segmented genealogies. In Genesis 10 the change of pattern helped to speed up the genealogy and to quickly reach the main descendant of Shem, Eber. In Genesis 25 the three different patterns are all used for segmented genealogies. The Qal Masculine Pattern is used for the birth of the two sons of the second son of Keturah, Sheba and Dedan.

From verse 3b on the בְּנֵי Pattern takes over. It is the only pattern used twice. Firstly for the three sons/tribes of Dedan, reaching the greatest depth of the genealogy with the generation of the greatgrandchildren of Keturah. Then the genealogy makes a new start, but continues with the בְּנֵי Pattern, to name the five children of the fourth son of Keturah. The concluding sentence, כָּל-אֲלֵהָהּ בְּנֵי קֵטוּרָה, reminds us of similar concluding verses in the בְּנֵי Pattern, especially in the description of polygamous genealogies in Genesis 36 and 46. There the genealogies extend to more sons/ wives. The concluding sentence is typical of these polygamous genealogies, attributing the sons to the mother. The genealogy is dominated by Keturah.<sup>93</sup> The whole genealogy of Keturah feels like the continuation of a longer polygamous genealogy. Even though the genealogy stands apart, the other lineages of Abraham through different mothers resonate in this text. Indeed the other lineage of Abraham through Hagar is added directly after the death and burial of Abraham, using again the בְּנֵי Pattern. That genealogy however is not dominated by mother Hagar, but by her son Ishmael.

## 2.9 Genealogy of Ishmael, Genesis 25:12-16

The pattern is as follows:

introduction 1

וְאֵלֶּה תְּלֵדֹת יִשְׁמַעֵאל בֶּן אַבְרָהָם אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה הָגָר הַמִּצְרַיִת  
שִׁפְסַת שָׂרָה לְאַבְרָהָם

introduction 2

וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׁמַעֵאל בְּשֵׁמֹתָם לְתוֹלְדֹתָם  
בְּכֹר יִשְׁמַעֵאל

בְּכֹר Ishmael: 12 sons

<sup>93</sup> Irmtraud Fischer regards this as sign that the Keturah lineage is a side-line (Nebenlinie) and states: “daß die Hauptlinie der Nachkommenschaft vom Vater her definiert wird, die Nebenlinie jedoch von der Mutter.” Irmtraud Fischer, *Die Erzeltern Israels: Feministisch-theologische Studien zu Genesis 12-36*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 222 (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1994), 48. Since a parallel genealogy of Abraham and Sarah is missing, the theory is in this case hard to verify.

conclusion: 12 princes, counting

אלה הם בני ישמעאל ואלה שמותם  
שנים עשר נשיאם לאמתם

We find a double introduction starting with the standard phrase ואלה תולדות and continuing with בני שמו and a final לתולדותם in the second heading and a very elaborate conclusion, using the בני Pattern, with a repetition of שמות. The middle part is a succinct list of names, connected by the article, introduced by בְּכֹרֵי יִשְׁמָעֵאל. The list of names only reaches one generation: the generation of the sons of Ishmael. No further generations are mentioned. It is a horizontal genealogy, not reaching depth, and not branched in subdivisions. בני is only found in heading and conclusion.

We find the verb ילד once, in the feminine, after the first opening clause, describing Ishmael's own birth: "whom Hagar the Egyptian, Sarah's slave-girl, bore to Abraham", the only place where the list of names reaches more depth. Hagar is mentioned, with geographical reference and social status, but without genealogical reference. Irmtraud Fischer remarks on the presence of Hagar in the תולדות of Ishmael, rather sarcastically: "Hagar wird damit die 'Ehre' zuteil, als Frau unmittelbar in einer Toledot genannt zu werden -von den Müttern Israels wird dies keine!"<sup>94</sup> According to Fischer this is a possible reminder of the absence of the father: "Vielleicht wird hier die Erinnerung bewahrt, daß Ismael als Erwachsener mit seiner Mutter fern von seinem Vater lebt."<sup>95</sup> Abraham is however twice mentioned in the first heading of Ishmael's תולדות, though two women are present too, as Fischer remarks correctly: "Zwei Frauen bestimmen also seine (Ishmael's, HK) Herkunft."<sup>96</sup> Ishmael has 12 sons, as Jacob in the next generation. There is no reference to daughters. We know from the stories and genealogies of Esau that Ishmael had at least one daughter, Basemath or Mahalath. But she does not figure in Genesis 25. According to Fokkelman the genealogies of Genesis 25:1-18 function as an epilogue to the Abraham cycle of stories. From 25:19 the Jacob cycle starts.<sup>97</sup>

It is interesting to see how in between the cycles in Genesis, the blocks of stories, there are blocks of genealogies. Genealogies seem to function as the hinges by which the different panels of the narratives are connected, though at the same time they tell their own stories.

<sup>94</sup> Fischer, *Die Erzeltern Israels*, 43.

<sup>95</sup> Fischer, *Die Erzeltern Israels*, 43.

<sup>96</sup> Fischer, *Die Erzeltern Israels*, 43.

<sup>97</sup> Fokkelman, *Reading Biblical Narrative*, 1999, 212.

## 2.10 The missing genealogy of Isaac, Genesis 25:19, 20

After the genealogies of the less important branches of the family of Abraham, the תולדת of Isaac follow. In Genesis 25:19 it seems as if another genealogy is starting. We find the concise initial clause we also had in Genesis 10 and 11 namely אלה תולדת with the addition: בן־אברהם as with the genealogy of Ishmael above.

heading

ואלה תולדת יצחק בן אברהם

The text continues with the Hiphil Pattern of Genesis 5 and 11:

אברהם הוליד את־יצחק

After reading as title אלה תולדת יצחק, the name we would expect as subject of the begetting is Isaac, not Abraham. Or vice versa the heading should have been: “These are the תולדות of Abraham.” There is already tension between heading and the first -and only- begetting. This tension increases, as after these two familiar clauses the text does not continue with Isaac becoming father. A genealogy of Isaac (or Abraham!) is missing. Still, the initial sequences give the impression that a complete linear eight to nine generations genealogy is about to follow. The following words have a familiar ring to them:

ויהי יצחק בן־אברהם שנה בקהתו את־רבקה  
בת פתואל הארמי מפדן ארם אחות לבן הארמי לו לאשה

Normally the pattern starts with the age of the ancestor and continues with the ancestor becoming a father. Instead the age of Isaac is the age of his marrying Rebekah. He takes her to wife, as his ancestors did, but no conceiving follows. The לקה ופלד sequence is interrupted. The fathering is briefly postponed, due to fertility problems. But then, after divine intervention, the story of the birth and life of the twin boys unfolds. Rebekah receives her own quite extensive genealogical reference. She is described as daughter and as sister before she becomes a wife to Isaac.

Abraham is very present in this attempt to a genealogy. Fischer draws attention to the absence of mother Sarah. Whereas in Ishmael’s genealogy mother Hagar was mentioned by name with geographical descent and social status added, Sarah’s name is omitted. Fischer interprets this

as the difference between the heir-successor and the other sons: “Wird der Stammhalter (ausschließlich) durch den Vater definiert, so die Seitenlinie durch die Mutter!”<sup>98</sup> I would consider the reference to Hagar to be exceptional. A similar case would be, if for instance Esau, heading a branch, were explicitly called the son of Rebekah. It may be pleaded with Fischer that in the genealogies of less important lineages the wife is more important, but the mother of the man who heads the genealogy is never mentioned in Genesis at all, but for Hagar. A parallel case is Hur, the firstborn of (mother) Ephratah in I Chronicles 4:4. There is no indication that Hur belongs to an inferior genealogical branch. The reference to Hagar, if it needs to be explained, must have a different, possibly geographical-political meaning.

Steinberg sees Genesis 25:12-18 as genealogical superscription to the genealogy of Isaac in Genesis 25:19-26, introducing the stories of Isaac’s sons and their wives.<sup>99</sup> This would explain the deliberate similarity between the headings of both תולדות. As Kaminsky remarks: “patriarchal narratives show evidence of a literary structure that presents the less prominent son first, whereas the son belonging to the main line is featured last.”<sup>100</sup> Therefore, Ishmael’s genealogy precedes Isaac’s as Esau’s תולדות precede Jacob’s<sup>101</sup> and “it may even indicate that Cain’s genealogy is the secondary line and Seth’s genealogy is the main line.”<sup>102</sup>

This genealogical introduction to the fertility story of Isaac and Rebekah certainly mirrors the genealogy of Ishmael. Renaud sees an alternation between the תולדות of the main patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and the תולדות of the less important family lines, namely the lines of descent of Esau and of Ishmael. All those genealogies are introduced by the phrase: וְאֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת. He sees the genealogical frame recurring in the narrative parts of P.<sup>103</sup> The genealogy of the most important son indeed follows the genealogy of the less important one. The תולדות of Isaac follow the genealogy of Ishmael; the תולדות of Jacob in Genesis 37 follow the genealogy of Esau. For both Isaac and Jacob, the תולדות phrase does not really start a genealogy, but a narrative.

The short list of בְּנֵי of Jacob in Genesis 35:22-26 just before the genealogy of Esau does not follow this reversed order of importance. In this list the sons of Jacob are listed by their mothers. First the sons of the main women, Leah and Rachel are named and then the sons of the maids of both, in the order of the story of Genesis 30: Bilhah before Zilpah, thus combining the hierarchical

<sup>98</sup> Fischer, *Die Erzeltern Israels*, 44. In a way, Hieke agrees here, when he notes that Keturah’s genealogy is dominated by her name, and is thus differentiated from the main line, the one of Isaac. “...der Sohn, der die Verheissungslinie trägt, ist durch die Mutter definiert: Es ist der einzige Sohn Saras, Isaak.” Hieke, *Die Genealogien*, 281.

<sup>99</sup> Naomi Steinberg, “The Genealogical Framework of the Family Stories in Genesis,” *Semeia* 46 (1989), 43

<sup>100</sup> Carol M. Kaminski, *From Noah to Israel*, Realization of the Primal Blessing After the Flood (T&T Clark International London/New York, 2004), 62.

<sup>101</sup> Kaminski sees the whole of Gen 37-50:26 as toledot of Jacob (Kaminski, *From Noah to Israel*, 62).

<sup>102</sup> Kaminski, *From Noah to Israel*, 62.

<sup>103</sup> Renaud, “Les généalogies et la structure”, 10-13.

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and the birth order.<sup>104</sup> The name of Dinah is missing. Fischer remarks that the story of Dinah might be a later tradition and is therefore not always inserted in the lineages.<sup>105</sup> Smith disagrees: the presence/absence of Dinah is according to him only dependent on the function of the genealogy.<sup>106</sup>

The list repeats the **בְּנֵי** Pattern six times, including introductory phrase and ending. Since it only covers two generations, we will not treat it further, but will mention it in the scheme of patterns. All four mothers of the sons of Jacob are only mentioned twice in genealogies, in Genesis 35 and in Genesis 46. Only Bilhah will once appear elsewhere in a genealogy, namely in the concluding phrase of the genealogies of her son(s) in I Chronicles 7.

### 2.11 Three genealogies of Esau, Genesis 36:1-19

The genealogy of Esau is repeated three times, namely in verses 1-5, 9-14 and 15-19.

#### Genealogy of Esau I, Genesis 36:1-5

The first genealogy only reaches the generation of the sons; the second and the third genealogy reach further to the generation of the grandsons of both Adah and Basemath. The list of Oholibamah's children never reaches the third generation. Verses 1-5 form a separate genealogy, with a separate heading and end, dominated by the wives. The word 'daughter(s)' is frequently used, in total five times. Esau took his wives from the daughters of Canaan: Adah and Oholibamah and Basemath, is added, though in marrying Basemath he tried to comply with the ideal of endogamy.<sup>107</sup> The whole genealogy is an extended **לָקַח וְנָתַן** Pattern. The verb **לָקַח** is used once, for all three marriages at once. After the taking, the three wives are giving birth separately:

introduction

**לָקַח**

וְאֵלֶּה תִּלְדוּת עֵשָׂו הוּא אָדָם

עֵשָׂו לָקַח אֶת נְשָׂיו מִבְּנוֹת כְּנָעַן

אֶת עֵדָה בַּת אֵילֹן הַחֲמִי

<sup>104</sup> Smith points to two other possible reasons for the order Bilhah-Zilpah: Bilhah's position might have become more important after the death of Rachel, or the intention might be that Leah's division encloses the whole list. Smith, *The Role of Mothers*, 53.

<sup>105</sup> Fischer, *Die Erzeltern Israels*, 49.

<sup>106</sup> Smith, *The Role of Mothers*, 42,43.

<sup>107</sup> Lemche stresses that exogamous marriages were not unheard of, though there was a preference for endogamous marriages, at least in the first four generations of Terah's lineage. From the fifth generation "exogamous marriages pervade the scene, even though we have little concrete information." (273) Lemche points as an example to Moses and Aaron, who both married outside their own tribe, the tribe of Levi. Lemche, *Early Israel*, 272-273.



וְאֵת אֶהְלִיבָמָה בַּת עֲנָה בַת צְבֻעוֹן הַחִוִּי  
 וְאֵת בְּשֵׁמֶת בַּת יִשְׁמָעֵאל אֶחָוִת נְכִיּוֹת  
 וְנִמְלֵךְ עָדָה לְעֵשָׂו  
 וּבְשֵׁמֶת נִלְכְּדָה אֵת רְעוּזָאֵל  
 וְאֶהְלִיבָמָה נִלְכְּדָה אֵת יַעֲיִשׁ וְאֵת יַעֲלָם וְאֵת קָרַח  
 אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי עֵשָׂו אֲשֶׁר יָקְדוּ לוֹ בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן

נמלך: one son  
 נלכה: one son  
 נלכה: three sons  
 conclusion: בְּנֵי Pattern and Passive



In the conclusion we find the בְּנֵי Pattern and the Passive Pattern, with a geographical indication, as is more often the case in this pattern. Each wife has her own genealogical background. Adah is called the daughter of Elon the Hittite; Oholibamah the daughter of Anah daughter of Zibeon the Hivite. Especially this short backwards genealogy of Oholibamah in Genesis 36 is interesting. There is gender confusion about her parent Anah (compare 36:14, 20, 25). In this text Anah seems to be a woman. There is double female descent in 36:39 too, in the genealogy of the wife of the last king of Edom mentioned: his wife’s name was Mehetabel, the daughter of Matred, daughter of Mezahab, וְנִשְׂמָה אִשְׁתּוֹ מְהֵיטָבָאֵל בַּת-מַטְרֵד בַּת חַי זָהָב. So we find the Backwards Pattern twice, in both cases for genealogies of women.

Basemath is called daughter and sister. She is Ishmael’s daughter, sister of Nebaioth. Oholibamah’s and Adah’s name are absent in the list of wives of Esau in Genesis 26:34 and Genesis 28:9. The names of the three wives and their lineages are there: Judith, the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and Basemath daughter of Elon the Hittite and Mahalath daughter of Abraham’s son Ishmael and sister to Nebaioth.<sup>108</sup> Only the name Basemath returns in Genesis 36, but she is now no longer a Hittite but a descendant of Abraham through Ishmael, carrying the genealogical background of Mahalath, whose name has disappeared in the Masoretic text. Basemath’s former genealogical background is now given to Adah, an example of the malleability of genealogies.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Hoekveld interprets the names of Judith and Oholibamah as two cities, namely Jerusalem and Gibeon/Bethel. Timna would be the crucial Sicheim/Shechem (Nablus). Most wars in the OT are about the Schechem Pass according to the geographer Hoekveld. She states that Edom was in possession of these places around 480 BC. Gen 36 would illustrate the complicated political situation after the exile, with different groups of Jews either trying to come back from Egypt or from Babylon, or being in Canaan, and with Edom as either helper (for the Egyptian Jews) or enemy (for the Babylonian/ Canaanite Jews). All these political and military entanglements would be expressed in especially the names in Gen 36 (Leitwort method). Gerda Hoekveld-Meijer, “Ezau in Kampen”, 30-42: *Communiqué* nr. 1 (1996), 40. Gen 36 might have functioned “...in een soort oorlogstribunaal waarin de profeten Edom aanwijzen als de dader en Israel als het slachtoffer, terwijl de bijbelschrijver de rollen in dit historische drama omdraait en vooral ook het etnisch criterium verwerpt” (in a kind of war crimes tribunal in which the prophets identify Edom as the perpetrator and Israel as the victim, whereas the biblical author turns the roles in this historical drama around and dismisses the ethnic criterium, HK), Hoekveld, “Ezau in Kampen”, 42. Ultimately, Esau/Edom would be a candidate for the succession to the Davidic throne, by descent and marriage. Hoekveld, *Esau in Disguise*, 59.

<sup>109</sup> Crüsemann points to the tension in the different lists of the wives of Esau: “Especially the data concerning the names and origin of the wives of Esau in 26:34; 28:9 and 36 can hardly be brought into agreement.” Crüsemann, “Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity”, 61. Heard states to this divergence in names: “... the narrator simply did not

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The verb ילד occurs four times; three times in the Qal Feminine, once in the concluding verse in the Pual (Qal passive). Apart from the conclusion, the word בְּנֵי does not occur. In fact, in this first genealogy of Esau the pattern is not formed by בְּנֵי but by the Female Pattern.

Adah is always heading the list of wives, but the order of the other wives in verses 2-3 and in verses 4-5 differs. Basemath is last in verses 2-3, second in verses 4-5; Oholibamah is second in verses 2-3, last in verses 4-5. As Wilson states: “this second sequence of names rather than the first becomes the pattern followed by the other genealogies which mention Esau’s wives and sons.”<sup>110</sup> The לְקַח of the first genealogy is repeated in the short narrative that follows, describing how Esau took his family and cattle to leave Canaan.

### Genealogy of Esau II, Genesis 36:9-14

This second genealogy resembles the בְּנֵי Pattern of Genesis 10 and especially the בְּנֵי Pattern that will be described below for Genesis 46. The pattern in Genesis 36:9-14 is however less regular than the one in Genesis 46. It starts in verse 9, with the repetition of the תולדות heading:

heading I

וְאֵלֶּה תְּלֻדֹת עֵשָׂו

heading II

אֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי עֵשָׂו

The second heading: אֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי עֵשָׂו promises a list of the names of Esau, but contrary to what is announced only the names of the sons Eliphaz ben Adah and of Reuel ben Basemath are given; the names of the sons of Oholibamah are left out. The sons are connected to the mothers by a single ascending בְּנֵי. The pattern of the first two subdivisions is, as in Genesis 46 below:

introduction: name of son

אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי / וְיִקְרָא

conclusion: name of mother

אֵלֶּה (קִי) בְּנֵי

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care about getting the names of Esau’s wives right.” Heard, *Dynamics*, 135. This is in line with his interesting thesis, that the side-branches, namely of Lot (Moabite/Ammonite neighbours), Ishmael (Arabian/Egyptian) and Esau (Edomite), must be removed or remove themselves from any claim on the land of Canaan (Yehud). The narrator is therefore not too interested in their family lines. I agree that the lineages of the side-branches are indeed abandoned after the initial genealogies -the editor/author clearly focuses on one line only- but still, we see that the genealogy of Esau gets the full attention in Gen 36. The genealogy of Esau is clearly of more interest to the author/editor than the lineages of Lot or Ishmael. Hoekveld, as explained above, has a challenging thesis to interpret this preference.

<sup>110</sup> Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 205.



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and the sons of Oholibamah) and has no confusing second heading.<sup>112</sup> A new term is used: אֱלוֹהִי.<sup>113</sup> This term precedes the names of the sons. As Westermann says: “Seen from the tribal perspective, the sons become chiefs.”<sup>114</sup> The pattern is as follows:

general heading	אֱלֹהֵי בְנֵי עֵשָׂו
heading subdivision I: name son	בְּנֵי אֱלִיפֹז בְּכוֹר עֵשָׂו
seven times אֱלוֹהִי	
conclusion I: name son	אֱלֹהֵי אֱלִיפֹז בְּאָרְזֵי אָדָם
conclusion I: name mother	אֱלֹהֵי בְנֵי עֵדָה
heading subdivision II: name son	וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי רַעֲוֹאֵל בְּנוֹ עֵשָׂו
four times אֱלוֹהִי	
conclusion II: name son	אֱלֹהֵי אֱלִיפֹז רַעֲוֹאֵל בְּאָרְזֵי אָדָם
conclusion II: name mother	אֱלֹהֵי בְנֵי בְשֵׁמֶת אִשְׁתֵּי עֵשָׂו
heading subdivision III: name mother	וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי אֶהְלִיבְמָה אִשְׁתֵּי עֵשָׂו
three times אֱלוֹהִי	
conclusion III: name mother	אֱלֹהֵי אֶהְלִיבְמָה בַּת עֵנָה אִשְׁתֵּי עֵשָׂו
general conclusion	אֱלֹהֵי בְנֵי עֵשָׂו וְאֵלֶּה אֱלֹהֵי עֵדָה הֵם הָאָדָם

In the section of Eliphaz/Adah there are now seven sons, instead of six in Genealogy II (five + Amalek). Amalek is not distinguished, but added as the last, seventh son. His mother does not figure in the list. The name Korah is inserted, possibly as a dittography from the Korah in the list of descendants of Oholibamah. The order of Gatam and Kenaz is reversed. Adah misses the epithet ‘wife of Esau’.

Oholibamah’s subdivision is different again. She heads her own subdivision instead of her son(s), as above (14). She has her own genealogical reference, this time only reaching her parent. In this third subdivision the second conclusion is not necessary since the name of the wife has been told already. The phrase אֱלֹהֵי בְנֵי עֵשָׂו becomes the general conclusion of this third genealogy of Esau: אֱלֹהֵי בְנֵי עֵשָׂו וְאֵלֶּה אֱלֹהֵי עֵדָה. Overall, apart from the usual deviation in Oholibamah’s subdivision, this genealogy is very regular and well structured. The verb יָלַד is not used. The word בַּת occurs once, in the genealogical reference of Oholibamah. Timna is absent.

<sup>112</sup> It is confusing, while contrary to the heading only two of the five sons are listed afterwards.

<sup>113</sup> Crüsemann describes the tension in the genealogies of Gen 36: “..., in the listing of the ‘princes’ (‘*aluf*) of Edom in vv. 15ff., a different organization of the tribes is evidenced, over against vv. 4-14 “, Crüsemann, “Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity”, 61.

<sup>114</sup> Westermann, *Genesis*, 250.

Wilson sees the special place of Oholibamah too but interprets it differently. He regards her position to be inferior to the other wives of Esau, possibly an indication of the inferior social position of her people, the Horites.<sup>115</sup> Wilson does not recognise the ownership<sup>116</sup> of a mother heading a genealogy, which in my opinion elevates her status. In Genesis 46 Rachel has the same exceptional position as Oholibamah in Genesis 36. She heads her own subdivision, which Wilson interprets as being placed on the level of a son. Following Wilson's reasoning, the sons of Rachel would be less important than the sons of the other wives, since their mother functions at the level of the sons, and they would consequently have the position of grandsons. Clearly this is not the case. A mother heading a genealogical subdivision in a segmented genealogy seems to imply a certain prominence of this special wife. The similarities to Rachel's position might lead to a different interpretation of Oholibamah's role. Maybe her position as daughter of the land of Seir backs up geographical claims of Esau.<sup>117</sup>

### Function of Genesis 36

Steinberg regards the genealogies of Esau in Genesis 36 as the superscription to the genealogy of Jacob in Genesis 37:2. After Genesis 36 the moving stories of the sons of Jacob will follow.<sup>118</sup> Gerda Hoekveld points to the special, significant place of Genesis 36: in the middle, between two exiles, namely the Aramean exile (28-35) and the Egyptian exile (37-50). Genesis 36, as part of Genesis-II Kings, is according to Hoekveld mostly about the conduct of people: "The central problem in an analysis of texts about historical persons is an ethical question: was his or her or their conduct good or bad?" This evaluation is based on the law, placed "in the middle of the Egyptian Israelite history."<sup>119</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 218.

<sup>116</sup> The term of Kelso for a person present in heading and/or conclusion of a genealogy, who therefore owns the genealogy. Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?*, 112-113.

<sup>117</sup> Nolland neutrally states: „The reasons are no longer accessible to us for the mention of Lotan's sister by name and of Oholibamah as daughter of Anah, nor for the inclusion in the case of king Hadar of not only his wife's name, but also her mother's name and her grandmother's name, but it is likely that these inclusions evoke features of a history which is no longer accessible to us." Nolland, "Genealogical Annotation", 121-122.

<sup>118</sup> Naomi Steinberg, "The Genealogical Framework of the Family Stories in Genesis," *Semeia* 46 (1989), 43.

<sup>119</sup> Gerda Hoekveld-Meijer, *Esau in Disguise*, 36. Hoekveld generally pleads for a positive reevaluation of Esau/Edom, against the extremely negative reception of the Esau character in later writings: "But to this day, Esau is remembered as the criminal." Hoekveld, *Esau in Disguise*, 38. The prophets are responsible for this negative image, where the law is positive towards Esau/Edom. Hoekveld has an interesting interpretation of Lev 19:11-18 as applying to Edom during and after the exile (read Edom for neighbour/fellow-countryman): "The people of Edom are the brothers and neighbours of Israel, and after 586 BCE also their countrymen." Hoekveld, *ibidem*, 39.

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I agree with Hoekveld that the genealogies are indeed placed on pivotal points of Genesis. As such, they form essential bridges between the stories.<sup>120</sup> Genesis 36 forms the bridge between the story of the competition of Jacob and Esau and the Joseph Novella. It rounds off these stories of Jacob and Esau with the genealogy of the least important son, Esau, before continuing with the stories of the descendants of his brother, starting with the superscription: אֵלֶּה תְּלִדוֹת יַעֲקֹב.

### Esau's Genealogies and Women

There is a surprising number of references to women in Esau's genealogies.<sup>121</sup> The texts abound with female names. Especially in the first two genealogies there are hardly any verses without female names. No less than five women figure in these three short texts. Several women figure more than once. The names of Adah, Basemath and Oholibamah each occur five times in these three genealogies. Adah and Basemath twice in the first two genealogies and once in the last; Oholibamah twice in the first and last and once in the middle one. We will also find her name in the next lineage, of the sons of Seir, as one of the two women mentioned and again in verse 40, among the names of the chiefs. Three times the lineage of Oholibamah is added, so her mother's name Anah also occurs three times, twice with the name of the grandfather. Apart from these four women, we find a sole reference to Timna in verse 12, as mother of Amalek, wife of Eliphaz, Esau's son. She is also of Horite descent and is present in the genealogy of Seir. In segmented genealogies mothers matter. As Naomi Steinberg writes: "..., the inclusion of Adah's and other women's names in the Genesis 36 genealogy indicates the importance of women and marriage for understanding the formation of kinship and descent groups in the world described in the Book of Genesis."<sup>122</sup> Seifert in her very complete study of the daughter in OT even states that Esau's genealogy was written as a genealogy of his wives: "Ungewöhnlich erscheint die Edomitergenealogie in Gen 36. Hier werden neben den Männern auch Ehefrauen, Mütter und selbst Töchter mit Namen aufgeführt. Esaus Genealogie wird in ihren Verästelungen bis in die Enkelgeneration als Genealogie seiner Frauen geschrieben."<sup>123</sup>

<sup>120</sup>Also Wilson: "Scholars have long noted that Gen. 36 as a whole has a literary function in the structure of this portion of the book of Genesis." [...] "The genealogy of Esau in Gen. 36 thus has the literary function of linking the narrative complexes which precede and follow it." Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 22.

<sup>121</sup> Nolland sees in the prominent role of women in Gen 36 a point of "obvious similarity with Matthew's genealogy." Nolland, "Genealogical Annotation", 120.

<sup>122</sup> Article on Adah 2 of Naomi Steinberg in: Carol Meyers Toni Craven, Ross S. Kraemer, *Women in Scripture, A Dictionary of Named and Unnamed Women in the Hebrew Bible, the Apocryphal/ Deuterocanonical Books, and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids/ Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2000), 47.

<sup>123</sup> Elke Seifert, *Tochter und Vater im Alten Testament, Eine ideologiekritische Untersuchung zur Verfügungsgewalt von Vätern über ihre Töchter* (Neukirchen/Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1997), 158.

Clearly, there is a firm tradition for Esau's marriage to a Hittite girl, but names and descent of his wives are interchangeable. However, three things are similar and fixed in the narrative stories and in the genealogies: Esau is married to three women; he is married to two foreign women among whom at least one Hittite; he is married to his cousin.

In the genealogies in Genesis 36 the Hittite Adah<sup>124</sup> always carries the position of first wife, mother of the firstborn son, but the other wives change positions. Special in the genealogies is the prominent position of Oholibamah. There is a tendency to make her the last wife in Genesis 36 (genealogy I, II and III). Only in the introductory sentences in genealogy I she is mentioned as second wife, following the narrative tradition in which Esau marries a family member after his marriage to two foreigners. Whether she is regarded as the second wife (following the narrative tradition) or as third wife, in her subdivision there are always deviations to the pattern. This might be the explanation to her often figuring as the third and last wife since deviations are easier inserted at the end of a pattern.

Oholibamah heads the last subdivisions. Her own descent is segmented into three sons. This follows the structure of the linear genealogy:

- one son (by Adah)
- one son (by Basemath)
- three sons (by Oholibamah)

This final extension to three sons is reminiscent of the final clauses, the climax, of the linear genealogies in Genesis 5 and 11. This similarity seems to underline Oholibamah's prominent position, since the parent of the three sons is the (initial) focus of the linear genealogy. Intriguing is also Oholibamah's double female descent. Are the names mentioned as her ancestors, male or female? Is Anah a woman or a man? The name can be either male or female.<sup>125</sup> The name of the grandparent of Oholibamah, Zibeon, seems to point to a man (compare Gen 36:25).

Basemath is also important as sister. She is the only one whose brother's name is given too. All genealogical references to daughters are references to wives, with only one exception, namely verse 6, an enumeration of all Esau's people, animals and property, which is part of the narrative insertion between the first and second genealogy. No daughter of Esau has won herself a name in

<sup>124</sup> According to Carol Meyers Adah, meaning ornament, adornment, was a common name in the ancient Semitic world. We also find an Adah in the segmented genealogy of Gen 4 (17-19). Carol Meyers on Adah 1 in: Meyers e.a., *Women in Scripture*, 46.

<sup>125</sup> Carol Meyers e.a., *Women in Scripture*, 49

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his genealogy. Only one daughter-in-law is mentioned: Timna. Is she the same Timna as the sister of Lotan in verse 22? And why is her name figuring with Oholibamah's name in the list of the names of the chiefs of Esau?

### 2.12 Genealogy of Seir, Genesis 36:20-30

This genealogy list systematically the sons of Seir. Verses 20-21 list those seven descendants; verses 22-28 their descendants. Number four and five of the seven descendants, Anah and Dishon, are respectively grandson and great-grandson, but taken up among the בְּנֵי. The genealogy thus reaches the third generation<sup>126</sup> and in verse 26 even the fourth generation. Verses 29-30 list the seven descendants again, now called אֱלֹפִי הַחֲרִי. These last verses are often taken separately and called the Horite chief list.<sup>127</sup> Verses 29-30 function as a conclusion, forming an inclusio with the word אֱלֹפִי in the introduction.<sup>128</sup> The pattern is as follows:

#### introduction

אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי שְׁעִיר הַחֲרִי יֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ

seven בְּנֵי of Seir:

Lotan, Shobal, Zibeon, Anah, Dishon, Ezer, Dishan

#### conclusion

אֵלֶּה אֱלֹפִי הַחֲרִי בְּנֵי שְׁעִיר בְּאֶרֶץ אֲדוֹם

Lotan: two sons

וַיְהִיו בְּנֵי

and the sister of Lotan, Timna

וַאֲחֹת לֹטָן תִּמְנָע

Shobal: five sons

וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי

Zibeon: Aiah and Anah

וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי

Anah (grandson): Dishon and Oholibamah,  
daughter of Anah

וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי

בִּתְיָעָנָה

Dishon (great-grandson): four sons

וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי

Ezer: three sons

וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי

Dishan: two sons

<sup>126</sup> Wilson remarks on this genealogy of Seir: "Like the preceding Edomite genealogies, this one is in list form and extends to a depth of three generations." Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 208

<sup>127</sup> Jerome explains the order of Esau's genealogy and the Horite chief list as follows: "after Scripture has recounted the sons of Esau, it goes back further and explains who were the chiefs before Esau in the land of Edom from the family of the Chorraei", which he translates as 'free men'. Hayward, *Jerome*, 74

<sup>128</sup> Wilson states on the appearance of the word אֱלֹפִי in the introduction: "This formula seems to be out of place at this point, for the list of chiefs does not actually appear until 36:29-30." Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 209.



**introduction**

אלה אלופי החרי

seven אלופי החרי:

Lotan, Shobal, Zibeon, Anah, Dishon, Ezer, Dishan

**conclusion**

אלה אלופי החרי לאלפיהם בארץ שעיר

The list has no names of the wife/wives of Seir. There are therefore no subdivisions of groups of sons. The genealogy of Seir contains names figuring in the genealogy of Esau. In Genesis 36:24 Anah, described as a daughter in Esau's genealogy, is definitely a man. Genesis 36:25 contains the name of the most important wife of Esau in the genealogies, Oholibamah. She is listed among the בני. She is among the sons, but clearly recognisable by the addition 'daughter of'.<sup>129</sup> There is one daughter of Seir mentioned by name in this genealogy, namely Timna. She might be the same as the פילגש of Eliphaz in verse 12. She does not appear to us as a daughter, but as a sister. Not as we might expect, as an addition to the list of seven descendants (for example '...and Timna their sister'), but as an addition to the list of בני of the firstborn son of Seir, Lothan. Lothan as firstborn brother apparently has a special relationship with Timna. Maybe they had the same mother. Or did Lothan as first son have a special authority over his sister? Interestingly, a Timna, maybe this same Timna, later becomes the פילגש of another firstborn son, Eliphaz.<sup>130</sup> The names of Oholibamah, Timna and Anah link the genealogies of Esau and of Seir together. The verb ילד is not used in the list of Seir.

There is confusion about the name Dishan in verse 26, presumably to be read as Dishon, the great-grandson of Seir. This segmented genealogy describes mainly two generations: the sons in the introduction and conclusion and their sons in between. But in one case the genealogy stretches to further generations, namely in the case of Anah. Contrary to his cousins, Anah receives special attention. A short narrative explanation is added, and his lineage is described. Anah's בני are Dishon and Oholibamah. Why is the list of sons of Seir extended in this case? It seems likely that the author wants to reach Oholibamah's generation, Oholibamah being the main character of the genealogies of Esau. But the genealogy still stretches further, to Dishon's descendants. Why are Hemdan, Eshban, Ithran, and Cheran so important that their names are preserved as the only ones of the fourth generation from Seir? The term בני should not be taken too literally. It can include descendants of various degrees and gender. In this short lineage we find a grandson and great-

<sup>129</sup> We find similar examples of such a construction in Gen 46:17 for Serah (with 'their sister') and in I Chron 5:29 for Miriam (without any female epithet).

<sup>130</sup> Jerome sees Timna as the same woman who was concubine to Eliphaz and regards her the main reason the Horite chief list was inserted, to give her genealogical background. Hayward, *Jerome*, 7.4

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grandson and a daughter listed among the בני. In the conclusion in verses 29-30 the names of the sons are repeated, but now they have become chiefs as in Esau's second genealogy.

The last part of Genesis 36, the Edomite King List is not a genealogy, since the kingship described in this list is not hereditary. This list ends with the interesting parallel to Oholibamah's descent through the mother. This short text is in fact an extraordinary, fully female, backwards genealogy, three generations in depth. We read the names of the mother and possibly the grandmother of queen Mehetabel.<sup>131</sup> The female genealogy ends the Edomite King List. Exceptional information is often found as seen above, at the ending of a pattern.

The whole chapter is concluded by the list of chiefs descended from Esau, taking up several names from Esau's genealogy, among whom surprisingly Timna and Oholibamah. Oholibamah and Timna form not only a connection between the Edomite and the Horite genealogies, but also between these genealogies and the final Edomite chief list. This underlines the prominence of their names.

### 2.13 List of Israelites coming to Egypt, Genesis 46:8-27

Genesis 46 differs from the genealogies treated above in its function. Its function is to list all the descendants of the children of the 12 sons of Jacob who joined him in escaping the famine and immigrating to Egypt. There is some discussion whether Genesis 46 is in fact a genealogy. We will treat it as a genealogy since it covers three and in some cases even four generations. It also shares the characteristics of the pattern of a segmented genealogy with Genesis 36. Nolland, though not counting Genesis 46 strictly as a genealogy, still recognises that the text has a similar function, namely as a 'compressed telling of the history that stands behind it.'<sup>132</sup> For him "It is evident that Genesis 46:8-27 provides a kind of digest, and in that sense a retelling, of at least important aspects of Genesis 28-41."<sup>133</sup> Genesis 46 is dominated by the בני Pattern:

<sup>131</sup> Nolland regards the name as referring to the grandmother of the queen and sees this as another example of the similarity with Mat 1. Nolland, "Genealogical Annotation", 120. Naomi Steinberg leaves it open but states also: "the listing of these three women in the Edomite genealogy indicates that they married into this patrilineage from kingship groups outside the Edomite descent line.". Steinberg on Mehetabel in: Meyers e.a., *Women in Scripture*, 124.

<sup>132</sup> Nolland, "Genealogical Annotation", 115

<sup>133</sup> Nolland, "Genealogical Annotation", 121

**general introduction**

introduction Reuben

Reuben: four sons

Simeon: six sons including Shaul, son of  
the Canaanite woman

Levi: three sons

Judah: five sons - two died

Perez: two sons

Issachar: four sons

Zebulun: three sons

**total sons of Leah & daughter Dinah: 33**

+ Independent Female

Gad: seven sons

Asher: four sons

and their sister Serah

Beriah: two sons

**total sons of Zilpah: 16**

+ Independent Female

Rachel: Joseph and Benjamin

Passive Pattern and Independent Female

for Joseph and Aseneth: two sons

Benjamin: ten sons

**total sons of Rachel: 14**

+ Passive Pattern

Dan: one son

Naphtali: four sons

**total sons of Bilhah: seven**

+ Independent Female

**conclusion: 66**

sons of Joseph in Egypt: two

+ Passive Pattern

**final conclusion: 70**

ואלה שמות בני ישראל הבאים מצרימה יעקב ובניו

בְּכֹר יַעֲקֹב רְאוּבֵן

וּבְנֵי רְאוּבֵן

וּבְנֵי שִׁמְעוֹן

וְשֹׂאֵל בֶּן הַכְּנַעֲנִית

וּבְנֵי לֵוִי

וּבְנֵי יְהוּדָה

וַיְהִי בְנֵי פֶרֶץ

וּבְנֵי יִשָּׁשְׂכָר

וּבְנֵי זְבֻלֹן

אלה בני לאה אשר ילדה ליעקב בַּפְּדוּן אָרָם

וְאֵת דִּינָה בְּתוּ

וּבְנֵי גָד

וּבְנֵי אָשֶׁר

וְשֵׁרָה אֲחֵתָם

וּבְנֵי בְרִיעָה חָבֵר וּמְלִכִּיאֵל

אלה בני זלפה אשר נטו לכו ללאה בתו וּמְלִדָה אֵת אֵלֶּה לַיַּעֲקֹב

בְּנֵי רַחֵל אֵשֶׁת יַעֲקֹב יוֹסֵף וּבִנְיָמִן

וַיְנַלְד לְיוֹסֵף בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם

אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה לוֹ אֶסְנַת בַּת פּוּטִי פְרַע כֹּהֵן אֵן

וּבְנֵי בִנְיָמִן

אלה בני רחל אשר ילד ליעקב

וּבְנֵי דָן חַשִׁים

וּבְנֵי נַפְתָּלִי

אלה בני בלהה אשר נטו לכו לרחל בתו וּמְלִדָה אֵת אֵלֶּה לַיַּעֲקֹב

כֹּל הַנֶּפֶשׁ הַבָּאָה לַיַּעֲקֹב מִצְרַיִם

וּבְנֵי יוֹסֵף אֲשֶׁר יָלְדוּ לוֹ בְּמִצְרַיִם נֶפֶשׁ שְׁנַיִם

כֹּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ לְבֵית יַעֲקֹב הַבָּאָה מִצְרַיִם

## Chapter 2

Genesis 46:8 starts with the general introduction of the בני Pattern. The noun בני and the names Israel/Jacob form a chiasmus: בני Israel – Jacob ובניו. The introduction does not have the usual תלדו, but makes the intention of the enumeration clear: all Israelites are going to Egypt. The title תלדו of Jacob was already used in Genesis 37. The conclusion in 46:26,27 gives the sum total of the émigrés. The pattern of the divisions is:

(name of son of Israel) בני repeated  
(name of wife/concubine of Israel) אלה בני conclusion

This pattern is by now familiar from Genesis 36. It is typical for a segmented genealogy, including the names of the mothers. Genesis 46 has the names of all four mothers, as did the two-generation list in Genesis 35. After this we will only find Bilhah again, in I Chronicles 7:13.

In total we can distinguish four separate parts, namely 9-15, 16-18, 19-22 and 23-25. In all four parts we find the word daughter. Dinah<sup>134</sup> is named in the first part. The unusual phrasing for Dinah, ואת דינה בתו, grasped the attention of interpreters. In the Babylonian Talmud, there is even a general statement derived from it: “Scripture thus ascribes the males to the females and the females to the males.”<sup>135</sup> The sons are indeed attributed to the mothers; the daughter to the father. In the second and fourth part the word daughter refers to Leah and Rachel as daughters of Laban. They recall that it was the father-in-law himself, Laban, who gave these servants to his daughters.<sup>136</sup> In the third part the family background of Asenath is given. In the second part there is one daughter among the בני, namely Serah in verse 17, with the addition אההם. Genesis 36 has the same listing of a daughter among the בני, but with the addition (name of the father) בתה. Daughters can also be listed under the בני, without any indication of them being a daughter/sister, like Miriam in I Chronicles 5:29 and probably Maacah in Genesis 22:24.

The third part of the genealogy of Genesis 46 (verses 19-22) is different. It starts with בני instead of ובני, interrupting the pattern. Where the other parts start with the name of the eldest son,

<sup>134</sup> Fischer points to the uncertainty surrounding the tradition of Dinah as daughter of Jacob. The notice of her birth differs from the ones of the sons; Dinah is missing in the list of Gen 35:23 and in the enumeration in Gen 32:23. So Dinah’s name is not consistently inserted, which would not have happened to an additional son, Fischer adds. Fischer, *Die Erzeltern Israels*, 49, note 142.

<sup>135</sup> Introduced by: “R. Zadok came and explained it: These are the sons of Leah, whom she bore unto Jacob in Paddan-aram, with his daughter Dinah, Scripture thus ascribes the males to the females and the females to the males.” Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein, transl., *The Babylonian Talmud* Seder Tohoroth, Tractate Niddah Folio 31a (London: The Soncino Press, 1959), 217. The sons are attributed to the mother and the only daughter to the father.

<sup>136</sup> For Smith this phrase indicating the giving of Zilpah to Leah and Bilhah to Rachel is the reason why the genealogies of Zilpah and Bilhah are treated directly after those of their mistresses, instead of the order Leah-Rachel-Bilhah-Zilpah, we found earlier. Smith, *The Role of Mothers*, 55.

this part starts and ends with the name of a wife, Rachel. Rachel stands out among the wives<sup>137</sup> as Oholibamah in the genealogy of Esau. And Rachel is the only wife of Jacob actually called so. Rachel's grandchildren, Ephraim and Manasseh, do not take the place of their father yet, as in Numbers 26 and in I Chronicles. Asenath is the only daughter-in-law mentioned by name and even receives a family background. The only other daughter-in-law mentioned in this genealogy is also a foreign woman, namely the Canaanitic mother of Shaul, the son of Simeon, but she does not receive a name.

The fourth part is regular again, starting with the name of the son and ending with the name of the mother. It lists the sons of Dan and Naphtali. The  $\text{נָּן}$  Pattern is used for Hashum (Hushim), Dan's son, even though he is an only son. The introductory  $\text{נָּן}$  can be used regardless of the number and gender of the descendants.<sup>138</sup>

All four parts end with a figure of the number of persons named in that part. Especially in Leah's part the calculation is confusing. The sum of her sons (six), her grandsons (25 - two plus two great-grandsons) and the single daughter is 32. To reach 33, either Jacob must be added to the number, as suggested by Ibn Ezra<sup>139</sup>, or Jochebed, as suggested by Rashi.<sup>140</sup> In all these calculations Dinah is included.<sup>141</sup> The original number might also be 32. The servant girl of Rachel has half the number of Rachel's descendants (14). So it would be logical that Zilpah's number of descendants, 16, is also half the number of the descendants of her mistress Leah. But of course, the number 32 would not have resulted in the round total sum of 70 persons. In this genealogy, Zilpah is listed after Leah and Bilhah after Rachel.

The verb  $\text{יָלַד}$  appears in Genesis 46 in Qal Feminine and in the passive. The passive  $\text{יָלְדָה}$  is used for Joseph and for Rachel. For Leah, Zilpah and Bilhah the active  $\text{יָלַד}$  is used. The birth of Ephraim and Manasseh is described by both Passive and Female Pattern. No Qal Masculine is found. The absence of Qal Masculine is explained by a growing need for grammatical distinction

<sup>137</sup> For Fischer, the reason that Rachel stands out lies in the special position of her son Joseph: "Dadurch erhält ihre Liste eine besondere Betonung, die wohl durch die Sonderstellung Josefs bedingt ist." Fischer, *Die Erzeltern Israels*, 50.

<sup>138</sup> See for more examples under I Chron 2:7.

<sup>139</sup> Ibn Ezra on Gen 46:23 sefaria.org. He comes to this solution after pointing out how ridiculous the suggestion is that Moses' mother Jochebed might have to be included in the number, since her age at giving birth to Moses would have been incredibly high.

<sup>140</sup> ושלש שלשים THIRTY THREE — But in the enumeration above you will find only thirty-two. The one whose name is omitted is Jochebed who was born "between the walls" just as they entered the border city, as it is said. 'Jochebed, the daughter of Levi, whom her mother bore to Levi in Egypt'— she was born in Egypt, but she was not conceived in Egypt." Rashi on Gen 46, sefaria.org. Thus, as a baby in the womb, she can still be part of the number of Israelites going to Egypt, according to Rashi.

<sup>141</sup> According to Fischer Dinah is not counted, but instead the deceased Er and Onan are still included in the number 33. According to Fischer, granddaughter Serah is not counted too. Still, she thinks that the list is also deliberately including women to make clear that not only men, but a people (Volk) went to Egypt. Fischer, *Die Erzeltern Israels*, 52-56.

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between the male and the female reproducing.<sup>142</sup> Only the Qal Feminine is left in P. It is interesting to see this results in a genealogy which does not describe male reproducing at all. Either the wife bears Jacob children, or else children are born to him. His own active involvement has disappeared, as in Genesis 36:1-5. The segmented genealogy, which includes wives, seems to prefer to use feminine or passive forms of ילד. Or put differently: in genealogies describing polygamous families the descent through the mother is dominant.

In Genesis 46 we find the form יִנְלֵד, pointed as a Niphal, and twice the form יָלַד, pointed as Pual. In all three cases the verb does not seem to agree with the noun in number. In the last two cases the verb follows אָשַׁר, referring back to בְּנֵי.<sup>143</sup> Apparently, especially after אָשַׁר, the sons are felt more as a collective noun than as a plural. The Niphal and Pual of ילד were originally Qal passive. Joüon/ Muraoka remark: “Likewise the perfect יָלַד *he was born* is passive qal: the meaning is that of the passive of Qal, not Piel which signifies *to deliver* (as a midwife...).”<sup>144</sup> Since the Masoretes no longer recognised this form, they pointed the perfect as a Pual, the imperfect as a Niphal<sup>145</sup>, thus explaining the passive forms we find in Genesis 46. Finally, for the perfect tense the Niphal replaced the Qal passive.<sup>146</sup> Hendel recognises 26 Qal passive perfects, among which 11 are in Genesis. He dates the transition of Qal passive to Niphal to sometime prior to the composition of Qohelet and Chronicles.<sup>147</sup> The Passive Pattern regularly includes an indication of time or place. In two of the three occurrences in Genesis 46 the indication “in (the land of) Egypt” is added to the pattern.

### 2.14 List of names of sons of Reuben and Simeon, genealogy of Levi, Exodus 6:14-25

The whole structure of the genealogy is complicated. Different patterns are used interchangeably. In the first part, Exodus 6:14-19, we only find the בְּנֵי Pattern:

<sup>142</sup> Hendel, “Begetting”, 39.

<sup>143</sup> We find the same in Gen 35:26 and in 1 Chron 3:1.

<sup>144</sup> Paul Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, translated and revised by T. Muraoka (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1996<sup>2</sup>), Volume I, Part 2, 167.

<sup>145</sup> Hendel, “Begetting”, 42-46.

<sup>146</sup> The Niphal perfect, found for instance in the similar text 1 Chron 3:1, dates from a later time. Hendel states: “The Niphal perfect only occurs in Qohelet and Chronicles, books composed during the Persian period.” Hendel, “Begetting”, 44.

<sup>147</sup> Hendel, “Begetting”, 44.

general heading	אלה ראשי בית־אבותם
בני Reuben: four sons	בני
conclusion Reuben	אלה משפחת
בני Simeon: six sons including Shaul, son of a Canaanite woman	בני וְשָׂאִיל בֶּן הַכְּנַעֲנִית
conclusion Simeon	אלה משפחת
בני Levi: Gershon, Kohath, Merari	וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי־לֵוִי לְתֹלְדֹתָם
age Levi	
בני Gershon: two sons - by their clans	בני לְמִשְׁפַּחַת
בני Kohath: four sons - age Kohath	בני age
בני Merari: two sons	בני
conclusion Levi	וְאֵלֶּה מִשְׁפַּחַת הַלֵּוִי לְתֹלְדֹתָם



In verse 15 the foreign mother of the last son of Simeon is added, as in Genesis 46. The third subdivision, namely of Levi (Ex 6:16-25) is different from the other two. The heading is larger than the general heading. This subdivision seems to end with the age of Levi, but in fact it continues with the next generation, of the descendants of Kohath. The other lineages, of Gershon and Merari, end here. Of the other sons of Israel, apart from Reuben, Simeon and Levi we hear nothing.

After the first conclusion the genealogy continues with the sons of Levi's second son Kohath, with a mixture of patterns. A different pattern is introduced for Amram, the first son of Kohath, namely the *וּתְלֵד לְקַח* Pattern. In this pattern mothers matter.

- 20 Amram *וּתְלֵד לְקַח* Jochebed *וַיִּקַּח*  
age of Amram
- 21 *וַיִּבְנֶי* (sons second son of Kohath)
- 22 *וַיִּבְנֶי* (sons fourth son of Kohath)
- 23 Aaron *וַיִּקַּח* Elisheba *וּתְלֵד*
- 24 *וַיִּבְנֶי* (sons of Korah, the first son of second son of Kohath)  
אלה משפחת הקרחה conclusion
- 25 Eleazar *וּתְלֵד לְקַח* daughter of Putiel *וַיִּקַּח*  
אלה ראשי אבות הלויים למשפחותם general conclusion

Verses 20, 23, 25 follow the pattern 'and he took to wife x (daughter/sister of y) and she bore him...'. They give an on-going lineage of Amram-Aaron-Eleazar-Phinehas. The genealogy using

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the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Pattern follows the descendants of Amram's brothers Izhar and Uzziel and of Izhar's son Korah, interrupting the line of descent of Amram. Or, to say it differently, the lineage of Amram is woven into the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Pattern genealogies of two of his brothers. The Chronicler adds in his two genealogies of Levi in I Chronicles 23 and 24 the four sons of the brother whose lineage is missing in Exodus 6, Hebron. We can conclude that the  $\text{לְקַח וְתִלְדָּה}$  Pattern, mentioning the mother by name, is used for the most important line of descent, whereas the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Pattern is used to briefly describe other branches of the genealogy. This focus is underlined by the addition of age: only Levi, Kohath and Amram receive an indication of age. So you immediately know that they are in the line of the fathers in Genesis 5 and 11, though their lifespan is considerably shorter (137 – 133 - 137).

The indication of age binds patterns 1 and 2 together. And the focus is underlined by the presence of women. Women are necessary in the  $\text{לְקַח וְתִלְדָּה}$  Pattern. In total three women are mentioned in this pattern: Jochebed, Elisheba and the nameless wife of Eleazar, "one of the daughters of Putiel". Through this, we know that in the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Pattern of Levi a daughter is missing: Jochebed, sister of Kohath. In Numbers 27 she is called explicitly daughter of Levi. The three women have their own genealogical reference. Two of them are (also) determined in relation to their brother, as 'sister of'. In the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Pattern there is only one woman mentioned: the nameless Canaanite mother of Simeon's son Shaul.<sup>148</sup> Other wives of Ruben and Simeon do not receive a place in these genealogies.

Exodus 6 starts as a genealogy of the sons of Israel, like Genesis 46. Then from Levi, it concentrates on the descendants of Levi and does not treat the other children of Jacob. As above, discussing Genesis 11:27-32, Marx sees this genealogy of Levi also as credits to the film of the narrative of the Levites.<sup>149</sup> The list of the sons of Aaron is repeated in the short  $\text{תּוֹלְדוֹת}$  of Aaron (and Moses) in Numbers 3:1-3. Numbers 3 starts with  $\text{וְאֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת אֶהְרֹן וּמִשֵּׁה}$ , but continues with a two-generation genealogical reference of Aaron. There, the additional information is given that the first two sons of Aaron died when they offered unholy fire before the Lord in the wilderness of Sinai, making Eleazar the eldest remaining son. Johnson sees this as a duplication, that you find more

<sup>148</sup> Richard Freund's general thesis is that nameless women are mostly portrayed in a negative way; if women are positively portrayed, they receive a name. Richard A. Freund, "Naming Names: Some Observations on 'Nameless Women' Traditions in the MT, LXX, and Hellenistic Literature", *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 6 (1992):213-232. This might be true for the Canaanite mother of Simeon, but the mother of Phineas is clearly an example of the opposite. The daughter of Jephthah is the most famous example of a nameless, righteous woman.

Smith suggests that the surprising start of the genealogies with the descendants of Reuben and Simeon might be a sign that we have here "the beginning of an older tribal genealogy", inserted by the author. Smith, *The Role of Mothers*, 61.

<sup>149</sup> Marx, "La généalogie d'Exode VI", 329: "Elle se veut étroitement liée à une narration et joue par rapport à celle-ci, du moins pour ce qui est des lévites, une fonction des générique, en indiquant le nom et la lignée des lévites dont il sera question par la suite."



often: “a similar duplication occurs also in the case of Noah<sup>150</sup> and Terah.”<sup>151</sup> Johnson regards the תולדות of Aaron as the culmination point of the תולדות book: “While in the Priestly narrative Moses and the institutions established through him (the Torah) stand at the center, in the Toledoth book it is Aaron who marks the culmination of prehistory and the founding of the cultus.”<sup>152</sup>

The whole genealogy in Exodus 6 culminates in Phinehas, to whom God will give the covenant of an eternal priesthood. Moses is only named as son; Miriam is not mentioned at all. Rainer Kessler sees generally a repression of Miriam in the Pentateuch (and of Aaron in the narrative parts): “Mirjam führt vollends eine Randexistenz.”<sup>153</sup> If a reference to the Torah is there in the name of Moses, and the cult is the culmination of the genealogy, prophecy in Miriam is missing. Marx develops from the genealogy in Exodus 6 his theory on the presence of diptych structures, combining genealogies in the Pentateuch. Exodus 6 is according to Marx the second panel of a diptych of which the first part is the genealogy of Genesis 46.<sup>154</sup> In the charts we will put Genesis 46 and Numbers 26 together, as similar genealogies.

According to Johnson Exodus 6:14-25 “is probably by the same hand as the core of Genesis 10.”<sup>155</sup> Genesis 10 is also a mixed pattern, but with different patterns mixed, namely Qal Masculine and בְּנֵי. Here in Exodus however, we find תַּלְמִיד וְלֵקְחָהּ and בְּנֵי Patterns, which leads to quite a different genealogy. The names of the sons of Aaron are repeated in Numbers 3, without further genealogy, before the enrolment of the Levites. In this text we find the last תולדות formula:

וְאֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת אֶהְרֹן וּמִשֵּׁה

However, the formula is not followed by the genealogies of Moses and Aaron, but by וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי־אֶהְרֹן, introducing the names of the four sons of Aaron, including the sons who died. Then Numbers 3 continues with the enrolment of the Levites. The enrolment of the descendants of the other sons of Jacob is told in the census description in Numbers 1.

<sup>150</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 25 note 4 Cf. Gen 6:9,10; 10:1,32.

<sup>151</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 25 note 5 Cf. Gen 11:26; 11:27.

<sup>152</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 28.

<sup>153</sup> Rainer Kessler, *Gotteserdung: Beiträge zur Hermeneutik und Exegese der Hebräischen Bibel* (Kohlhammer: Stuttgart, 2006), 81. This repression is according to Kessler corrected in Mic 6:4, where all three children of Amram are named as equal leaders of the exodus, representing Torah (Moses), priesthood (Aaron) and prophecy (Miriam).

<sup>154</sup> In total he discovers three diptychs, namely Gen 10-11, Gen 46-Ex 6 and Num 1&3- 26. Marx, “La généalogie d’Exode VI”, 329-331.

<sup>155</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 20.

## 2.15 Short backwards genealogy of Bezalel, Exodus 31:2 and 35:30

In Exodus 31 and 35 we find a genealogy, which is used more often in the extra-Pentateuchal narrative texts, namely a short genealogy to introduce a person in a story. Bezalel's genealogy leads back to his grandfather:

רָאָה קְרָאתִי בְשֵׁם בְּצֻלָּאֵל  
בְּנוֹ אֹהֲרַי  
בְּנוֹ חֹר  
לְמֹשֶׁה יְהוֹדָה

The genealogy is part of direct speech, namely of the divine instructions regarding the tabernacle. In Exodus 35:30 these instructions are repeated by Moses.

Usually such longer introductions are not necessary in the Pentateuch. Not many people are introduced since the generations are still accounted for. The backwards genealogy connects an unknown person to a patriarch or another famous ancestor. In Genesis it was used for two persons, two foreign women, queen Mehetabel and Oholibamah. Here the Backwards Pattern clarifies the connection between Bezalel and his famous grandfather Hur, who assisted Moses together with Aaron. Bezalel's colleague Oholiab just receives a genealogical reference and a tribal connection.

A similar backwards genealogy, covering three generations, is attached to the name Phinehas in Numbers 25:7 and 11, connecting him to his famous grandfather Aaron.

## 2.16 List of Israelites leaving Egypt, Numbers 26:5-51; 57-60

Numbers 26 describes a census of Israelite clans when they came out of the land of Egypt, but it also has characteristics of a genealogy. It shows depth and uses the characteristic genealogy genre patterns. The list is similar to the genealogy of the sons of Israel in Genesis 46 and forms a natural parallel to this earlier list. It also starts with Reuben being called the firstborn. The sons are treated in the same order, but for Gad taking the place of the missing Levi and the other Zilpah tribe Asher put between Dan and Naphtali. We find in both texts a בְּנֵי Pattern. But where Genesis 46 listed the Israelites going towards Egypt, this list counts the Israelites leaving Egypt. The pattern in Numbers starts with:

(אלה) בְּנֵי אֵלֶּם לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם  
 followed by  
 לְבִן מִשְׁפַּחַת הַיָּד  
 לְבִן מִשְׁפַּחַת הַיָּד  
 and it ends with:  
 אֵלֶּם לְמִשְׁפַּחַת בְּנֵי אֵלֶּם לְפָקְדֵיהֶם

It can also end with a similar phrase, followed by the number of people in these families. In two cases this ending is different. For Reuben (5-11), the list of his descendants still continues after the concluding phrase and final number, with the genealogy of Pallu, leading to the rebellious descendants Dathan and Abiram (9). For Joseph, the ending phrases and numbering come after the list of descendants of his sons, but it still is his genealogy in the introduction (28) and last concluding phrase (37):

2

בְּנֵי יוֹסֵף לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם  
 אֵלֶּם לְבִן יוֹסֵף לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם

We hardly find the בְּנֵי Pattern alone. Only in the case of the first two sons of Judah we find it without a following מִשְׁפַּחַת. Death interrupts the building of a clan. But after their death the genealogy of Judah restarts and follows the pattern. No wives appear. Some daughters do, but then the pattern changes. In total we find two references to daughters. Once the Hiphil Masculine of יָלַד occurs in verse 29:

בְּנֵי מְנַשֶּׁה  
 לְמַכִּיר מִשְׁפַּחַת הַמַּכִּירִי  
 וּמַכִּיר הוֹלִיד אֶת־גִּלְעָד  
 לְגִלְעָד מִשְׁפַּחַת הַגִּלְעָדִי

The clause וּמַכִּיר הוֹלִיד אֶת־גִּלְעָד is added as an extra element within the מִשְׁפַּחַת/בְּנֵי Pattern, thus giving more attention to Manasseh's grandson Gilead. The whole genealogy of Manasseh is special, with a different pattern and references to women. Manasseh is mentioned first. In Chronicles<sup>156</sup> there are even more deviations in Manasseh's genealogy. There also the genealogy of Ephraim is

<sup>156</sup> I Chron 7:14-19.

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different. We find here in Manasseh's genealogy in Numbers 26:33 our first reference to daughters, namely to the daughters of Zelophehad:

וְצִלְפֶחֶד בְּרִי־חֶפְרָ לֹא הָיוּ לוֹ בָנִים כִּי אִם-בָּנוֹת וְשֵׁם בָּנוֹת צִלְפֶחֶד מִחֵלָה וְנָעִה חֵגְלָה מִלְכָּה וְתִרְצָה

This is a female version of a traditional heading of the בְּנֵי Pattern. The expression that indicates that Zelophehad only had daughters, is a standard one. We will also find it in Chronicles. For the daughters, the pattern is extended to reach these great-great-great-great-granddaughters of Joseph. Normally the pattern only covers two generations (sons of Simeon, Gad, Issachar, Zebulun, Dan, Naphtali), or three generations (sons of sons of one son of Judah, Benjamin, Asher). In two cases more generations are covered, namely in the lineage of Reuben and in the lineage of Joseph. In the case of Reuben the pattern is extended to four generations, to tell the story of the great-grandsons of Reuben, Dathan and Abiram. In the case of Joseph, as seen above, the longest extension is made, namely to the seventh generation of Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah. In the following story of Moses, Eleazar and the daughters of Zelophehad a fourth and a fifth generation will be meeting seventh generation descendants from the sons of Jacob.

The second reference to daughters is to Serah, daughter of Asher (46). As Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah, Serah is here not reckoned under the sons<sup>157</sup>, and also not introduced by the usual addition אֶחָתָם, but mentioned separately, as daughter. She is introduced as the five other daughters by a female version of the בְּנֵי Pattern heading, now in the singular: וְשֵׁם בֵּת-אִשֶּׁר וְשֵׁרָה. Serah is one of the puzzling daughters of the Hebrew Bible. She does not occur in the narrative, so we do not know why she was important. But she is always there, in genealogies. According to Lemche a number of the names in especially the Manasseh section represent localities. The names of the daughters of Zelophehad are identified by him as names of places.<sup>158</sup> Some of the other names may also indicate localities according to him.<sup>159</sup> Also earlier studies identified the name of Hopher, their grandfather, with a geographical region.<sup>160</sup> Still in this list and in the following narratives in Numbers and Joshua the daughters of Zelophehad clearly function as persons. They marry within their tribe (Num 36:10-12) and receive their inheritance from Joshua, Eleazar and the tribal heads of families (Josh 17:3-6), thereby adjusting the inheritance laws.

<sup>157</sup> In Gen 46:17 she is mentioned under the sons of Asher. So she is included in the pattern, with the addition אֶחָתָם.

<sup>158</sup> "The daughters of Zelophehad also stand for localities, as we are informed by the Samaritan ostraca nrs. 44; 50; 43; 45-47: Noah and Hoglah. Nor can Tirzah be legitimately separated from the city of the same name (*Tell Fara*)."<sup>159</sup> *Early Israel*, 266.

<sup>159</sup> Lemche, *Early Israel*, 266.

<sup>160</sup> M. Patrick Graham, *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman et al. (New York: Doubleday, 1992) 4:475.

Whenever there is a reference to Zelophehad's daughters the full list of five names appears. Their names may not be lost because they are important for the inheritance. And by them, their father name is preserved, as Yael Shemesh points out:

“We can also say that the specification of the daughters' names each time they are referred to, especially in Ch. 27, is compatible with the concern for the survival of the father's name, as expressed in the daughters' petition: ‘Why should our father's name be excised from his family, because he had no son?’ (Num 27:4). Naming the daughters, who will inherit his portion, is a response to their fear that Zelophehad's name will be forgotten.”<sup>161</sup>

2

### Numbers 26:57-62

The clans of the Levites were still missing in the overview of the descendants of the sons of Israel. After a short text dealing with the land attribution this last genealogy follows. Directly in the first verse it is clear that the genealogy of Levi will be different. It starts with *וְאֵלֶּה פְּקוּדֵי הַלְוִי לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָם* instead of the usual *אֵלֶּה מִשְׁפְּחֹת בְּנֵי־*. We find *לְפָקְדֵיהֶם* at the end of the description of the clans of a tribe, as an addition to the final counting of adult male clan members, but not in the introduction.

It continues in the same way as the genealogies of the other sons of Israel, but it changes at the end of verse 58. There we find a similar clause as we found in verse 29:

*וַיִּקְהַת הוֹלֵד אֶת־עֲמֶרָם*

In verse 29 it interrupted the pattern, which continued afterwards, but here it is the start of a new, special genealogy of a son of Kohath. The extra genealogy is not added in the section of the Kohathites, but only comes after the list of clans of Levites is finished.

In Exodus 6 the genealogy ended with Aaron's grandson Phinehas; in Numbers 26 it ends with the generation of the sons of Aaron and with the sin and death of two of them. In this short, added genealogy we find four times the verb *יָלַד*, which we do not find elsewhere in Numbers 26, apart from the clause in verse 29. Once we find it in the Hiphil in verse 58, as seen above; twice we find *יָלַד* in the feminine form and once in the passive.

<sup>161</sup> Yael Shemesh, “A Gender Perspective on the Daughters of Zelophehad: Bible, Talmudic Midrash, and Modern Feminist Midrash”, *Biblical Interpretation* 15 (2007), 84.

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The feminine is used for the mother of Jochebed in a complicated construction in a relative clause added to the name of Jochebed, in which her mother remains unnamed. By this relative clause Jochebed receives even more attention:

וְשֵׁם אִשְׁתּוֹ עִמְרָם יוֹכְבֵד בַּת־לוֹי  
אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה אֹתָהּ לְלוֹי בְּמִצְרַיִם  
וּפְלֵדָה לְעִמְרָם אֶת־אֶהֱרֹן וְאֶת־מֹשֶׁה וְאֵת מְרִיָּם אֲחֹתָם

The pattern is the Independent Female Pattern we also found in texts like Genesis 4. Both fathers function as indirect object to the process of giving birth by the mother. Daughter Miriam is listed as third child after her brothers, as direct object of the ילד of her mother. She is marked by the annotation “their sister”. The Independent Female Pattern is followed in verse 60 by a passive use of ילד. In this short, segmented listing of the sons of Aaron no women occur. With these names the genealogy of Levi ends, to be continued with a narrative part on enrolment and allotment, after a narrative sentence telling about the sinful death of two of Aaron’s sons.

### 2.17 Backwards genealogy of Manassite women, Numbers 27:1

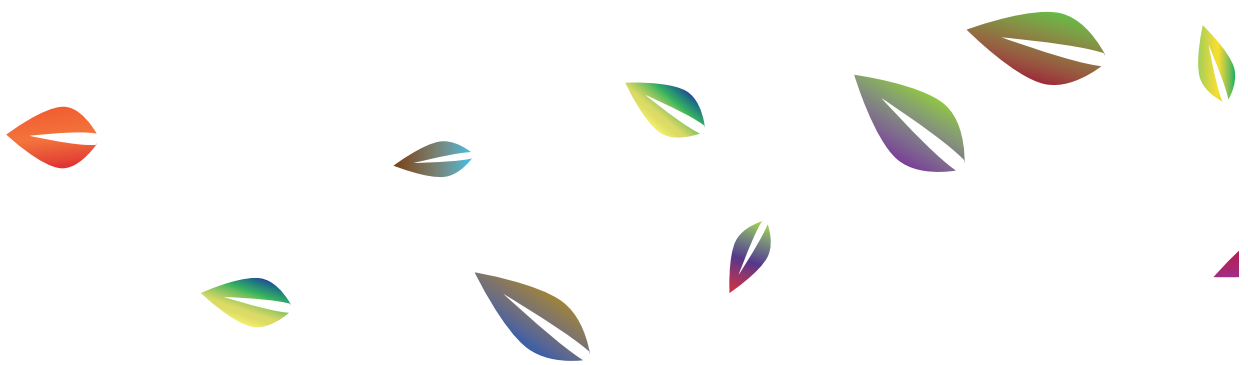
A short list of forefathers is added to the name of Zelophehad, reaching six generations back to Joseph. So the daughters of Zelophehad form the seventh generation.

וּמִקְרָבָנָהּ בָּנוֹת זְלֹפְחָד  
בְּרֵיתָא  
בְּרֵיתָא גִלְעָד  
בְּרֵיתָא מְכִיר  
בְּרֵיתָא מְנַשֶּׁה  
לְמִשְׁפַּחַת מְנַשֶּׁה  
בְּרֵיתָא יוֹסֵף  
וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֹתָיו  
מִחֵלָה  
נַעֲוָה  
וּתְגֵלָה

וימלקה

ותרצה

The genealogy comes in between the approaching of Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah and the list of their names, formulated in a classical way: and these are the names of his daughters, וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנוֹתָיו. We found this formula several times in the בְּנֵי Pattern listing the names of sons. This is the only time it is used for daughters. After the five names of the forefathers we have a list of five names of daughters. The five times בְּנֵי is nicely mirrored in the five daughters. The list of ancestors is interrupted by לְמִשְׁפַּחַת מִנְשֵׁה connecting the text to the previous genealogy in Numbers 26. The backwards genealogy is thus a part of a בְּנֵי Pattern, which now surprisingly takes the form of a בְּנוֹת Pattern. In Numbers 26:29-34 the genealogy was stretched to reach Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah. Here we find the same stretching, but now backwards. This is the longest Backwards Pattern genealogy in the Pentateuch. In Genesis 36:39 there was a short, reversed genealogy of Oholibamah and of the queen, with a double female descent, and in Exodus 31 and 35 there was a double male descent of Bezalel. Here the pattern connects no less than seven generations. The Backwards Pattern introduces persons in the narrative, men and women.





3

# Chapter 3

Genre Patterns in the Genealogies  
in the Pentateuch:  
Analysis & Conclusions



In this chapter we study the patterns systematically, in the order we meet them in the Bible. At the end of the chapter, in section 3.9, I will draw the conclusions from this analysis, regarding the use of the patterns. The first genealogical pattern we meet is a Female Pattern.

### 3.1 Female Patterns

In these patterns the sons are objects, preceded by the object-marker ׀. The female ילד dominates the genealogy. We find two possibilities:

1. interaction husband - wife (יָדַע, לָקַח)<sup>1</sup>  
followed by ילד in Qal Feminine; וַתֵּלֶד (וַתְּהַר) or יָלְדָה
2. wife subject ילד in Qal Feminine; וַתֵּלֶד, יָלְדָה, וַתִּסַּף לְלֶדְתָּהּ, וַתֵּלֶד  
husband absent or indirect object

#### The לָקַח וַתֵּלֶד Pattern (1)

The complete לָקַח וַתֵּלֶד Pattern describes first the interaction husband-wife (יָדַע, לָקַח, בָּא אֵל, אָל), followed by feminine verbs: וַתְּהַר and ילד in Qal Feminine: וַתֵּלֶד. We find this pattern not only in genealogies but also in narrative texts. The narrative occurrences are included, to clarify the development of the pattern. Below all occurrences in the Pentateuch are listed, in which the actual conception and birth are described. There are other texts still, referring to a birth in the past, which are not included below. The pattern starts with יָדַע for Adam and Cain, but with Lamech that already changes into לָקַח. From Genesis 16 onwards לָקַח will be the main verb describing the first action.

Women are of course always present in the לָקַח וַתֵּלֶד Pattern. They have an active role. Finlay distinguishes five settings for the birth report in genealogies: “a man has children by more than one wife; a sister of a male descendant bears important children of her own; a man has children by a concubine in addition to his more legitimate children; a daughter carries on the line of inheritance of a man with no sons; and to give information about the mother of an important figure.”<sup>2</sup> These cases would explain the mentioning of mothers. But why does that need an explanation? We also find the setting in which the name of the mother is just important, like in Genesis 4:1. My problem is here that Finlay seems to reason from the motto: *cherchez l’homme*.

<sup>1</sup> Finlay calls this the Acquisition Element, which is followed by the Intercourse Element. Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre*, 38-39.

<sup>2</sup> Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre*, 82.

Though this might be generally true for a patriarchal society, we find telling exceptions that change our perceptions, namely exceptions in which the woman has a central position in the genealogy. Women can be a natural, self-evident part of a genealogy. In the case of the concubine, Finlay is right: we do indeed find examples in which for the regular offspring a different pattern is used, like בְּנֵי, without any mentioning of the mother, and for the sons of the concubine the Female Pattern with the mother as subject. Apparently, it was necessary in these cases, to indicate that the sons born were not the offspring of the main wife.

In many cases of the לָקַח וְהִלְדָּה Pattern we find two verbs used for the mother (וְהִסְתֵּר וְהִלְדָּה). In some cases, Hagar and Rachel's, the birth is postponed because something happened during the time of pregnancy. So a story needs to be told first. Rachel's וְהִלְדָּה is even completely replaced by a story. Occasionally the conception is taken for granted, like in the genealogy of ancestress Keturah. In Exodus 6 בְּנֵי Pattern and לָקַח וְהִלְדָּה Pattern are mixed. In that genealogy the לָקַח וְהִלְדָּה Pattern, mentioning the name of the mother, is used for the most important line of descent, whereas the other pattern briefly describes the other branches of the genealogy. The patterns are bound together by the indication of age. Is a similar distinction made in Genesis?



The לָקַח וְהִלְדָּה Pattern texts in the Pentateuch					
man	woman	first verb	female verb	child	
the Adam	Hawwah	יָדַע	וְהִסְתֵּר וְהִלְדָּה	Cain	Gen 4:1
Cain	his wife	יָדַע	וְהִסְתֵּר וְהִלְדָּה	Enoch	Gen 4:17
Lamech	Adah&Zillah	יָקַח two wives	וְהִלְדָּה A וְהִלְדָּה Z	Jabal&Jubal Tubal-cain (Naamah)	Gen 4:19-22
Adam	his wife	וַיֵּדַע עוֹד	וְהִלְדָּה	a son, Seth	Gen 4:25
Abram	Hagar	וַתִּהְיֶה סָרָה וְהִסְתֵּרָה H to A as wife Hagar בָּא אֶל אַבְרָם	וְהִסְתֵּר	a son, Ishmael	Gen 16:3,4
			וְהִלְדָּה		Gen 16:15
Abraham	Keturah	וַיִּסְרֶף אֶת אִשְׁתּוֹ	וְהִלְדָּה	6 sons	Gen 25:1-4
Jacob	Bilhah	וַתִּהְיֶה רָחֵל B to J as wife בִּלְהָה אֶל יַעֲקֹב	וְהִסְתֵּר וְהִלְדָּה	a son, Dan	Gen 30:4-5
Jacob	Zilpah	וַתִּהְיֶה לֵאָה & וְהִסְתֵּרָה	וְהִלְדָּה	a son, Gad	Gen 30:9-10

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		Z to J as wife			
Jacob	Leah	slept with her	נתהר ותלד	a fifth son	Gen 30:16-17
Esau	his wives: Adah, Oholibamah &Basemath	לקה לקה his wives	ותלד ילדה ילדה	Eliphaz Reuel 3 sons	Gen 36:1-5
a Levite	daughter Levi	ניקה	נתהר ותלד	a son	Ex 2:1,2
Amram	Jochebed	ניקה to him to wife	ותלד	2 sons	Ex 6:20
Aaron	Elishaba	ניקה to him to wife	ותלד	4 sons	Ex 6:23
Eleazar	daughter Putiel	לקה לקה to him to wife	ותלד	Phinehas	Ex 6:25
Joseph	Aseneth	to Joseph was born	ילדה	2 sons	Gen 41:50
Joseph	Aseneth	to Joseph was born	ילדה	2 sons	Gen 46:20
the Lord	Sarah	visited & did	נתהר ותלד	a son, Isaac	Gen 21:1,2
Isaac- the Lord	Rebekah	prayed-was prayed	ותהר	2 sons	Gen 25:21
the Lord	Leah	saw & opened womb	נתהר ותלד	a son, Reuben	Gen 29:31,32
God	Rachel	remembered&listened &opened womb	נתהר ותלד	a son, Joseph	Gen 30:22,23

In Exodus 6 the לקה ותלד Pattern is connected to the main lineage, as is the case in Genesis 4: for the genealogically important Cain the לקה ותלד Pattern is used. Genesis 4 is a mixture of patterns, namely of the לקה ותלד Pattern, the Independent Female, the Qal Masculine and the Passive Pattern. The לקה ותלד Pattern is used to mark the beginning of the genealogy in Genesis 4, in Genesis 4:1, 17, 25. The pattern underlines the importance of the ancestral couple. The genealogy then continues with another pattern for the further, less important generations, in which the mothers are omitted.

In Genesis 21-30 we see that לקה ותלד is replaced by a pattern of divine action and female conception for special births: the male role is taken over by God. The child is still born to the husband, but the active verbs before the conception are all connected to God.<sup>3</sup> The verbs used for the divine action are different ones: we never find לקה, but instead ‘see, hear, remember and visit’ and ‘opened her womb’. Conception immediately follows. The husband has no role anymore. Tammi J. Schneider suggests the same: “In some situations it appears as though the Deity directly

<sup>3</sup> Or, as Tammi J. Schneider writes: “the narrator is explicit that the Israelite Deity is personally responsible for each of these women conceiving. The Israelite Deity carries out specific actions to make each woman a mother.” Tammi J. Schneider, *Mothers of Promise: Women in the Book of Genesis* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2008), 97.

makes the woman pregnant with little participation by the spouse.”<sup>4</sup> And she finally concludes: “The Deity, not the patriarchs, cause women to conceive.”<sup>5</sup> We might call this adaption of the **נָתַן לְקַדְדָּה** Pattern, the Divine Female Pattern. In this pattern the female part consists of two verbs: **נָתַן לְקַדְדָּה**.<sup>6</sup> Fertility is not an automatic process, but comes from God. Even in the genealogies, the fertility lists of the Bible, procreation is not self-evident. In some cases God needs to interfere directly, or the most important lineage would discontinue. Fertility is a blessing, from the first man and woman to the later generations of Israel.<sup>7</sup>

In the chart we see three special cases, in which the woman who will bear a child is not taken by the husband but by somebody else. The same verb **לָקַח** is used. In these three cases, all in Genesis, it is another woman, namely her owner or mistress, who takes her and gives her as wife to the shared husband. For the action of the mistress the text uses two verbs<sup>8</sup>, namely **לָקַח** and **נָתַן**; for the subsequent action of the man one verb, namely **בָּרָא אֶל**. In Zilpah’s case Jacob even has no verb at all. The main action is with the female owner of the woman. There are similar constructions in Chronicles. Twice another man, who is hierarchically superior to the husband, will give a related woman as wife to a man. In these two cases the woman is of a superior class of society. In Genesis, the opposite is happening: the woman who is taken is inferior. That is the reason why another woman is able to take her. We call this subdivision of the **נָתַן לְקַדְדָּה** Pattern the **נָתַן וְנָתַן** Pattern.

In the remarkable text of the mandrakes (Gen 30:14-16) the power balance shifts towards the woman. Leah can buy a night with her husband and order him to come with her. In this text there is no male **לָקַח**. We also find the **נָתַן לְקַדְדָּה** Pattern in Genesis 36:1-5, the first genealogy of Esau. In these verses it is mixed with the **בָּרָא אֶל** Pattern. In Esau’s genealogy mothers are important anyway. The **נָתַן לְקַדְדָּה** Pattern strengthens their prominent position.

In my interpretation the **נָתַן לְקַדְדָּה** Pattern is regularly used in the Pentateuch for the main branches. The Independent Female Pattern can be used for minor branches, or sons without offspring, like Abel. Finlay has another interesting interpretation. According to him **נָתַן לְקַדְדָּה** (often pattern 1), is used for the main wife and **נָתַן לְקַדְדָּה** (only in pattern 2), for the less important wife.<sup>9</sup> In a sequence of more wives, like in Genesis 36, we indeed find **נָתַן לְקַדְדָּה** for the first wife

<sup>4</sup> Schneider, *Mothers of Promise*, 98.

<sup>5</sup> Schneider, *Mothers of Promise*, 98. She adds that the women were also chosen by God in the first place, to become the wives of the patriarchs. Schneider, *Mothers of Promise*, 99.

<sup>6</sup> For the occurrences of **נָתַן לְקַדְדָּה** directly connected see <https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?id=3658>. For all occurrences: <https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?id=3659>. The phrase **נָתַן לְקַדְדָּה** can also be used in pattern 2. In itself it is not distinctive, though sometimes it seems significant, since it can introduce the birth of special children, like Samuel. In the conception contest or birth battle in Gen 29-30 it is used for almost every child.

<sup>7</sup> The same is partly true for Hannah’s conception in I Sam 2:21. Elkanah still has a role though.

<sup>8</sup> In Rachel’s case this first **לָקַח** is substituted by a speech of Rachel to Jacob.

<sup>9</sup> Finlay, *The Birth Report*, 60 et al.

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mentioned, since that is the continuation of  $\text{לָקַח}$ , and for the second and third wives  $\text{יָלְדָה}$ . Does this make Adah more important than Oholibamah and Basemath? All three women are part of the full  $\text{לָקַח וַתֵּלֶד}$  Pattern. The same is true for Adah and Zillah. In the non-Pentateuchal birth accounts we do find some distinction between  $\text{וַתֵּלֶד}$  and  $\text{יָלְדָה}$ . The description of Gideon's family for instance is an example from the narrative text, affirming Finlay's theory. For Gideon's main family lines, there is just a general description in Judges 8:30: "Now Gideon had seventy sons, his own offspring, for he had many wives." For the son of Gideon's concubine however, a separate sentence is used: "His concubine who was in Shechem also bore him a son...", using  $\text{יָלְדָה}$  (Judg 8:31).

However, looking at the charts of the Independent Female Pattern, I am not convinced that the main distinction is between  $\text{וַתֵּלֶד}$  and  $\text{יָלְדָה}$ . I would say the main distinction is between the  $\text{לָקַח וַתֵּלֶד}$  Pattern (always  $\text{וַתֵּלֶד}$ ) and the short Independent Female Pattern ( $\text{וַתֵּלֶד}$  or  $\text{יָלְדָה}$ ). In this last pattern fathers are less important, either because of the (lack of) status of the mother, or because of the position of the child. For the first child it is important to mention both parents, but for the rest of the children the information about the father is considered superfluous. Only the mother's giving birth is recorded. In the case of Gomer for instance, in Hosea 1, for the first child there is still a  $\text{לָקַח וַתֵּלֶד}$  Pattern, but for the second and third child we find pattern 2. Father Hosea is literally absent. The same is true for Genesis 38. In 38:2-3 Judah took the daughter of Shua and went into her and she conceived and bore the first son. For the second son father Judah is no longer mentioned. It is as if Judah's initial taking and going in was enough to start the fertility of his wife and now the process continues automatically. She can do it without him. She bears the second and the third son without the father (Gen 38:4,5). For the second son we still find  $\text{וַתֵּבְרַר וַתֵּלֶד}$ , the beginning and end of the pregnancy<sup>10</sup>; for the third the focus is on the result only:  $\text{וַתֵּלֶד בֶּן}$ . With every child born the story becomes more and more condensed.

Wives form a necessary part of pattern 1 and are subjects of the verb  $\text{יָלַד}$ . It does not mean they are always mentioned by name. It is only in Genesis 4:1 that we hear the name Hawwah, for she is no longer named in verse 25, nor is Cain's wife in verse 17. The exception is the seventh generation. Both wives of Lamech, Adah and Zillah, get at least a name. In Genesis 25 Keturah is quite important, also due to the change to the  $\text{בָּנֵי}$  Pattern, which makes her the one to whom the sons are attributed. As Hawwah, she is immediately introduced by name. In Exodus 6 the last wife remains nameless.

<sup>10</sup> For the occurrences of  $\text{וַתֵּבְרַר וַתֵּלֶד}$  directly connected to each other see <https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?id=3658>. The phrase can be found in either pattern 1 or pattern 2. In some theologically interesting cases God seems to take the place of the father.

Why are Hawwah/Eve and Keturah, Adah and Zillah named, and Cain's wife and Eleazar's wife not? We only have few examples to draw conclusions from. We might say, that in the standard pattern 1 names of wives are not necessary (4:17,25), though they are in most cases given and form a natural part of the pattern. There might be additional reasons why a mother receives a name or not. Eve is named in verse 1 but not in verse 25. In verse 25 her name was probably considered obvious. For Keturah, Adah and Zillah we can point to polygamous households as the reason why they are mentioned. Cain's wife's name is in that case not mentioned since she is the only wife of Cain and the household is monogamous. In polygamous households described in the texts the names of the mother matter more than in monogamous households. An additional reason for omitting Cain's wife's name might be her unknown origins, but then it is still unclear why Jochebed and Elisheba are called by name and Eleazar's wife is not.<sup>11</sup>

The two texts about Joseph and Aseneth are added here, because of the presence of *וַיִּלְדָּהּ*, but do not really form part of the pattern. They belong more to the Passive Pattern described below. The *וַיִּלְדָּהּ וַיִּקְרָא* Pattern is never used for the birth of a daughter. If the birth of a daughter is described at all, other patterns are used, for instance the Independent Female Pattern.

3

### The independent Qal *וַיִּלְדָּהּ* Female Pattern (2)

We do indeed find daughters in this pattern: Dinah, who has her own verse; Miriam, listed as third child of Jochebed and possibly a hidden daughter, Maacah, the last child of Reumah in Genesis 22:24. Women can be objects in this pattern and women are of course the subject. We find the verb *וַיִּלְדָּהּ* in Qal Feminine in the forms *וַיִּלְדָּהּ* and *וַיִּלְדָּהּ* and *וַיִּלְדָּהּ*. The Feminine *וַיִּלְדָּהּ* dominates the genealogy in the same way as the *וַיִּלְדָּהּ* Masculine in the Qal Masculine and Hiphil Pattern. The sons are the objects of *וַיִּלְדָּהּ* Feminine. We defined this pattern as the use of *וַיִּלְדָּהּ* Feminine without a prior masculine verb. It occurs in total 13 times.

The Independent Female Pattern is a compact version of the *וַיִּלְדָּהּ וַיִּקְרָא* Pattern. According to Finlay this pattern must be a summary of the longer pattern. The longer pattern, the 'birth report' is probably the standard form.<sup>12</sup> The female *וַיִּלְדָּהּ* clause has now become independent. In most cases the father is not named at all. The father is sometimes referred to in a possessive suffix in a designation of the mother, like in *וַיִּלְדָּהּ* in 22:24; or he is indirect object (to Jacob). To show the

<sup>11</sup> Finlay gives a possible reason. According to him, the wife of Eleazar is just called "one of the daughters of Putiel", because her name was probably forgotten, and the compiler did not want to invent a name. Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre*, 84.

<sup>12</sup> And not the other way around. The longer form is probably not an expansion of the shorter. If the shorter would have been standard, why was the longer, less efficient one developed? Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre*, 84.

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development of the pattern, the Independent Female Pattern in birth stories in Genesis is added below to the chart.

The Independent Female Pattern texts in the Pentateuch				
mother	verb	father indirect object?	child(ren)	
Hawwah	וַתִּסַּף לֵלֶדֶת	-	Abel	Gen 4:2
daughters of Lot	she slept with him, וַתִּהְיוּ בָנֵי וַתִּלְדוּ 2x	-	a son, Moab a son, Ben-Ammi	Gen 19:30-38
Milcah	וַלְדָה	to Nahor	8 children	Gen 22:23
Reumah פִּילְגֶשֶׁת	וַתִּלְדָּה	-	4 children	Gen 22:24
Milcah	וַלְדָה	to Nahor	Rebekah	Gen 24:24
Leah	וַתִּהַר עוֹד וַתִּלְדָּה	-	a son, Simeon	Gen 29:33
Leah	וַתִּהַר עוֹד וַתִּלְדָּה	-	a son, Levi	Gen 29:34
Leah	וַתִּהַר עוֹד וַתִּלְדָּה	-	a son, Judah	Gen 29:35
Bilhah	וַתִּהַר עוֹד וַתִּלְדָּה	to Jacob	a second son	Gen 30:7
Zilpah	וַתִּלְדָּה	to Jacob	a second son	Gen 30:12
Leah	וַתִּהַר עוֹד וַתִּלְדָּה	to Jacob	a sixth son	Gen 30:19
Leah	וַלְדָה	-	a daughter, Dinah	Gen 30:21
Rachel	וַתִּלְדָּה	-	-	Gen 35:16
Jochebed	(וַלְדָה) וַתִּלְדָּה	to Amram	A, M&M their sister	Num 26:59

Fathers disappear gradually in this pattern. For the first child they are still fully involved, if God has not taken over the active role, but for following children the mother alone is involved. The לָקַח וַתִּלְדָּה Pattern of the first child becomes Independent Female for the other children. It is as if in the continuation of the childbearing the conceiving and the birth of the child go more or less automatically. The husband plays no longer a role in the text. The daughters of Lot are an exceptional case. We might have added Genesis 19 to the וַתִּלְדָּה לָקַח pattern, since the daughters take over the male role from their inept father. They did not literally take him, but they took the initiative to sleep with him, to preserve human life for their doomed plain. Finlay points out that the conception formula of the daughters of Lot in Genesis 19:36 is the only one used in the plural.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre*, 250.



The daughters of Lot are the only nameless women in this pattern. In the extra-Pentateuchal corpus, more women remain nameless in this pattern.

We do find Qal Feminine ילד more often. It is sometimes part of the בני Pattern, concluding the subdivision, with a phrase like: ‘these are the sons of y, which x bore to y’. The children whom Leah bore to Jacob, will also be referred to later, for example in Genesis 46:14. The name and action of the mother dominate the genealogies with the Independent Female Pattern. In the first genealogy in Genesis 22 Milcah’s name forms an inclusio, with the name of her husband Nahor as indirect object. In the second list of descendants in Genesis 22:24 the name of the father is left out. Only Reumah’s name heads the list. Milcah is again prominent in the genealogy of her granddaughter in Genesis 24. In Numbers 26:57-62, the genealogy of Levi, we find the Female Pattern twice, for Jochebed and her unnamed mother. Levi and Amram are present as indirect object. To them the mothers bore a daughter, and two sons and their sister.

3

### 3.2 The Passive Pattern

The two passive conjugations we find in the Masoretic Text, Pual perfect and Niphal imperfect, have the same meaning. Originally, they probably belonged to the same conjugation, Qal Passive.<sup>14</sup> The Passive Pattern never forms an extended genealogy of more generations. It stands in the middle of other patterns or occurs in the midst of a narrative. The children are born to the father, by preposition ל.<sup>15</sup> Generally, this pattern distinguishes important fathers. Enoch is not just fathering a child, like his descendants, using Qal M, but to him Irad is born (Gen 4:18). To Bethuel Rebekah is born. For the birth of Manassch and Ephraim to Joseph the Passive Pattern is used in total three times. To Aaron, David, Absalom and the house of David children are born. This continues in I Chronicles 2 with the fathers Judah and Hezron, for whom the Passive Pattern is used. To important fathers children are born. In some cases the name of an equally important mother is added in a subclause. The mother is not directly connected. We add Genesis 41:50 outside the genealogical corpus for a good example of such an indirect connection with the mother:

<sup>16</sup> וליוסף ילד שני בנים בטָרָם תבוא שנת הרעב אשר ילדה-לו אִסְתָּ בַת־פּוֹטִי פָרַע פֶּהָן אוֹן.

<sup>14</sup> I rely here on Joüon and Hendel. See above, in the analysis of Gen 46.

<sup>15</sup> For the whole list see <https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?id=3691> Niphal ילד plus ל and <https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?id=3748> Pual ילד plus ל.

<sup>16</sup> In Gen 46:20 we find the same construction as in Gen 41:50, but here the children born are coming at the end of the sentence, as either object of the Female Pattern or still of the Passive Pattern.

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The female giving birth is described in a subordinate clause, after the temporal clause “Before the years of famine came”. Another example is Genesis 21:3:

ויקרא אברהם את-שם-בנו הנולד-לו אשר ילדה לו שרה יצחק.

Sarah is mentioned in a relative clause introduced by אשר, which is referring to Abraham’s son.

In II Samuel 3 and I Chronicles 3 the passive can be directly connected to mothers. Another interesting possibility in the Pentateuch to connect both fathers and mothers to the children, is a combination of a בְּנֵי Pattern introduction with the name of the mother and the Passive pattern, connected to the father, in a subclause. The best example of such a connection is Genesis 46:22: אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי רַחֵל אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה לְיַעֲקֹב.<sup>17</sup>

The pattern likes to add something to the verb, a place or a time. Places are connected to the pattern by the preposition בְּ: in the land of Canaan, בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן. Sometimes a number is part of the pattern: two were born to him; or the sons are counted at the end. Especially in those cases, in which a number, a place or a time needs to be communicated, we find the Passive Pattern.

In Genesis 10:21 the subject is missing. It is as if the subject is already implied in the verb: “To Shem was born”, and that is the main thing. Who wants to know more? But for who does, the children who were born to Shem are named in the בְּנֵי Pattern in the next verse. We find below other examples of such impersonal passives<sup>18</sup>, always in the singular. The child born is grammatically a direct object. In Numbers 26:60 the names of the four sons are even preceded by an object marker.

The Passive Pattern texts in the Pentateuch					
ancestor	descendant	passive	women/ places/time	other patterns	
to Enoch	Irad	Niphal sg	-	Female	Gen 4:18
to Seth	a son, Enosh	Pual	-	narrative	Gen 4:26
to them	בְּנוֹת	Pual	-	narrative	Gen 6:1
to them	בְּנֵים	Niphal pl	after the flood		Gen 10:1
to Shem	-	Pual sg		בְּנֵי אֲבִי	Gen 10:21

<sup>17</sup> Septuagint replaces the unusual passive construction by a feminine active: οὗτοι υἱοὶ Πατριλ οὓς ἔτεκεν τῷ Ἰακώβ παῖσαι ψυχὰι δέκα ὀκτώ, but in 46:27 by a participle: υἱοὶ δὲ Ἰωσήφ οἱ γενόμενοι αὐτῷ ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ. A similar construction to Gen 46:22 is present in Gen 35:26, where the passive is in the conclusion with the name of the father, after a listing of the sons per mother, using בְּנֵי Pattern.

<sup>18</sup> Joshua Blau uses Gen 41:50 as an example of such an impersonal passive. J. Blau, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Harrasowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden, 1993, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed), 89.

to Eber	two sons	Pual sg		counting, numbering	Gen 10:25
to Abraham	Isaac	Niphal sg participle	Sarah	Female	Gen 21:3
to Abraham	Isaac	Niphal inf	age Abraham		Gen 21:5
to Bethuel	Rebekah	Pual sg F	B בְּנֵי Milcah	Backwards, narrative	Gen 24:15
to Jacob	these are the sons of J who	Pual sg	in Paddan- Aram	בְּנֵי	Gen 35:26
to Esau	these are the sons of E who	Pual plural	בְּנֵי אֲרָם Canaan	Female	Gen 36:5
to Joseph	two sons	Pual sg	Aseneth/famine	Female	Gen 41:50
to Joseph	-	Niphal sg	בְּנֵי מִצְרַיִם Mizraim	Female: 2 sons	Gen 46:20
to Jacob	these are the sons of Rachel who	Pual sg		counting: 14	Gen 46:22
to him	בְּנֵי Joseph who	Pual sg	in Mizraim	counting	Gen 46:27
to Aaron	Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar	Niphal sg		Female	Num 26:60

The singular of Genesis 35 of this impersonal passive is replaced however by a plural in Genesis 36, possibly indicating a change in linguistic sense. In Genesis 35 the passive is impersonal: it does not seem to matter whether just one son or more sons are born. In Genesis 36 this impersonal passive has become more personal. The passive changes into a plural following the number of sons. Genesis 6:1 is added from outside the genealogical corpus, for another example of daughters being the subject of the passive.

### 3.3 The Qal Masculine Pattern

This pattern is special for Genesis. Hendel regards the use of the Qal Masculine as early. Only later Qal Masculine was replaced by the Hiphil Masculine: "...the distribution of Qal: Hiphil of בְּנֵי is a

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diachronic change. That is, the Hiphil replaced the Qal in this use.”<sup>19</sup> The Chronicler indeed uses the pattern only in his adaption of the Qal Masculine genealogies of Genesis. In the rest of the material he will use Hiphil if he uses an active masculine verb. Qal Masculine is also in the Pentateuch a relatively rare pattern. Apart from Genesis 10 it occurs in just three texts, all in Genesis. Only one of these texts is a longer linear genealogy. The following chart gives an overview of the use of Qal Masculine in Genesis, in longer genealogies and in generational connections in a genealogical context:

The Qal Masculine Pattern texts in the Pentateuch					
ancestor	last descendant	pattern	depth	other patterns	
Irak	Lamech	3 x Qal	4 gen. linear	Passive, Female	Gen 4:18
Cush	Nimrod	1 x Qal	2 gen. linear	נָבַד narrative	Gen 10:8
Egypt	7 people	1 x Qal	2 gen. segm		Gen 10:13
Canaan	11 countries/people	1 x Qal	2 gen. segm	narrative	Gen 10:15-18
Arpachshad	Eber	2 x Qal	3 gen. linear	נָבַד, Passive	Gen 10:23,24
Joktan	13 countries/ people	1 x Qal	2 gen. segm	נָבַד narrative	Gen 10:26-28
Bethuel	Rebekah	1 x Qal	2 gen. linear	Female	Gen 22:23
Jokshan	Sheba&Dedan	1 x Qal	2 gen. segm	Female נָבַד	Gen 25:3

Genesis 4 has the longest sequence of Qal Masculine, coming closest to the regularity of the Hiphil Masculine. The other longer genealogy is in Genesis 10:23,24. All the other occurrences of the Qal Masculine Pattern encompass two generations only.

There are two possibilities of the use of this pattern: it can describe a relation between persons or between geographical locations. In the first option Qal Masculine forms a linear genealogy (Gen 4:18; 10:8; 10:23,24; 22:23) of two to four generations representing a more or less human relation of a father and a child. Lamech and Rebekah are clearly meant to be persons. Nimrod is portrayed as a human warrior, hunter and king. The two longer genealogies, Genesis 4:18 and 10:23,24, have also a more or less human genealogy, though in Genesis 10:23,24 the names are probably connected to geographical areas. In the second option (Gen 10:13, 15-18, 26-28; 25:3) Qal Masculine forms a segmented genealogy, of two generations only. Here we clearly

<sup>19</sup> Hendel, “Begetting”, 41.

enter a geographical context, in which the pattern connects one country/ancestor with several peoples/cities. Qal Masculine is not used to connect further generations.

In all these genealogies apart from Egypt's sequence, other patterns are used as well. Contrary to הָלַי Hiphil Masculine which forms especially in the longer lineage a strong and regular pattern, the Qal Masculine Pattern is a bit hesitant, distracted by narratives and elaborations, and interrupted by other patterns. In some cases, like in Genesis 10:8; 22 and 25, it is just a single occurrence, in the midst of other patterns and an anecdote.

The Qal Masculine Pattern excludes wives. No women are present in Genesis 10. We find however that a daughter might be part of this pattern. The Qal Masculine Pattern is used in Genesis 22 to describe the birth of a daughter. Rebekah is not described as sister as Naamah in Genesis 4, added as an afterthought after the pattern, but she is there, by name, taking a central place in a pattern that otherwise excludes women. The genealogy is extended to reach her name. The word נָבָא does not occur. Her being a daughter does not need to be mentioned: her name suffices. The Qal Masculine Pattern can include a woman.

### 3.4 The Hiphil Pattern

In Genesis 5 and 11 we find a characteristic use of הָלַי Hiphil. Rashi noticed that, when the Hiphil is used, the woman giving birth is included.<sup>20</sup> I called the pattern after this characteristic the Hiphil Pattern. Renaud uses the expression “schéma narratif”.<sup>21</sup> In the full Hiphil Pattern, which is only present in Genesis 5, we can distinguish with Renaud the following elements:

- a. name of patriarch
- b. age at time of c
- c. הָלַי Hiphil (engendrement) of named first born son
- d. number of years patriarch lived after birth first born son
- e. הָלַי Hiphil of sons and daughters, unnamed
- f. total number of years of patriarch

<sup>20</sup> Rashi on Gen 4:18: “it speaks of the woman's giving birth, i.e. so-and-so caused his wife to bear a son or a daughter.” Probably he is addressing here the problem that biologically speaking the ‘fathering’ occurs nine months before the birth and as such is not directly connected to the mother giving birth to a child, whereas the Hebrew implies that the fathering is directly connected to the moment of birth.

<sup>21</sup> Renaud, “Les généalogies et la structure”, 8/9.

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#### g. his death<sup>22</sup>

In Genesis 11 f and g are missing. In the other uses of the Hiphil Pattern in the Pentateuch and elsewhere the pattern is reduced to a and c. We will not find the additional elements anymore.

In the Pentateuch הַיְהוּדִים Pattern is used for a segmented genealogy and Hiphil for a linear genealogy<sup>23</sup>, which Wilson defines as having “only one line of descent from a given ancestor”.<sup>24</sup> According to Abraham Malamat, women have no place in vertical lineages. Malamat compares the Bible with Mesopotamian king lists. Generally speaking the Bible has more female elements:

“Whereas the king lists are of an obvious vertical construction, biblical genealogies are spread out on a horizontal plane as well,...The Bible, followed by the Arabian genealogists, often resorts to accommodating female elements, wives or concubines, mothers or daughters, elements which naturally have no place in strictly vertical lineages of societies basing on agnatic descent.”<sup>25</sup>

This of course applies to the segmented genealogies of the Hebrew Bible. Can *linear* biblical genealogies using the Hiphil Pattern also accommodate women? The well-structured genealogies in Genesis 5 and 11 leave not much room for women. No wives are mentioned. Daughters only appear in Genesis 5 and 11 in the general statement בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת. Without daughters the children are not complete. But these other sons and daughters remain anonymous. No woman, whether wife, mother or daughter, is called by name. All attention goes to the first son. Wives, daughters and the other sons are all excluded. The lineage is strictly vertical. Only the last verse forms an exception. There the vertical list is spread out on a horizontal plane, towards more descendants of the father. But in this final verse the genealogy only expands to more sons, not to daughters. The anonymous daughters of the general phrase ‘and had other sons and daughters’ do not appear in these short, segmented references. These two biblical genealogies resemble the King Lists in their focus on one line of descent. Linear genealogies indeed seem to exclude women, as Malamat stated, but for the nameless daughters of Genesis 5.

<sup>22</sup> Renaud sees elements of this structure recurring in the narrative parts of P: “Ainsi, le système généalogique traverse out le récit sacerdotal du livre de la Genèse et lui donne sa structure fondamentale”, “Les généalogies et la structure”, 13.

<sup>23</sup> The other big patterns in the Pentateuch, Qal Masculine and Female, can be used for both.

<sup>24</sup> Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 9-10.

<sup>25</sup> Malamat, “King Lists”, 163.

The Hiphil Pattern has an exclusionary effect in these texts. As such, it is clearly one of the strategies, as J. Cheryl Exum writes, “by which patriarchal literature excludes, marginalizes, and otherwise operates to subjugate women.”<sup>26</sup> The biblical genealogies undoubtedly have an androcentric bias and exclude most women. The Hiphil Pattern is one of the worst patterns for women. It is as if women are not necessary at all in the procreation process. But still, this exclusionary capacity of the Hiphil Pattern is not carved in stone. A change and a new possibility will occur in the linear genealogy in Matthew, using 39 times the M active form of γεννάω, the Greek parallel to the Hiphil Pattern. Apparently even the Hiphil Pattern can be combined with female elements. There are women within the Hiphil Pattern in Chronicles, as daughter or wife, though not in linear samples of this pattern, but in segmented ones. In Genesis we find the prototypical form of the Hiphil Pattern, which will become the model for the other texts. The later texts however will start deviating from this prototype, adapting it to their own needs. While clearly the majority of women is still excluded in the biblical genealogies, women can creatively be inserted even in exclusionary patterns.

The Hiphil Pattern has another exclusionary effect: it is in the extended form only used for the main branch of the family. Christopher Heard calls this the pruning of the family tree “so that only one fork remains (becoming the trunk).”<sup>27</sup> At the end of this research I will conclude that the Hiphil Pattern is used to distinguish the main family line and to underline the importance of royal and priestly lineages.

Genesis 5 and Genesis 11 are very similar. Both start with the noun תולדות, from the same root לל. According to Hendel the noun is derived from the Hiphil.<sup>28</sup> Johnson sees a connection to the Hithpael: “The term תולדות itself is the feminine plural noun derived from לל, ‘to bear, bring forth, beget’, and as such its most literal translation would be ‘begettings’. ... The noun is probably closest to the Hithpael of the verb, a *hapax legomenon*, occurring only in Num.1:18, where it may be translated, ‘to get one’s descent acknowledged’.”<sup>29</sup> Breukelman regards the noun as a nomen actionis from the Hiphil. He translates as ‘verwekkingen’, in line with the translation of Buber

<sup>26</sup> J. Cheryl Exum, *Framed Women, Feminist (Sub)versions of Biblical Narratives* (London/Oxford: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016<sup>2</sup>), XXII.

<sup>27</sup> R. Christopher Heard, *Dynamics of Diselection, Ambiguity in Genesis 12-36 and Ethnic Boundaries in Post-Exilic Judah* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 3. Christopher Heard sees this process of dis-election happening especially in Gen 12-36, but we can see it already in Gen 4, for the lineage of Cain, and in Gen 10 for the lines of Ham and Japheth. There is some attention to these side-branches, as there will be for Ishmael and Keturah, but only for a few generations. Their lineages do not continue.

<sup>28</sup> Hendel, “Begetting”, 39 note 4: “P also uses the noun, toledoth (always construct plural), derived from the Hiphil...”

<sup>29</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 14-15.

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‘Zeugungen’.<sup>30</sup> As such the noun is connected to the translation of the verb Hiphil ילד: ‘verwekken’, procreate. Though probably derived from the Hiphil ילד, the noun תולדות is not specifically tied to the Hiphil Pattern: it can be used to introduce other patterns too.<sup>31</sup> Both genealogies have the following sequence of the verb ילד:

son יולד  
 הולידו  
 יולד בנים ובנות

This sequence is, as we have seen, a linear genealogy. All the attention goes to the first son, making the list strictly linear. The Hiphil Pattern continues till it reaches a famous descendant, like in Ruth 4. In Numbers 26 we twice find a short clause using the Hiphil Pattern, in verses 29 and 58. It only encompasses two generations, father and a single son. Both descendants, Gilead and Amram, are special in the genealogies of Israel. The Hiphil Pattern has the function of emphasising the birth of these special descendants. Judges 11:1 is added, though not Pentateuchal, since this verse continues the Hiphil genealogical reference of Numbers 26, in describing Gilead fathering Jephthah.<sup>32</sup>

In Genesis, these linear genealogies will also have another function. Genesis 5 and 11, as discussed above, tie narratives together. Genesis 5 bridges the time of the first family to the rising evil leading to the flood. Genesis 11 bridges the period of the flood with the time of the patriarchs and the matriarchs.

The Hiphil Pattern texts in the Pentateuch					
ancestor	last descendant	pattern	depth		
Adam	Shem, Ham, Japhet	9x 2 x Hiphil <sup>33</sup> 1x 1 x Hiphil	11 generations	9 x linear 1 x segmented	Gen 5

<sup>30</sup> Frans H. Breukelman, *Bijbelse Theologie, Het eerstelingschap van Israel* (Kampen: Kok, 1992), 12&23. NRSV translates often with “descendants”. The book of toledot of Adam becomes rather down to earth: “the list of descendants”. In Gen 2:4 the toledot of heaven and earth are translated by “generations”.

<sup>31</sup> An example is Gen 25:12 where Ishmael’s toledot are followed by Female Pattern and בןי Pattern.

<sup>32</sup> This goes against the function of the linear genealogy as described by Wilson: “to connect the last-named person in the genealogy with an ancestor in whom the person grounded his claims to power, status or possessions.” Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 198-9. The function as Wilson describes it, can be found for a linear pattern introducing a person and connecting him or her with a famous ancestor, like the Backwards Pattern. For the Hiphil pattern it seems to be the other way around.

<sup>33</sup> Per sequence the verb is used three times, in Gen 5 and 11, two times in the imperfect of the pattern and once in the infinitive construct Hiphil, referring back to the first imperfect. Only in the last sequence of Noah and Terah we find just the imperfect. In the continuation of the pattern of Noah in Gen 9:28-29, as indicated by Breukelman, we will not find Hiphil Pattern anymore.



The Hiphil Pattern texts in the Pentateuch					
ancestor	last descendant	pattern	depth		
Noah	three sons	1 x Hiphil	2 generations	1 x linear counting	Gen 6:10
Shem	Abram, Nahor & Haran	8 x 2 x Hiphil 1 x 1 x Hiphil	10 generations	8x linear-1 x segmented	Gen 11:10-26
Terah	Lot	2 x Hiphil	3 generations	segm-linear	Gen 11:27
Abraham	Isaac	1 x Hiphil	2 generations	linear	Gen 25:19
Machir	Gilead	1 x Hiphil	2 generations	linear	Num 26:29
Kohath	Amram	1 x Hiphil	2 generations	linear	Num 26:58
Gilead	Jephthah	1 x Hiphil	2 generations	linear	Judg 11:1

In Chronicles the long sequences of the Hiphil Pattern seem to be used for the major genealogies. In Genesis, the lineages of the main branches also have Hiphil Pattern. The two long genealogies from Adam to Shem and from Shem to Abram constitute the descent of the most important family line. Thomas states the same, though in slightly different concepts. The main distinction lies between linear and segmented genealogies:

“whereas linear genealogies are part of the forward movement of the story of Genesis (through a focus on the main lines of descent), the segmented genealogies function as repositories for those family lines that will not be the narrative focus (secondary lines).

By being recorded, they are preserved and honored, yet remain outside of the main narrative thread.”<sup>34</sup>

Already in the Pentateuch the Hiphil Pattern is not exclusively used for extended linear genealogies, but also for short sequences of two generations. In Chronicles there is a similar double use. In Genesis 6:10 the last clause of Genesis 5 is repeated with a number attached to the sons: “and Noah had three sons, Shem, Ham and Japhet”, an example of counting of sons. Likewise, the start of the narrative of Terah including the marriages of the sons, repeats the last clause of the genealogy of Genesis 11.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas, *These are the generations*, 83.

As described above, Genesis 25 might have been the start of the third long and linear genealogy using the Hiphil Pattern in Genesis, but this genealogy falters and stumbles on the infertility of the next generation.

### 3.5 The בְּנֵי Pattern & בְּנוֹת

This pattern uses the phrase בְּנֵי to introduce the names of the descendants. The main constitutive element is not a verb, but a noun: בֶּן. Renaud calls it the “schéma énumératif”<sup>35</sup>. After this introductory word, the names of the sons (rarely daughters) are given. The pattern ends with a concluding phrase: ‘these are the sons of...; often with additions: in their...by their...’ The phrase בְּנֵי אֵלֶּה is predominantly used in a genealogical context.<sup>36</sup> The בְּנֵי Pattern is used for a segmented or horizontal genealogy, which follows different lines of descent of one ancestor. In Genesis 10, the Table of the Nations, we find male descendants of the three sons of Noah. And all three sons of Noah are registered as having several sons.

There are two types of such a segmented genealogy using בְּנֵי Pattern. The first one I will call the linear בְּנֵי genealogy. This type is segmented in every generation but follows one line of descent only. Judah’s lineage in Genesis 46:12 is a clear example of this. All the sons of Judah are listed, including the sons who will die, but only the lineage of Perez continues to a further generation. For this generation, the genealogy is again segmented.

The second type I will call the segmented בְּנֵי Pattern. Here the genealogy also lists all the descendants of one generation, but follows more branches. Japhet’s genealogy gives the descendants of two of his sons, not one. Often the overall genealogy is segmented. And within this segmented בְּנֵי genealogy we find one or two linear בְּנֵי genealogies. For Seir in Genesis 36 for example all sons are given a lineage (segmented בְּנֵי ), but of one son (Zibeon) the lineage is followed to the fourth generation (linear בְּנֵי genealogy). In Chronicles we will also see examples of linear and segmented בְּנֵי Patterns. In Genesis 10, 25 and 36 we find the same characteristic heading וְאֵלֶּה תולדות as in Genesis 5 and 11.

<sup>35</sup> Renaud, “Les généalogies et la structure”, 8/9.

<sup>36</sup> The phrase is also used in a context similar to genealogies, namely lists. We find בְּנֵי אֵלֶּה in Ezra 2:1, Neh 7:6, the list of returnees, Num 3:17, the census of the Levites and Josh 17:2, the allotment to Manasseh. See <https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?id=3654>. The three occurrences of the phrase with the absolute noun are also in genealogies (I Chron 2:18, 8:10, with pronominal suffix) or a list (I Chron 25:5, with preposition לְ , בְּנֵי-אֵלֶּה , see <https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?id=3653>).

Genre Patterns in the Genealogies in the Pentateuch: Analysis & Conclusions

The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in Genesis 10-36					
ancestor	last descendants	parts of בְּנֵי Pattern used	depth	other pattern structure	
Noah	Shem, Ham, Japheth	general intro: וְאֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת בְּנֵי־נֹחַ	2 generations	Passive	Gen 10:1
Japheth	7 sons	introduction	from Japheth-grandchildren: 3 generations		Gen 10:2
Gomer, 1 <sup>st</sup> son J	3 sons	introduction			Gen 10:3
Javan, 4 <sup>th</sup> son J	4 sons	introduction conclusion Japheth			Gen 10:4-5
Ham	to: Sheba & Dedan	introduction	3 x בְּנֵי, 4 generations	followed by Qal	Gen 10:6-7
		conclusion Ham			Gen 10:20
Shem	5 sons	introduction		preceded by Passive	Gen 10:22
Aram, 5 <sup>th</sup> son Shem	4 sons	introduction		followed by Qal, Qal, Pass, Qal	Gen 10:23
Joktan		conclusion	only בְּנֵי conclusion	narrative	Gen 10:29
Shem		conclusion Shem	only בְּנֵי conclusion		Gen 10:31
Noah		general conclusion וְאֵלֶּה מִשְׁפְּחוֹת בְּנֵי־נֹחַ לְתוֹלְדוֹתָם	only בְּנֵי conclusion	מִשְׁפְּחוֹת	Gen 10: 32
Dedan, grandson Keturah	3 peoples	introduction		preceded by Qal Masc	Gen 25:3
Midian, 4 <sup>th</sup> son Keturah	5 sons	introduction			Gen 25:4
Keturah		conclusion	only בְּנֵי conclusion		Gen 25:4

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The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in Genesis 10-36					
ancestor	last descendants	parts of בְּנֵי Pattern used	depth	other pattern structure	
Ishmael	12 sons	וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת + תּוֹלְדוֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׁמָעֵאל conclusion vs.16	2 generations	בְּכוֹר	Gen 25:12-16
Esau		בְּנֵי + תּוֹלְדוֹת intro + conclusion vs.5	-	Female	Gen 36:1-5
Esau	2 sons	+ תּוֹלְדוֹת וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי-עֵשָׂו	from Esau to grandchildren:	בֶּן, אָבִי +mother 2x	Gen 36:9
Eliphaz 1 <sup>st</sup> son of E	5 sons	intro & conclusion: sons of Adah	3 generations	followed by Female	Gen 36:10-12
Reuel 2 <sup>nd</sup> son of E	4 sons	intro & conclusion: son of Basemath			Gen 36:13
Oholibamah		intro		בֶּן/ בַּת , followed by Female	Gen 36:14
Esau		וְאֵלֶּה אֱלוֹפֵי בְנֵי-עֵשָׂו	only intro		Gen 36:15
Eliphaz	7 sons/chiefs (אֱלוֹפֵי)	intro & conclusion: sons of Adah	from Esau- grandchildren:	בְּכוֹר	Gen 36:15-16
Reuel	4 sons/chiefs	intro & conclusion: sons of Basemath	3 generations		Gen 36:17
Oholibamah	3 sons/chiefs	intro & conclusion: sons of Oholibamah			
Seir	7 descendants 3 generations	בְּנֵי & conclusion וְאֵלֶּה אֱלוֹפֵי הַחָרִי בְּנֵי שְׁעִיר	indiscernible		Gen 36:20,21
Lotan, 1 <sup>st</sup> son of S	2 sons	introduction	2 generations	אָחוּה	Gen 36:22
Shobal, 2 <sup>nd</sup> son of S	5 sons	introduction	2 generations		Gen 26:23

The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in Genesis 10-36					
ancestor	last descendants	parts of בְּנֵי Pattern used	depth	other pattern structure	
Zibeon, 3 <sup>rd</sup> son of S	to: great-grandsons	3 x intro בְּנֵי	4 generations		Gen 36:24-26
Ezer, 4 <sup>th</sup> son of S	3 sons	introduction	2 generations		Gen 36:27
Dishan, 5 <sup>th</sup> son of S	Uz & Aran	introduction	2 generations		Gen 36:28
the Horites	7 chiefs	intro & conclusion: אֵלֶּה אֲלוּפֵי הַחֹרִי	indiscernible		Gen 36:29-30

The preferred בְּנֵי genealogy in I Chronicles 1, rewriting Genesis, follows two lines of descent of an ancestor till the third generation. We find this in Genesis 10, for Japhet. Keturah's lineage also follows the lines of two sons only till the generation of the grandchildren. The בְּנֵי introduction that I Chronicles 1 has, the sons of Keturah, is missing. Keturah is not heading her own division, but is present in the conclusion. The sons are attributed to her. Also Esau's genealogy follows the descent of the two single sons of two of his wives. His third wife, Oholibamah, heads her own sections, but her lineage does not continue. Oholibamah is exceptional. It is for her and her brother that the genealogy of Zibeon is extended. The other wives are named in the conclusion, as Keturah, but Oholibamah heads and concludes the second section. In this second section we find the word אֲלוּפֵי instead of בְּנֵי and the singular אֲלוּפִי preceding the names of the sons. The sons are chiefs of their families or clans.

The number of sons of Ishmael is exceptional. The other fathers/mother have two to seven descendants. This number 12 foreshadows, as Breukelman says, the number of sons of Jacob.<sup>37</sup> Even the single daughter of Ishmael, who finds a place in the narrative text, though not in the genealogy of her father, foreshadows the only daughter of Jacob present in the texts.

Genesis 46 is another example of "...a true family tree, revealing a genealogical panorama of a single tribe or of an entire group of peoples."<sup>38</sup> It enumerates the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Jacob, thus giving the genealogies of Genesis, according to Crüsemann, its greatest depth: 25 generations from Adam to Hezron and Hamul, Heber and Malkiel.<sup>39</sup> In the

<sup>37</sup> Breukelman, *Bijbelse Theologie I:2*, 86.

<sup>38</sup> Malamat, "King Lists", 163.

<sup>39</sup> Crüsemann, "Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity", 59.

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genealogy of Genesis 46 the characteristic heading of Genesis 5,10,11,25 and 36 is missing. The list starts with: **וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל**.

The <b>בְּנֵי</b> Pattern texts in Genesis 46					
ancestor	last descendant	elements <b>בְּנֵי</b> Pattern	depth	other patterns	
Israel		<b>וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי</b> coming to Egypt	only intro		Gen 46:8
Jacob		Jacob and his sons	only intro		Gen 46:8
Reuben	4 sons	introduction	2 generations		Gen 46:9
Simeon	6 sons	introduction	2 generations	<b>בְּנֵי</b> mother	Gen 46:10
Levi	3 sons	introduction	2 generations		Gen 46:11
Judah	2 grandsons	2 x intro	3 generations		Gen 46:12
Issachar	4 sons	introduction	2 generations		Gen 46:13
Zebulun	3 sons	intro&conclusion <b>אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי לֵאָה</b>	2 generations		Gen 46:14
Leah		<b>אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי לֵאָה</b> Dinah,number 33	only conclusion	counting Female	Gen 46:15
Gad	7 sons	introduction	2 generations		Gen 46:16
Asher	2 grandsons	2 x intro	3 generations	and their sister	Gen 46:17
Zilpah		<b>אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי זִלְפָּה</b> number 16	only conclusion	counting Female	Gen 46:18
Rachel	Joseph & Benjamin	introduction	2 generations	followed by Passive, Female	Gen 46:19
Benjamin	10 sons	introduction	2 generations		Gen 46:21
Rachel		<b>אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי רָחֵל</b> number 14	only conclusion	Passive	Gen 46:22
Dan	Hashum	introduction	2 generations plural for sing.		Gen 46:23
Naphtali	4 sons	introduction	2 generations		Gen 46:24

The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in Genesis 46					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנֵי Pattern	depth	other patterns	
Bilhah		אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי בִלְהָה number 7	only conclusion	Female counting	Gen 46:25
to Jacob		leaving for Egypt final number 66	only conclusion		Gen 46:26
Joseph		only intro		Passive (2)	Gen 46:27
house of Jacob		coming to Egypt final number 70	only conclusion		Gen 46:27

The order of the children is different from the order in Genesis 35 and Exodus 1. There Leah's sons also come first, but are followed by Rachel's son(s). Only after their more important brothers the sons of the female servants follow. First the sons of Rachel's servant, then the sons of Leah's servant, possibly a combination of hierarchical position and the order of birth described in Genesis 29-30.<sup>40</sup> In Genesis 46 Zilpah's sons follow directly after the children of her mistress. Rachel and Bilhah are also grouped together. The depth of the genealogies of Genesis 46 is shallow. It mostly only covers three generations from Jacob and does not reach beyond the fourth generation of his greatgrandchildren in the lineage of Judah and Asher. But then, the genealogy is meant as a list of contemporary people, fleeing the famine in Canaan and leaving for Egypt together. The mothers are very present in this polygamous genealogy. Rachel heads and concludes her section, like Oholibamah. There is one nameless Canaanite mother, one sister, Serah, and one daughter of Jacob mentioned. The genealogy plays with the number seven. Bilhah has seven descendants; Rachel 14 and Leah and Zilpah together 49. In total 70 people of Israel are now in Egypt.

Exodus 6 is a mixture of the בְּנֵי Pattern for the general overview and the less important branches and of לְקַח וְנָתַן Pattern for the chosen branch of Amram-Phinehas.

<sup>40</sup> Namely Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah (Leah), Dan, Naphtali (Bilhah), Gad, Asher (Zilpah), Issachar, Zebulun (Leah), Joseph and Benjamin (Rachel).

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The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in Exodus 6					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנֵי	depth	other patterns	
		אֵלֶּה רְאֵשֵׁי בֵּית- אָבְתָם	only intro		Ex 6:14
Reuben	4 sons	intro בְּנֵי conclusion אֵלֶּה מִשְׁפַּחַת	2 generations	בְּכוֹר	Ex 6:14
Simeon	6 sons	intro בְּנֵי conclusion אֵלֶּה מִשְׁפַּחַת	2 generations	בֶּן mother	Ex 6:15
Levi	3 sons	וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי- לְוִי לְתֹלְדָתָם age Levi	from Levi to grandchildren:		Ex 6:16
Gershon	Libni& Shimei	intro לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם	3 generations		Ex 6:17
Kohath	4 sons	intro age Kohath			Ex 6:18
Merari	Mahli & Mushi	introduction conclusion אֵלֶּה מִשְׁפַּחַת הַלְוִי לְתֹלְדָתָם		followed by לְקַח וְתִלְדָּה +age Amram	Ex 6:19
Izhar 2nd son Kohath	3 sons	introduction	2 generations		Ex 6:21
Uzziel 4th son Kohath	3 sons	introduction	2 generations	followed by לְקַח וְתִלְדָּה Aaron	Ex 6:22
Korah 1st son Izhar	3 sons	intro& conclusion אֵלֶּה מִשְׁפַּחַת הַקְּרָחִי	2 generations	followed by לְקַח וְתִלְדָּה Eleazar	Ex 6:23
		general conclusion אֵלֶּה רְאֵשֵׁי אָבוֹת הַלְוִיִּם-לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם	only conclusion		Ex 6:25



In Chronicles Simeon's genealogy precedes Reuben's (and Judah precedes both of them), but in the Pentateuch the normal order is maintained: the firstborn first. The sons of Leah are treated in the order of their birth. In Exodus משפחה is important, as it is in Numbers, especially in the concluding remarks. Generally the depth of the genealogies is two generations. Reuben's and Simeon's genealogy end there, but Levi's continues. Levi's lineage is a segmented בני genealogy. The lineages of Gershon and Merari end with the third generation from Levi; Kohath's continues with לקח ותלד for the main line through Amram and בני Pattern for Izhar and Uzziel. Izhar has a linear בני genealogy following the descent through one son, Korah, reaching the fifth generation from Levi. The greatest depth, the seventh generation from Levi in the person of Phinehas, is reached by the other pattern: the לקח ותלד. The number of sons varies from one to six. Within the בני Pattern just one mother is named, by the addition of the Backwards Pattern. There are no daughters. Miriam is missing.

In Numbers 26 we find a genealogy similar to Genesis 46 using predominantly בני Pattern. Attached to the word בני we find משפחות. Sons have become clans. There is also a census attached.



The בני Pattern texts in Numbers 26					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בני Pattern	depth	other patterns	
Israel		בני Israelites leaving Egypt	only intro		Num 26:4
Reuben	4 families	בני אלה משפחות &number		בכור counting	Num 26:5-7
Pallu, 2 <sup>nd</sup> son Reuben	3 grandsons	2 x intro, pl for sg	3	narrative	Num 26:8-11
Simeon	5 families	בני למשפחות אלה משפחות &number	2	counting	Num 26:12-14
Gad	7 families	בני למשפחות אלה משפחות &number	2	counting	Num 26:15-18
Judah	2 sons	intro	2		Num 26:19
Judah & Perez	2 families/ grandsons	בני למשפחות; intro Perez: בני אלה משפחות &number	3	counting	Num 26:20-22
Issachar	4 families	בני למשפחות	2	counting	Num 26:23-25

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The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in Numbers 26					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנֵי Pattern	depth	other patterns	
		אלה מִשְׁפַּחַת &number			
Zebulun	3 families	בְּנֵי לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם אלה מִשְׁפַּחַת &number	2	counting	Num 26:26-27
Joseph	2 sons	בְּנֵי לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם	2		Num 26:28
Manasseh	6 families/ great-grandsons	בְּנֵי לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם	from Manasseh daughters:		Num 26:29-32
Zelophehad	5 daughters		6	וְשֵׁם בָּנוֹת	Num 26:33
Manasseh		אלה מִשְׁפַּחַת &number	only conclusion	counting	Num 26:34
Ephraim	1 family/ grandson	בְּנֵי לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם intro אלה מִשְׁפַּחַת &number		counting	Num 26:35-37
Joseph		אלה בְּנֵי-יוֹסֵף לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם	only conclusion		Num 26:37
Benjamin	2 families/ grandsons	בְּנֵי לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם intro אלה מִשְׁפַּחַת &number	3	counting	Num 26:38-41
Dan	1 family	בְּנֵי לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם אלה מִשְׁפַּחַת &number	3	counting	Num 26:42-43
Asher	2 families/ grandsons	בְּנֵי לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם intro אלה מִשְׁפַּחַת &number	3	וְשֵׁם בְּתֹרֶה אֲשֶׁר שָׂרָה counting	Num 26:44-47
Naphtali	4 families	בְּנֵי לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם אלה מִשְׁפַּחַת &number	2	counting	Num 26:48-50
Israel	final number	אלה פְּקוּדֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	only conclusion	counting	Num 26:51
Levi	3 families	וְאֵלֶּה פְּקוּדֵי הַלְוִי לְמִשְׁפַּחָתָם			Num 26:57

The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in Numbers 26					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנֵי Pattern	depth	other patterns	
Levi	5 families	אֵלֶּה מְשֹׁפְחוֹת וּבְתוּרֵי קְנָנִי הֵם number	5	Hiphil, Passive, Female, Passive, counting	Num 26:58-62

The tribes of the sons of Israel have increased greatly since they left Canaan. From the 70 sons and daughter coming into Egypt the population has grown so much that we now have a census of warriors of more than half a million, not counting children and women.<sup>41</sup> Leah's tribes are still the biggest in number, but Bilhah's families are now greater in number than Zilpah's. Rachel has become more important than Zilpah and Bilhah. The census list in Numbers 26 has a greater depth than Genesis 46. It reaches the fourth generation in five tribal genealogies. Which location in time the text presumes, is not quite clear. The genealogy describes clans, named after an ancestor living in earlier times. Moses, the fifth generation from Jacob, and Eleazar and Phinehas, from the sixth and seventh generation, are active and alive at the same time in the narrative. Presumably, Moses belongs to the oldest generation alive. It is possible that Moses and the daughters of Zelophehad, from the generation of Moses' greatgrandchildren, were contemporaries. The genealogy stretches to reach this eighth generation. Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah are not hidden under sons, or disguised as sisters, but are openly present, in a separate verse, using special בְּנֵי terminology adapted to daughters. The 'name of the daughters of...', וְשֵׁם בָנוֹת, is similar to the usual 'these are the names of the sons of...'/ 'the names of the sons of...'. In Numbers 27:1 we find the full phrase: וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֹתָיו.

Within the genealogy of chapter 26 the adapted בְּנֵי phrase returns in verse 44 with וְשֵׁם בֵּת, to introduce the daughter of Asher. The daughters of Zelophehad and Asher are mentioned before the pattern is concluded with the census, so these daughters figure within the pattern. In this aspect, we see a difference with the other extension, to the great-grandsons of Reuben. There the story of Dathan and Abiram is told as an afterthought, after the conclusion of the pattern.

Judah's genealogy restarts after the death of his first two sons. The sections of the sons of Israel are all very similar in the opening and conclusion, combining בְּנֵי and מְשֹׁפְחוֹת. The section of

<sup>41</sup> Though possibly אֵלֶּה, related to אֵלֶּה (clan), means military clan/family unit, reducing the numbers considerably.

the Levites is different. It is added after the concluding census and uses פְּקוּדֵי instead of בְּנֵי. In the first opening פְּקוּדֵי is combined with מִשְׁפַּחַת; in the second we only find מִשְׁפַּחַת.

### The בְּנֵי and מִשְׁפַּחַת Pattern

The בְּנֵי Pattern is often connected with the word מִשְׁפָּחָה. I translate מִשְׁפָּחָה not as family, but as clan. Perdue explains מִשְׁפָּחָה as: “a village consisting of several farm households related by kinship and marriage.”<sup>42</sup> The term מִשְׁפָּחָה is mostly present in genealogies and in census lists. In the books of Genesis it figures only 12 times in total. Of these we find it five times in the genealogy of Genesis 10 (from which three times in the expression: “by their מִשְׁפָּחָה, their languages, their lands, and their nations”). The nations are also clans, just like the Israelites. And as such they are entitled to their own allotments, the land and towns of this earth.<sup>43</sup> Three times we find the term in the story of the search for a bride from the מִשְׁפָּחָה in Genesis 24<sup>44</sup>, to describe the ties within the clan of the Terahides. NRSV translates “kindred”.

In the genealogy in Exodus 6 we find the word six times, in the concluding lines of the sections. In Numbers 26 the term מִשְׁפָּחָה occurs 92 times, almost a third of the total number in the Hebrew Bible (303). Niels Peter Lemche states that the term mostly functions in Priestly lists, as an element of the Priestly systematisation of the kinship units.<sup>45</sup> The term you might also expect, בֵּית אָב, “is not normally used in the Priestly genealogies and census lists.”<sup>46</sup> In Chronicles the term בֵּית אָב will become important, in expressions as ‘heads of their fathers’ houses’. The בֵּית אָב or family household consists of people living together inside a house and forming a social, economic and religious unit. The members of this household will be most often related, but not necessarily. The בֵּית אָב also consists of servants and slaves. It might be a multigenerational unit, a paternal joint

<sup>42</sup> Leo G. Perdue, “The Israelite and Early Jewish Family: Summary and Conclusions”, in: *Families in Ancient Israel*, edited by Leo G. Perdue c.a. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997, 177.

<sup>43</sup> Breukelman, *Bijbelse Theologie 1:2*, 35.

<sup>44</sup> In Gen 24 at least the servant seems to use the terms מִשְׁפָּחָה and בֵּית אָב interchangeably for the affiliation of Abraham and Nahor, though Abraham says himself, that he has left his בֵּית אָב.

<sup>45</sup> Niels Peter Lemche, *Early Israel, Anthropological and Historical Studies on the Israelite Society before the Monarchy*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum vol. XXXVII (Leiden, Brill 1985), 262.

<sup>46</sup> Lemche, *Early Israel*, 263. The preference of P for מִשְׁפָּחָה does not say anything according to Lemche about the real, sociological importance of the term. According to Lemche, the most important political unit in Israel was the father’s house and not the מִשְׁפָּחָה. He states that ‘house of the father’ could indicate lineage (descendants, thus clan), core family and extended family, so all levels below the level of tribe. Lemche, *Early Israel*, 251-258. Albertz and Schmitt agree that especially the term בֵּית אָב can be fluid in meaning. It can even denote a country. Often the term carries a more metaphorical meaning. But that does not mean that the בֵּית אָב did not indicate a specific social unit. Rainer Albertz and Rüdiger Schmitt, *Family Households in Ancient Israel and the Levant* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 24, 25. For the genealogies the term מִשְׁפָּחָה will be of primary importance, though on a sociological level this might have been different.

family, or a more nuclear unit.<sup>47</sup> We will follow these definitions and distinguish the terms thus: the *בֵּית אָב* stands for a family household and the *מִשְׁפָּחָה* for a clan, a number of family households living together in a village or a restricted area.

### The Presence of Women in the *בְּנֵי* Pattern genealogies of Genesis 10, 36, 46, Exodus 6 and Numbers 26 and 27

We have seen that the vertical Hiphil Pattern excludes women, though within the Qal Pattern women could be present in short linear references. We would have to investigate whether biblical horizontal genealogies like the *בְּנֵי* Pattern do include women. The pattern is formed by the noun *בְּנֵי*, standing at the head of the genealogy, followed by *וּבְנֵי* at the beginning of the other verses/clauses. It is logical to assume that a pattern is formed by the word ‘sons of’ excludes women. And indeed in Genesis 10 we find no daughters, and no wives either. But in Genesis 36 and 46 we do find women. Daughters Oholibamah and Serah are in an unproblematic way listed under sons (Gen 36:25 and Gen 46:17). *בְּנֵי* has become a general term for descendants. It can include not only sons, but also daughters and grandsons.

Wives are called daughter in their genealogical references, but not many women are explicitly called ‘daughters’ in the genealogies of their fathers. Dinah is one of them. Her name is added as an afterthought, directly after the sons of Leah (Gen 46:15). Some daughters are added to genealogies after their brothers, with the phrase ‘and their/his sister was...’ Timna is such a daughter who is referred to as sister. After Serah’s name we find the epithet ‘their sister’. In such a way the author solved the problem how to include a few daughters in the *בְּנֵי* -genealogies.<sup>48</sup>

But generally of course, the *בְּנֵי* Pattern lists sons. As Fischer states: “...weibliche Nachkommen...sind für den Erhalt der Stammmfamilie in patriarchaler Gesellschaft offensichtlich unwichtig.”<sup>49</sup> Daughters were indeed less important in the genealogies than sons, though there are notable exceptions, but women in general are present in genealogies. In Genesis 36 and 46 wives play an important part. Wives are called daughter in their genealogical references. They have their own genealogical reference and are important in the genealogy of their husbands. In these genealogical references, wives are called daughter (viz. Asenath, Adah, Oholibamah, Basemath, all called daughter of ....).

<sup>47</sup> Albertz and Schmitt, *Family Households*, 22-24.

<sup>48</sup> Daughters did exist. For, as Fischer remarks correctly: “Es ist daher nicht damit zu rechnen, daß es, wie der Erzählverlauf der Genesis den Eindruck macht, in den von den EE (Erzeltern, HK) abstammenden Familien beinahe keine weiblichen Nachkommen gab.” Fischer, *Die Erzeltern Israels*, 49.

<sup>49</sup> Fischer, *Die Erzeltern Israels*, 57.

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The larger division is headed by the name of the husband and father (these are the *תולדות* of Esau; these are the names of the sons of Israel). The subdivision is distinguished by the name of the wife and mother. In some cases the mother completely dominates such a subdivision, for example in Genesis 46: three subdivisions start with the name of the eldest son and end with the mother, but one, Rachel's own, starts with the mother and ends with the mother. In Genesis 36 we find the same domination by the mother in Oholibamah's subdivision, in the genealogy of Esau I and II, verses 14 and 18. In Exodus 6 we do not find daughters, but we do find wives/ mothers, in total four. One mother is mentioned after her son, within the *בני* Pattern. The other three wives figure in the verses that do not follow the *בני* Pattern, but the *לקה נתקד* Pattern.<sup>50</sup> In this last pattern the female role in procreation is explicitly mentioned. The *בני* Pattern of the census in Numbers 26 does not register daughters under sons, but introduces them almost as sons. In the case of Zelophehad's daughters the lineage is extended to reach them, breaking the normal order of the number of generations. In Numbers 26 and 27 we saw the beginning of a *בנות* Pattern appearing. However, it only reached the generation of the daughters of Zelophehad, not further generations.

The conclusion can indeed be that the segmented genealogies using *בני* Pattern leave more room for women than the linear genealogies of the Hiphil pattern. Crüsemann states that women are mentioned at relatively few, but central places.<sup>51</sup> Women also add to the prominence of a tribe. In Chronicles a tribe like Judah including several women, is more important than an all-male tribe like Reuben. For some other tribes this is less clear. Within the Pentateuchal genealogies we can point to the use of the Female Pattern in Exodus 6 for the main lineage. But it is hard to see what the importance of for example Asher's daughter Serah is. Why would Genesis 46:17 be a central place? We lack information.

### 3.6 The Backwards Pattern

All over the Bible are short references attached to names, like son of Omri after the name of king Ahab or daughter of Shilhi after the name of queen mother Azubah. Some names always have the epithet 'son of', like Joshua who is always called 'son of Nun'. Such short references are often

<sup>50</sup> Johnson also points to the similarity of Ex 6 and Gen 10: "Exod. 6:14-25 is probably by the same hand as the core of Gen. 10. This is proved by the identical, blunt introductory *bene*-formula, and by the same technical use of the progression from *בני* שם (10:31; cf. 10:20; Exod. 6:16) to *משפחת בני* נח (10:32; Exod.6:19)" Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 20.

<sup>51</sup> Crüsemann, "Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity", 58.

enough to identify a person. If a man is called Caleb, we just need to know whether this is Caleb the son of Jephunneh or Caleb the son of Hezron. There is no need for a further lineage.

Sometimes these genealogical references grow into a longer genealogy, of three generations or more. Examples of such three-generation genealogies are the introductions of Rebekah in Genesis 24, to connect her to Abraham, and of the craftsman Bezalel, in Exodus 31:2 and 35:30. In Bezalel's case, it is important to name his grandfather Hur, the ally of Moses and Aaron. I will call this genealogical pattern the Backwards Pattern, since it leads back to an ancestor.<sup>52</sup> In introducing a new person it can be a helpful pattern, since it connects the unknown person to a well-known ancestor. Therefore, it is a popular pattern in narrative texts. In Chronicles we also find the pattern in genealogies. There it can reach great depth, as in the case of Heman, whose backwards genealogy covers 23 generations. In the Pentateuch we just find a few examples. The linear genealogies attached to Rebekah, Oholibamah and Queen Mehetabel are precursors of the extended reversed genealogy. In Mehetabel's case, the lineage is attached to her name, after the phrase 'his wife's name was', similar to the expression in I Samuel 1 and 9 'whose name was', used to introduce persons.



The Backwards Pattern texts in the Pentateuch				
descendant	ancestor	pattern	depth	
Rebekah	to: Milcah	1 x בַּת 1 x בֶּן	3 generations	Gen 24:24
Oholibamah	to: Zibeon	2 x בַּת (!)	3 generations	Gen 36:14
Mehetabel	to: Mezahab	2 x בַּת	3 generations	Gen 36:39
Bezalel	to: Hur – Judah	2 x בֶּן	3 generations	Ex 31:2
Bezalel	to: Hur – Judah	2 x בֶּן	3 generations	Ex 35:30
Korah	to: Levi	3 x בֶּן	4 generations	Num 16:1
Phinehas	to: Aaron	2 x בֶּן	3 generations	Num 25:7,11
Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, Tirzah	to: Joseph	1 x בְּנוֹת 5 x בֶּן	7 generations	Num 27:1

<sup>52</sup> Sparks calls it an ascending genealogy in contrast to a descending genealogy. Sparks, *The Chronicler's Genealogies*, 17.

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heads of the fathers (houses) to the clans of the בני Gilead	to: Manasseh	2 x בן	4 or more generations	Num 36:1
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The greatest depth of six generations we find in the Backwards Pattern of Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, Tirzah. The Backwards Pattern starts in their case with a unique example of a collective Backwards Pattern for women, a Backwards בנות Pattern. For the further generations it continues with the usual singular בן. As in Joshua 7 the Backwards Pattern is also used to give the ancestry of sinners, like Achan and Korah.

### 3.7 Auxiliary elements

#### אב/אם Pattern

The auxiliary אב/אם Pattern is used quite often in I Chronicles, especially for a connection between a person/population and a geographical location. In the Pentateuch there are also some occurrences, in the narrative texts and in the genealogies of Genesis.

The auxiliary אב/אם Pattern texts in the Pentateuch				
ancestor	descendant	main pattern	feminine context	
Hawwah	אם all living	narrative	Hawwah/Eve	Gen 3:20
Jabal	אבוי those who live in tents and have livestock	Female הוא קנה אבוי	mother Adah	Gen 4:20
Jubal	אבוי all those who play the lyre and pipe	his brother's name	Adah	Gen 4:21
Ham	אבוי הוא Canaan 2x	narrative	-	Gen 9:18,22
Shem	אבוי all the בני of Eber	Passive	-	Gen 10:21
Haran	אבוי Milcah& אבוי Iscah	בת narrative	Sarai, Milcah, Iscah	Gen 11:29
Moab	אבוי הוא Moab	Female	בקירה Lot	Gen 19:37
Ben-ammi	אבוי הוא Ammon	Female	younger d Lot	Gen 19:38



Kemuel	בְּיָ אַרָם	Female	Milcah	Gen 22:21
Bethuel	בְּיָ your mother	narrative	Rebekah	Gen 28:2
Rebekah	אִם Jacob & Esau	narrative	Rebekah	Gen 28:5
Hamor	בְּיָ Shechem	narrative	Dinah	Gen 34:6
Esau	בְּיָ Edom	intro the תולדות	followed by Female	Gen 36:9
Esau	בְּיָ Edom	conclusion	-	Gen 36:43

The chart starts with the first woman, connected not to one son, but to life in general. The first two men in the chart are likewise connected to a group, in their case professions. For Shem, a curious construction is used. He is called the בְּיָ of all the sons of Eber, taking the place of his great-grandson. It is as if he is himself his own great-grandson. Shem being the ancestor, all descendants are attributed to him. In the other father-son connection by בְּיָ, it always connects an ancestor with a nation or people (Canaan, Moab, Ammonites, Aram, Edom). As in Chronicles, the אִם/אָם Pattern is often used in a feminine context. אָם is either a short phrase, or an epithet connecting the name of the father with the 'son'. In the Pentateuch, the אִם/אָם Pattern never grows into a pattern encompassing more than two generations. Ruth 4 is the only occurrence of the אִם/אָם Pattern as an independent pattern.

The only 'normal' parent-descendants connections using the אִם/אָם Pattern are also in a feminine context. Haran is the father of Milcah and Iscah. Genesis 11:29 is special, since it is one of the two occurrences of the אִם/אָם Pattern to connect a father and daughters. The other one is to be found in Genesis 28:2: "Go at once to Paddan-aram to the house of Bethuel, your mother's father". In the story of the rape of Dinah, Hamor is called בְּיָ Shechem. Rebekah is the אִם of Jacob and Esau. In these texts in Genesis 28 and 34 אִם/אָם Pattern is used in a narrative context. We find אִם more often in a narrative context. If both mother and child are named, it always regards the mother of either an army commander or a king. We find the mother of Sisera (Judg 5:28) and Zeruihah אִם Joab II Sam 17:25). The queen mothers are Bathsheba אִם Solomon (II Kgs 1:11,2:13), Athaliah אִם Ahaziah (II Kgs 11:1, II Chron 22:10) and Maacah אִם Asa (II Chron 15:6).

### בְּכֹר & the counting of children

Another auxiliary structuring element in the Pentateuch is the counting of children. The counting of children can be connected to all main patterns. In the Pentateuch we will not find any numbering

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of sons, like we find in Samuel and Chronicles for the sons of David. In Genesis 10:25 there is a beginning of numbering, when Peleg is called **הָאֶחָד**. But the numbering stops there: his brother is not called the second. We do find occasionally the expression ‘firstborn’ for the first son or the first daughter. In Chronicles the number can be attached at the end of the verse, without introduction, like in I Chronicles 3:23: The sons of Neariah: Elienai, Hizkiah, and Azrikam, three. In the genealogies in Genesis we mostly find a short sentence.

Counting in the Pentateuch				
ancestor	descendant	counting	pattern	
Noah	Shem, Ham, Japhet	<b>וַיֹּלְדֵם נֹחַ שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנִים</b>	Hiphil	Gen 6:10
Noah	Shem, Ham, Japhet	<b>שְׁלֹשָׁה אֲלֵהֶם בְּנֵי-נֹחַ</b>	בְּנֵי	Gen 9:19
Milcah	8 sons	<b>שְׁמֹנֶה אֲלֵהֶם יְלֵדֵהּ מִלְכָּה</b>	Female	Gen 22:23
Ishmael	12 sons	<b>שְׁנָיִם-עָשָׂר נְשִׂאָם</b>	בְּנֵי	Gen 25:16
Jacob	12 sons	<b>וַיְהִיו בְּנֵי-יַעֲקֹב שְׁנָיִם עָשָׂר</b>	בְּנֵי	Gen 35:23
Leah	33 children	added to subsection mother	Female בְּנֵי	Gen 46:15
Zilphah	16 sons	added to subsection mother	Female בְּנֵי	Gen 46:18
Rachel	14 sons	added to subsection mother	Passive בְּנֵי	Gen 46:22
Bilhah	7 sons	added to subsection mother	Female בְּנֵי	Gen 46:25
Jacob	66 children	first conclusion	narrative	Gen 46:26
Joseph	2 sons	added to father	Passive	Gen 46:27
Jacob	70 children	second conclusion	narrative	Gen 46:27

Apart from Genesis 46 with the numbers attached to the section of the mother, we do not find counting very often. Twice for Noah’s sons, once for Milcah and the telling number 12 for both the list of sons of Ishmael and his nephew Jacob.<sup>53</sup> In the census lists in Genesis 46 the numbers can also be attached in the way we find in Chronicles, with a simple number after the names

<sup>53</sup> Counting of sons happens also in Judges, for the sons of Gideon (Judg 8) and Jair (Judg 10) and the children of Ibzan and the sons of Abdon (Judg 13).

(שש עשרה נפש Gen 46:18) or a nominal phrase (כל־נפש שבָּעָה Gen 46:25). Of course in the census list in Numbers 26 there are also lots of numbers. Here the numbers indicate the military strength of the tribes, like in the first chapters of Numbers and I Chronicles 7. The descendants are not counted. בְּכוֹר can also be found in different patterns:

בְּכוֹר in the Pentateuch				
ancestor	descendant	firstborn	pattern	
Eber	Peleg	הָאֶחָד	Passive	Gen 10:25
Canaan	Sidon	בְּכוֹר	Qal M	Gen 10:15
Lot	nameless daughter	בְּכִירָה	Female, narrative	Gen 19:30-38
Milcah - Nahor	Uz	בְּכוֹר	Female	Gen 22:21
Ishmael	Nebaioth	בְּכוֹר	names of בְּנֵי	Gen 25:13
Jacob	Reuben	בְּכוֹר	intro בְּנֵי	Gen 46:9
Esau	Eliphaz	father called בְּכוֹר	בְּנֵי Eliphaz	Gen 36:15
Israel	Reuben	father called בְּכוֹר	בְּנֵי Reuben	Ex 6:14
Israel	Reuben	father called בְּכוֹר	followed by בְּנֵי Reuben	Num 26:5



Reuben being the firstborn of Israel is apparently such a fixed combination that we even find it in the genealogies of Reuben himself.<sup>54</sup> Contrary to the narrative, Reuben remains the firstborn of Jacob in the genealogies. Eliphaz is just once called בְּכוֹר. There are surprisingly few sons called בְּכוֹר, just Sidon, Uz and Nebaioth. We find בְּכִירָה for three daughters in the Hebrew Bible, namely for the eldest daughter of Lot, for Leah in the speech of her father why he has exchanged Leah for Rachel and for Merab, the eldest daughter of Saul. All these firstborn sisters are the elder of two. Calling her הַבְּכִירָה is a way to distinguish her. But apparently it also came with some rights, like the right to marry first (Gen 29). In the story of the cave in the hills near Zoar הַבְּכִירָה takes the initiative and the youngest follows suit.

<sup>54</sup> Even Chronicles confirms this, though a summary of the story of the rejection is inserted between the two genealogical introductions calling Reuben the firstborn of Israel (1 Chron 5:1,3). Hensel usually adds a 'genealogical confirmation' to the different transpositions of the right of the firstborn he treats, but leaves it out in this case. He just mentions the special position of Rachel in Gen 46:19. Hensel, *Vertauschung der Erstgeburt*, 181. Indeed, the genealogies do not confirm the exchange of the birth-right of Reuben.

### 3.8 The Book of תולדות and the structure of Genesis

In total we find the formula אלה תולדת /אלה תולדת ten times in Genesis: in 2:4a, 6:9, 10:1, 11:10, 11:27, 25:12, 25:19, 36:1, 36:9, 37:2 and twice elsewhere Numbers 3:1 and Ruth 4:18.<sup>55</sup> In Genesis 46 the characteristic heading of Genesis 10,11, 25 and 36 אלה תולדת is missing. The list starts with: ואלה שמות בני-ישׁראל. In Genesis 5:1 we find an alternative, unique expression: וזה ספר תולדות, which is often counted too.

A list of the formula in its application:

Heavens und earth	Genesis 2:4a
(Adam	Gen 5:1-32)
Noah	Genesis 6:9-10
The sons of Noah	Genesis 10
Shem	Genesis 11:10-26
Terah	Genesis 11:27
Ishmael	Genesis 25:12-16
Isaac	Genesis 25:19-20
Esau	Genesis 36:1-6
Esau	Genesis 36:9-43
Jacob	Genesis 37:1-2
Aaron and Moses	Numbers 3:1-3
Perez	Ruth 4:18-22

Renaud considers one תולדת formula to be secondary, namely Genesis 36:1, thereby reaching the round number of ten for Genesis: “Il reste donc 10 occurrences qui quadrillent la totalité du récit et se répartissent de façon très régulière: 5 dans l’histoire primitive et 5 dans le récit patriarcal, si, comme nous le verrons, les *tôledot Térah* ouvrent cette dernière période. » The formula introduces according to Renaud, with one exception (2 :4a), a turning point in the history. Lohfink also counts ten תולדת formulae.<sup>56</sup> He leaves Genesis 36:9 and Numbers 3:1-3 out, as not originally belonging to Pg. The number of ten is not coincidental. According to Lohfink you see the numbers two, seven and ten everywhere. “Almost everything is portrayed through pairs.” “Then there are schemata of

<sup>55</sup> Hieke adds Ex 6, with the names formula, as continuation of the genealogical system, along with Num 3 and Ruth 4. Hieke, *Die Genealogien*, 214.

<sup>56</sup> Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch*, Table I: The *Toledot* Division of Pg, 152.

sevens:...” “Or there is the number ten: ten generations between creation and flood, ten generations between Noah and Abraham, ten *toledot* headings.”<sup>57</sup> In a footnote he adds, possibly slightly humoristically: “Through the division of the whole work into ten ‘*toledot*’, it may be that Pg even represents itself as something like a ‘*toledot*’ to the tenth power.”<sup>58</sup>

Hensel also counts ten formulae for Genesis, omitting not Genesis 36:1, but Genesis 36:9. He does not include Numbers or Ruth. He divides the תולדות formulae into two groups, depending on literary context. Genesis 5:1; 10:1; 11:10; 25:12 and 36:1 are part of the title of a genealogy; Genesis 2:4a; 6:9; 11:27; 25:19 and 37:2 occur in the title of a complex of narratives.<sup>59</sup>

Hoekveld strongly disagree with the tendency to consider one of the two תולדות in Genesis 36 as secondary doublings: “... Esau’s two toledot are an essential part of the toledot system. Genesis 36 might even be the ‘backbone’ of the entire Jacob cycle...”<sup>60</sup>

Peter Weimar does not count 10, but 11 תולדות formulae. For him the reference in Numbers is secondary. He does not mention Ruth. According to Weimar there is a hierarchy between the different תולדות formulae. The introductory תולדות are the most important ones. They either introduce a summary of earlier information (the formulae in Gen 11:27; 25:12; 25:19; 36:1) or introduce a narration of information from the past that was not mentioned before but is essential for the following (the formulae in Gen 6:9 and 37:1).<sup>61</sup> The other תולדות are according to him subordinate formulae. The main תולדות form the “Hauptgliederungssystem” of a deliberately planned unified structure of Pg, combining the תולדות formulae with blessing.<sup>62</sup>

The תולדות not only comprise the genealogies in Genesis, they are according to Breukelman genealogy and story. They form the story of who the fathers were and how the family branched out and sons got separated from each other. That is according to Breukelman תולדות: the genealogical story of the genesis of Israel in the midst of humanity.<sup>63</sup> Matthew Thomas also interprets תולדות as including story and descent. And this inclusion is done for a reason: “... the semantic context of the term appears to have been extended in order to use it as a structural element...”<sup>64</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch*, 154-5.

<sup>58</sup> Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch*, 157, Footnote 53.

<sup>59</sup> Hensel, *Vertauschung der Erstgeburt*, 40.

<sup>60</sup> Hoekveld, *Esau: Salvation in Disguise*, 52. “... Esau’s surprising second toledot must have a theological reason as well. His presence in the land of his possession should be perceived as a blessing.” Hoekveld, *Esau: Salvation in Disguise*, 50.

<sup>61</sup> Weimar, Peter, “Die Toledot-Formel in der Priesterlichen Geschichtsdarstellung”, *Biblische Zeitschrift* 18 (1974): 65-93.

<sup>62</sup> Weimar, “Die Toledot-Formel”, 93.

<sup>63</sup> Breukelman, *Bijbelse Theologie*, 49-50.

<sup>64</sup> Matthew A. Thomas, *These are the Generations: Identity, Covenant, and the ‘toledot’ Formula* (New York/London: T&T Clark, 2011), 24.

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According to Hieke, the genealogies provide substance and structure to the book of Genesis. In the midst of all the crises and tensions of the book of Genesis, the תולדות, the genealogies bring “den Erzählverlauf wieder in ruhigere Fahrwasser” and stabilise the basic system, according to Hieke.<sup>65</sup> Hensel summarises his thoughts in the same way: “Das genealogische System (insbesondere die Toledot-Formeln) bildet die Grundstruktur der Genesis und erweist sich dabei als das tragende Gerüst der narrative Entwicklung.”<sup>66</sup> Of this genealogical system the recurrence of the formula אלה תולדות marks according to Renaud the “thresholds and the steps of the tale”.<sup>67</sup> According to Johnson the תולדות-source might have served as a skeleton for the Priestly history up to the exodus. Johnson regards the תולדות texts as a separate source, the תולדות book, which “accomplished the first overall classification of previously existing lists in the Pentateuch; in short, it is a real family tree and, as such, can be contrasted with the more or less isolated genealogical lists of J.”<sup>68</sup> This separate source contain genealogies with little narrative material. Johnson follows in the footsteps of von Rad,<sup>69</sup> who developed this idea of an original “Toledoth-Buch”, introduced by the formula אלה תולדות, based also on Genesis 5:1a. This book structures P,<sup>70</sup> and is, according to Johnson, a book with a purpose: “But the compiler of the Toledoth book had a purpose beyond this. Once the stage had been set with its great tribal confederacies, the line did indeed narrow until it reached Aaron, the seventh from Abraham, who was for the Priestly tradition the focal point in the establishment of the cultus.”<sup>71</sup> Numbers 3 would then be the culmination of the P genealogies and of the book of תולדות. For Hieke there is a double culmination point of the genealogical system, viz. the priestly lineage in Exodus 6 and Numbers 3 and the royal lineage in Ruth 4. The תולדות lead finally to the genealogies of the priests and of the king.<sup>72</sup> As the others, he regards the תולדות as “wesentliches Gliederungsmerkmal” of the book of Genesis.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Hieke, *Die Genealogien*, 252. Hieke explains this in detail. To name two examples of Hieke: the crisis of the fratricide is stabilised by the lengthy genealogy in Gen 5 and the crisis of the flood is stabilised by the Table of Nations in Gen 10. Hieke, *Die Genealogien*, 253.

<sup>66</sup> Hensel, *Vertauschung der Erstgeburt*, 292.

<sup>67</sup> Renaud, “Les généalogies et la structure”, 13: “Ainsi, le système généalogique traverse tout le récit sacerdotal du livre de la Genèse et lui donne sa structure fondamentale. La formule `éllèh toledot marque les seuils ou les grandes étapes du récit.”

<sup>68</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 27.

<sup>69</sup> A thorough overview of the history of interpretation of the Toledot is given by Thomas, *These are the Generations*, 28-31.

<sup>70</sup> Gerhard von Rad, *Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch: Literarisch Untersucht und Theologisch Gewertet*, Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1934), 33-40.

<sup>71</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 27.

<sup>72</sup> Hieke, *Die Genealogien der Genesis*, 41-42, 219, 237-238, 240: “Ergebnis einer solchen Lektüre ist eine durchgehende Bundes-Geschichte, die mit den Patriarchen beginnt und ihren Höhepunkt im Königshaus Davids findet.”

<sup>73</sup> Hieke, *Die Genealogien der Genesis*, 241.

Lohfink sees the תולדת formulae also as the main structuring device. P “introduces names, numbers and order: names through the genealogies and the table of nations and tribes, numbers through a well-constructed chronological system, and order through a variety of structural systems within the whole that sometimes contain one another and sometimes overlap. The most comprehensive division, defining the structure of the whole work in ten major portions, though of different length, is indicated by the *toledot* formulae.”<sup>74</sup> Frans Breukelman distinguishes four main parts: Gen 5:1-11:26; 11:27-25:11; 25:12-35:29 and 36:1-50:26. The title of chapter 5: this is the book of the תולדת of Adam, is for him the title of the whole book of Genesis, introducing the main lineage. תולדת אלה is the sentence with which all other parts start. The second part tells the story of the תולדת of Terah. The third first deals with the side-branch, Ishmael, before continuing with the תולדת of Isaac. The last part has the same system: first Esau’s תולדת are dealt with, then the story continues with Jacob and his sons. Within these four parts the formula forms a structuring element, starting and finishing the separate parts.<sup>75</sup>

Thomas distinguishes as Weimar a hierarchy between the formulae, but not on basis of their function, but on the absence or presence of a conjunction. Thomas distinguishes between the different תולדת formulae: the ones who do not have the conjunction before the phrase are according to him the main structuring elements. They make five major headings: of the heavens and the earth (2:4), of Adam (5:1), of Noah (6:9), of Shem (11:10) and of Jacob (37:2). The other תולדת formulae with conjunction ׀ are according to him subordinate subheadings.<sup>76</sup> The question is, whether the conjunction ׀ is indeed decisive in distinguishing between major and minor headings.

In these hypotheses the phrase תולדת אלה heads the divisions and is the main structuring device. Seen from the viewpoint of the genealogies, the phrase forms but one of the constitutive elements of structure for the genealogical book. תולדת אלה can be found apart from genealogies and genealogies can be found without the תולדת אלה. There are several genealogies that are not introduced by the תולדת formula, like the genealogy of Keturah and the genealogies of Reuben, Simeon and Levi in Exodus 6. Also Genesis 22 is missing. It seems better to look at the genealogies themselves, to find the structure of the book of Genesis.

<sup>74</sup> Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch*, 151.

<sup>75</sup> Breukelman, *Bijbelse Theologie I:2*, 13-15.

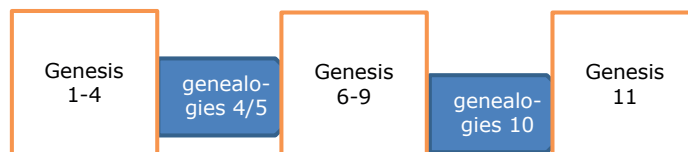
<sup>76</sup> Thomas, *These are the generations*, 82. Renaud also pointed to the fact that the less important family branches were introduced by תולדת אלה. Renaud, “Les genealogies et la structure”, 10-13.

**A proposal for a division of Genesis, based on genealogies**

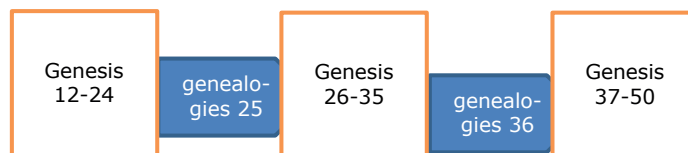
When we consider not only the phrase אלה תולדה but genealogies themselves as structuring elements, we observe that they are present at moments of transition. Between the stories of the garden of Eden and life outside the garden there are genealogies. The transition of the flood tales to the stories of the patriarchs and matriarchs is marked by genealogies. Between the division of the different generations of patriarchs and matriarchs stand genealogies.

Genealogies tie the different parts together. The genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11 do this quite literally, by covering the generations between the stories, to connect Adam and Noah, and Shem and Abram. In the present order Esau’s genealogy marks the transition to the Joseph Novella. Adele Berlin in discussing Ruth 4 describes the genealogy as: “Prologue and epilogue, rolled into one, providing material that surrounds the story.”<sup>77</sup> Genealogies surround the story, giving all the essential information we need to understand the narratives. They are the hinges fastening the woodpanels on which the different pictures of the narratives are painted. Without them, the whole structure would collapse, and the stories would be loose elements without any cohesion.

To give a tentative attempt to describe such a structure with the genealogies as connections between the stories, we can stay with the imagery of paintings. With the genealogies as hinges between the panels, we might discern two triptychs in the Pentateuch. The first triptych would be Genesis 1-11, with the genealogies connecting the left side painting (Gen 1-4), with the middle painting (Gen 6-9), with the painting at the right-hand side (Gen 11):



The second triptych would be Genesis 12-24 (Abraham), 26-35 (Isaac-Jacob) and 37-45 (Joseph):



<sup>77</sup> Adele Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbraun’s, 1994), 110.



At the end of each triptych we again find genealogies, to continue the lineage and form the bridge to the following part.

Apart from carrying the narratives and supporting them, genealogies carry meaning in themselves. They are more than just connecting elements. They give order and structure and connect people. They decide who belongs to the family and who is excluded. They highlight some descendants, exclude others, make room for side-branches and integrate families. The pattern used in them gives us information on the importance of the lineage they describe. The Passive Pattern underlines the importance of a father, and sometimes in a subclause a mother. The Hiphil Pattern will be used, especially in later texts, for the most important lineages. Thus patterns reveal a hierarchy. And sometimes, as in Chronicles, genealogies even redefine a people.

Starting with the list of descendants of Israel leaving for Egypt in Genesis 46 we enter a different world of stories, leading to the exodus and the wilderness. It finds its parallel in Numbers 26. A chiasmic structure might be present in these last Pentateuchal genealogies. Genesis 46 has the names of all sons of Israel, as Numbers 26. Exodus 6 and Numbers 3 concentrate mostly on Levi, though Exodus 6 also includes a short genealogy of Reuben and Simeon. So the order would be as follows: all Israelites going to Egypt (Gen 46) - Levi (Ex 6) and Levi (Num 3) - all Israelites leaving Egypt (Num 26).

We also observe other ways of structuring the genealogies. There is the process described by Rashi as sifting the sand to find the pearl.<sup>78</sup> Before the genealogy of the main line the genealogy of the side-branch is dealt with, to have it out of the way, before finding and showing the pearl. The same process is active in Genesis. Cain is treated before Seth; Abraham's sons with Keturah and Ishmael are treated before Isaac. Only Isaac's genealogy falters and almost fails, but for divine interference. We saw that in the Pentateuch this sifting was also a process of working towards a climax within genealogies. Genesis 10 first lists the descendants of the last-named son, Japhet; then keeps the audience in tension with the lineages of the middle son, Ham. Only when those two are completely dealt with, Genesis 10 reaches the climax: the genealogies of Shem.

The genealogies are put in a significant order, providing a hierarchy to understand the significance of the descendants. They form an essential structuring element by which the biblical texts are connected, biblical characters are identified and defined so the blessing of God can continue to further generations.

<sup>78</sup> Rashi's commentary on Chronicles, *I Chronicles*, 3-4. Also Kaminski, *From Noah to Israel*, 62 describes the same structuring technique.

### 3.9 Conclusions

The genealogical patterns of the Pentateuch set the standard for the genealogies in other books. A pattern like the Qal Masculine Pattern, however, will become obsolete. In the Pentateuch, it just occurs in three texts apart from Genesis 10, all in Genesis. Hendel regards the use of the Qal Masculine as early. Only later Qal Masculine was replaced by the Hiphil Masculine.<sup>79</sup> This might explain why the Qal Masculine Pattern is a relatively rare pattern in the Pentateuch too. The Qal Masculine Pattern can be used for a relation between persons by forming a linear genealogy of two to four generations or for a relation between an ancestor and geographical locations by forming a segmented genealogy of two generations only. The auxiliary יִבְרַח Pattern can make a geographical connection too, but always in the singular. The Qal Masculine Pattern excludes wives, but a daughter like Rebekah can be a self-evident part of this pattern.

In the Pentateuch, the Hiphil Pattern, the יִבְרַח Pattern and the Female Patterns are the most important patterns of the genealogies. In the Pentateuch, the Hiphil Pattern is used for a linear genealogy and the יִבְרַח Pattern for a segmented one. In Genesis 5 and 11 we find יִלְדָּה Hiphil in two long linear genealogies. Only in Genesis 5 the full pattern is present; These long Hiphil Pattern genealogies describe the lineage of the most important family, the ongoing line from Adam to Abram, whereas the minor branch of Cain uses Qal Masculine for the intermediary generations. Thanks to Genesis 5 and 11 the Hiphil Pattern is associated with a noble lineage. Already in Genesis the focus of the linear genealogy formed by the Hiphil Pattern is on the end, on the ultimate or penultimate generation. Even in the short sequences, the Hiphil Pattern has the function of emphasising the birth of special descendants. These shorter sequences only have the name of the father and יִלְדָּה Hiphil, with no indications of age.

The יִבְרַח Pattern is used for a segmented or horizontal genealogy, the genealogy that follows different lines of descent of one ancestor. There are two types of a segmented genealogy using יִבְרַח Pattern, the linear יִבְרַח Pattern, which is segmented in every generation but follows one line of descent only and the segmented יִבְרַח Pattern. Here the genealogy also lists all the descendants of one generation, but follows more branches. When the יִבְרַח Pattern genealogy spreads out, it often is not very deep. The יִבְרַח Pattern generally has a depth of just two-three generations. In the first type, the linear יִבְרַח, the pattern can reach a greater depth. The genealogy of Reuben in Numbers 26:5-9 is a good example. It lists in most generations more sons, but follows only the lineage of Pallu to further descendants. Thus the genealogy covers four generations. In Numbers 26:33 the יִבְרַח Pattern

<sup>79</sup> Hendel, "Begetting", 41.

reaches—with the help of a Hiphil Pattern—its greatest depth, namely the seventh generation from Joseph, to the generation of the daughters of Zelophehad. In this verse we found a female version of a traditional heading of the *יְנִי* Pattern, to introduce Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah.

The *יְנִי* Pattern often has a formal introduction and conclusion. When describing a polygamous household, the genealogy branches out into several subdivisions according to the number of wives of the patriarch. We saw two options: the pattern can be introduced and concluded by the name of the matriarch (Rachel, Oholibamah) or the pattern can be introduced by the name of the son and concluded by the name of the mother. The last option seems to be the regular one. Rachel and Oholibamah both have a special position, which in the case of Oholibamah is often interpreted in a negative way and in the case of Rachel in a positive way. I suggested above that Oholibamah's position might be ripe for a positive re-evaluation, based on the form-critical results of this study. Mothers are very present in polygamous genealogies.

The word *יְנִי* is less exclusive than it sounds. Primarily, the *יְנִי* Pattern lists sons, but *יְנִי* can be a general term for descendants<sup>80</sup>. The pattern as such includes not only sons, but also daughters (Oholibamah and Serah) and further generations, like grandsons (Gen 36:20,21). The word *יְנִי* has become a term for offspring, irrespective of number, generation or gender. Even a single son can be introduced by the *יְנִי* Pattern.<sup>81</sup>

In Numbers 26 we find *מְשֻׁפְּחָת* attached to the word *יְנִי*. Sons have become clans. *מְשֻׁפְּחָת* functions as an auxiliary pattern to *יְנִי*. The word *מְשֻׁפְּחָת* is especially prominent in Numbers, to illustrate the enormous growth in population of the Israelites. Not just one son is born, but to this son belongs a whole clan: “The descendants of Manasseh: of Machir, the clan of the Machirites...”. I decided with Perdue to translate the word *מְשֻׁפְּחָת* as clan, not family. A clan indicates a village, where all people are related to each other.<sup>82</sup> The word *מְשֻׁפְּחָת* will also be present in for example conclusions of the *יְנִי* Pattern in Exodus 6, but it will never be as important as in Numbers 26.

As we have seen, there are two female patterns. The *לָקַח וַתֵּלֶד* Pattern has a masculine verb (*לָקַח*, *בָּא אָל*, *וַתֵּלֶד*) before the feminine conception and delivery; the Independent Female Pattern only has feminine verbs. Special for Genesis is that the subject of the active masculine verbs can be God. The verbs used are in that case different, namely ‘see, hear, remember, visit and open her

<sup>80</sup> The use of *יְנִי* with the explicit addition *וַיֵּלֶד בְּנֵי* in Jeremiah 20:15 might point to the same inclusive meaning of *יְנִי* (New King James Version translates: “A male child has been born to you!”). And *וַיֵּלֶד* is of course also added as an emphatic contrast. See Joep Dubbink, “Jeremiah: Hero of Faith or Defeatist? Concerning the Place and Function of Jeremiah 20.14-18”, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 86 (1999), 15.

<sup>81</sup> For example Num 26:8, 29.

<sup>82</sup> Perdue, “The Israelite and Early Jewish Family”, 177.

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womb'. We call this variant of the  $\text{לְקַח וְתָלַד}$  Pattern the Divine Female Pattern. There is just one case of a (partly) Divine Female Pattern outside Genesis, namely in I Samuel 1:19.

In three cases the subject of the first verb is not the husband but somebody else. The same verb  $\text{לְקַח}$  is used. In these three cases, all in Genesis, it is another woman, namely her owner or mistress, who takes her and gives her as wife to the shared husband. In my interpretation the  $\text{לְקַח וְתָלַד}$  Pattern, as indicated above, is regularly used in the Pentateuch for the main branches; the Independent Female Pattern can be used for minor branches, or sons without offspring, like Abel. In the  $\text{לְקַח וְתָלַד}$  Pattern it is always sons, not daughters whom the mother gives birth to. Daughters can however be the objects of the Independent Female Pattern.

There are two patterns that are less common in the Pentateuch, namely the Passive and the Backwards Pattern. We find the Passive Pattern in Genesis and once in Numbers. It never forms an extended genealogy, of more generations using this same pattern. The passive stands in the middle of other patterns or occurs in the midst of a narrative. Still, it has an important function, since it distinguishes important fathers. Enoch is not just fathering a child, like his descendants, using Qal M, but to him Irad is born. Originally, the Pual perfect and the Niphal imperfect we find in the Masoretic Text probably belonged to the same conjugation, Qal perfect. The children are born to the father, who is added by the preposition  $\text{לְ}$ . In other texts, mothers can be attached to the pattern by a preposition too. In Genesis, this is only possible by a subclause. The Passive Pattern likes to add something to the verb, a number, a place or a time. The temporal indication ('after the flood') will be typical for the pattern in Genesis.

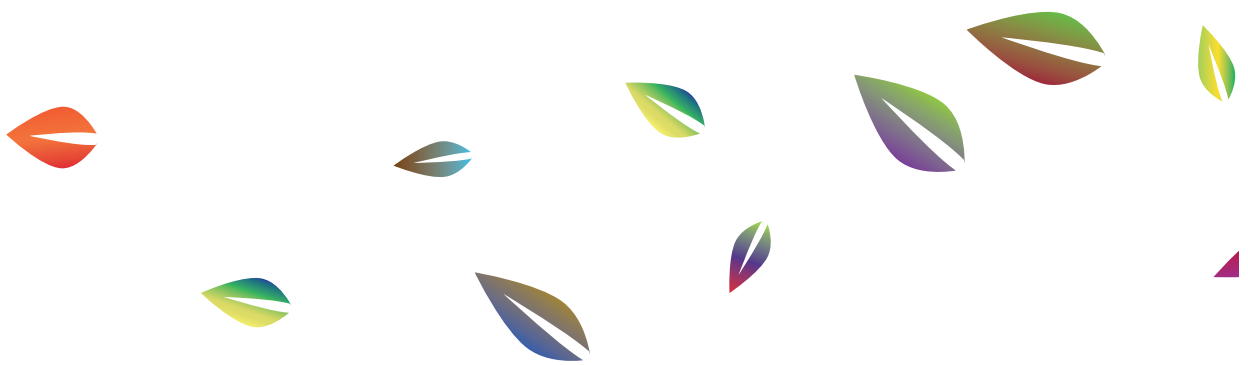
The Backwards Pattern is a pattern that is quite popular in narrative texts and in the listing of Temple staff in Chronicles, since it is a way of introducing and legitimising persons. In the Pentateuch we just find a few examples, in Genesis and Numbers. Special is the double  $\text{בָּת}$  in the genealogies of Mehetabel and Oholibamah. In the Pentateuch, the greatest depth is seven generations, in the collective Backwards Pattern for Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah in Numbers 27:1. Those five sisters really stretch the  $\text{בָּת}$  Pattern and the Backwards Pattern to the limit. In this way they increase the capacity of these patterns.

There are two auxiliary patterns we find in the Pentateuch:  $\text{אֶם/אָבִי}$  Pattern and the counting of children. Both are not widely used in the Pentateuch. The  $\text{אֶם/אָבִי}$  Pattern is limited to some occurrences in Genesis. The pattern is not used for normal father-son relations, but connects men with professions or a male ancestor with a nation or people (Canaan, Moab, Ammon, Aram, Shechem, Edom). The  $\text{אָבִי}$  Pattern functions as an alternative for the Qal Masculine Pattern, which also ties people and geographical places together. Where the Qal Masculine Pattern connects one ancestor with several places/countries, the  $\text{אָבִי}$  Pattern just describes the relation between one

founder and one nation. The only 'normal' parent-descendants connections using the אָבִי/אִם Pattern are in a feminine context. Haran is the father of Milcah and Iscah. Rebekah is the אִם of Jacob and Esau. We find אִם regularly in a narrative context, to connect a mother with a famous son. But also the feminine אִם can have a more symbolic meaning, with Hawwah being the mother of all living.

There is no numbering of children in the Pentateuch, but we do find some counting in Genesis. Especially in Genesis 46 numbers are attached to the born children at the end of the subdivisions of the wives. The epithet אֵלֶּיךָ for Reuben, as a fixed combination, is also found in genealogies in Exodus 6 and Numbers 26. The feminine אֵלֶּיךָ is not present in genealogies, but is used in narrative texts to indicate the elder of two sisters.

Finally it can be concluded that the phrase אֵלֶּיךָ תוֹלֵדָה is but one of the constitutive elements of structure for the genealogical book. In our study of genealogical patterns it is not helpful to give it too much emphasis.



4

# Chapter 4

Genealogies in Chronicles  
and other books



## Chapter 4

### **List of genealogies in Chronicles**

I Chronicles 1:1-27  
I Chronicles 1:28-2:2  
I Chronicles 2:3-2:17  
I Chronicles 2:18-55  
I Chronicles 3:1-9  
I Chronicles 3:10-24  
I Chronicles 4:1-23  
I Chronicles 4:24-5:17  
I Chronicles 5:27-6:38  
I Chronicles 7:1-40  
I Chronicles 8-9  
I Chronicles 23-26  
II Chronicles 11

### **Scattered genealogies in the other books**

Joshua 7  
I Samuel 1:1  
I Samuel 9:1  
Zephaniah 1:1  
Zechariah 1:1  
Ruth 4:17  
Ruth 4:18-22  
Ezra 7:1-5  
Nehemiah 11



## 4.1 Structure and function of the genealogies in Chronicles

The sheer number of genealogies we find in these first nine chapters of I Chronicles is unique. They form one large, inter-connected overview from the appearance of humankind to the long lists of the descendants of the sons of Israel. Together they describe the birth of a nation, or as Gary Knoppers describes it: “The primary issue at stake...is the relationships of the various groups that make up the *ethnos*.”<sup>1</sup> Though in the individual genealogies the Chronicler is dependent on Genesis and other sources, we did not find such an overwhelmingly broad composition in the Pentateuch. The Chronicler adjusted the genealogies he found in the Pentateuch to create the preamble to his book. The genealogical preamble has a surprising number of women.<sup>2</sup> Some of their names we can connect with stories, but there are also female ancestors whose stories the Chronicler probably knew, but who are no longer known to us.

Sparks states that the Chronicler is not just copying some documents in an arbitrary order, but planned the content, arrangement and structure of the genealogies. They are a deliberate literary construct and as such in structure independent.<sup>3</sup> Hugh Williamson finds a chiasmic structure and two examples of an inclusio in especially the chapters 2 and 3.<sup>4</sup> Knoppers also underlines that the genealogies of I Chronicles 1-9 “reveal a pattern of organization and conscious editing.”<sup>5</sup> The lists form an introduction to a people, whose history will be told in the following stories.<sup>6</sup> Sparks finds as other authors before him a chiasmus as the leading structure of the genealogies.<sup>7</sup> In the centre of this structure he puts I Chronicles 6:33-34 and 6:35-38, texts on ‘the cultic personnel in their duties’ and on ‘the cultic leaders’.<sup>8</sup> This centre seems a bit thin to carry the overall chiasmic structure. Other authors regard the whole tribe of Levi to be the heart of the chiasmic structure.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 256.

<sup>2</sup> Löwisch counted more than 50 women. Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 6. At the beginning of Chapter 3 she counts 38 texts, 60 individual women and five female groups. Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 61. In an appendix she lists all texts in I Chron 1-9 with female names, including some names that might or might not be female, like Gomer (I Chron 1:5) and Abijah (I Chron 7:8). Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 234-241.

<sup>3</sup> Sparks, *Chronicler*, 22.

<sup>4</sup> H.G.M. Williamson, “Sources and Redaction in the Chronicler’s Genealogy of Judah”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98/3 (1979), 358

<sup>5</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 254.

<sup>6</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 260: “These lines of descent introduce readers to the Israelites - their identity, their land, and their internal kinship relationships.”

<sup>7</sup> In his book he presents the genealogies in this chiasmic order. The pivotal point in the structure is as said I Chron 6:33-38, the cult. The preceding parts are mirrored in an intensified way by the following parts. Ch. 1 would signify the barrenness without cult in contrast to ch. 9, which depicts in contrast a society where cult is well organised and in able hands. Likewise the genealogy of David would be mirrored and repeated in the genealogy of Saul. The warriors of ch. 5 find their counterpart in ch. 7, but intensified, since it is culminating into the genealogy of the great warrior Joshua.

<sup>8</sup> Sparks, *Chronicler*, 29 ff.

<sup>9</sup> For instance Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 261; Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, 206-210.

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Johnson notices here affinity between the תולדות book and the Chronicler: “In this respect the plan of the Toledot book has close affinities with the theology of the Chronicler, for whom Moses the Lawgiver receives much less attention than Aaron, founder of the cultus.”<sup>10</sup> Manfred Oeming speaks about a model of concentric holiness. Through the circles of world, Israel and Jerusalem one reaches the heart, which is the Temple.<sup>11</sup>

But not only Levi, all the patriarchs are important in the lineages in Chronicles. All the tribes of the whole of Israel are represented in the genealogical preamble. Many of the tribes had disappeared in the time of the Chronicler, but for the Chronicler they are still part of Israel. Therefore they are present in his description of Israel in the genealogies. Their lineages are described in detail. For the main function of the genealogies of Chronicles 1-9 is “to present an ideal picture of the people of God”<sup>12</sup>, or as Knoppers describes it: “a comprehensive portrait of the fullness of his people.”<sup>13</sup> Therefore the author added the ethnographic and geographical data he could find also on the tribes that disappeared. For they form still part of an ideal picture, though the most important tribes of the Chronicler’s own day, Judah, Levi and Benjamin, take pride of place. In this ideal Israel foreigners become part of the nation. They are incorporated into Israel by the genealogies.

### Division

Different divisions are made. Oeming divides the first chapters in I Chronicles 1:1-2:2; 2:3-9:2 with subdivisions 2:4-4:23; 4:24-33; 5:1-26; 5:27-6:66 and chapters 7, 8 and 9.<sup>14</sup> Gary Knoppers divides as follows: I Chronicles 1:1-2:2; 2:3-5:5; 3; 4:1-23; 4:24-43; 5:1-26; 5:27-41; 6:1-38; 6:39-66; 7:1-40 and chapters 8 and 9.<sup>15</sup>

The division made by me is based partly on pattern and partly on content. In the first part the Ancient Near Eastern Pattern surrounds the diverse material of Genesis 1:1-27. Then the אֲבֹתָם Pattern takes over. The separation of Oeming and Knoppers in the beginning of chapter 2 is followed. Thus the genealogies of Judah start the new division. In chapter 2 a new start seems to be made with the Female Pattern for Hezron’s third son Caleb and his wife in 2:18 and the

<sup>10</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, 210.

<sup>12</sup> Joel Kennedy, *The Recapitulation of Israel: Use of Israel’s History in Matthew 1:1-4:11* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen Zum Neuen Testament, 2. Reihe, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 29.

<sup>13</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 262.

<sup>14</sup> Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, 7.

<sup>15</sup> Gary N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9, A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible Volume 12 (New York: Doubleday, 2004), viii-ix.

following restart of the genealogy of Hezron. In 2:25 another division could have been made, but the other sons of Hezron are taken together, for the sake of clarity. Chapter 3 is clearly divided in two parts: descendants of David and descendants of Solomon. For the other chapters of the genealogical preamble, I follow the usual division over the tribes. Some tribes are treated together. The style of the chronicles of Simeon, Reuben and Gad is very similar. Likewise in chapter 7, Issachar, Benjamin and Asher seem to belong together. Chapter 7, dealing with the smaller tribes, has a common military theme. The **יָדָה** Pattern and Female Patterns rotate. That is why this whole chapter is taken together, though the different tribes are treated in separate sections. The narrative parts of the genealogical preamble will not be treated.

#### Issue of dependence and dating

The dependence of Chronicles 1-9 on the Pentateuchal genealogies has long been considered to be clear. The Chronicler was supposed to have written his work on the basis of a written copy of the Pentateuch and the former prophets. Recently there is discussion whether this interpretation is correct since there are inexplicable changes and discrepancies in the text of Chronicles. Why is the text of the Chronicler often shorter? Does this point to antiquity? Might the text of the Chronicler in some cases even be older than the texts of for example Joshua? Or did both the Chronicler and the editors of the other books use the same source, interpreting it differently, whereby the Chronicler sometimes preserved the older shorter version? <sup>16</sup> Since Graeme Auld and Craig Ho raised these possibilities at the end of the last century, there is a lively debate on the seniority of the different texts. Sparks reduces the reasoning that the shorter text in the case of Chronicles is the older one *ad absurdum*, by pointing to Chronicles 1. If the reasoning were to be followed, we would have to reach the presently absurd conclusion that the genealogies of Genesis are dependent on the genealogies of the Chronicler.<sup>17</sup> He defends the idea that the shorter text of Chronicler is the result of a deliberate abbreviation.<sup>18</sup> Knoppers raises the possibility that the Chronicler used an older version than the MT of especially the former prophets, thus explaining the shorter text the

<sup>16</sup> Alan Graeme Auld, *Joshua Retold: Synoptic Perspectives* (Edinburgh: T.T. Clark, 1998).

Craig Y.S. Ho, "Conjectures and Refutations: Is Samuel XXXI 1-13 the Source of I Chronicles X 1-12?", *Vetus Testamentum* 45/1 (1995): 82-106. Craig Y.S. Ho, "The Stories of the Family Troubles of Judah and David: a study of their literary links", *Vetus Testamentum* 49/4 (1999): 514-531.

<sup>17</sup> Sparks, *The Chronicler's Genealogies*, 132.

<sup>18</sup> "... the Chronicler regularly abbreviated his sources deleting material unnecessary to or inconsistent with his purpose." Sparks, *The Chronicler's Genealogies*, 132.

Chronicler often seems to have.<sup>19</sup> We will maintain with Sparks that at least for the genealogies that are dependent on Genesis the Chronicler deliberately chose to use an archaic terse style.

There is a remarkable interest in lists of names and in genealogies in the post-exilic period. Crüsemann sees a strong connection between the weakness or the breakdown of the state and genealogies. “Quite clearly, the family and family-oriented thinking played again an astonishing role after the breakdown of the state.”<sup>20</sup> This would account for the genealogies, the census and lists of names in Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. Connecting this to the function of the genealogies in Chronicles, we could speak of an endeavour to recreate in a changing world an ideal tribal past, where all tribes were seen as connected by family ties. An answer to the question whether Chronicles is to be dated in the Persian or in the Hellenistic times, is beyond the scope of this study.

## 4.2 From Adam to Abraham, I Chronicles 1:1-27

This part starts and ends with a succinct enumeration of names with no mention of genealogical ties (vss. 1-4):

אָדָם וְשֵׁת אֲבוֹתָם  
קַיִן מִתְּלֵאֵל יָרֵד  
חֲנוּךְ מִתּוֹשֵׁלַח לְמֹדֵד  
נֹחַ שֵׁם הֵם וְנִפְתָּה

And it ends with a similar list of names in verses 24-27:

שֵׁם אַרְפַּכְשָׁד שְׁלַח  
עֶבֶר פֶּלֶג רְעוּ  
שָׂרוּג נְחוּר תָּרַח  
אַבְרָם הוּא אַבְרָהָם

According to Sparks these lists are no real genealogies: “If a genealogy does not link the names in some way by the use of kinship terms (father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister), then it is not a genealogy, but only a list of names.”<sup>21</sup> We will consider them genealogies, since they are clearly intended to be lists of fathers and sons, even though kinship relations are absent. They are the

<sup>19</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 68.

<sup>20</sup> Crüsemann, “Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity”, 64.

<sup>21</sup> Sparks, *Chronicler's*, 15. He gives our present text as example.

tersest genealogies we will encounter. We call these listing of names the Ancient Near Eastern Pattern (ANE Pattern), since these enumerations follow a pattern which we don't find in Genesis but do find in a text like the Assyrian King List.<sup>22</sup> By using this way of listing the first names the Chronicler gives an archaic and cosmopolitan flavour to the genealogical preamble.

The pattern forms here an inclusio. In the first list 13 names are mentioned; in the last one we find the more usual number 10. The last three names of the first list reflect the segmented ending of Genesis 5, the sons of Noah. However, from the list itself we cannot discern a change from a linear to a segmented genealogy. As Sparks says: "...the Chronicler probably assumed his reader's familiarity with these genealogies, and therefore assumed that his reader would supply the kinship terms."<sup>23</sup> The Septuagint adds 'sons' and repeats Noah: Νωε υιοὶ Νωε Σημ Χαμ Ιαφεθ, thus creating a more intelligible text. Knoppers suggests that MT originally had the longer reading but lost it through haplography.<sup>24</sup>

We do find other succinct enumerations, but mostly with a genealogical introduction, like קָנַי + name of ancestor. In I Chronicles 7:6 we find a very similar example of the pattern, with the addition 'three' after the three sons. In between the ANE Pattern the קָנַי Patterns and יָלָד Qal Patterns neatly rotate, as follows:

קָנַי	(5-9)
יָלָד Qal	(10-16)
קָנַי	(17-mixed with ANE pattern)
יָלָד Qal	(18; 19 passive variant-20-23)
קָנַי	(final expression 23)

<sup>22</sup> It starts in the same way, with just an enumeration of names: "Tudija, Adamu, Janqi, Sahlamu, Harharu, Mandaru, Imsu, Harsu, Didanu, Hanu, Zuabu, Nuabu, Abazu, Belu, Azarah, Ušpija, Apiašal. Total: 17 kings who lived in tents." For this first list it is not clear, as in I Chron 1, whether there are family relationships between those 17 names. The Assyrian King List continues with a reversed genealogy of kings, who are connected by a Backwards Pattern. From this second list it becomes clear that the last two names in the first list are father and son. So probably all names will form a descending genealogy. The list can be found in: James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East, Volume II, A New Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (London/Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 113.

<sup>23</sup> Sparks, *Chronicler's*, 16 note 68. Sparks calls this terse style of the Chronicler deliberate 'reductionism' (132). Also Oeming states: "Wer so schreibt, rechnet mit einem Leser, der um die Bedeutsamkeit der Namen schon weiss. ...Der Verfasser reduziert auf das für ihn Wesentliche." And he points to the fact that the Chronicler apparently did not see the essence of Genesis in the narrative part but in the genealogies. Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, 89.

<sup>24</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 267. Knoppers finds that sometimes corruption can be detected in the MT of Chronicles, when compared to the MT of other books, like the omitting, adding or transposition of words or letters. He considers the MT and LXX, the main sources for textual reconstruction, to be of equal value. Knoppers, *Chronicles*, 65. In this case we choose the MT, especially since the same genre pattern is found in vs. 24, also without the addition of the קָנַי Pattern. LXX might be an attempt to make the text clearer for those who were not immediately able to understand the family ties, especially of the three sons inserted in a lineage of father and single son.

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In verse 17 we find a mixture of בְּנֵי Pattern and a variant of the ANE Pattern:

בְּנֵי שֵׁם  
עֵילָם וְאַשּׁוּר וְאַרְפַּכְשָׁד וְלֹד וְנֹאֲרָם וְעֹז וְחַוִּיל וְגַמְר וְנִמְשָׁד

Here the names of the generations are separated by the article ׀, unlike the asyndetic lists in I Chronicles 1:1-4 and 1:24-26 (27). The introductory בְּנֵי Pattern makes it immediately clear that we are now dealing with a segmented list instead of a linear genealogy, unlike verse 4. As the ANE Pattern genealogies however, the genealogy of Shem is partly linear: the last four names are the sons of Aram.

The ילד Qal Pattern is probably used to maintain the grammatical constructions of Genesis 10. The Chronicler will not use it again. After this, he will only use the Hiphil ילד.<sup>25</sup> Probably the Hiphil of ילד had by now replaced the Qal.<sup>26</sup> In the same way the Pual perfect accentuation of an original Qal passive ילד is retained in I Chronicles 1:19, though the Chronicler himself used by now Niphal perfect.

The first chapter of I Chronicles reproduces and summarises Genesis. It starts with summarising the genealogy of Adam through Seth of Genesis 5 in the succinct way described above. The genealogy of Cain of Genesis 4 is missing. I Chronicles 1:5-26 resembles Genesis 10.<sup>27</sup> The descendants of Japheth, Ham and Shem are treated in the same order as in Genesis, according to Rashi's 'sieving principle' explained below: the most important comes last. The narrative parts are mostly left out. As in Genesis 10-11, the genealogy of Shem is partly told twice (Shem to Peleg). The ANE Pattern in verses 24-26 (27) summarises the Hiphil Pattern genealogy of Genesis 11. The words as such of this first part of the genealogies of Chronicles are almost all literally the same as in Genesis.

Knoppers points to the wide perspective of the genealogies and the lack of hierarchy in Chronicles, compared to other sources in the Ancient Near East. Even the appellation 'image of God' for Adam is missing in Chronicles.<sup>28</sup> In I Chronicles 3 there is the same lack of hierarchy: any reference to the descendants of Solomon to Josiah being kings is missing. And the Chronicler

<sup>25</sup> With the exception of I Chron 2:48, see there.

<sup>26</sup> Hendel, "Begetting", 41.

<sup>27</sup> A list of parallels of Genesis can be found in the commentary of Knoppers, *Chronicles*, 285-286. Chronicles is also summarizing information from the narrative parts, like in I Chron 1:28 (birth of Ishmael and Isaac in Genesis 16:15 and Gen 21:1-3) and in I Chron 1:34 (birth of Esau and Jacob in Gen 25:19-26).

<sup>28</sup> Knoppers, *Chronicles*, 291-293. Knoppers e.g. concluded that "The spatial range of names found in the Chronicler's genealogy of nations far exceeds, in fact, that found in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, ... The *Catalogue of Women* contains a series of segmented genealogies that are largely limited to detailing the names of Greek-speaking peoples, groups, and places (...)." Knoppers, *Chronicles*, 292-293.

“admits, much like earlier biblical writers before him, that Israel was a relative latecomer to the stage of world history.”<sup>29</sup>

The genealogical data of Genesis 11 are also summarised by the ANE Pattern. Here there is no extension to three sons as in verse 4. The enumeration of names ends with Abram whose name change is indicated by the simple explanation: “that is, Abraham” in verse 27. This verse forms a transition to the following part, the sons of Abraham.

### The Patterns of I Chronicles 1 and Genesis 10

In I Chronicles 1 we find the patterns of the Genesis genealogies of Genesis 10. Verses 3-9 use the  $\text{גָּבַר}$  Pattern of the corresponding Genesis 10:1-7. From verses 10-15 the Chronicler changes to the non-P pattern, using the Qal Masculine of the verb  $\text{לָדַד}$ , of the corresponding text Genesis 10:8-18. I Chronicles 1:17 uses the  $\text{גָּבַר}$  Pattern of Genesis 10:22-23. I Chronicles 1:19-23 follows the non-P pattern of Qal Masculine  $\text{לָדַד}$ . In verse 19 we find another possibility of the non-P pattern, viz passive yulad (2a). This will be the only example of a Pual Perfect  $\text{לָדַד}$  in Chronicles, retained because of the original text in Genesis 10. After this the author changes to the form used in his time: Niphal Perfect. Verse 23 has a characteristic P ending, concluding a non-P passage, as in Genesis 10:29. As in Genesis 10, women do not play a part in the genealogy. No daughters occur. The genealogy of Abraham’s sister in law Milcah and the list of descendants of Reumah (Gen 22:20-24) are left out in Chronicles, as was the genealogy of Cain of Genesis 4.<sup>30</sup>

### 4.3 From Abraham to Judah, I Chronicles 1:28 - I Chronicles 2:2

The genealogies in this part follow a clear line. The less important genealogies are treated first, before focusing on the main lines. This is done for the generation of the sons of Abraham and again for the sons of Isaac. Rashi: “All of this [book] is for the [purpose of tracing the] lineage of King David and the Levites...(…). This can be compared to a king who was traveling from place to place and dropped a pearl. The king stood and sifted the sand with a sieve until he found the pearl. (...).

<sup>29</sup> Knoppers, *Chronicles*, 293.

<sup>30</sup> Oeming suggests that the Chronicler chose to leave out the traditions that would no longer play a part in the Pentateuch, like the genealogies of Milcah and Reumah. Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, 79.

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And because of the honor of Isaac, he traced the lineage of the sons of Esau and Ishmael and the sons of Keturah, and he cast them away little by little and left them.”<sup>31</sup>

In I Chronicles 1:28-2:2 the בְּנֵי Pattern is dominant. For Ishmael we find a variant with בְּכוֹר, after which the other sons are following. Once we find a Female Pattern (1:32) and once we find ילד Hiphil (1:34a), in the following order:

בְּנֵי אַבְרָהָם-יִצְחָק וְיִשְׁמָעֵאל

אֵלֶּה תְּלֻדֹתָם

יִשְׁמָעֵאל בְּכוֹר

names 12 sons<sup>32</sup> of son 2 of Abraham

אֵלֶּה הֵם בְּנֵי יִשְׁמָעֵאל

וּבְנֵי קֵטוּרָה פִּילְגֶשׁ אַבְרָהָם

יְלֵדָה אֶת־

six sons

two בְּנֵי of son 2 of Keturah

five בְּנֵי of son 4 of Keturah

כָּל־אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי קֵטוּרָה

son 1: Isaac וַיֻּלְד אַבְרָהָם אֶת־יִצְחָק

בְּנֵי יִצְחָק עֶשָׂו וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל

five בְּנֵי Esau, son 1

seven בְּנֵי of first son of Esau

four בְּנֵי of second son of Esau

In this first part the principle of Rashi is consistently applied. After the start of the pattern mentioning the names of two sons of Abraham Isaac and Ishmael in the reversed order of their birth, first the 12 sons of Ishmael are treated. Breukelman sees the number 12 of the sons of Ishmael and of the sons of Nachor (from two wives) as foreshadowing the number of 12 sons of Jacob.<sup>33</sup> The fertility of this side-branch stands in contrast to the infertility of the chosen lineage of Isaac.

<sup>31</sup> Rashi's commentary on Chronicles, *I Chronicles*, 3-4.

<sup>32</sup> Oeming points to the importance of numbers in I Chron 1: 10 generations, three sons of Noah, three groups of descendants of Abraham, 12 sons of Israel, etc. Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, 79.

<sup>33</sup> Breukelman, *Bijbelse Theologie I:2*, 86.



After Ishmael other sons of Abraham are listed, though they are twice attributed not to him but to what the Chronicler calls his פִּלְגָּשׁ Keturah<sup>34</sup>. In the version of Chronicles the connection between Abraham and the sons of Keturah is even looser than in Genesis, by the omission of the indirect object לוֹ, after the Feminine לָהּ, in Genesis וַתֵּלֶךְ. Also the introductory verse, in which Abraham took Keturah to wife, is omitted by the Chronicler. In Genesis, the genealogy of Keturah precedes the one of Ishmael. In the version of Chronicles this order is reversed, probably because Ishmael was just named in verse 28 and so his genealogy is directly following. Keturah is the first woman in the genealogies in Chronicles. Eve, Sarah and Hagar are missing.

After the genealogies of the less important sons the genealogy of Abraham restarts with a different pattern, the Hiphil Pattern, now focussing only on the 'pearl', Isaac. This is the first time the Hiphil Pattern is used, since the Chronicler has omitted all verbs and other extras from the Hiphil Pattern genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11. In the restart Chronicles uses the Hiphil לוֹ we found in the missing genealogy of Isaac, starting in Genesis 25:19. Thus Isaac starts and ends this part of the descendants of Abraham, before we continue with the sons of Isaac.

For Isaac's genealogy and that of his son Esau the כְּנִי Pattern takes over again. It is interesting to see that here the order of sons of the narrative in Genesis 25 is retained. Esau precedes Israel, but his genealogy is still the sand that needs to be sifted before we find the pearl Jacob, who is always called Israel in Chronicles. The segmented genealogy of Edom in Genesis 36 is abridged, and the names of the mothers are omitted. The Chronicler then continues with the lists we also find attached to the genealogy of Esau in Genesis 36,<sup>35</sup> the genealogy of Seir and the King List of Edom. In I Chronicles 1:35-42 the כְּנִי Pattern is used, similar to the pattern of Genesis 36. Still, the text is quite different from Genesis 36:9-30. The genealogy of Esau is abridged. The names of the wives have been skipped. The only daughter, Timna, remains. Even though abridged, it is not a succinct linear genealogy, but still a segmented one. It expands and treats more sons, not only the firstborns. In the genealogy of Seir we find the same puzzling mix of sons, a grandson and a great-grandson as in Genesis 36, resembling in a way the listing of the sons of Noah as names after the father in I Chronicles 1:4:

Lotan (1), Shobal (2), Zibeon (3), Anah, Dishon, Ezer (4) and Dishan (5)

seven names רַבְנֵי שְׁעִיר

<sup>34</sup> Knoppers suggests that the Chronicler took the appellation concubine from the verses immediately following Keturah's genealogy, where it is said that "Abraham gave all that he had to Isaac. But to the sons of his concubines Abraham gave gifts, while he was still living, and he sent them away from his son Isaac, eastward to the east country." (Gen 25:5,6).

<sup>35</sup> Esau and Seir were connected, at least geographically, cf. Gen 36:20.

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בְּנֵי נְאֻחֹת לוֹטָן תְּמִנָּה of son 1

בְּנֵי of son 2

Aiah and Anah בְּנֵי of son 3

Dishon בְּנֵי of grandson Anah

בְּנֵי of great-grandson Dishon

בְּנֵי of son 4

בְּנֵי of son 5

Where Genesis 36 mentioned Oholibamah under the sons of Anah, in I Chronicles 1:41 the plural בְּנֵי only contains one single name: Dishon.<sup>36</sup> But her name does occur in the final list of chief names of Edom. As in Genesis 36 sister Timna is added after the names of the sons of her brother Lothan, in the genealogy of Seir. Her name also comes back in the chief list at the end of the chapter, as an אֵלֶיָּהּ. But Timna is no longer mentioned as a concubine of Eliphaz, as in Genesis 36:12. The name ‘Timna’ is left, but now surprisingly as one of the בְּנֵי of Eliphaz, instead of as his concubine, named just before Amalek (I Chron 1:36).<sup>37</sup> The other female elements of Genesis 36 have disappeared in the Chronicler’s version.

Before the clan list of Edom we first find the King List of Edom as in Genesis 36. It contains the short genealogy of the Edomite queen Mehetabel, daughter of Matred, daughter of Mezahab. There is confusion in the name of her husband king Hadad or Hadar. The genealogy does not figure in the Septuagint. As in Genesis the MT has a double בַּת, making the genealogy quite unique for her double female descent. The introduction of the chief list is shorter in Chronicles. It simply starts with אֵלֶיָּהּ אֵלֶיָּהּ אֵדוֹם. To find Oholibamah and Timna under the names on the list of chieftains is as surprising as it was in Genesis 36. Even though they can be interpreted as geographical names, in the biblical text they represent women. Some of the gender confusion and the inclusion of female names is preserved in the text in Chronicles.

In chapter 2:1 we then finally reach the genealogy of Isaac’s son Israel, who is only once called Jacob in Chronicles.<sup>38</sup> The lists of Israel’s descendants will fill the rest of the chapters

<sup>36</sup> For the divergence between the plural of the introductory phrase בְּנֵי with only one single son following, see under I Chron 2:7.

<sup>37</sup> These three roles of Timna, daughter and concubine of Eliphaz and daughter of Seir, are combined by rabbi David Kimchi in a complicated story, that goes as follows: Eliphaz went into the wife of Seir, the mother of Lothan, and she bore Timna, either during the life of Seir or after his death...and after this she went to him as concubine and bore him Amalek. That’s why it is written ‘and the sister of Lothan is Timna and it did not say ‘daughter of Seir’. RDQ text from Rashi’s Commentary on Chronicles, *I Chronicles*, 7. In this way all roles are combined and the characteristic biblical description of the daughter as sister of the son of the father given a surprising interpretation.

<sup>38</sup> In I Chron 16:13 as a parallel to Israel in the song of praise after the ark of the covenant was brought to the city of David.

dedicated to genealogy by the Chronicler. There is no point at which the nation Israel came to be, in the genealogical interpretation of Chronicles. As Jonathan Dyck writes: “Israel emerged gradually and naturally from Adam, Abraham and Israel. Israel emerged autochthonously in the land of Israel.”<sup>39</sup>

These tribal genealogies of the descendants of Israel usually start with an introductory line listing the sons of the ancestor. Likewise, the whole section of Israel’s descendants starts with בְּנֵי פָּתָר, listing the sons of the tribal forefather, Israel himself:

אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל רְאוּבֵן שְׁמֵעוֹן לֹוֹי וַיְהוּדָה יִשְׂשַׁכָּר וְזִבְלוֹן דָּן יוֹסֵף וּבִנְיָמִן נִפְתָּלִי גָד וְאַשֶׁר

The order here is partly the order of wives: first the six sons of Leah, then a son of Rachel’s maid Bilhah; the sons of Rachel, the last son of Bilhah and finally the two sons of Leah’s maid Zilpah. The Leah division encloses the Rachel part, with Rachel herself in the middle. Probably the Chronicler combines the order of Genesis 35:23-26 and Exodus 1:1 and the order of birth.

In Genesis 35 the sons are systematically ordered by mother. First come the sons of the main mothers Leah and Rachel and then the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah. We find again the sons of Rachel and her maid grouped together. In Exodus 1 we find a similar order in listing the sons of Israel who came to Egypt with their father to live under the protection of Joseph. Benjamin comes there directly after the sons of Leah, thus grouping the sons of the main wives together as in Genesis 35. With Smith we can conclude that the sons of Leah always take precedence and the sons of Rachel often come second.<sup>40</sup> In the case of Zilpah and Bilhah, the sons of Bilhah often precede the sons of Zilpah<sup>41</sup>, possibly pointing to a hierarchical order of Bilhah and Zilpah, at least in the genealogies.

In Chronicles the sons of Leah are still in the same order, but surprisingly Dan is heading the list of the other sons instead of Benjamin. Does he have a prominent place because he was born after Judah, as fifth son of Israel? After that the list proceeds in the expected order: sons of Rachel; sons of Bilhah and sons of Zilpah. The names of the mothers of the sons of Israel are not recorded in Chronicles, apart from Bilhah in I Chronicles 7:13. Before Judah we find the first connecting ‘and’, which we will also find before Zebulun, Benjamin and Asher. The connecting ו seems to put the sons together in groups. Joseph and Benjamin form a group as do Gad and Asher. The first four

<sup>39</sup> Jonathan E. Dyck, “The Ideology of Identity in Chronicles,” in: *Ethnicity and the Bible*, ed. Mark G. Brett (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 110.

<sup>40</sup> Smith, *The Role of Mothers*, 116: “Rachel’s children fall in second position in 6/9 cases.”

<sup>41</sup> But not in e.g. Gen 46. Smith concludes that there are four orders used: Bilhah-Bilhah-Zilpah-Zilpah, four times, BZZB two times, ZBBZ one time, BZBZ one time: Smith, *The Role of Mothers*, 116.

sons are connected ending with Judah. Only Dan seems to be out of place. In the genealogies of the sons of Israel this order will not be followed.

#### 4.4 From Judah to David, I Chronicles 2:3 -2:17

The chapters 2-9 are dedicated to the genealogies of the sons of Israel. The three main tribes in Judah after the exile, Judah, Levi and Benjamin, are the most prominent tribes in the genealogies. Especially Judah will dominate the chapters of Chronicles. In total 100 verses will be dedicated to him. The method of ‘sifting the sand’, treating the less important first, is not applied in chapter 2. The sons of Judah are treated first, before the less important genealogies like the ones of Ruben and Naphtali. Rabbi David Kimchi explains this as follows: “He commences to trace the lineage of the descendants of Judah because the main purpose of the Book is to trace the lineage of the kings of Judah.”<sup>42</sup> The tribes of Judah have a very prominent place in the genealogies.<sup>43</sup> They will be treated in the chapters 2-4:23. Isaac Kalimi has calculated that they take up more than 46% of the entire Israelites’ genealogy in Chronicles.<sup>44</sup>

The tribe of Zebulun is missing. The order in which the genealogies are put will be different from the order of the sons in the verses above. Only Simeon will be in the same -second-place in the enumeration of verses 1 and 2 and in the order of the genealogies. The order of the genealogies might be determined by geographical distribution, as Sara Japhet states. She describes a centrifugal movement: The genealogies start in the centre (Judah), then seem to circle around this centre, starting in the South (Simeon) passing through the East (Reuben) to the North-East (Gad, East-Manasseh) to the North (possibly Issachar, Dan and Naphtali interrupted by Benjamin in the centre), returning Southwards through West-Manasseh, Ephraim to the West (Asher, seen here as in the centre instead of the North), to return to Benjamin in the centre and finally to Jerusalem. Levi is inserted halfway.<sup>45</sup> Other structuring principles might be at work too. Sparks presents a chiasmic structure for I Chronicles 1-9 in his book, as will be discussed below.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimchi to Chronicles: A Translation with Introduction and Supercommentary*. Brown Judaic Studies, 2007.

<sup>43</sup> The focus on Judah, Levi and Benjamin is special for Chronicles according to Knoppers. “These works (Genesis, Numbers and Deuteronomistic History, HK) share a Pan-Israelite ideal, but devote much more attention to the northern tribes than Chronicles does.” Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 471.

<sup>44</sup> Isaac Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian: Studies in the Chronicler, His Time, Place and Writing* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 46; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2005), 85.

<sup>45</sup> Sara Japhet, *I&II Chronicles, The Old Testament Library* (Westminster John Knox Press: Louisville- London, 1993), 9-10.

<sup>46</sup> Sparks, *The Chronicler*, 359-361 hic et ubique. See under Current Issues of Debate.

Generally speaking, the Leah tribes are present in the first chapters and the Rachel tribes are present in the last chapters of the genealogy. The Zilpah tribes are divided: Gad comes after Reuben and Asher after Ephraim. Of the Bilhah tribes Dan is possibly present in a few words,<sup>47</sup> just before Naphtali, The one and a half verses of the Bilhah tribes separate Benjamin and Manasseh. Only Manasseh I, East-Manasseh, which is not a genealogy but more an enumeration of chieftains, stands between Gad and Levi, possibly because Reuben, Gad and Manasseh I form one cluster with one final number of warriors attached to them. Likewise, in the second part, Issachar, Benjamin and Asher seem to belong together. They have the same pattern of ending their genealogies by counting men fit to go to war. Manasseh II and Ephraim share one final conclusion: “In these lived the sons of Joseph son of Israel.” Before, in between and at the end of these clusters of smaller tribes stand the three big tribes: Judah at the beginning, Levi in the middle and Benjamin at the end. Benjamin’s genealogy figures three times in Chronicles, in different versions. His list comes again after the genealogy of the last tribe Asher and at the end of chapter 9.

All the chronicles of the sons of Israel but for Benjamin, start with an introductory line listing the sons of the tribal ancestor. Therefore the tribal chronicles start with the **בְּנֵי** Pattern. I Chronicles 2:3- I Chronicles 2:17 not only starts but also ends with the **בְּנֵי** Pattern, combined with Female Patterns (2:3,4 and 2:16-17). In the first part we also find **יָלַד** passive (2:3,9). The patterns in order of occurrence in verses 1-9 are:

**בְּנֵי** Pattern: three sons; counting in Passive

Pattern

Independent Female: two sons

conclusion: counting

**בְּנֵי** Pattern: two sons

**בְּנֵי** Pattern: five sons

**בְּנֵי** יהודה ער ואונן ושלה

שלושה נולדו לו מבת־שוע הכנענית

ותמר פלתו ילדה לו אֶת־פְּרִץ וְאֶת־זָרַח

כֹּל־בְּנֵי יהודה חמשה

**בְּנֵי** פְּרִץ

**וּבְנֵי** זָרַח

The **בְּנֵי** Pattern starts the genealogy of Judah, listing his sons, in what will be the traditional way. But in chapter 2:3 the list is still incomplete. In this sequence we encounter for the first time in Chronicles a counting of sons.<sup>48</sup> This will set the tune for the first two chapters of genealogies of Judah. Three sons are born to Judah by Bath-shua, his Canaanite wife. There is a rare passive

<sup>47</sup> Dan will only be present in the reference in I Chron 7:13: “..., the descendants of Bilhah.” For possible reasons of the absence of both tribes, see Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 128. Dan might also be present in 7:12b: “Hushim, the son of Aher/ another.”

<sup>48</sup> We also found this numbering of descendants in the list of Israelites coming into Egypt (Gen 46) and leaving Egypt (Num 26), but there more as a final calculation of children per wife or per clan.

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construction mentioning the name of the mother in I Chronicles 2:3b. The sons are the subject of the passive ילד: three were born to him from Bath-shua. This is the first occurrence of a pattern more often used in Chronicles. In the Pentateuch, the Passive Pattern was more often used as continuation of a female pattern, but not directly combined with the name of the mother.

In the list of sons of David in II Samuel 3 this construction combining a passive with the name of the mother is used for the first time, but still with a certain distance: “Sons were born to David at Hebron: his firstborn was Amnon, of Ahinoam of Jezreel; etc.”. We find a similar construction in the genealogy of David in I Chronicles 3, the rewriting of the genealogies in II Samuel. The child is in these texts attached to the mother by the same preposition as used for the connection to the father: לִ, or by בְּ + name mother. In 2:3 there is a direct connection between the passive verb and the name of the mother. The passive has the names of both parents attached to it, the father indicated after the introduction by לוֹ and the mother attached by the preposition מִן. The Niphal נולד after וּשְׁלֹשָׁה is in the singular instead of the plural.<sup>49</sup> We find a similar disagreement between verb and noun in 3:1 and 3:4. The only other occurrence of the passive plus מִן is in the appeal of Shecaniah to divorce all foreign wives and disown the children born by them in Ezra 10:3: לְהוֹצִיא כָּל-נָשִׁים וְהַנּוֹלְדֵי מֵהֶם, with the Niphal as a participle, again in the singular, functioning as a collective.<sup>50</sup>

The death of the first son Er is recorded, but the Chronicler does not mention the death of Onan. We will not hear of Shelah again till 4:21, where his genealogy ends the genealogy of his father.<sup>51</sup> After the ominous beginning the Independent Female Pattern takes over. Tamar bears Perez and Zerah. In 2:4 we find ילדה, with subject Tamar and the father as indirect object. Two new sons have been born, but the dead sons are not forgotten: they are still part of the final number of these lists of sons of Judah, ending this first part of the genealogy of Judah.

The genealogy continues with the sons of the first son of Judah and Tamar, Perez, as is to be expected. His genealogy is the most important of all the genealogies of Chronicles. But after the first verse: “The sons of Perez: Hezron and Hamul.”, the short genealogy of Zerah interrupts Perez’ line of descent. The genealogy of Zerah will only get three verses compared to the many verses dedicated to the genealogy of his brother. As with the first sons of Judah the genealogy in one branch reaches a dead end, due to the transgression of Achar, a descendant of Zerah. In Joshua

<sup>49</sup> In several cases in BHS we do find a singular passive of ילד used to indicate the birth of more sons, but with an object marker before the born sons (e.g. I Chron 2:9). If the object marker is missing, the verb is usually in the plural (e.g. Gen 10:1, II Sam 3:2, II Sam 5:13). But here, as in I Chron 3:1 and 3:4, we find a passive singular ‘was born’ without object marker before the sons. In 3:1 in a relative clause (And these were the sons who was born to him in Hebron). In 3:4 we find a very similar case, the singular passive verb following a numeral (six was born to him).

<sup>50</sup> <https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?id=3688>

<sup>51</sup> In his genealogy the name Er relives: Shelah calls his first son Er.

we find his name as Achan. In Chronicles there is a clear connection and word play with the following verb עָכַר עוֹכֵר יִשְׁרָאֵל “Achar the troubler (okher) of Israel.”<sup>52</sup> In Joshua the grandfather of Achar/n is called Zabdi, which might be the same name as Zimri, the first son of Zerah in Chronicles. However, there is still a generation linking Achar/Achan to one of the sons of Zerah missing in Chronicles, so an additional phrase וַיְבַנֵּי זִמְרִי כְרָמִי is suggested.<sup>53</sup> The genealogy then continues with וַיְבַנֵּי כְרָמִי עָכָר.

We find the plural וַיְבַנֵּי instead of the expected singular, as in 1:41<sup>54</sup>, 2:31 (three times), 2:42, 3:22, 5:4<sup>55</sup>. Apparently, the introduction of the וַיְבַנֵּי Pattern has become so standardised, that it is used even when it seems not to be grammatically fitting. We earlier found an example of this in Genesis 46:23, though there the plural might be connected to the plural ending of Hashum/ Hushim, the son of Dan. We also found daughters under the וַיְבַנֵּי, like Oholibamah in Genesis 36:25<sup>56</sup>, and like Miriam in I Chronicles 5:29, in her case even without any addition singling her out as a woman, indicating that indeed the introductory phrase וַיְבַנֵּי has become a standardised formula, regardless of number and gender of the descendants.

After the interruption of the genealogy of Zerah, the line of descent of Perez continues in verse 9 initially with the וַיְבַנֵּי Pattern as in verse 5, with a passive ילד in the relative clause. But from verse 10 a different pattern takes over. In verses 10-12 we find a linear genealogy with ילד Hiphil in the perfect, as in Ruth 4.<sup>57</sup> But contrary to Ruth it culminates in a segmented genealogy in the generation of the sons of Jesse:

introduction: וַיְבַנֵּי Passive Pattern: three sons	וַיְבַנֵּי הַצִּירוֹן אֲשֶׁר נוֹלַד לוֹ אֶת יְרֵחָמָאֵל וְאֶת רֵם וְאֶת כְּלוּבָי
linear genealogy: six times ילד Hiphil,	וְרֵם הוֹלִיד אֶת עַמִּינָדָב
seven generations	
segmented ending: seventh ילד Hiphil:	וְאִישֵׁי הוֹלִיד אֶת־בְּכָרוֹ אֶת־אֱלִיָּאָב
seven sons, numbered	

<sup>52</sup> In Prov 15:27 we also find a connection between the verb akhar and greed. The verb is used in this verse for somebody making trouble for his household by being greedy for unjust gain. For the explanation of the differences in name, see also Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 69.

<sup>53</sup> See Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 68.

<sup>54</sup> The name of the daughter Oholibamah is left out, when compared to Gen 36.

<sup>55</sup> In 5:4 the וַיְבַנֵּי Pattern then changes to the grammatically more fitting וַיְבַנֵּי Pattern.

<sup>56</sup> Though with the addition: “daughter of Anah”.

<sup>57</sup> For possibilities of dependence of Ruth and Chronicles see Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 61-62. Knoppers summarises the discussion: “Most scholars (...) believe that Chronicles was the source of the material in Ruth.”, Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 30.

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There is a play with the number seven: seven times we find the verb לָלַךְ Hiphil ending in a segmented genealogy of seven sons, from whom David is the seventh. The linear genealogy culminating in a segmented one reminds us of Genesis 5 and 11. In Genesis 5 the change of pattern also started in the penultimate generation. Ruth 4 had the more Pentateuchal ten generations starting with Perez; here Jesse is the seventh generation from Ram. For Perez and Hebron the קָנָה Pattern is used. Jesse had seven sons. His two daughters are not added to the list but described in separate verses, as sisters to the brothers.

sister 1      קָנָה F  
sister 2      לָלַךְ Independent Female

First we find the קָנָה Pattern with the name of the mother, Zeruah, attached as ancestor like in the genealogy of Keturah. This is a rare occurrence of a genealogy of a mother without any reference to the father. We did find genealogies of mothers, like Keturah's lineage in I Chronicles 1:32, but with the addition after the name of the mother "Abraham's concubine". In this listing of the three sons of Zeruah the father is totally absent. Again, we find a number (three) after the names of the sons. In the genealogy of Abigail in verse 17, לָלַךְ Independent Female Pattern determines the half-verse. Where elsewhere we would find: "she bore to him", we do not find an indirect object here.<sup>58</sup> Here the second half-verse adds the name of the father separately, but only in relation to his son. Both Zeruah and Abigail are not defined in relation to a husband. As Antje Labahn and Ehud Ben Zvi state: "Here both, Zeruah and Abigail, that is, two mothers are allocated the expected role of males in a genealogical list."<sup>59</sup>

This part on the genealogy of Judah started and ended with the combination of three sons and a following Independent Female Pattern. The closing of the part at verse 17 is content-wise a bit arbitrary. We are still firmly in the genealogy of Judah. But from verse 18 the pattern starts to be quite complicated<sup>60</sup>, as always in a genealogy of Caleb.

<sup>58</sup> As opposed to e.g. Gen 22:20,23: to Nahor; Gen 25:2, to him.

<sup>59</sup> They conclude: "The family line may, at times, be identified and maintained through the maternal side."

A. Labahn and E. Ben Zvi, "Observations on Women in the Genealogies of I Chronicles 1-9", *Biblica* 48 (2003), 464.

<sup>60</sup> Knoppers sees more hands at work in the genealogies of Judah (Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 253). That might explain some of the irregularities and the strange transitions we encounter in ch. 2 and ch. 4



## 4.5 Other sons of Hezron, I Chronicles 2:18-55

The first genealogy of Caleb (I Chron 2:18-20) is a mixture of patterns. It starts with the **לד** Hiphil, followed by **בני**:

וְכֵן בְּנֵי הַצֶּרֶן הוּלֵיד אֶת־עֲזוּבָה אִשָּׁה־נְאֻת־יְרִיעוֹת  
וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵיהָ

Verse 18 in MT seems to imply that Azubah is daughter and wife to Caleb, as Timna above, but usually the text is emended into a version where Caleb is having a child by Azubah.<sup>61</sup> Whatever the solution towards Azubah, it is clear that we have here a unique case of a daughter, Jerioth<sup>62</sup>, being the object of the Hiphil Pattern. As we have seen above, the Hiphil Pattern was in Genesis 5 and 11 used for a linear genealogy of a father to one son. We found **לד** Hiphil perfect in the linear genealogy of Ruth 4 and in the parallel linear genealogy in I Chronicles 2:10-13 (-15). But all these are strictly male lineages. For the construction with a wife mentioned till now we found a different pattern, namely **לָקַח וּמְלָדָה** as in Genesis 4:1: “Now the man knew his wife Eve, and she conceived and bore Cain...” But here, if the text is emended to “Caleb son of Hezron had a child by his wife Azubah”, the linear Hiphil Pattern is adapted to become a pattern including a wife. We will also find such an adaptation of the Hiphil Pattern in I Chronicles 8:9,11. In this verse the adaptation goes further. Instead of a linear genealogy father-son, there is a short linear genealogy of father-daughter. The following sons introduced by the introduction of the **בני** Pattern: **וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵיהָ** would then be the children of Jeriot. In this way, the special position of Jeriot would be explained, by her being the only child of Caleb and his first wife Azubah. The sons are attributed only to Jeriot. There is no mention of a father.

In the next verse, describing the birth of the child of Caleb and his second wife Ephrat<sup>63</sup>, we find the more regular **לָקַח וּמְלָדָה** Pattern: **וַיִּקַּח־לוֹ כְּלֵב אֶת־אֶפְרַת וּמְלָדָה לּוֹ אֶת־חֹר**. Here in verse 19

<sup>61</sup> For the different text options see Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 298. Löwisch might be right in stating that it is probably not accidental that in verses where women are important the texts we have now are ambiguous. The same ambiguity can be found in another text about women, I Chron 4:17-18. Löwisch concludes: “As in 2:18-19, difficulties in term of coherence and meaning appear in a passage that provides a dense net of references to women.”

Ingeborg S. Löwisch, “Cracks in the Male Mirror: References to Women as Challenges to Patrilinear Authority in the Genealogies of Judah”, in: *What was authoritative for Chronicles?* edited by Ehud Ben Zvi and Diana V. Edelman (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 129.

<sup>62</sup> The New Revised Standard Version makes Jerioth to another wife of Caleb, translating as follows: “Caleb son of Hezron had children by his wife Azubah, and by Jerioth;...”. But, as Japhet point out on p.78 of her commentary, this does not take into account the singular of the following: “these were her sons:...”.

<sup>63</sup> Löwisch considers this first text about Ephratah to be “an attempt to diminish and limit Ephratah’s authority by depicting her in relation to her husband, Caleb, and by attributing her firstborn to him,” This attempt wasn’t successful, since especially I Chron 2:50 states clearly that Hur was the firstborn of only Ephratah. Apparently, Löwisch

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everything is as expected. Also the child, a son, is as expected. Of this son a short linear genealogy is given, with twice the ילד Hiphil Pattern, but now used in a regular way from father to one son. Ephrat(ah) is mentioned again in verses 24 and 50.

After the genealogy of Hezron's son Caleb, we find a second genealogy of Hezron in verses 21-24. It starts with the לקח ותלד Pattern:

ואסר בא חצרון אל־בת־מכיר אבי גלעד  
והוא לקחה  
ותלד לו את־שגוב  
ושגוב הוליד את־יאיר

The לקח ותלד Pattern is extended with בא אץ. It is followed by the Hiphil Pattern. In verses 21-22 we find the same sequence of a לקח ותלד Pattern followed by a Hiphil Pattern as in verses 19-20. We concluded in Exodus 6 that the לקח ותלד Pattern, mentioning the name of the mother, was used for the most important line of descent, whereas the בני Pattern was used to briefly describe the other branches of the genealogy. This focus was underlined by the addition of age for the main descendants. We find a similar structure here. In the last two short genealogies of verses 19-20 and 21-22, we first have the לקח ותלד Pattern naming both father and mother of the child, followed by Hiphil Pattern for the genealogy of the son, omitting the name of the mother. Even the first genealogy of Caleb is a bit similar: it mentions probably the name of the mother of Jerioth, but omits the name of Jerioth's husband in her own genealogy. The second generation is different and has only one parent.

We find a remnant of a genealogy of Machir in verse 23, כל־אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי מְכִיר אָבִי־גִלְעָד, “All these were descendants of Machir, father of Gilead.”<sup>64</sup> Interesting is the use of the אבי Pattern, here twice in a short genealogical reference in verses 21 and 23. It also occurs in verse 24 as “father of Tekoa”. From now on it will start to be used more often, but always as an auxiliary pattern. Verse 24 is puzzling. There is confusion about Ephrat/ Ephrata. The name occurs also in 2:19 as wife to Caleb

concludes, the tradition about Ephratah as ancestress of a matriarchal clan was too strong to be suppressed. Löwisch, “Cracks”, 122.

<sup>64</sup> According to Japhet the vss. 21-23 originally belonged to the genealogy of Machir and only “linked secondarily to the present context...”, in order to attribute this part of Gilead, originally belonging to Manasseh, to Judah. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 80. Löwisch draws a similar conclusion: “The lineage springing from the daughter of Machir belongs to Judah, but is also distinct from it... The segment is integrated into Judah, not in terms of full integration but in terms of secondary affiliation.” Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 176.

and mother of Hur and in 2:50 as mother of Hur, her firstborn. In verse 24, her name in MT seems to indicate a locale, whereas LXX and Vulgate interpret her as a person as in verse 19 and 50.<sup>65</sup>

We find an Independent Female Pattern in this verse, נתלד:

ואשת הצרון אביה  
נתלד לו את-אשחור אבי תקוע

Women clearly play a role in these genealogies of Hezron as subject of נתלד. They are mentioned by name (Azubah, Ephratah, Abijah) or by genealogical reference (daughter of Machir).

After the genealogies of the second and third son of Hezron and the birth and descendants of other sons of Hezron we now finally come to the list of descendants of his first son, Jerahmeel. His genealogy in 2:25-33 is well structured. It starts and ends with a בני formula. The whole genealogy is dominated by the בני Pattern, regularly varied with Female Patterns (two times, verses 26, 29), as follows:

introduction: sons of Jerahmeel: 5 sons (?)	etc.	ויהיו בני-ירחמאל בכור הצרון הבכור רם
Atarah אָם Onam		ותהי אשה אחרת לירחמאל ושמה עטרה היא אָם אונם
sons of Ram, בכור: three sons		ויהיו בני-רם בכור ירחמאל
sons of Onam:Shammai and Jada		ויהיו בני-אונם
sons of Shammai: Nadab and Abishur		ובני שמי
Abihail: Independent Female: two sons		ושם אשת אבישור אביהיל נתלד לו
sons of Nadab: Seled and Appaim		ובני נדב
linear genealogy with ובני, four generarions		ובני אפים ובני ובני
sons of Jada: Jether and Jonathan		ובני ידע
sons of Jonathan		ובני יונתן
conclusion: sons of Jerahmeel		אלה היו בני ירחמאל



<sup>65</sup> καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν Ἑσερων ἦλθεν Χαλεβ εἰς Ἐφραθα καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Ἑσερων Ἀβια. Partly on the basis of this text emendations have been made, which would render a different interpretation: “After the death of Hezron, Caleb had sexual relations with Ephratah, the wife of his father, and she bore him Ashhur, the father of Tekoa.” In that case Ephratah had a relation with Caleb when she was his father’s widow. But that would be in conflict with vs. 19. Japhet regards both Ashhur and Hur indeed to be sons of Caleb. She states p.78 of her commentary: “The passage parallels vs. 9 in that it aims to provide the basic framework of the sons of Caleb, connecting the two Judahite branches of Hur and Ashhur as sons of Caleb by the same wife, Ephratah. At the same time, the union between Caleb and Ephratah is presented explicitly as a second marriage for both:....”. She still signals a problem: “...., a problem does arise about the exact status of Hur and his position vis a vis Ashhur.”

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Several emendations have been made in the opening verse, verse 25, because of the missing copula before the last name, Ahijah. It might indicate a hidden female name.<sup>66</sup> The genealogy of Jerahmeel is mostly a list of the descendants of Onam, the son of Jerahmeel's 'other'<sup>67</sup> wife Atarah, and then especially of Onam's son Shammai. This is the first and only time we find this designation 'other' for the name of a wife. Normally the name of the (second) wife, if mentioned, would be just added within a variant of the Female Pattern, like in verse 29 for Abihail. Here we find this unique אֶתְרָה and another unique phrase אֶת אֶת אֶתְרָה, a variant of the אֶתְרָה Pattern. Of the other sons of Jerahmeel and his main but unnamed wife, we only read about the three sons of Ram, his firstborn son, but there it ends. Interesting is that the phrase אֶתְרָה is used, even when there is just one descendant, indicating again that the phrase has become a standard formula, introducing single descendants too, just as it occasionally includes daughters. In verse 31 we find the pattern three times for single descendants. The אֶתְרָה Pattern is used here for a linear genealogy comprising four generations.<sup>68</sup> The range of the אֶתְרָה Pattern is extended in Chronicles. It can also be used for a linear genealogy and not exclusively for a segmented one. Three times we find an extended version of the אֶתְרָה Pattern: אֶתְרָה אֶתְרָה אֶתְרָה in the first part of the genealogy. After that, the usual short אֶתְרָה takes over.

For the first time the 'dead ends' of the genealogy are also mentioned within the genealogical pattern. The (childless) death of Judah's son Er was described in a short narrative, but for Seled's childless death the pattern seems to find a new phrase: "and he died Seled no sons." This phrase is repeated in verse 32, again for a first son, namely Jether. The אֶתְרָה Pattern of the Jerahmeel genealogy of verses 25-33 has only lists of fathers and sons; the two interrupting patterns add the names of two mothers. Verse 26 is a narrative verse. Verse 29 has an Independent Female Pattern. The verses 34-51 form a genealogy beginning with Sheshan and ending with Elishama. This is the second part of the genealogies of Jerahmeel, which starts the second part of the

<sup>66</sup> Dirksen follows a text emendation, adding a ב before the last name, making Ahijah into the main wife of Jerahmeel: "by Ahijah". Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 73. One of the arguments for this emendation is the missing copula before Ahijah. But we saw above (e.g. 2:1,2) that the copula is missing more often in an enumeration of sons. LXX reads instead of a personal name 'his brother'; Syriac 'their sister'. In that case Ozem would be a daughter among the אֶתְרָה.

<sup>67</sup> As Japhet points out, this is "a unique term in the genealogical context". Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 82. Japhet describes the descent through Atarah as an ethnic expansion. This ethnic expansion even "became the major factor among the Jerahmeelites (vv. 28-33)." Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 83. Löwisch disagrees. She states that for a foreign wife a different word would be used instead of the neutral or positive אֶתְרָה. As she says, the word is also used positively for Seth (another seed) and for Joseph (another son). Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 171-172. Still, Löwisch agrees with Japhet (and Knoppers) that there is a process of integration through the presence of Atarah, namely of the integration of Edomite groups, which can be deduced from the similarities of the names in both this genealogy and the genealogy of Esau. 'Other' then explicitly indicates that through segmentation by a wife this group is integrated, yet still different. Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 174. Dirksen supposes that the use of 'other' just implies that the name of the main wife is missing.

<sup>68</sup> For the linear genealogies of Ram (10-12) and of Zabad (37-41) we find the usual pattern with יָלַד.

genealogies of the sons of Hezron: Ram, Caleb and Jerahmeel in reversed order.<sup>69</sup> It is unclear whether this is the same Sheshan who was the grandson of Appaim or another descendant of Jerahmeel, but who has a son. We find the following patterns:

ולא-היה לישון בנים  
כי אם-בנות

ויסון ישון את-בתו לנרקה עבדו לאשה ומלד לו את-עמי  
ועמי הליד את-ננתו

לקח ומלד, variant of נמן ומלד  
Hiphil Pattern 12 x

Above in verses 30 and 32 we found the succinct phrase וְנִמְתַּ יֵתֶר לֹא בָנִים to indicate childlessness. I Chronicles 2:34 introduces the lack of male descendants with an extended version of the last part of this verse: “Now Sheshan had no sons, only daughters.” We found the same formula in Numbers 26:33 to introduce the daughters of Zelophehad.<sup>70</sup> The use of בָּנוֹת in the plural, even though we only hear about one daughter, points to a standard formula, like we have seen in verse 31, where it was used even if only one son was born.<sup>71</sup> The daughter of Sheshan remains nameless, whereas her husband is fully introduced. A narrative describing how Sheshan was able to continue his line through his nameless daughter and Jarha, the Egyptian slave<sup>72</sup>, using the נָמַן וּמִלְדָּ Pattern, introduces a strictly linear genealogy comprising 13 generations. This is the longest depth the genealogies reached in Chronicles thus far.<sup>73</sup> The Hiphil Pattern is as succinct as the one used for the lineage leading to Jesse, the father of David, though in the generation of David it expanded to seven sons.

<sup>69</sup> So Williamson, “Sources and Redaction”, 358. He notices the chiasmic structure of the material, so deliberately composed by the Chronicler. The whole chiasmic structure Williamson discerns, is as follows: descendants of Ram (2:10-17), descendants of Caleb (18-24), of Jerahmeel (25-33), supplementary material on Jerahmeel (34-41), supplementary material on Caleb (42-55), supplementary material on Ram (David’s descendants, ch. 3). Williamson also points to two occurrences of an inclusio: David’s ancestors and sisters in 2:10-17 - his descendants in chapter 3; sons of Shelah 2:3-8 and 4:21-23. Williamson, “Sources and Redaction”, 359.

<sup>70</sup> There the verb was in the expected plural; here in MT in the singular: “There was not to Sheshan sons but daughters.”

<sup>71</sup> It would be interesting to see if כִּי אִם in this verse might mean ‘with the exception of’, “Now Shishan had no children, apart from daughters.” In that case the word בָּנִים would include daughters, in line with the inclusive meaning it more often has.

<sup>72</sup> Japhet interprets this as an application of the law in Ex 21:4: The children of the slave belong to the master. The children of Sheshan’s daughter and her unfree husband fully belong to Sheshan’s genealogy. And she adds: “...here the descendants of an Egyptian slave are full-fledged Israelites, of unflawed Jerahmeelite descent.” Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 84. Ingeborg Löwisch points to the ambiguity of the text: “1 Chr 2:35a does not clearly specify whether Sheshan’s daughter bears Attai to her husband, Jarha, or to her father, Sheshan.” Löwisch, “Cracks”, 117 After comparing the genealogies of Tamar, who bears children not to the deceased husband, but to her father-in-law, and to Hagar, Löwisch concludes however: “Identifying Attai as the son of Sheshan also ties in with parallels in Genesis.” Löwisch, “Cracks”, 118. Whether the daughter of Sheshan counts genealogically speaking or not, she does continue the line of her father. Without her, his lineage would have come to an end. In that aspect this nameless daughter has the position of a son for Sheshan.

<sup>73</sup> In I Chron 1:1, 24 the genealogies reached a depth of ten generations. In I Chron 2:10-15 we found the Hiphil of יָלַד used seven times, for the lineage of Ram up to Jesse’s sons, eight generations.

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Here the lineage remains strictly linear, leading from father to one son from the beginning till the last and probably most important descendant, Elishama, who is distinguished by this long and formal genealogy.

The second genealogy of Caleb in I Chronicles 2:42-50a is as the first genealogy of Caleb (2:18-20) a mixture of patterns. Like the genealogy of Jerahmeel in 2:25-33 the main pattern is the **בְּנֵי** Pattern, interspersed with a female pattern, here the Independent Female Pattern in verses 46 and 49. But apart from those two we also find three times the Hiphil Pattern and the **אָבִי** Pattern, which we find attached to all three patterns:

introduction Caleb: two sons?	<b>וּבְנֵי</b> קֶלֶב אֶחָי וְרַחֲמָאֵל מִיִּשְׁעַ בְּכָרוֹ	הוא <b>אָבִי</b> זִיף
<b>בְּנֵי</b> Pattern: no sons	<b>וּבְנֵי</b> מַרְשָׁה אָבִי תְּבָרוֹן	
<b>בְּנֵי</b> Pattern: four sons	<b>וּבְנֵי</b> תְּבָרוֹן	
linear, five generations, with <b>יָלַד</b> Hiphil, <b>וּבְנֵי</b> and <b>אָבִי</b>	וְשָׁמַע הוֹלִיד אֶת־רַחֲמֵם אָבִי יִרְקָעִם וְרָקֵם הוֹלִיד אֶת־שָׁמִי	
	<b>וּבְנֵי</b> ־שָׁמִי מְעוֹן	
	וּמְעוֹן אָבִי בֵּית־צוּר	
Ephah: Independent Female: three sons	וְעִיפָה פִּילְגָשׁ קֶלֶב יָלְדָה	
<b>יָלַד</b> Hiphil: one son	וְתָרוֹן הָלִיד אֶת־גִּזּוֹ	
sons of Jahdai: five sons, daughter Ephah?	<b>וּבְנֵי</b> יְהֻדָי	
Maacah: two x Independent Female: four sons	פִּילְגָשׁ קֶלֶב מַעַכָּה יָלְדָה	וּמַלְדָה
+ three times <b>אָבִי</b>		
<b>וּבְנֵי</b> : Achsah	<b>וּבְנֵי</b> ־קֶלֶב עַכְסָה	
conclusion	אֵלֶּה הֵיוּ בְנֵי קֶלֶב	

The phrase **בְּנֵי** can be used to introduce the birth of just one son. In 2:42 this seems to be the case, though the whole sequence is unclear in the present text. The **בְּנֵי** before Mareshah seems to be superfluous. Without it Mareshah would be a second son of Caleb and the following **וּבְנֵי** would make sense.<sup>74</sup>

In verse 47 there is another hitch in the genealogy. A new name appears, Jahdai. Is he the same person as Gazez? Or is this genealogy of Jahdai inserted in Caleb, possibly to explain the background of Caleb's concubine Ephah?<sup>75</sup> In two cases, verses 42 and 45, the **אָבִי** Pattern is

<sup>74</sup> Japhet lists several other suggestions for text emendations. Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 86.

<sup>75</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 86-87. Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 75. Both seem to prefer the first possibility, that Jahdai should be read as Gazez. Knoppers however refutes this option as 'harmonistic' and suggests from a comparison to the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* that possibly the author of the Chronicles text only wanted to inform the reader that the

independently used in a short phrase like הָיָא אִם אֹנָם, “she was the mother of Onam”, we saw before in 2:26. Otherwise אִם is attached to the main pattern. Just before the concluding phrase, we find a special reference to a daughter, Achsah. She stands there in her own right, as daughter of Caleb, without her being referred to as sister, or wife. There is no reference to a mother. As in other cases, the daughter has a separate place at the end of the genealogy.<sup>76</sup> She is not part of the ongoing lineage, but also too important to be left out completely.<sup>77</sup>

Three times we find the Independent Female Pattern, in verse 46 with subject Ephah<sup>78</sup> and in verses 48-49 with subject Maacah.<sup>79</sup> The pattern is used to restart the genealogy and describe a new lineage of the ancestor. In verse 48 we find surprisingly the rare form יֵלֵךְ M used for Maacah, the only occasion the Chronicler uses this form apart from his rendition of the genealogy of Genesis 10. Other manuscripts have the more plausible Feminine יֵלֵךְ.<sup>80</sup>

As usual the genealogy only names the ‘irregular’ wives, the concubines. The names of the regular wives disappear into oblivion. Verse 45 has an alternative to בְּנֵי, namely בְּנֵי. In this case the singular בְּנֵי corresponds with the birth of one son, though for a single son as seen above we might still find the standard בְּנֵי. We will also find בְּנֵי in 3:10, though there the genealogy is segmented and in 2:50 בְּנֵי. A variant used once at the end of the genealogy is בְּנֵי, to introduce the one daughter that found a place in the genealogy.

In verse 50 the conclusion of the genealogy of Caleb and the introduction to the genealogy of Hur seem melted together in the present Masoretic accentuation of the text. In the Septuagint Hur’s genealogy has the standard introductory phrase, namely υἱοὶ Ὠρ πρωτοτόκου Εφραθα instead of the singular בְּנֵי of the MT. At the other hand, we found the singular more often, though not to introduce a segmented genealogy, nor as the introductory phrase of a whole genealogy. The present introductory בְּנֵי is exceptional.

descendants of Jahdai are loosely connected to the Calebites, Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 313. The name Gazez occurs at least twice in the genealogy, as son and grandson of Caleb.

<sup>76</sup> Several other daughters in Chronicles also come at the end of the genealogy, like Zeruah and Abigail (2:16,17), as sisters, and Tamar (3:9), also as sister.

<sup>77</sup> In the case of Achsah this will be due to the narrative told in Josh 15:16-19 and Judg 1:12-15, where she negotiates with her father Caleb for the possession of springs in the Negeb. The problem is however is that these texts refer to another Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, who will figure in the genealogies in I Chron 4:15. This Caleb of the conquest is much less prominent in Chronicles than Caleb (Celubai), son of Hezron. See also Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 305 and 313. Löwisch also suggests that this female land claim will be the reason for Achsah’s presence, as it is for the daughters of Zelophehad. Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 181.

<sup>78</sup> We find Ephah also among the names of the sons of Jahdai in vs. 47. If this indeed indicates the same person as the concubine of Caleb of vs. 46, it would be another example of a hidden daughter among the bene.

<sup>79</sup> We regard with NRSV Maacah as the subject, though the object marker before Shaaph, but not before Sheva, is missing. Japhet suggests also different possible interpretations, by changing the text slightly: “And Shaaph (another concubine of Caleb) gave birth to x the father of Madmannah...” or “And Shaaph father of M became the father of Sheva.” In the last case the verse should follow vs. 47. Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 87.

<sup>80</sup> See Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 301, for a list of Mss with the expected female “she gave birth”.

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The last genealogy, of Hur, starts with the name of the mother, Ephratah. It is a mixture of patterns as follows:

genealogical reference to mother	בְּרֵחוֹר בְּכוֹר אֶפְרַתָּה שׁוֹבֵל אָבִי קְרִיַת יִעָרִים
three sons, founders of villages	שְׁלֹמָא אָבִי בֵית-לָחֶם תָּרַף אָבִי בֵית-גָּדָר
sons to Shobal: one son, half a population	וַיְהִיו בְּנָיִם לְשׁוֹבֵל אָבִי קְרִיַת יִעָרִים
families of his village	
sons of Salma: villages, populations	בְּנֵי שְׁלֹמָא בֵית לָחֶם וּנְטוּפָתִי
families of scribes <sup>81</sup>	
conclusion?	הַמָּה הַקְּיָנִים <sup>82</sup> הַבָּאִים מִחַמַּת אָבִי בֵית-רֶכָב

The בְּנֵי Pattern is used for the main lines of Hur and his two sons. It is rather unusual that first son Shobal is indirect object in the בְּנֵי Pattern. We mostly find the father as indirect object within a Female Pattern, not within the בְּנֵי Pattern. It is also unusual that we have the combination בְּכוֹר + mother. If used, the normal combination is בְּכוֹר + father. The sons are usually counted in the order of birth to the father, for example the sons of Jesse in 2:13-15. In 2:50 אֶפְרַתָּה בְּכוֹר is used as genealogical reference of the ancestor Hur, heading the genealogy. In that way Ephratah becomes, as Löwisch calls it, ancestress of the clan.<sup>83</sup> The clan is named after her.

We find the בְּנֵי and auxiliary אָבִי Pattern. There are no Female Patterns used. We also find a new auxiliary pattern for Chronicles, וּמִשְׁפָּחוֹת, used twice in verses 53 and 55. The names in this pattern are in the gentilic form with article: הַיְתָרִי וְהַפּוּתִי. We are leaving the personal birth language here and entering a new domain, where ‘a son’ can mean half a clan: הַמְּנַחֹת verse 52. In 2:55 we find once אָבִי in the narrative part, namely Hammath אָבִי Beth-rechab. Probably Hammath is

<sup>81</sup> There is a debate whether we should translate this word with the usual ‘scribes’ or regard it as a gentilic name, Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 76. He chooses the second option himself, Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 67. Knoppers disagrees and translates ‘scribes’ and adds: “Because the author wrote during the Persian period, a time in which the Chronicler had access to a variety of earlier biblical writings, it comes to no great surprise that he ascribes scribal activity to an earlier age (...).” Knoppers, *Chronicles 1-9*, 315. Knoppers does not see any genealogical connection to the lineages of Caleb. Japhet also translates ‘scribes’ and points to other professions mentioned in ch. 4: craftsmen, linen workers, potters. Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 90.

<sup>82</sup> According to Japhet these might be the Kenites several times referred to in the OT, the non-Hebrews associated with Israel. Japhet states “that these ‘Kenites’ (if that is the correct reading) are completely absorbed into the tribe of Judah, ...-although there is a missing link in the genealogical chain.” She puts this in line with the aim of the Chronicler “at encompassing every element in Israel, including the ‘sojourners’ (*gerim*) the non-Israelite population of the land.” Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 46. Also Knoppers: “Depicted as non-Israelites or as only loosely associated with the Israelites in other contexts, the Qenites are one of the constituent elements of Judah in Chronicles.” Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 316.

<sup>83</sup> Löwisch, “Cracks”, 120.



also a geographical name.<sup>84</sup> Apart from the surprising presence of the mother in the introduction, there are no further references to women.

Generally the genealogies of Hezron's descendants leave quite a lot of room for women, as we have seen, especially for wives/ mothers. We find in total eight women, who are primarily introduced as wives and mothers, coming from another family, namely Azubah, Ephrath, the nameless daughter of Machir, Abijah, Atarah, Abihail, Ephah and Maacah. The first two and the last two women are wives of Caleb. The daughter of Machir and Abijah are connected to Hezron and Atarah to Jerahmeel. So seven of the eight women belong to the genealogy of the generation of the grandson and great-grandsons of Judah.

We find two women introduced as sisters to the sons of Jesse, Zeruah and Abigail, and three daughters: Jerioth, the nameless daughter of Sheshan and Achsah. Jerioth and Zeruah have their own genealogy, without a husband mentioned. Achsah is unique in this lineage of Hezron because she is the only woman who is called a daughter of her father within the genealogy of her father and without any reference to a future role as wife/mother. The tribal genealogies of Judah continue in chapter 3 and 4.

#### 4.6 Genealogy of David: I Chronicles 3:1-9/ II Samuel 3:2-5

introduction: **בני יר**, passive  
sons of David and different wives,  
numbered

conclusion: counting, place, **יר** passive

introduction: place, **יר** passive

to Bathsheba etc: counted four

counted nine

conclusion

and Tamar, their sister

ואלה היו בני אשר נולדו לו בקברון  
הבכור אמנון לאחיינעם היזרעאלית  
שני דגמאל לאביגיל הכרמלית  
השלישי לאבשלום בן-מעכה בת-תלמי מלך גשור  
הרביעי אדניה בן-סגית  
החמישי שפטניה לאביטל  
הששי יתרעם לעגלה אשתו  
ששה נולדו לו בקברון  
ואלה נולדו לו בירושלים  
ארבעה לבת-שווע בת-עמיאל  
ויבחרו ... תשעה  
כל בני דוד-מלבד בני-פילגשים  
ותמר אחותם

<sup>84</sup> Thus Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 90. The expression: they (the Kenites) came from X (Hammath) is not used in a genealogical context.

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I Chronicles 3 is dominated by the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Pattern.  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  serves as introduction and conclusion of verses 1-9. We find some variations on this pattern. As in chapter 2 we find  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  combined with the counting of sons. We find a numbering of the sons born in Hebron, as in II Samuel 3. This numbering of sons will become a characteristic of the Chronicler. Passive  $\text{יָלַד}$  forms an inclusio around the sons born in Hebron, while David ruled in Hebron. Another passive construction starts the numbering of the sons born in Jerusalem. So both hold the genealogy together. In I Chronicles 2:3b the Niphal  $\text{נִלְדָּה}$  after  $\text{וַיְהִי}$  was in the singular instead of the plural.<sup>85</sup> We find a similar disagreement between verb and noun in 3:1 and 3:4.

A passive construction mentioning both parents we found for the first time in Chronicles in I Chronicles 2:3b: three was born to him from Bath-shua. Often genealogies using the passive  $\text{יָלַד}$  only have the name of the father, as in 1:19.<sup>86</sup> In 2:3b a different preposition was used for father and mother, namely  $\text{לִּי}$  for father and  $\text{מִן}$  for mother. In chapter 3 the mother is attached to the child by the same preposition as the father:  $\text{לִּי}$ . This is regular in verse 1 ( $\text{לְאֶבְיָהוּבָה}$  and  $\text{לְאֶבְיָהוּבָה}$ ) for the first two sons/mothers and verse 3 ( $\text{לְאֶבְיָהוּבָה}$  and  $\text{לְאֶבְיָהוּבָה}$ ) for the last two sons/mothers. This double  $\text{לִּי}$  also occurs in the enumeration of David's sons in II Samuel 3. For the middle two sons in verse 2 we find a different construction:  $\text{בְּרָךְ} + \text{mother}$ . In II Samuel 3 the  $\text{בְּרָךְ} + \text{mother}$ -construction is used also for the fifth mother. In Chronicles in the verse about Absalom, it is confused with an additional  $\text{לִּי}$  before the name of the son, not found in II Samuel.

Chronicles has a more harmonic use of the different patterns ( $2 \times \text{לִּי}$ ;  $2 \times \text{בְּרָךְ}$ ;  $2 \times \text{לִּי}$ ) than Samuel if we omit  $\text{לִּי}$  before Absalom. The first two mothers of the Hebron sons receive geographical background; the last three have no background. Only the sixth mother of the sixth son receives the epithet 'his wife', as in the text on which the genealogy of David is based in II Samuel 3:5.<sup>87</sup> And only one wife has a genealogical reference of her own, namely the mother of the third son Absalom, princess Maacah, daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur. This is the only royal distinction in the text. Neither David nor Solomon are distinguished from the others by the epithet 'king'. For the Jerusalemite sons we hear the name of only one mother: Bath-shua. She also receives a genealogical background. There is no mention as in Matthew of her previous marriage

<sup>85</sup> As stated above, if the verb is in the singular, we regularly find object markers before the sons. But in I Chron 3:1 and 3:4, as in I Chron 2:3, we find a passive singular 'was born' without object marker. In 3:1 in a relative clause (And these were the sons of David who was born to him in Hebron). In 3:4 we find the singular passive verb following a numeral (six was born to him).

<sup>86</sup> Also e.g. Gen 4:18 (Niphal), Gen 10:1 (Niphal), Gen 10:21 (Pual), Gen 10:25 (Pual, singular) all have a passive construction with no mention of the name of the mother.

<sup>87</sup> Japhet also points to the peculiarity of this appellation, which has led to the assumption in the Midrash that this might be referring to the missing Michal. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 95.

to Uriah. Uriah's name is blotted out. Due to this short genealogical reference Bath-shua has again become a daughter of her father, as if she married from her father's house. This genealogical reference might be the reason for her presence as only mother named in the list of children born in Jerusalem. II Samuel 5 does not mention her.

In this second list of sons (I Chron 3:5-9) the total number of sons is given, but the sons are not numbered as above in verses 1-4a. There is another version of this list in I Chronicles 14:3-7, which will be closer to the Samuel text, II Samuel 5: 13-16, than the present text. In I Chronicles 3 contrary to II Samuel 5/ I Chronicles 14 the list of sons in Jerusalem just has a short introductory verse (These were born to him in Jerusalem), similar to the introduction of the sons of Hebron.

There is a doubling of the names of the sons: the names Elishama and Eliphelet occur twice. In I Chronicles 14 the names are all different, though in these two cases quite similar sounding. Only at the end of the list, after the conclusion, comes the one daughter mentioned by name in this genealogy, namely Tamar, referred to as 'their sister'. She stands alone, like Achsah, at a certain distance from the genealogy. Where Achsah was called daughter and was mentioned within the frame of the בְּנֵי Pattern, Tamar is sister to the בְּנֵי, but outside the pattern, just as she will become an outsider in the narrative. She is not mentioned where she ought to belong, next to her brother Absalom as daughter to David and to Maacah the princess of Geshur. After all the sons have been listed, the more and less important, and the pattern is concluded, the name of this one daughter is added. II Samuel 5/I Chronicles 14 make no mention of Bath-shua nor Tamar.

#### 4.7 Genealogy of Solomon: I Chronicles 3:10-24, King List and descendants of Josiah

son of Solomon: Rehoboam	וּבְנֵי-שְׁלֹמֹה רְחֹבָעָם
14 x בְּנֵי	אַבְיָה בְּנֵי
sons of Josiah: four sons, numbered	וּבְנֵי יְהוֹשָׁפָט הַבְּכוֹר
sons of Jehoiakim: two x בְּנֵי	וּבְנֵי יְהוֹיָקִים יְכֻנְיָה בְּנֵי
sons of Jeconiah: seven sons; one x בְּנֵי	וּבְנֵי יְכֻנְיָה אֲסִיר <sup>88</sup> שְׂאֵל תִּיֵּאֵל בְּנֵי
sons of Pedaiah	וּבְנֵי פְדָיָה

<sup>88</sup> The following Asir is interpreted either as appositive 'the captive' (so NRSV) or as a personal name (Septuagint and Peshitta). In the last case it would be a construction similar to vs. 10. If Asir is read as 'the captive' it would be the only reference to the exile in the text.

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son of Zerubbabel: two-sister-five, counted	וּשְׁלֹמִית אָחֻזְתָּם	וּבְנֵי זְרֻבָבֶל
son of Hananiah: two sons; four x בְּנֵי (!)		וּבְנֵי חַנְיָהּ
sons of Shecaniah: one son		וּבְנֵי שְׁכַנְיָהּ שְׁמַעְיָה
sons of Shemaiah: five, counted six		וּבְנֵי שְׁמַעְיָה
son of Neariah: three sons, counted		וּבְנֵי נְעָרְיָהּ
sons of Elioenai: seven sons, counted		וּבְנֵי אֱלִיעֵזֶר

The King List does not have a long and impressive introduction. It starts with a simple וּבֶן, introducing Rehoboam. Starting with Abijah son of Rehoboam a variant of the בְּנֵי Pattern is used, namely בְּנֵי, in total 14 times to cover 16 generations from Solomon to Josiah, which is the longest linear genealogy using בְּנֵי. It is used consequently and provides a completely regular linear list of kings from Solomon to Josiah. There is no real introduction nor conclusion to the King List.

From Josiah the genealogy expands to a segmented one.<sup>89</sup> We see that in this genealogy the pattern returns to the numbering and counting of sons, directly in the beginning, in the middle for Zerubbabel's last five sons and three times at the end. The last generation is a segmented one, counting seven sons.<sup>90</sup> We did not find this numbering and counting of sons in chapter 1, but in the genealogy of Judah it plays a prominent role. The number seven leads us back to the genealogy of Jesse, forming a kind of royal inclusio.

All the patterns in I Chronicles 3:10-24 use a variant of בְּנֵי. We find וּבֶן, בְּנֵי and the new pattern בְּנֵי. We do not find the verb יָלַד at all. וּבֶן בְּנֵי do not always correspond to the expected number, like in verses 19 and 23 where we have וּבֶן introducing more children and in verse 21 where בְּנֵי is used for a linear lineage and in verse 22a for one son only.<sup>91</sup> בְּנֵי occurs in narratives in the books of Kings especially in a royal context. It is innovatively taken by the author as a new pattern for linear genealogies and thus as a variant to the Pentateuchal use of יָלַד. We find it here used for the first time, appropriately also in a royal context. It might be a new distinctive style of composition by the Chronicler himself.<sup>92</sup> The genealogies always follow just one line of descent.

<sup>89</sup> Knoppers assesses this switch from linear to segmented as appropriate “, because regular succession ceased in the last days of the Judahite monarchy.” Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 326.

<sup>90</sup> The names in the lineage of Jesus in Matthew are different for the generations after Zerubbabel. Luke follows a different son of David, though Zerubbabel is present. There is also Messianic speculation about the last descendant of the genealogy of ch. 3, Anani. Targum Chronicles adds to his name: הוּא מְלִכָא מְשִׁיחָא, he is the Messiah King.

<sup>91</sup> As Japhet states: „The reading ‘and the sons of’, in the plural, at the beginning of the verse, while only one name follows, has been attested many times before (*inter al.* I Chron 2.31).” Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 102.

<sup>92</sup> Though there is discussion whether ch. 3 is by the hand of the Chronicler or inserted later. See for the discussion Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 331-332, who himself holds that only the latter part of the Solomonic genealogy, from vs. 15 onwards, might be from a later hand, bringing the genealogy into the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Indeed, from vs. 15 ff the genealogical pattern changes, and expands to segmented genealogies.

Occasionally more sons are mentioned within one generation, but then the next genealogy only gives the line of descent of one of these sons, not necessarily the first one.

We call it King List, but in fact as mentioned before the epithet ‘king’ is missing. There is no distinction between the royal and the non-royal descendants of David or between the post-exilic and pre-exilic ones. Knoppers calls this the ‘process of levelling’: royal Davidides are not elevated above non-royal Davidides. He interprets the lack of schematisation positively as “an unbroken succession in spite of the vicissitudes of history.”<sup>93</sup> In the similar lineage in Matthew the exile forms a clear distinction between the royal and the non-royal lines, even though this distinction is not explicitly mentioned, and the epithet ‘king’ is added to David. In Chronicles however it is more blurred. The royalty of the descendants of Solomon to Josiah can only be recognised by the complete regularity of the list. It seems to be a well-known list inserted by the author of I Chronicles 3, who then introduced the new  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Pattern for this list for the first time in the present order of Chronicles, possibly as a further indication of the royalty of the sons of Solomon.

Where the mothers of the sons played a prominent role in David’s Hebron genealogy, mothers are absent in the linear King List starting with Solomon and in the mixture of segmented and linear genealogy of the Davidic lineage starting with king Josiah. There are some puzzling verses. Are the sons of Jehoiakim (Jeconiah his son, Zedekiah his son) sons and grandson or two brothers? The use of the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Pattern, which is exclusively used for linear genealogies, seems to point to the first solution. Knoppers regards the two different Zedekiahs as two possible relationships of Zedekiah’s relation to Jeconiah, either a son or an uncle.<sup>94</sup>

In verse 21 we find instead of an expected  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Pattern after the introductory  $\text{בְּנֵי}$ , a surprising further  $\text{בְּנֵי}$ , probably attached to the name like  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  for the linear genealogy following the introduction.<sup>95</sup> In verse 17  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  is attached to the first son in a segmented list of descendants, but not

<sup>93</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 33. On page 335 he concludes: “a centuries-long pedigree would suggest that the Davidic house survived and maintained itself with assistance from above. As long as a once prominent line survives the ravages of history, the members of that line and their supporters are always free to hope for a restoration of power.” Sparks does not think that the Chronicler hoped for this restoration. He considers David’s and Saul’s genealogies to be on the same lower, supportive level for the main part of I Chron 1-9: the genealogies of Levi. The Chronicler did not want “a return to an indigenous king in general, or to a Davidic king in particular.” Sparks, *The Chronicler’s Genealogies*, 365.

<sup>94</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 320. Knoppers adds on p.320: “Hence, Chronicles does not present readers with an internally consistent position on Zedeqiah’s relationships to Jeconiah. The text provides readers with a complex, not altogether congruent, presentation of relationships.”

<sup>95</sup> Thus NRSV, changing  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  (which would be before the name) into  $\text{בְּנֵי}$ . The main problem is that  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  is usually coming after the name, not before. But after the last name, Shecaniah, there is no  $\text{בְּנֵי}$ . Another solution proposed is to emendate  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  and read only the conjunction ‘and’. In that case the list would constitute a segmented genealogy of the sons of Hananiah instead of a linear genealogy. Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 82-83. Dirksen himself also suggests interpreting the sons as families, to explain the plural  $\text{בְּנֵי}$ . If read as a linear genealogy, it would lead us with the generation of the sons of Elioenai into the 11<sup>th</sup> generation from Zerubbabel, a number of course filled with Messianic expectation. See under Genealogies in Luke, the division of history in 12 parts.

to more sons. The segmented reading in verse 21, though possible, is unlikely. If the first בְּנֵי is read like such a בְּנֵי attached to the name of one son, Jeshaiiah, the text might be translated as follows: “The sons of Hananiah: Pelatiah and Jeshaiiah his son.” Then the list would continue with a linear genealogy of Jeshaiiah: “Rephaiah his son, Arnan his son, etc.” Only after Shecaniah בְּנֵי is missing.

There is no room for women, apart from the reference to Shelomith, in the middle of a genealogy mentioning sons. Shelomith stands between the two sons and the five sons, as one of the בְּנֵי of Zerubbabel, with the reference ‘their sister’. In verse 9 a sister came after the conclusion of the list of sons. Here the position of the daughter is different, even though the addition of the five sons separately might raise some questions. Possibly Shelomith ended the list originally.<sup>96</sup> Shelomith was thus a descendant of the last Davidide governing Judah. She might have been herself the last Davidide with administrative authority over Judah. Eric Meyers suggests that she “could well have been the co-regent as well as spouse of Elnathan”, the governor succeeding Zerubbabel.<sup>97</sup> Her being of Davidic descent would have strengthened the authority of the Persian administration. This might explain her sole appearance as a daughter in the lists of sons of Solomon to the sons of Elieoenai in Chronicles.<sup>98</sup>

In chapter 3 we find two references to daughters, disguised as sisters, once at the end of a list of sons (vs. 9), once in the middle of a genealogy (vs. 19). We do not find female forms of the verb יָלַד. We do find יָלַד in the passive, leaving room for the names of mothers. Two mothers receive a genealogical background.

## 4.8 Other descendants of Judah: I Chronicles 4

In the present form of chapters 2-4 the King Lists of chapter 3 are surrounded by two genealogies of Judah. In chapter 4 the genealogy of Judah starts afresh, copying 2:3: בְּנֵי יְהוֹרָם. Now the dead sons and the less important Zerah are passed over and the genealogy plunges immediately into the sons of the main line of Perez.<sup>99</sup> The first verse contains a summarised linear genealogy, but is

<sup>96</sup> The second group of five sons could then be the grandsons of Zerubbabel. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 321: “..., it seems appropriate to restore “sons of Meshullam.”

<sup>97</sup> Meyers thus interprets the inscription found on a seal: “belonging to Shelomith, maidservant of Elnathan the governor.” Maidservant might point to a high status and to a marital status (Article of Eric M. Meyers in: *Women in Scripture*, 155), though her exact role is disputed (Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 329).

<sup>98</sup> Knoppers dates this last generation as being born around 426 BC, taking 20 years as the average duration of a generation in the ancient world. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 330.

<sup>99</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 344: “..., most of the lineages in vv. 2-23 evidently pertain to descendants of Perez (2:4-5).”

presented as a traditional segmented one opening the chronicles of the ancestor, using introductory **בְּנֵי**. There is again a list of five names, resembling the number of sons of Judah in chapter 2. In this short enumeration of names, similar to 1:1-4 and 1:24-27<sup>100</sup>, we find the third form of the name of the son of Hezron: Carmi<sup>101</sup>. Probably he is the same son earlier named Chelubai and Caleb. In verses 11 and 14 two other Calebs are introduced, who both seem to be different from the Caleb/Carmi of 4:1 and chapter 2. In a way, the three Calebs dominate this chapter. Especially Caleb son of Hezron is important in Chronicles, whereas in the narrative in Numbers 13 from the tribe of Judah. In Chronicles both he and Caleb/Chelub brother of Shuha are less important. The Kenizzites are as foreign element considered to be of the tribe of Judah, but are still not fully integrated, thus solving the ambiguity of Numbers and realising the Chronicler's ideal of a greater Israel, incorporating foreign elements.<sup>102</sup>

In this final restart of the Judah genealogy we will not find any numbering of sons anymore, as we found in chapters 2 and 3. The **בְּנֵי** Pattern we found for the first time in the Solomonic King List is also missing. Often there does not seem to be much connection between the different parts. The concluding lines are not always in relation to the preceding verses.<sup>103</sup> Japhet sees the hand of the Chronicler in 4:1, but not in the main body of the genealogies.<sup>104</sup>

This whole second genealogy of Judah is a mixture of **בְּנֵי** and **יָלַד** Hiphil Pattern with the auxiliary **אָבִי** Pattern, but for the two blocks of female presence in verses 5-7 and 17-19 where we also find Female Patterns combined with **בְּנֵי** Pattern. In 9-10 a narrative on Jabez and his mother interrupts the genealogies.

After the **בְּנֵי** Pattern introducing the whole genealogy of Judah in verse 1, the first part 2-8 starts and ends with Hiphil Pattern. I Chronicles 4:1-3 is in its present form a mixture of different patterns, especially **בְּנֵי**, Hiphil and the **אָבִי** Pattern, as follows:

five sons	<b>בְּנֵי</b> הַיְהוּדָה
	2x הַלֵּיד
conclusion	אָלֶה מִשְׁפָּחוֹת הַצָּרְעָתִי

<sup>100</sup> But still, here the list of descendants of Judah is more adorned than the extremely succinct linear genealogies of ch. 1, where there were no introductory phrases nor conjunctions.

<sup>101</sup> Confusingly, Carmi is earlier found in the list of descendants of Reuben in Gen 46 and Num 26, as is Hezron.

<sup>102</sup> Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 46: "The Chronicler is not confined by the traditional concept of the 'twelve tribes'; rather, he strives at encompassing every element in Israel, including the 'sojourners' (*gerim*) the non-Israelite population of the land." Especially the tribe of Judah incorporates foreign elements. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 359: "Judah at its core represents an amalgamation of various groups and families."

<sup>103</sup> As Japhet writes: "...ch. 4 is the most difficult in the Judaeic genealogy, because of the textual corruptions, which sometimes seem incorrigible, and the lack of continuity between the individual passages. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 104.

<sup>104</sup> According to Japhet the Chronicler collected most genealogies from other sources, either pre-exilic or post-exilic, but most probably pre-exilic. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 104/105.

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The concluding line at the end of verse 2 connects to 2:53, where the Zorathites were one of the families of Kiriath-jearim. The next sequence is a mixture of אָבִי and בְּנֵי :

וְשֵׁם אֶחָדָם הַצֵּלְפוּנִי וּפְנוּאֵל אָבִי גֵדֵר וְעִזְרָא אָבִי חוּשָׁה three sons אָבִי עֵיטָם  
אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי-חֹר בְּכוֹר אֶפְרָתָה אָבִי בֵּית לְחָם conclusion

The אָבִי of verse 3 is curious. אָבִי is either erroneously used instead of בְּנֵי or the בְּנֵי Pattern plus name of the ancestor are missing. Dirksen suggests that possibly this is a genealogy of Hur's son Hareph, whose lineage was not told yet at the end of chapter 2.<sup>105</sup> Japhet also chooses this option.<sup>106</sup> NRSV and LXX replace אָבִי with בְּנֵי.

The name of the daughter called sister, Hazzelelponi, stand in the middle of a list of sons. Often, the daughter ends the list, as in Genesis 4:22 (Naamah, sister to one brother), in Genesis 36:22 (Timna, sister of father) and in Genesis 46:17 (and their sister Serah). In Chronicles we find sisters ending the genealogical sequence in 1:39 (aunt Timna), 3:9 (and Tamar was their sister), 7:15 (the name of his sister was Maacah? Hamolecheth?) and in 7:30 (and their sister Serah) and 7:32 (Shua, called their sister but begotten by her father). Also once two sisters ended the genealogical sequence in 2:16.

Hazzelelponi does not come at the end of the pattern but stands in the middle, though the pattern changes after her name from בְּנֵי to אָבִי. In 3:19 Shelomith also stood in the middle of a list of brothers, followed by a slight change of pattern. Where to Hazzelelponi a short separate phrase is devoted, Shelomith seemed to fall under the בְּנֵי of her father. Knoppers finds the name Hazzelelponi suspect and translates "and the name of their sister was Hazlel." Poni is in his interpretation a dittography of the following name, Penuel.<sup>107</sup> Hur is again (see above 2:50) identified by the name of his mother: בְּכוֹר אֶפְרָתָה. Both Hur and Salma are (2:51) are called father of Bethlehem signifying families connected to Bethlehem.

As stated above we have two blocks of presence of mothers. Julia Myers O'Brien and Alice L. Laffey regard the presence of mothers as reinforcement of the importance of the Southern tribe of Judah in Chronicles.<sup>108</sup> In the genealogies of some of the other tribes, like Simeon, Levi, and the

<sup>105</sup> Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 86.

<sup>106</sup> Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 107.

<sup>107</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 338. Dirksen (86) and Japhet (107) do not find a reconstruction convincing and leave the name Hazzelelponi as it is, though Japhet regards it as a possible dittography with Penuel. Julia Myers O'Brien translates it as one name: "he gives my face shade". *Women in Scripture*, 92.

<sup>108</sup> *Women in Scripture*, 92.



Northern tribes of Issachar and Asher, wives are indeed remarkably absent.<sup>109</sup> And as we have seen, the Northern tribe of Zebulun and possibly also Dan is even completely missing in the account in Chronicles. But in the short genealogy of the Northern tribe of Manasseh there is an abundance of mothers, named and unnamed. Is Manasseh of special value to Chronicles? There are connections between the tribe of Judah and the tribe of Manasseh<sup>110</sup>, which might explain the significance of Manasseh.

The first block of mothers is introduced by verse 5: there were two wives to Ashhur, Helah and Naarah. A combination of patterns follows we also found for the daughters of Jesse (2:16-17), only in reversed order: first the Independent Female Pattern for Naarah, then בְּנֵי Pattern for Helah. The two women give birth in the reversed order of their presentation. First the children of Naarah are named; then the sons of Helah:

וּלְאַשְׁחֹר אֲבִי תְּקוּעַ הָיוּ שְׁמֵי נָשִׁים תְּלָאָה וְנַעֲרָה  
 וּמֵלֶדֶד לֹוּ נַעֲרָה  
 אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי נַעֲרָה  
 וּבְנֵי תְּלָאָה

four sons לוֹ נַעֲרָה

conclusion בְּנֵי נַעֲרָה

three sons בְּנֵי תְּלָאָה

4

Naarah has a conclusion of the בְּנֵי Pattern, like we found in Genesis 36, for the wives of Esau. There the children are also attributed to the mother. Especially Oholibamah ‘owned’ the genealogy of her sons.<sup>111</sup> Rachel had a similar strong position in her genealogy. Helah gets a simple בְּנֵי Pattern, without conclusion, but she still heads the list of names of her descendants. Löwisch concludes that both wives are equals.<sup>112</sup> This first part, verses 1-8, ends with ילד Hiphil:

two sons וְקוֹץ הוֹלִיד אֶת  
 and families וַיִּמְשָׁפְחֵת אֶת־רִמְלַת בְּנֵי־הָרוּם

Verse 8 is puzzling. We find families often in a concluding verse: “these are the families of...” There is also no connection to the preceding verse in the present text. Japhet supports adding “and Koz” to verse 7.<sup>113</sup> In verses 1-8 we find four times the conclusive phrase of the בְּנֵי Pattern: (בְּנֵי)

<sup>109</sup> Though some daughters are present, e.g. Miriam (Levi), Serah and Shua (both in Asher).

<sup>110</sup> The most conspicuous is of course the relation between Hezron and the daughter of Machir the father of Gilead. Japhet points also to Asriel/Asarel, known as a Judahite and a Manassite family. Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 114.

<sup>111</sup> The term is used by Julie Kelso for a person present in heading and/or conclusion of a genealogy, who therefore owns the genealogy. Julie Kelso, *Oh Mother, Where Art Thou?, An Irigarayan Reading of the Book of Chronicles* (London/New York: Routledge, 2014), 112-113.

<sup>112</sup> Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 188.

<sup>113</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 108.

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אֱלֹהִים, but twice in variants: with אָבִי and with מְשֻׁפָּחוֹת. Once it is connected to a mother in verse 6. We find the בְּנֵי Pattern + name of mother in the second genealogy of Judah in total four times, in the concluding phrase in verse 6, in verse 7 and further in verses 18 and 19. Another referring to giving birth by the mother is found in the narrative in verse 9, in the name giving by the mother.

After the unconnected narrative, the genealogies restart with ילד Hiphil. From 11-17a there is a regular alternation between Hiphil and בְּנֵי Pattern, till the בְּנֵי Pattern takes over. Content-wise there does not seem to be a connection between the different short genealogies.<sup>114</sup> We find:

genealogy of Chelub: Hiphil: one son	וּבְכֹלֹב אָחִי שׁוֹקֵה הוֹלִיד אֶת מְחִיר
father of Eshton	הוּא אָבִי אֲשֶׁתוֹן
Hiphil: three sons - city founder – conclusion	וְאֲשֶׁתוֹן הוֹלִיד אֶת אָבִי אֶלֶה
genealogy of Kenaz	וּבְנֵי קִנּוּ עֲתֻנְיָאֵל וְשָׂרָיָה
וּבְנֵי: two sons	
וּבְנֵי: one son	וּבְנֵי עֲתֻנְיָאֵל חֲסֹת
Hiphil: one son	וּמַעֲוֹנְתֵי הוֹלִיד אֶת עֶפְרָה
Hiphil: one son – city founder – explanation	וְשָׂרָיָה הוֹלִיד אֶת יוֹאָב אָבִי
genealogy of Caleb, son of Jephunneh	וּבְנֵי קָלֵב בֶּן יִפְנֵה
וּבְנֵי: three sons	
וּבְנֵי: one son	וּבְנֵי אֶלֶה
וּבְנֵי: four sons of Jehallelel	וּבְנֵי יְהֻלְלָאֵל
וּבְנֵי: four sons of Ezrah	וּבְנֵי עֲזָרָה

The Hiphil Pattern is used for both linear and segmented genealogies. The אָבִי Pattern is an auxiliary pattern for a person (Eshton) and for cities. אָחִי also has an auxiliary function. The plural בְּנֵי Pattern can introduce just one descendant and the singular בֶּן more sons. A short genealogical reference with בֶּן is used to distinguish this particular Caleb.

<sup>114</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 112. Japhet calls especially vss 13-15, possibly also 11-12 “a relatively independent element within the tribe of Judah”, not integrated within one of the clans of the sons of Judah.

The second female block starts with a surprising **וַתֵּהָר** missing a female subject directly after a **בְּנֵי** (+ name father) Pattern in verse 17. It is generally connected with the **בְּנֵי** + name mother in verse 18. NRSV adds also “and bore”, to complete the pattern, thus translating: “These are the sons of Bithiah, daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered married; and she conceived and bore Miriam, Shammai, and Ishbah, the father of Esthemoa.” Presently **וַתֵּהָר** is unconnected but if extended as indicated above we would have two female patterns using **יָלַד**, with an introductory the **בְּנֵי** Pattern connected to the name of the mother, contrary to 2:16,17 and 4:5-7, where only for one woman the root **יָלַד** was used. Knoppers has a different solution, interpreting **וַתֵּהָר** as a misspelling of Jether and translates: “Jether sired Miriam, Shammai, and Ishbai father of Eshtemoa.”<sup>115</sup> The phrase ‘the sons of Bithiah, daughter of Pharaoh’ forms in its present place in MT the unconnected conclusion of a list of sons of another woman.<sup>116</sup> Would a normal Judahite be able to marry the daughter of a Pharaoh? Knoppers regards this marriage as “a Judean writer’s admission of traditional Egyptian interests in southern Judah”,<sup>117</sup> connecting Bithiah to Gedor, Soco and Zanoah (see footnotes) and interpreting these names as villages in the South of Judah. Her name, daughter of YHWH, seems to indicate her name-giver was a Jewish believer.

The Independent Female Pattern is used in 4:18 for the Judean wife: **וְאִשְׁתּוֹ הַיְהוּדָיָה יָלְדָה אֹתָם**. The **בְּנֵי** Pattern is connected to Bithiah. We found the same combination in the same order in the first block, verses 6-7. Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, is first introduced as daughter, and only later as wife. Some sort of reconstruction should be made, to make the present text understandable. We will follow -with some hesitation- in the analyses in the following chapter the reconstruction proposed by NRSV. We find in the list of children one hidden daughter: Miriam, not distinguished as female in any way. We might have other cases of hidden daughters.<sup>118</sup> Verse 19 starts with a woman, the nameless wife of Hodiah, with a genealogical reference to a brother, and followed by a curious **וְאֵלֶּם**, as in 4:4. Does it refer back to the -in that case- nameless sons or to the brother of the nameless wife of Hodiah? But if the last, where are the sons? That son Esthemoa occurs in the Egyptian genealogy and is called a Maacathite might point to different phases of occupation of the village Esthemoa.<sup>119</sup> More often a son has two fathers in the genealogies in Chronicles, as we saw above. At least it is clear that here we have another reference to a sister.

<sup>115</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 337.

<sup>116</sup> Knoppers puts the phrase at the beginning of verse 18, instead of ‘his Judean wife’, which he regards as another dittography of the next verse ‘the wife of Hodiah’. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 337-341.

<sup>117</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 350.

<sup>118</sup> Possibly also Ephah in I Chron 2:47.

<sup>119</sup> One of the suggestions of Japhet regarding Esthemoa, Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 114.

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After the second female block there are short unconnected genealogies using **בְּנֵי** Pattern in verses 20-22, as follows:

**בְּנֵי** Pattern: four sons of Shimon

**בְּנֵי** Pattern: son and grandson (?) of Ishi

**בְּנֵי** Pattern: sons of Shelah son of Judah (by Bath-shua) with **אֲבֹתָי** Pattern (2 x)

Then the genealogical part dwindles away in habitats and professions of families. Apart from the two blocks of female presence in verses 5-7 (9) and 17-19, we find a reference to a daughter as sister to sons of the father in verse 4, as discussed above. In total we find three daughters: one as sister; one as genealogical reference of a wife; one hidden.

### 4.9 Genealogies of other sons of Israel: I Chronicles 4:24- I Chronicles 5

For the tribes of Simeon, Reuben and Gad a different style is used. In chapter 2 the genealogies dominated the tribal description of Judah, with an occasional narrative remark or short story in between, but starting from 4:24 the narrative becomes more important. The Chronicler wants to preserve the memory of these tribes. Genealogies, anecdotes and geographical and military information are all mixed.<sup>120</sup> In the description of one (half-)tribe, Manasseh, there is even no genealogy at all, only a list of clan chiefs. In the account of the tribe of Simeon approximately a third is genealogy; two thirds are narrative. With Reuben six of the ten verses contain genealogy. Gad is mostly genealogical, but as in the other accounts, chief lists or enumerations of names can be found in between the genealogies, without clear delimitation. All three use patterns based on **בן**. All three start with **בְּנֵי** Pattern as introduction.

In the description of the tribe of Simeon there are two short blocks of genealogies, in 24-26 (27) and 34-37. In 4:24-26 we find the **בְּנֵי** Pattern in regular alternation with **בְּנֵי**, as follows:

<sup>120</sup> Knoppers points to the similar style of Greek genealogies that also “contain many anecdotes of both geographical and historical nature”, Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 371. We already found a more narrative style of genealogical recording in Gen 10, 36 and Num 26, where short anecdotes are told in between the genealogies.

five sons	בְּנֵי שִׁמְעוֹן
three x בְּנֵי	שְׁלֹשׁ בָּנָיו מִבְּשֵׁם בְּנֵי מִשְׁמַע בְּנֵי
-	וּבְנֵי מִשְׁמַע
three x בְּנֵי	חֲמוּזָאל בְּנֵי זָכוּר בְּנֵי שְׁמַעִי בְּנֵי

The first segmented genealogy, using בְּנֵי Pattern, lists the sons of the ancestor Simeon. In verse 25 a linear genealogy follows of the son, grandson and great-grandson of probably the last son of the segmented list, Shaul. This combination of patterns is repeated in verse 26, but here the segmented list of names is missing. בְּנֵי forms the direct introduction of the linear genealogy encompassing again four generations, as in verse 25. The genealogy leads to Shimei, whom the author wants to reach with the בְּנֵי Pattern.<sup>121</sup> The genealogy connects him to Simeon. A narrative on the extent and the geographical distribution of the descendants of Shimei follows in 27-33. Here we find the only reference to women in the chronicle of Simeon, namely to his six daughters. Because of the mentioning of brothers in 4:27 the second בְּנֵי lineage is sometimes interpreted as a segmented genealogy.<sup>122</sup> We had the same discussion for 3:16, for Jeconiah and Zedekiah, whether they were brothers or father and son. In 4:26 the main problem seems to be that if interpreted as a segmented sequence, it would differ from the immediately preceding בְּנֵי Pattern in verse 25, which is interpreted as a linear, genealogical sequence. These two instances of the בְּנֵי Pattern, 3:16 and 4:26, are the only ones under debate<sup>123</sup>.

In 34-38 we find partly an enumeration of names, partly a backwards genealogy, by בְּנֵי:

enumeration (three names) + בְּנֵי (1x)	וּמִשׁוֹבֵב וְיִמְלֵךְ וְיֹשֶׁה בְּנֵי אֲמִצָּה
enumeration (two names) + בְּנֵי (3x)	וְיֹאֵל וְיִהוּא בְּנֵי יֹשֶׁבֶב בְּנֵי שְׁרָיָה בְּנֵי עֲשִׂיאל
enumeration (seven names) + בְּנֵי (5x)	וְאֶלְיָוֵעַי וְיַעֲקֹב וְיִשׁוּתָנָה וְעֲשָׂה וְעֲדִיאל וְיִשִׁמְאֵל וּבְנֵיהֶם וְיִזְנָא בְּנֵי שְׁפָעִי בְּנֵי אֵלוֹן בְּנֵי יִדְנָה בְּנֵי שְׁמָרִי בְּנֵי שְׁמַעִי

Without any introductory phrase the text seems to plunge directly into an enumeration of names. That is why Knoppers takes the last words of 33: 'and they kept a genealogical record'

<sup>121</sup> In 7:25-27 the בְּנֵי Pattern is stretched to reach a certain descendant, Joshua. Also בְּנֵי Pattern in the King List ends with the last pre-exilic king of importance, Josiah. Apparently the בְּנֵי Pattern is used in these cases to reach an especially important descendant. We will investigate in our discussion of the בְּנֵי Pattern whether this applies to other cases too.

<sup>122</sup> See for the discussion Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 81 and 95.

<sup>123</sup> Though Japhet discusses the possibility of 7:20 being interpreted as a segmented genealogy, to solve the otherwise strange transition to the story following. Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 179-180.

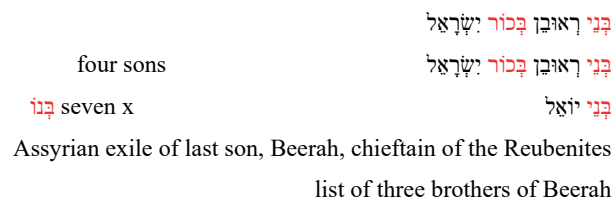
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as introduction to the list of names.<sup>124</sup> NRSV leaves it in the middle by making it a short separate sentence. There is an increasing depth in the backwards genealogies: from two to four to six generations. The explanation of the enumerations seems to lie in the following verse 38: they were leaders of their families. In total 13 leaders can be found in verses 34-37, from whom three receive a genealogical background. Why some of the mentioned family leaders have a linear genealogy attached to their names and others not, is unclear. It is clear that these three men, Joshah, Jehu and Ziza, stand out. They are the ones with genealogical background and thus probably more important than the others.<sup>125</sup>

There is only one reference to daughters in the genealogies of Simeon, namely in the counting of sons and daughters of Shimei (4:27). After Simeon follows Reuben, moving from the South to the Southeast, across the Jordan. Japhet sees the movement as a concentric circle around Judah, ending with Benjamin in the middle.<sup>126</sup> The three following tribes, Reuben, Gad and East-Manasseh had their allotment all in Transjordan.

**Genealogy of Reuben in I Chronicles 5:1-10**

For Reuben, the genealogical information forms one block in verses 3-8. The genealogical introduction using the בְּנֵי Pattern is repeated: it starts in verse 1 followed by an explanation of the loss of his birth-right and restarts in verse 3. Reuben loses his birth-right to the sons of Joseph, who is called son of Israel, but Reuben is still called בְּכוֹר in the restart. The genealogy of Reuben is mostly a genealogy of Joel, who is connected to the sons of Reuben in the last descendant, Beerah. There is no direct connection in verse 4. The list of sons of Reuben consists of a simple segmented genealogy listing the four sons of Reuben. It is followed by a genealogy of Joel, using a combination of בְּנֵי and בְּנוֹ, as in the first genealogical part of Simeon, and the Backwards Pattern:



<sup>124</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 367, adding that the verb is used 15 out of a total 20 times in MT in Chronicles, especially for the genealogical registration of the less important, otherwise forgotten tribes.  
<sup>125</sup> Also Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 367.  
<sup>126</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 130 and elsewhere.

אָן three x backwards genealogy of third brother

The phrase ‘sons of Joel’ in verse 4 refers in fact to only one son, Shemaiah. The plural is used as a standard introduction with no relation to the actual number of the descendants. We saw exactly the same construction in 4:26, with the introduction ‘sons of Mishma’, which was directly followed by the name of one son and the addition בְּנוֹ.<sup>127</sup> The linear genealogy reaches a depth of seven generations. The focus of the genealogy of Joel is on Joel and Beerah, the first and the last descendant. The Backwards Pattern of the relative of Beerah leads back to Joel.

### Genealogy of Gad in I Chronicles 5:11-17

The chronicle of Gad starts with the introductory בְּנֵי Pattern, but it is followed by their dwelling places and an enumeration of the names of the family leaders, called sons of Gad, without further genealogical attachments. A genealogy of the Gadite Abihail follows in 5:14, using the introductory phrase of the בְּנֵי Pattern, but surprisingly no sons are following. Are the sons the family leaders of verse 13? Or is it connected to verse 15? As it stands now, the introduction hangs in the air. It continues with a backwards genealogy, not of Abihail’s sons but of Abihail himself. This is a long backwards, ascending genealogy, comprising eight generations.

4

אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי אַבִּיחַיִל  
seven x אָן

In verse 15 follows another unconnected backwards genealogy of Ahi of three generations:

אַחִי בְּנֵי עַבְדֵי אֵל  
בְּנֵי גֹוֹנֵי  
רֹאשׁ לְבֵית אַבְוֹתָם

<sup>127</sup> Sparks has made an enlightening chart of the similarities of the tribal chronicles of Simeon, Reuben, Gad and Manasseh concerning descendants, relation to Judah, settlements, genealogical record and expansion of land. He concludes that indeed Simeon and Reuben have most in common. Sparks, *The Chronicler’s Genealogies*, 164-165.

In chapter 5 we find ‘daughters’ once in the meaning ‘villages’ (5:16), וּבְבָנוֹתָיָהּ, in the genealogy of the Gadites. As said above, the description of Manasseh contains no genealogy.<sup>128</sup>

#### 4.10 Genealogies of Levi: I Chronicles 5:27-I Chronicles 6

In the length of the genealogies of the sons of Israel Levi takes second place after Judah.<sup>129</sup> In total 81 verses are dedicated to Levi. With Judah at the beginning and Benjamin at the end, Levi stands in the middle, as the sixth tribe described. Without the first account of Benjamin there would even be an equal number of tribal accounts coming before and after Levi. The chronicle of Levi starts with genealogies, sometimes interspersed with or introduced by narrative sentences, covering in total 53 verses. First we find an extended genealogical part in 5:27-41 and 6:1-15 (NRSV 6:1-30), mostly concentrating on the descent through Kohath. After a narrative introduction follows a short enumeration of names, with a backwards genealogy attached to each name. The genealogies end with a linear lineage of Aaron, as high priest, again after a narrative introduction. In the last 28 verses, the dwelling places and allotments are described.

In I Chronicles 5:27-41 (NRSV 6:1-15) we find the first genealogy of the sons of Levi. After the introductory, segmented listing of the sons of the tribal ancestor, using the בְּנֵי Pattern, it continues with a well-constructed, segmented genealogy connecting Levi’s son Kohath through Amram and Aaron to Eleazar:

three sons	בְּנֵי לֵוִי
four sons	וּבְנֵי קֹהַת
two sons one daughter	וּבְנֵי עֲמָרָם
four sons	וּבְנֵי אֶהֱרֹן
Hiphil 21 x יָלַד	descendants of Eleazar

We find four times בְּנֵי Pattern, for the segmented genealogy. The subscription וּבְנֵי is used for daughter Miriam as well. There is a regular alternation between three and four descendants.

<sup>128</sup> Knoppers mentions the remarkable attention that these three Transjordanian tribes, Reuben, Gad and East-Manasseh get, compared to tribes like Dan, Naphtali, Ephraim and West-Manasseh, even though other biblical accounts regard them sometimes with suspicion. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 395-7.

<sup>129</sup> These two genealogies will be the main genealogies in later Judaism, leading in some texts to a double messianic expectation.



From verse 30 the Hiphil Pattern takes over with a completely regular linear genealogy starting with Eleazar and ending with Jehozadak, who was led into exile. Knoppers notices that all lineages of Judah, Levi and Benjamin “contain at least one long descending lineage;...”, of remarkable length.<sup>130</sup> The linear genealogy of Eleazar covers in total 22 generations.<sup>131</sup> Names are repeated. The same genealogical sequence (Amariah, Ahitub, Zaddok) is used for three generations before the Temple and three generations after the Temple. For Dirksen this is one of the reasons to call the list artificial.<sup>132</sup> After the fourteenth generation a narrative is inserted, connecting Azariah to the Temple of Solomon.

The name Azariah is used three times for three different persons.<sup>133</sup> Part of the pre-exilic list from Aaron to Ahimaaz will be repeated in 6:35-38. Johnson points to the similarities between this list and the time schedule in Matthew. Here we find a diachronic structure, dividing history in two periods: from Eleazar, son of Aaron, to the building of the Temple by Solomon and from the building of the Temple to the exile.<sup>134</sup> The list is not as symmetrical as in Matthew: more ancestors figure in the first period than in the second. According to Knoppers the main intention of the writer is to connect the time of the tribal ancestors to the period of the united monarchy<sup>135</sup>, so the first part would be more important than the continuing lines. That would be in line with the whole structure of the genealogies in Chronicles. Also in chapter 6 the era of David and Solomon is connected to the sons of Israel by backwards genealogies.

In most interpretations a text emendation is made: the first Azariah is connected to the dedication of the Temple instead of the second Azariah. Then the list becomes more symmetrical: 12 generations of high priests from Aaron until the building of the Temple; but till the exile still 11. The list might want to give the impression that high priesthood descended from father to son in a strict line from Aaron through Eleazar. Is this a list of high priests in genealogical form? Knoppers questions this. The list starts with segmented genealogies, only followed by a linear list from Eleazar. If it were one list of high priests the whole list would be linear. And known high

<sup>130</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 402.

<sup>131</sup> Japhet regards this number of generations as possible. She calculates a generation to be 20-25 years. Thus 22 generations “would span 440-550 years, a reasonable period between the settlement and the destruction of the Temple.” Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 150.

<sup>132</sup> Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 112.

<sup>133</sup> Knoppers calls this repetition and the paucity of names suspicious, even though papponymy was common. Also the number of generations seems not to be in line with the generations of the King List of Solomon. There are much less generations in Levi’s lineage between the building of the Temple and the exile. And he concludes: “Given the pattern evident in the genealogy (...), the compressed nature of the list may represent deliberate artifice.” Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 401-402.

<sup>134</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 190.

<sup>135</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 421. He adds that it is unusual that the recent past does not figure at all, especially in these backwards genealogies.

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priests from history do not all figure in this list.<sup>136</sup> Dirksen misses especially high priest Joshua as a fitting end of the list and a restart with the inauguration of the Second Temple.<sup>137</sup> Might Joshua be the missing twelfth generation?

But in a way this mixture of patterns shows similarities to other lists in Chronicles, for instance the list of ruling and non-ruling descendants of Solomon, which combined linear and segmented genealogies. The lineage leading to David was a combination of patterns too. It started segmented, continued with הָיִל Hiphil and ended segmented, with the sisters attached. Because of this mixture of patterns Aaron surprisingly does not stand out in any way. His son Eleazar heads the long linear genealogy. Japhet regards the linear genealogy as an intentional though partly fictitious list of high priests, compiled in a time when purity of blood line and the legitimacy of the priesthood were of utmost importance, namely in the period between exile and rebuilding of the Temple. She clearly sees it as a parallel list to the King List.<sup>138</sup>

We have seen that in the genealogies in chapter 1 the most important son was treated last (Shem, Isaac, Israel). Starting from the genealogy of Judah in chapter 2 this has changed. In chapter 2 the most important son was treated first (Judah, Perez, Hezron, Ram). Here this order continues. Kohath comes first in the genealogies in 5:28-6:15.

We find one daughter, Miriam, undistinguishable from the sons, under the sons of Amram (5:29). Miriam is put last. So the sequence is not in the order of birth presumed by the narrative in Exodus, but following the custom of putting daughters at the end of the pattern.<sup>139</sup> Still, she is mentioned as an equal sibling, as in Micah 6:4.<sup>140</sup> We found several cases of daughters included in the בָּנָי. Already in Genesis 36<sup>141</sup> Oholibamah was included in the בָּנָי of her father, with the epithet: daughter of Anah. Also in Genesis 22:24 we found Maacah, born by Reumah. In I Chronicles 1:36 Timna was surprisingly under the sons of Eliphaz. It seems likely that אֶפְחָי Ephah in I Chronicles 2:47 is in fact a daughter. Likewise the further undistinguished Miriam is the first mentioned child under 'she conceived' of a nameless mother, possibly Bithiah in I Chronicles 4:17. Is Mahlah, descendant of Hammolecheth in I Chronicles 7:18, a hidden daughter? Shelomith was included in the בָּנָי, with epithet 'their sister', in I Chronicles 3:19. There might be more hidden daughters like Miriam, whose names we cannot identify as female. The term בָּנָי is open to include them, for it has

<sup>136</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 413. Jehoiada (II Kings 11) and Uriaah (II Kings 16) are missing.

<sup>137</sup> Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 112-113 He therefore suggests an exilic or post-exilic date, directly before or at the beginning of Joshua's high priesthood.

<sup>138</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 151-152.

<sup>139</sup> For more examples of positions of daughters see under Hazzelelponi, I Chron 4:3.

<sup>140</sup> Mayer I. Gruber regards I Chron 5:29 as an echo of Micah 6:4. Mayer I. Gruber, "Women's Voices in Micah", *lectio difficilior I/2007*, 1.

<sup>141</sup> Timna and Oholibamah were also hidden in the chief list in Gen 36.

become a standard formula, irrespective of number, generation<sup>142</sup> or gender. Apart from this hidden daughter Miriam included in the בְּנֵי, there are no further references to women in the Levite chronicle. The genealogies are using patterns that mostly exclude women, like Hiphil, בְּנֵי and the Backwards Pattern.

The genealogy of Levi restarts in 6:1 with the same segmented genealogical opening phrase as 5:27: בְּנֵי לְוִי גֵרְשֹׁם קֵהֶת וּמֵרָרִי. In the first genealogy only the line of Kohath was followed, but here we find descendants of all sons of Levi. Three genealogies are attributed to each of the three sons.

**Genealogy I** 6:1-4 Sons of Levi

intro	בְּנֵי לְוִי גֵרְשֹׁם קֵהֶת וּמֵרָרִי
Gershom:	two sons וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנֵי־גֵרְשֹׁם
Kohath:	four sons וּבְנֵי קֵהֶת
Merari:	two sons בְּנֵי מֵרָרִי

**Genealogy II** 6:5-15 Descent through sons of Levi, through first son of son of Levi

intro	וְאֵלֶּה מְשֻׁפְחוֹת הַלְוִי לְאַבְתִּיהֶם
LeGershom	seven x בְּנֵי
בְּנֵי Kohath	ten x בְּנֵי
בְּנֵי Elkanah	two sons
	six x בְּנֵי
בְּנֵי Samuel	two sons? numbered?
בְּנֵי Merari	Mahli, six x בְּנֵי

**Genealogy III** 6:18-32 Ascent to Levi/ Israel, through second son of son of Levi

intro	וְאֵלֶּה הָעֹמְדִים וּבְנֵיהֶם
מִבְּנֵי קֵהֶתִי	Heman, the singer, son of ....Kohath, son of Levi, son of Israel 22x בְּנֵי
his brother	Asaph son of ....Gershom, son of Levi 14x בְּנֵי
וּבְנֵי מֵרָרִי	Ethan, son of ....Merari, son of Levi 13x בְּנֵי

<sup>142</sup> For a grandchild introduced by the בְּנֵי Pattern in Chronicles, see e.g. I Chron 1:38.

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All three use patterns based on בן. All three include the בְּנֵי Pattern. The first has only בְּנֵי ; the second a combination of מְשֻׁפָּחֹת, בְּנֵי, and בְּנֵי; the third בְּנֵי and בְּנֵי. In 6:1-15 we find the first two genealogies, following the order of the introductory phrase: “The sons of Levi: Gershom<sup>143</sup>, Kohath and Merari.” Gershom twice comes first, but still Kohath gets a longer description. Overall, Kohath is the most important brother in the present text.<sup>144</sup> In the first sequence all brothers have one verse each, but Kohath the double number of sons. In the second sequence Kohath’s genealogy has a depth of 11 generations; the genealogies of Gershom and of Merari reach eight generations each.<sup>145</sup> The genealogies follow the lineages of the first son. Genealogy II of Merari misses the בְּנֵי attached to the first son (Mahli).

In Genealogy II of Kohath we find surprisingly Amminadab as son of Kohath and father of Korah, instead of probably Izhar. Amminadab father of Nahshon was a Judahite according to 2:10. Here one Amminadab is incorporated in the genealogy of Levi. According to Exodus 6 the wife of Aaron, Elisheba, was the daughter of Amminadab and sister to Nahshon. Is this a deliberate, possibly later incorporation, to give the impression that Aaron made a socially and religiously more acceptable marriage to his cousin instead of to a woman from the tribe of Judah? We see such an adaptation clearly in the incorporation of Elkanah into the tribe of Levi, into the genealogy of Kohath in 6:12 and in 6:19. In I Samuel 1 Elkanah and his son Samuel belong to the tribe of Ephraim. Here they are part of the tribe of Levi. In such a way the Chronicler adapts the genealogies to an ideal though fictional reality, in which all priests belong to the Kohath clan.<sup>146</sup> Kalimi also points to another result of such an adaptation: “Ascribing Samuel to the tribe of Levi had the additional effect of glorifying this tribe, a favorite of the Chronicler...”<sup>147</sup> The names in this linear genealogy are almost identical to the names found in Exodus 6, for the descent through Izhar and his son Korah. But where in Exodus 6 the names indicated a segmented list of the sons of Korah,

<sup>143</sup> We here find Gershom, whereas in 5:27 the name was spelled Gershon.

<sup>144</sup> Knoppers however stresses the relative importance of the Merarites in I and II Chronicles, Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 419.

<sup>145</sup> Japhet thinks the original form of the text might have had 8 generations for all three genealogies. She omits Elkanah, Ebiasaph and Assir from the linear line of Kohath, interpreting these names as a segmented genealogy of Korah. The genealogy of Samuel son of the Ephraimite Elkanah is according to her woven into the genealogy of the Korahites to provide Samuel with legitimacy (Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 153-154), in line with the contemporary concept that priests should be Levites. She discerns different literary stages of the lists. The whole production and composition of the lists are according to Japheth not literary inventions of an individual, but “the result of a prolonged collective process of legitimization within the levitical circles themselves.” Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 155.

<sup>146</sup> See also Isaac Kalimi, *The Reshaping of Ancient Israelite History in Chronicles* (Winona Lake Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 152: “...the Chronicler preferred to build artificial constructions to transform Samuel into a Levite, even though they contradict the explicit statements in the book of Samuel...”

<sup>147</sup> Kalimi, *The Reshaping*, 153.

in I Chronicles 6 it is a linear lineage using בְּנוֹ. Between 6:12 and 6:13 there seems to be a link missing. Knoppers inserts “Samuel his son”,<sup>148</sup> as in 6:33. The text in verse 13 seems unlikely: וּבְנֵי שְׁמוּאֵל הַבְּכֹר וְשֵׁנִי נְאֻבְיָהּ. The King James Version translates וְשֵׁנִי as Vashni, which would be the name of the firstborn. NRSV reconstructs: “The sons of Samuel: (Joel) his firstborn, the second Abijah”, in line with II Samuel 8:2. Possibly the name Joel was missed out in an early stage of the tradition process.<sup>149</sup>

In 6:16-33 we find a list of three men, Temple singers, from the three different Levite clans. Kohath comes first, as in chapter 5. The vertical lineage of the Kohathite Heman reaches a depth of 23 generations, from Heman to Levi. The descendants of the other two sons Gershom and Merari are assisting the sons of Kohath. Their lineages have a depth of 15 and 14 generations, respectively. The genealogies follow the line through the second son mentioned in Genealogy I. The backwards genealogies of Kohath and of Merari are introduced by the בְּנֵי Pattern. All three of them lead back to ancestor Levi. Only the backwards genealogy of Kohath leads back to Israel. The extended genealogies give the different Temple singers an impressive and respectable background.

The backwards genealogies have some similar names to the linear genealogies. In I Merari has two sons Mahli and Mushi. II gives the descent through Mahli. The backwards genealogy following the lineage of Mushi reaches a greater depth. Here Mahli is a son of Mushi, which might be explained by papyponymy or by a tendency to use similar names in parallel genealogies.<sup>150</sup> Gershom’s backwards genealogy also has a far greater depth than the בְּנוֹ Pattern genealogy in 6:5,6. As for Merari, Gershom’s backwards genealogy follows the line of the second son, Shimei. He is a grandson in the ascending lineage. We find three names similar in Gershom second and third genealogy: Jahath, Zimmah and Zerah, in the same order, though not in the same generational distance to the ancestor. Jahath is Gershom’s grandson after Libni in Gershom II and his son in Gershom III. Zimmah is Jahath’s son in I and his grandson in II. So though some names are the same, there is fluidity in their genealogical position.<sup>151</sup>

In Kohath’s vertical genealogy some names and sequences are the same as in the genealogy in 6:7-13.<sup>152</sup> We find Tahath, Assir and Ebiasaph<sup>153</sup> in the same order. The vertical genealogy then jumps to Korah, who is also listed as grandson of Kohath. The lineage is again following the line

<sup>148</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 417-418.

<sup>149</sup> Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 116.

<sup>150</sup> The similarities in names in Gen 4 and 5 are of course a famous example for this.

<sup>151</sup> We found similar fluidity between the Cainite and Sethite genealogy in Genesis, where the same or similar names (Enoch, Ired/Jared, Methushael/Methuselah and Lamech) were used in approximately the same order, but sometimes reversed (Jared-Enoch) and sometimes with an extra generation (Mehujael) in between.

<sup>152</sup> And again the names Joel, Samuel and Elkanah appear.

<sup>153</sup> In I Chron 6:7,8 Ebiasaph was the great-grandson of Korah instead of the son. Rendsburg calls the addition of two generations in I Chron 6:7,8 lineage growth, the opposite of telescoping. Rendsburg, “The Internal Consistency”, 200.

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of the second son mentioned in 6:3, Izhar. It is surprisingly long, 23 generations. Rendsburg considers both genealogies of Kohath in 6:7-13 and 6:18-23 to be untrustworthy. The first one he considers to be garbled and the second too long. Samuel the son Elkanah for instance cannot be 19 generations away from the ancestor Levi.<sup>154</sup>

Kohath stands out not only by the length of his genealogies, but in other ways too. Not only is he as second son in the segmented introduction all the time mentioned first, but his clan has in total five different genealogies in the chronicle of Levi. There is the long segmented and linear genealogy at the beginning; then Kohath has three genealogies like his brothers and finally, at the end of the genealogies of Levi, there follows a linear genealogy headed by his grandson Aaron, comprising 12 generations.

### **Genealogy of Aaron: I Chronicles 6:35-38**

ואֵלֶּה בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן  
11 x בְּנוֹ

We find the same names as in the first genealogy of Kohath. Here we have the list of 12 names of high priests before the dedication of the Temple that was assumed to be a unity in the first list of Aaronides in 5:29-34. Instead of the more traditional Hiphil Pattern, we have here a specific Chronicles' pattern, בְּנוֹ. As usual the בְּנוֹ Pattern is introduced by בְּנֵי. In chapters 2 and 3 we found the same sequence: first Hiphil Pattern for the lineage of Ram to the sons of Jesse; then בְּנוֹ for the King List from Solomon to Josiah.

The list is headed by Aaron, who is now clearly the main ancestor, unlike the first list, where the focus was on his son Eleazar. The second list in the present text seems to be a correction of the first list, in more modern language. Sparks discusses whether this part 33-38 with the preceding verse 32 on the Levites is the pivotal point of the whole chiasmic structure of the genealogies in Chronicles: "...the theme of Chronicles, if considered to be a unified text, is the cult as a whole."<sup>155</sup> Without the combined effort of the sons of Aaron and the Levites this proper cult would not be possible. As Matthew Lynch writes: "Priestly unity (i.e., priests and Levites together)

<sup>154</sup> Rendsburg, "The Internal Consistency", 195.

<sup>155</sup> Sparks, *The Chronicler's Genealogies*, 363.

forms an inner core to the book's broader emphasis on all Israel, and plays a significant but underexamined role in the book's historical narrative."<sup>156</sup>

Most scholars regard the whole chronicle of Levi as the centre of the genealogies, though not necessarily as the most important part. In the last 28 verses of the chronicle of Levi (6:39-66) the dwelling places and allotments are described.

#### 4.11 Genealogies of other sons of Israel. Warlists: I Chronicles 7

In chapter 7 we find the second cluster of smaller tribes, between Levi and Benjamin II. As said above, Issachar, Benjamin and Asher seem to belong together. They all count their 'mighty men of valour'. The chapter has, as Sparks says, "a primary military theme."<sup>157</sup> Manasseh II and Ephraim share one final conclusion: "In these lived the sons of Joseph son of Israel." The יְבִנִּי Pattern and different Female Patterns rotate. We find two daughters, namely Hammolecheth and Sheerah. The genealogies of Issachar, Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim and Asher start with the traditional introductory יְבִנִּי Pattern listing the sons of the ancestor. Only Benjamin is different.

4

##### Genealogy of Issachar: I Chronicles 7:1-5

The genealogy of Issachar only uses יְבִנִּי Pattern. The introduction is slightly different in using the preposition 'to' before יְבִנִּי. This preposition will dominate the chronicle:

four sons, counted	<span>וְלִבְנֵי יִשָּׁשכָר</span>
six sons of first son (Tola)	<span>וְבְנֵי תוֹלַע</span>
heads of the house of their fathers <sup>158</sup> to Tola	
mighty men of valour to their generations	
total number in David's times	
one son of first son of Tola	<span>וְבְנֵי עֲזִי</span>
four sons, counted	<span>וְבְנֵי יִזְרְחָה</span>

<sup>156</sup> Matthew Lynch, *Monotheism and Institutions in the Book of Chronicles: Temple, Priesthood, and Kingship in Post-Exilic Perspective*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe 64 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 145

<sup>157</sup> Sparks, *The Chronicler's Genealogies*, 185.

<sup>158</sup> On the meaning of this term in Chronicles, see Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 39-42. In Chronicles it is according to Dirksen a rather vague term, the delineations of which are unclear, and is possibly inserted by the Chronicler in existing military lists in ch. 7.

heads all of them  
 and along with them to their generations,  
 to the house of their fathers  
 number of warriors  
 total number mighty men of valour

In the genealogies of Issachar and Benjamin we find the counting of sons which we also saw in the genealogy of Judah. In the genealogies of the Transjordanian tribes and Levi there were no final numbers added to a segmented generation. For Issachar numbers are very important. In these few verses we find in total five numbers. Only the sons of Tola are not numbered, but taken up in the total number of the fighting force of their families. The passage is well-structured, and the lineage is regularly moving from father to descendants of the first son. The segmented genealogy has a depth of five generations. In 7:4 we find a short enumeration, omitting daughters. The **בְּנֵי** Pattern in 7:3 is used for only one son, which we saw before, and will also find in Benjamin’s genealogy in I Chronicles 7:10.

**Genealogy of Benjamin I: I Chronicles 7:6-11 (12)**

The first chronicle of Benjamin is very similar to the chronicle of Issachar. It is also a regular and well-structured text. Contrary to Issachar’s genealogy, it does not follow one family line only, but the lineages of Benjamin’s three sons. The genealogy plunges into names without any introduction and without clarifying whether this is a segmented or a linear list of names. An indication of segmentation is provided however by the conjunction **ו** between the second and the third name and between the third and the fourth name. And of course by the addition of a number. This is the only tribal genealogy that starts with the Ancient Near Eastern Pattern of I Chronicles 1, instead of with the introductory **בְּנֵי** Pattern of the tribal ancestor as the other genealogies of the sons of Israel do. Also Benjamin’s genealogy in chapter 8 (Benjamin II) starts differently from the others, with Hiphil Pattern. Benjamin is special. The ANE Pattern is followed by **בְּנֵי** Pattern:

three sons, numbered	<b>בְּנֵימֵן בֶּלַע וְרֵכָר וַיְדִיעָאֵל—שְׁלִישָׁה</b>
five sons of Bela, numbered	<b>וּבְנֵי בֶלַע</b>
	heads of the house of fathers
	mighty men of valour
	their enrolment by genealogies: number Bela



nine sons of Becher

וּבְנֵי בְּכָר

כָּל־אֲלֵהֶם בְּנֵי־בְּכָר

their enrolment by genealogies, to their generations

heads of the house of their fathers

mighty men of valour

number Becher

one son of Jedaiel

וּבְנֵי יְדִיעָאֵל

seven sons of son of Jedaiel

וּבְנֵי בִלְהוֹן

כָּל־אֲלֵהֶם בְּנֵי יְדִיעָאֵל

to heads of the fathers

mighty men of valour

number Jedaiel, ready for service in war

Apart from the beginning, the genealogy only uses the בְּנֵי Pattern, following systematically the lineages of the three sons of Benjamin, in the order as first presented in verse 6. The three sections are very similar, with some minor differences. Only the sons of ancestor Benjamin and of the first son Bela are numbered. The genealogy of the third son reaches a depth of three generations; the others two generations. The second and third sections have the concluding phrase of the בְּנֵי Pattern, כָּל־אֲלֵהֶם בְּנֵי. The genealogy of Benjamin is similar to Issachar's genealogy in the focus on numbers. It even has the same amount of numbers (five), but the last final number we find in Issachar's chronicle of all 'mighty men of valour' of the tribe is missing. The division in tribal sections of the sons of Benjamin was apparently more important to the author than for the tribe of Issachar.

The presence here of a genealogy of Benjamin is puzzling since a longer account of his tribe will follow at the end of the genealogies in Chronicles. Benjamin's genealogy differs from the genealogies of his brothers, not only in the introductory phrase but also in the number of times it is present. Judah's genealogy made a restart, but Benjamin's genealogy will be recounted three times in total. His very different second and third genealogy will form the conclusion of the genealogical book of Chronicles. Here in 7:6-11 (12) his genealogy is in the middle of those of his brothers. As said above, the final number is missing in Benjamin's chronicle. Instead, we find an unconnected verse about the sons of Ir and Aher, which does not fit into the well-structured text of Benjamin's tribal genealogy. According to Japhet verse 12a וַיִּשְׁפָּם וַיְהַפְּם might be a gloss to verse 6,

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following Numbers 26:39.<sup>159</sup> For the rest of verse 12 another solution is generally accepted, namely, to recreate the missing genealogy of Dan.

### Genealogy of Dan?: I Chronicles 7:12

בְּנֵי עֵיר הַשֵּׁם

בְּנֵי אֶהֱרָ

Verse 12 might be a remnant of a genealogy of Dan. We also found the name Hushim as only son of Dan in Genesis 46:23. Knoppers translates: “The descendants of Dan: Hushim his son - one”<sup>160</sup>, translating Aher as number. We did not see the number one before in the counting of sons. In this reconstruction, the pattern used would be identical to Genesis 46:23, including the use of the בְּנֵי Pattern for an only son. In that way the plural of the conclusion “sons of Bilhah” after the genealogy of Naphtali would be fitting. The way the text stands now, the sons of Aher are missing at the end.

### Genealogy of Naphtali: I Chronicles 7:13

בְּנֵי נַפְתָּלִי יִחְצִיאֵל וְגִוְנִי וְיִצְרָר וְשִׁלּוּם

conclusion

בְּנֵי בִלְהָה

The genealogy of Naphtali uses בְּנֵי Pattern. It resembles the pattern of Genesis 46: it starts with the בְּנֵי Pattern connected with the name of the son and ends with the בְּנֵי Pattern connected with the name of the mother. In Genesis 46 Naphtali has the same four sons. The reference to Bilhah, probably taken from Genesis 46, is the only reference to a wife/ concubine of Israel in the genealogies of Chronicles. Leah, Zilpah and Rachel are missing.

### Genealogy of Manasseh: I Chronicles 7:14-19

From verse 14 we find a stronger female presence, in the genealogies of Manasseh (7:14-19) and Ephraim (7:20-29). Does the female presence give extra weight to these genealogies, as Laffey and Myers O’Brien suggest for the tribe of Judah? After the virtually all male genealogies of Simeon, Reuben, Gad, Levi, Issachar and Benjamin, the tribal account of Manasseh certainly stands out. Women are very important in this genealogy. As Japhet states: “It is noteworthy that most of the

<sup>159</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 174.

<sup>160</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 451.

offspring in the Manassite record are identified by their mothers (vv.14,16,18).<sup>161</sup> The genealogy of Manasseh is a combination of בְּנֵי and Female Patterns (3 x). It starts with the introductory בְּנֵי Pattern of the tribal ancestor, but this introduction continues with a relative clause with יִלְדָהּ.

one son

בְּנֵי מְנַשֶּׁה אֲשֶׁר־יָאֵל  
אֲשֶׁר יִלְדָהּ פִּילְגִשׁוּ הָאֲרָמִיָּה  
יִלְדָה אֶת־מַכִּיר אָבִי גִלְעָד

In the text as it stands now, the relative clause would explain the main clause: “The sons of Manasseh: Asriel, whom his Aramean concubine bore;...”. This is a very unusual combination of patterns. The feminine יִלְדָהּ of the relative clause is then repeated, without introduction: “she bore Machir the father of Gilead.” The text seems confused. Japhet suggests separating the main clause and the relative clause. Asriel would then be the son of the unknown main wife of Manasseh and Machir the son of the foreign concubine.<sup>162</sup> The Female Pattern is combined with אָבִי.

This first verse introduces Machir, the main descendant of Manasseh. The chronicle of Manasseh will be about Machir’s wives, descendants, sister and her children. Machir already played a part in the first genealogy of Judah. Judah’s grandson Hezron married a nameless daughter of Machir. Somehow their descendants are connected to the land of Gilead, which was under the influence of both Judah and Manasseh<sup>163</sup>, and of Aram and Geshur.<sup>164</sup> The Aramean influence is genealogically personified by an Aramean concubine. The name Maacah occurred earlier as the name of the daughter of the king of Geshur and in other texts as name of a people close to Geshur, the Maacathites. Both wives of Machir might represent a foreign influence. As Japhet summarises: “In the ethnic code of the genealogies this would signify that the tribe of Manasseh is actually conceived as a mixture of primary, dominant, ‘male’ Israelite elements, with secondary, conventionally ‘female’, Aramaean components.”<sup>165</sup>

For the following verses, the words are often regrouped, to make a more comprehensible text. The text, as it stands now, is complicated:

<sup>161</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 178. Contrary to Num 26.

<sup>162</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 178.

<sup>163</sup> As Japhet points out, there seems to be no Egyptian interruption in the Chronicler’s retelling of history in the occupation of the land. Manasseh has a relationship with a local Aramaean woman, whereas in the Pentateuch he never left Egypt. Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 178. Also Japhet, “Conquest and Settlement in Chronicles”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98/2 (1979), 216.

<sup>164</sup> I Chron 2:21-23.

<sup>165</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 178. She also considers the name Hammolecheth to bear an Aramaic association. Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 177.

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וּמְכִיר לָקַח אִשָּׁה לְחַפִּים וּלְשׁוּפִים  
וְשֵׁם אֶחָתָּו מַעֲכָה  
וְשֵׁם הַשֵּׁנִי צֶלְפָּחָד  
וַתְּהַיָּבֶנָה לְצֶלְפָּחָד בָּנוֹת

וַתֵּלֶד מֵעֲכָה אִשְׁת־מְכִיר בֶּן  
וַתִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ פְּרֵשׁ  
וְשֵׁם אָחִיו שֶׁרֶשׁ

In verses 15/16 we find לָקַח וַתֵּלֶד (subject Maacah), but unconnected to each other. לָקַח stands alone. Machir would have taken a wife for Huppim and Shuppim, whom we found in the chronicle of Benjamin in reversed order. לָקַח is normally used for a man taking a wife for himself and is directly followed by וַתֵּלֶד. The content of especially verse 15 is complicated. Maacah is called sister to Machir in 15 and wife of Machir in 16. And there are other irregularities. Knoppers emendates the name of the sister of Machir to Hammolecheth, taking up the phrase from verse 18 and placing it at the end of verse 14. He regards with others “for Huppim and for Shuppim” as a gloss and adds: “the name of the firstborn was Gilead”, thus giving meaning to Zelophehad being the second.<sup>166</sup> In such a way לָקַח and וַתֵּלֶד are reconnected and a regular pattern as in Genesis 25:1 appears: “Machir took a wife and her name was Maacah (or: and the name of his wife was Maacah) and she bore - Maacah the wife of Machir- a son and she called his name Peresh and the name of his brother was Sheresh.” Verse 16 is in itself clear. It is interesting that some sons are also defined by being a brother instead of a son, as some daughters are defined by being a sister instead of a daughter. Zelophehad and his daughters could possibly be attached to verse 14. The בָּנוֹת of Zelophehad are mirrored in the בָּן of Maacah and Machir, just as in the present Hebrew text the name of the sister returns in the name of his brother.

The rest of the chronicle is regular. We first find בָּנֵי Pattern for a genealogy of the most important sons, Peresh, followed by a conclusive verse ending the genealogy, followed by female ילד. The whole chronicle ends with the בָּנֵי Pattern, of an unconnected descendant:

וּבְנֵי אוֹלָם וְרָקָם  
וּבְנֵי אוֹלָם בְּדָן

<sup>166</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 455. His translation then becomes: “...; she gave birth to Machir the father of Gilead. The name of his sister was Hammolecheth. And Machir took a wife. The name of the firstborn was Gilead and the name of the second was Zelophehad.”

conclusion	אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי גִלְעָד בֶּן־מַכִּיר בֶּן־מְנַשֶּׁה
three children of his sister	וְאַחֲתוֹ הַמְלֵכֶת יִלְנָה אֵת־
four sons	וַיְהִיו בְּנֵי שְׂמִידָע אַחֲזִין וְשָׁכֶם וְלִקְחִי וְאַנְיָעָם

The first בְּנֵי Pattern reaches a depth of three generations. In verse 17 we find another example of the בְּנֵי Pattern used for a single son. Interestingly, in the conclusive verse Gilead reappears, but in a different way. Where we would expect: “these are the sons of Machir the father of Gilead”, we now have a short three generation linear genealogy calling Gilead for the first time the son of Machir. The מַכִּיר Pattern (Machir father of Gilead) indicates a clan-locale connection.<sup>167</sup> The clan of Machir is connected to the land of Gilead. But here the relation is transformed into a relation of persons: Gilead son of Machir.

Feminine יָלַד can be found again in verse 18, in a regular Independent Female Pattern, with subject Hammolecheth. Hammolecheth has her own genealogy being a sister of a famous brother, like the sisters of the sons of Jesse in chapter 2. But the question is: who is this brother? Is it Machir<sup>168</sup> or Gilead? Similar to David’s first sister Zeruah genealogy the name of the father of Hammolecheth’s children is not mentioned at all. Apparently her position as sister to a famous brother was so strong that her husband’s name became irrelevant. Her last child Mahlah could well be a daughter. The position, as last of the descendants, seems to point to this possibility. The name is similar to the name of another member of the tribe of Manasseh, the first of the five inheriting daughters of Zelophehad. Mahlah might have been a family name. We only find the name Mahlah for Zelophehad’s daughter and for this descendant of Hammolecheth.

Another—nameless—daughter of Machir we encountered in 2:21. Knoppers considers the following father, Shemida, to be the fourth child of Hammolecheth.<sup>169</sup> In Numbers 26:32 Asriel, Shemida and Shechem are under the בְּנֵי of Gilead.<sup>170</sup> The בְּנֵי Pattern of Shemida ends the chronicle with a singular segmented genealogy.

<sup>167</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 178 and elsewhere.

<sup>168</sup> So Knoppers (463) and Japhet (177). According to Julia Myers O’Brien (Women in Scripture) most probably Gilead.

<sup>169</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 463.

<sup>170</sup> Japhet states that almost all names mentioned in Num 26 reappear in I Chron 7. She suggests that Iezer and Helek are present in Abiezer and Likhi and Noah in Aniam. Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 177 The Western influences of Manasseh are here connected to Hammolecheth (names of vss. 18-19); the Eastern to Machir. Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 179.

**Genealogy of Ephraim: I Chronicles 7:20-29**

The genealogy of Ephraim starts with the openings-pattern of all tribal chronicles: the בְּנֵי Pattern. It is used to introduce one single son, Shuthelah, to whom a long linear genealogy is attached, using וַבְּנֵי, covering seven generations:

וּבְנֵי אֶפְרַיִם שׁוּתֵלַח  
וַבְּנֵי וְרָרָד בְּנֵי וְעֶזֶר וְעֵלֵאד  
etc.

בְּנֵי 6 x  
and Ezer and Elead  
narrative

There is a repetition of names in the בְּנֵי lineage. Na’aman discovered a chiasmic pattern ABCDCBA in the names. Eleadah stands in the middle.<sup>171</sup> The בְּנֵי Pattern ends unusually with two extra names, namely Ezer and Elead. How are they connected to the rest of the genealogy? The narrative describes the killing of Ephraim’s sons by the men of Gath in the land, after which event Ephraim is comforted by his brothers, presuming again that the sons of Israel lived in Canaan without interruption.<sup>172</sup> Are the two extra names two other sons of Ephraim?<sup>173</sup> That would connect well to the plural suffix in the narrative verse immediately following: “Now the people of Gath, who were born in the land, killed them, because they came down to raid their cattle.”<sup>174</sup> The most likely interpretation seems to be to regard Shuthelah, Ezer and Elead as three sons of Ephraim. In that case the transition to the story is still not smooth, but not impossible either. A further argument might be that in Numbers 26 Ephraim also had three sons, Shuthelah, Becher and Tahan.

After the loss of his sons, Ephraim starts a new family. The genealogy restarts with an extended Female Pattern:

<sup>171</sup> Nadav Na’aman, “Sources and Redaction in the Chronicler’s Genealogies of Asher and Ephraim”, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 49 (1991), 107. Japhet estimates that according to the Pentateuch Joshua would be the fourth generation to ancestor Ephraim. Japhet, “Conquest and Settlement in Chronicles”, 214.

<sup>172</sup> For the whole interpretation of the sons of Israel living in the land, see Japhet, *I Chronicles*, e.g. 182: “The close bond established between Joseph and the land should be regarded as the Chronicler’s alternative to the Hexateuch tradition.” Dirksen is critical. According to him this anecdote is later inserted. Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 37.

We need to read between the lines of the genealogies to find the biblical history, but clear is that Japhet’s assertion is correct that the Egypt-exodus events are missing in the interpretation of history in the genealogies of Chron 1-9.

<sup>173</sup> Japhet discusses a possible interpretation of the בְּנֵי pattern as a segmented genealogy. In this case Ezer and Elead would be further sons of Shuthelah. If the lineage is interpreted lineary, they could be either brothers or sons of Shuthelah. Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 179-180. The problem of interpreting the list as a segmented list, as she explains, is, that it would be unlikely that Shuthelah would give different sons the same or similar names (Tahath, Elead(ah)). The problem of interpreting it lineary is that the connection with the following story would be lost: why would Ephraim mourn his sons, if his lineage is continuing anyway?

<sup>174</sup> So Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 139.

	וַיְבַא אֶל־אִשְׁתּוֹ וַתַּהַר וַתֵּלֶד בֶּן
etc.	וַיִּקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ בְּרִיעָה כִּי
daughter	וַיְבַתּוּ שְׂאָרָה
	narrative
eight x בְּנוֹ	וַיִּרְפַּח בְּנוֹ
	narrative

In between the two בְּנוֹ Patterns we find a variant on לָקַח וַתֵּלֶד, namely וַיְבַא אֶל and וַתַּהַר וַתֵּלֶד, in 23. The subject of וַתֵּלֶד remains nameless. A son is born, who receives a meaningful name, Beriah (disaster). He is a single son, but probably not a single child. His sister Sheerah is not introduced as sister but as daughter of her father: וַיְבַתּוּ, in 7:24. Grammatically Sheerah might also be a daughter of Beriah. Especially the narrative clause following her name is interesting. Sheerah is a special case of a female builder, the only female builder in the Bible. She founds three cities, two of which are as Japhet calls them: “among the best-known Ephraimite cities—Upper and Lower Beth Horon.”<sup>175</sup> There are more women who receive allotments, like Caleb’s daughter Achsah of the tribe of Judah (Josh 15, Judg 1) and the daughters of Zelophehad of the tribe Manasseh (Num 27, 36, Josh 17). In the account of the different tribes we find the occasional, exceptional woman who stands up and claims her rights, or even takes the initiative to found villages herself, like Sheerah.

Sparks regards the restart of the genealogy of Ephraim by the birth of Beriah after the death of his sons and the building of towns by his daughter as the centre of a chiasmic structure of the whole chapter. Thus, the focus point of the chapter would not be military power or the conquest of land, but “the restoration of families and the building of towns.”<sup>176</sup> Finlay points to the general setting of the text of Sheerah: a child is born after the death of a child, to comfort the parent(s).<sup>177</sup>

A long linear genealogy follows using בְּנוֹ, with a depth of ten generations, if we include Beriah. It starts *in medias res*, without introduction. The way the text stands now, it is most probably connected to the new son, Beriah. The genealogy leads to Joshua son of Nun. But this would imply that there were ten generations between tribal ancestors and conquest, which is contrary to other biblical descriptions, as Na’aman states.<sup>178</sup> The chronicle of Ephraim ends with a

<sup>175</sup> Japhet, “Conquest and Settlement in Chronicles”, 213.

<sup>176</sup> Sparks, *The Chronicler*, 186. And the stealing of cattle is condemned. Sparks here and elsewhere tries to find the theological significance of the different stories and structures. The main theme of the Chronicler is according to him: ‘seeking Yahweh’. Sparks, *The Chronicler’s Genealogies*, 188.

<sup>177</sup> Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre*, 82. He compares it to II Sam 11-12, the birth of Solomon after the death of the first child of David and Bathsheba.

<sup>178</sup> Na’aman, “Sources and Redaction”, 106. Knoppers also remarks on the extraordinary depth of this genealogy and on its uniqueness: it is a genealogy created by the author, with no links to more recent times, about a person otherwise neglected in Chronicles, Joshua. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 465. Japhet notices that the whole conquest would have

description of the territory of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh<sup>179</sup> and a final summarising genealogical phrase: “In these lived the sons of Joseph son of Israel.”

Some of the genealogies end with the name of the patriarch, others with the name of the tribal ancestor. One of three backwards genealogies of the Temple singers went back as far as Israel, namely the lineage of the most important brother Kohath. Here for the sons of Joseph we also have a reference to Israel, in line with their election as first born after the rejection of Reuben, described in I Chronicles 5:1. Both Manasseh and Ephraim are now in possession of the birth-right. The special position of Israel is found not only in the genealogies but also in the rest of the books of Chronicles. As Williamson states, the Chronicler “stresses the importance of Jacob amongst the patriarchs, no doubt as a device for underlining the solidarity of the later nation in that all were ‘the children of Israel’.”<sup>180</sup> The genealogies of I Chronicles 1-9 are an affirmation of this importance, since they focus on the genealogies of the tribes of the sons of Israel. The recording of the genealogies of the Northern tribes was probably not only for reasons of preservation of history and a unified Israel ideal. The Northern tribes were still there. Ephraim and Manasseh, Asher and Zebulun and Issachar, are explicitly named as being invited by Hezekiah to participate in the Passover in Jerusalem, as remnant left after the deportation.

### Genealogy of Asher

Asher’s genealogy only has segmented genealogies. It uses mostly בְּנֵי Pattern. The chronicle starts with the introductory בְּנֵי Pattern of the tribal ancestor, followed by two segmented genealogies:

four sons	בְּנֵי אָשֶׁר
their sister	וְשָׂרָה אֲחֵיהֶם
two sons of the fourth son	וּבְנֵי קַרְיָעָה
	הוּא אָבִי בְרוֹת

become unnecessary in this presentation of history: “Joshua did not conquer the land, he simply was there.” Japhet, “Conquest and Settlement”, 215. She calls the list ‘artificial’, Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 183-4: “Joshua, the hero of the conquest *par excellence*, is here only a rather distant descendant of the tribal chief Ephraim, who was firmly settled in Canaan from time immemorial.”

<sup>179</sup> Japhet remarks that Canaanite territory that was never conquered, is here described as belonging to Manasseh. Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 184.

<sup>180</sup> H.G.M. Williamson, *Israel in the Book of Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 130. An example of the special position of Israel is e.g. I Chron 16:13, where Chronicles replaces Abraham with Israel. Williamson, *Israel*, 62.



These two verses seem to be dependent on Genesis 46:17. The daughter Serah is here not mentioned in a separate phrase, but included in the בְּנֵי Pattern, with epithet ‘their sister’, as she was mentioned in Genesis 46. Serah was already present in this list of children of Israel going to Egypt and also in the list of Israelites leaving Egypt in Numbers 26:46 and there explicitly as daughter of Asher. Why she is mentioned especially is unfortunately unclear. The auxiliary אָבִי Pattern is attached to the last name, an addition to the Genesis text. The pattern then changes to Hiphil, but attaches a daughter in exactly the same way:

three sons and their sister of Heber, first son	וְחִבְרֵן הוֹלִיד אֶת־ נְאֻם שִׁנְעָא אַחֻתָּם
three sons of first son of Heber	וּבְנֵי יַפְלֵט
conclusion	אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי יַפְלֵט
four <sup>181</sup> sons of second son of Heber	וּבְנֵי שִׁמְרָן
four sons of third son? of Heber	וּבְנֵי הַלֵּם אָחִיו
11 <sup>182</sup> sons of Helem’s first son	בְּנֵי צוֹפָח

Verse 32 contains the name of the last daughter, who figures in the genealogies in Chronicles, Shua. Often daughters are only loosely connected to the father, but Shua and Serah are not standing alone, added in a special clause like Achsah in I Chronicles 2:49. Shua and Serah are part of the pattern. Shua is as her brothers, object of the masculine יָלַד Hiphil of her father. This is a rare occasion of a father siring a daughter. There is no information about their own descendants.

Contrary to Serah, Shua is not mentioned in Genesis 46. The genealogy in Genesis 46 does not reach the generation of the children of Heber. We found the Hiphil Pattern used for a segmented lineage only in the second genealogy of Judah in chapter 4. We will still find a segmented Hiphil Pattern in chapter 8. In Judah I in chapter 2 and Levi we found the Hiphil Pattern used in the traditional way, for a linear genealogy. The other texts use בְּנֵי Pattern for segmented genealogies.

This whole section deals with the genealogy of Heber, grandson of Asher, and lists the descendants of his three sons, though two names are spelled differently from the introductory segmented genealogy. The name of the third son is spelled Hotham in verse 32 and Helem in verse 35. The genealogy of the first son Japhlet has its own concluding line. Only the third son Hotham/Helem will have a genealogy of three generations, including his grandsons by his first

<sup>181</sup> The first name might also be read as ‘his brother’ with a slight change of the Hebrew text. The following copula should then be attached to Ahi.

<sup>182</sup> Japhet, following others, suggests reading instead of sons four and five “uberi weyimrah”: “ubene yimna”. 7:37 would then be the start of another branch of the family, the sons of Imna, the brother of Zophah. Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 186.

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descendant. The genealogy of Asher reaches in that lineage its maximum depth of six generations. As we have seen the order of the genealogies might be geographical. Asher is in Chronicles contrary to other sources situated in the centre, in the Southern parts of Mount Ephraim. The names in the genealogy are the names of places and lands in this area.<sup>183</sup> The genealogy of Heber is followed by two unconnected segmented genealogies of two generations:

three sons	וּבְנֵי יִתְרַן
three sons	וּבְנֵי עֲלֵא

Jether might be the same person as Ithran. Then the genealogy would continue the lineage of the tenth son of Zophah. For Ulla Japhet suggests reading Shua, so the structure is complete in listing the descendants of all children of Heber, with the sister last, as the order was for David's sister.<sup>184</sup> The whole chronicle of Asher ends in a familiar way, with the concluding lines and counting of all sons able to go to war, also found as a conclusion in the chronicles of Issachar and Benjamin I. There is no division over the different clans as in 7:1-11, but only the final conclusion and counting:

כָּל־אֲלֵהֶם בְּנֵי־אָשֶׁר  
heads of the house of the fathers  
select mighty men of valour  
heads of the princes  
their enrolment by genealogies for war  
number

The number of warriors is less than half the number mentioned in Numbers 26. For Issachar and Benjamin Chronicles has a higher number. Asher is small, compared to them. In general these three genealogies of Issachar, Benjamin and Asher follow the census system of Numbers of counting the number of men fit for combat. We already saw such a counting of warriors in 5:18, but there only as a general number for all three tribes of Reuben, Gad and (East)-Manasseh. Since the genealogies seem to form a well organised unity, it might not be coincidental that in each of these two clusters

<sup>183</sup> So Na'aman, "Sources and Redaction", 100-101. He suggests e.g. that the names of the four sons of Helem/Hotham are borrowed from the lands crossed by Saul in I Sam 9:4,5: Zuphah, Iemini, Shalisha and Shaalim. Japhet also concludes that the geographical location of Asher in Chronicles must be at the SW outskirts of the hills of Ephraim, with the Heber family forming an Asherite enclave between Ephraim and Benjamin. This might explain why Heber is also present in the genealogy of Benjamin (8:17) and Beriah in Ephraim (7:23), for as Japhet says: "the family, as a whole or in part, was eventually regarded as Ephraimite or Benjaminite." Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 185.

<sup>184</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 187.

of three tribes the three mothers Leah, Zilpah and Rachel are present. Asher and Gad, the Zilpah tribes, are much more prominent than the Bilhah tribes of Dan and Naphtali. Their numbers count and their genealogies have depth, whereas Dan -in the reconstruction- and Naphtali are only genealogical references of two generations. The census is absent in the other tribal genealogies.

#### 4.12 The Benjaminites: I Chronicles 8

In this second genealogy of Benjamin the ancestral בְּנֵי introduction is missing, as in Benjamin I. That makes the Benjamin chronicles exceptional within the chronicles of the tribes of Israel. The first word of the chronicle is Benjamin, as in Benjamin I. Contrary to Benjamin I which used ANE for the introduction and בְּנֵי Pattern for all the rest, this second genealogy of Benjamin uses both Hiphil Pattern and בְּנֵי Pattern, in rotation:

Bela etc.: five sons, numbered	וּבְנֵימֶן הוֹלִיד אֶת־בְּלַע בְּכֹרֹו
nine? sons	וַיְהִי בְנֵימֶן לְבְלַע
introduction, but no sons following	וְאֶלֶּה בְנֵי אַחִיד
	these were heads of fathers (houses) for the
	inhabitants of Geba etc.
three sons of Ehud?	Naaman, Ahijah, and Gera
two sons	וַגֵּרָא הוּא הַגֵּלֶם וְהוֹלִיד אֶת־עֲזָא וְאֶת־אַחִיחָד



The genealogy starts with the Hiphil Pattern. Often the Hiphil Pattern is used for a linear genealogy. But here it introduces a segmented genealogy, a list of five sons, who are all numbered. We only found this specific combination of Hiphil and the numbering of sons for the genealogy of Jesse in 2:13-15. The numbering of sons seems to be used in Chronicles for segmented lists of special families, like royal families (sons of king Josiah, of king David, born in Hebron) or the family of the prophet Samuel (5:28). So it surprising to find it here, for the sons of Benjamin. But Benjamin's chronicles are exceptional in more way: the introduction, the royal/priestly numbering and the fact that there are three genealogies of Benjamin in total. We concluded above that Benjamin is special. Possibly the numbering also underlines that in agreement with Numbers 26 and contrary to Benjamin I, Benjamin really had five sons. In Chronicles 8 we find several names from the Pentateuchal genealogies, like Ashbel (son of Benjamin in Genesis 46 and Numbers 26), Gera (son

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of Benjamin in Genesis), Naaman (son of Benjamin in Genesis and son of Bera in Numbers) and Shephupham (son of Benjamin in Numbers). I Chronicles 7 counted less Pentateuchal names, but had Becher as name for Benjamin's second son, like Genesis. The name Bela for Benjamin's first son is the only one present in all four genealogies of Benjamin.<sup>185</sup>

There are puzzling elements in the list of the sons of Bela. The name Gera for instance occurs twice. Is Abihud a personal name or is it the אֲבִי הָעֹדֵד Pattern<sup>186</sup> (father of Ehud), attached to the preceding name, Gera? If the last, it would connect well with the following verse: "These are the sons of Ehud", though the spelling is slightly different. After the introductory line of this אֲבִי הָעֹדֵד Pattern "These are the sons of Ehud" in verse 6 there are in MT no names of sons following.<sup>187</sup> Therefore the introduction of verse 6 could be inserted after Abihud, making the rest of the names into the sons of Ehud. The second Gera would then be a grandchild of the first one.<sup>188</sup> The genealogy would be as follows:

Bela

Addar, Gera אֲבִי הָעֹדֵד Ehud

These are the sons of Ehud: Abishua, Naaman, Ahoah, Gera, Shephuphan, Huram

The list of descendants of Benjamin in chapter 8 is very different from the account in chapter 7. The lineage in chapter 7 was logically built up, following the three different lines of the three sons of Benjamin. Here the genealogical structure is less clear. There are loose ends and new beginnings. Different lines are not always connected to each other. Knoppers suggests as one of the possibilities that these genealogies represent "a set of linear and segmented genealogies tied to different towns and to different social and historical circumstances."<sup>189</sup> The genealogies do not need to be logically structured as a lineage of father to son.

The formulaic phrase 'heads of fathers (houses) for the inhabitants of....' gives structure to the text. It is repeated in total four times (vss. 6,10,13,28), three times with a geographical location. We move from the North-East of Jerusalem, to the West, to Jerusalem itself. We already found this phrase in the first genealogy of Benjamin and in the genealogies of Issachar and Asher, without

<sup>185</sup> Gen 46:21, Num 26:38, I Chron 7:6 and here.

<sup>186</sup> An objection is, as Japhet also mentions (Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 191), that the אֲבִי הָעֹדֵד Pattern is often not seen as a relation between persons and is therefore seldom followed by further descendants.

<sup>187</sup> Though possibly the three names in vs. 7 could be considered his sons, but the copula before the first name seems to make this unlikely.

<sup>188</sup> For the discussion on this text emendation see Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 146-147.

<sup>189</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 489.

locations added, in the context of a census. Here there is no census attached, so the meaning seems to lay in the localities where the tribe of Benjamin is living and expanding to.

The following part, verses 8-28, seems in the present text unrelated to the preceding part. But Shaharaim might be a different spelling of an earlier name. Japhet suggests Huram or Aharah as possible variants of the same name in 8:1-5.<sup>190</sup> This second part starts with the Hiphil Pattern, as the first part:

introduction	וְשִׁחְרִים הוֹלִיד
seven sons by Hodesh	וַיֹּלֶד מִן־חֹדֶשׁ אֲשֶׁתוֹ
conclusion	אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי
	heads of fathers (houses)
two sons by Hushim	וּמִחֻשִׁים הוֹלִיד
three sons of second son	וּבְנֵי אֶלְפֶּעַל

For Shaharaim only the Hiphil Pattern is used, three times. The first Hiphil Pattern in 8:8 is interrupted with Shaharaim sending away his two wives, Hushim and Baara. The pattern restarts in the next verse. There we find a rare construction of Hiphil Pattern combined with the name of the wife/mother, Hodesh. She is added to the pattern by the preposition מִן. This is repeated for the children Shaharaim had by his wife Hushim, whom he had earlier sent away with another wife, Baara.<sup>191</sup> In Benjamin's chronicle we see that the Hiphil Pattern is used innovatively, by combining it with wives. The only daughters we find are daughters in the meaning of villages, in the building activities of Shaharaim's grandson.

After the recording of the foundation of villages, the genealogy proceeds with two unconnected names: Beriah and Shema, probably relatives of Shaharaim. Japhet suggests inserting an opening phrase like: "the sons of Eber", thus connecting them to the preceding genealogy. "Ahio" in verse 14, interpreted as a personal name by NRSV, could be read as meaning 'his brothers' or could be changed into 'their brothers'. The following two names Shashak and Jeremoth would then be brothers of Beriah and Shema.<sup>192</sup> In such a reconstruction all the sentences would be well connected to each other. The names are followed by a repetition of the formulaic phrase:

<sup>190</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 192.

<sup>191</sup> Japhet interprets this sending away as tribal expansion of the small territory of Benjamin to the East and West. Since Hushim is also the name of the only son of Dan it might mean that Danites were absorbed into Benjaminite families, who had migrated to the West, the original territory of the Dan tribe. Lod, Ono and Aijalon are also places within Danite land. Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 193. Dirksen identifies Ono and Lod with Kafr Ana and Lud, to the South East of Jaffa. Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 148.

<sup>192</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 194.

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“they were the heads of fathers (houses) for the inhabitants of Aijalon”. The phrase adds to the structure of the text. Where the families of the first part lived in Geba, these Benjaminite families lived in Aijalon, more to the West. The genealogy continues with five lists of names in verses 15-28, not starting but ending with the phrase: ‘the sons of ...’, in a reversed version of the בְּנֵי Pattern.

six? sons	בְּנֵי בְרִיעָה
seven sons	בְּנֵי אֶלְפַעַל
nine sons	בְּנֵי שְׁמַעִי
11 sons	בְּנֵי שָׁשָׁק
six sons	בְּנֵי יִרְחָם

These were heads of fathers (houses), according to their generations, heads.

These lived in Jerusalem.

The names of the fathers are the same as or similar to the names of Beriah, Shema, Shashak and Jeremoth, who might be brothers. Of an earlier generation Elpaal is added, of whom already three sons were listed in verse 12. We have moved to Jerusalem, as in the following part:

introduction	וּבְגִבְעוֹן יָשְׁבוּ אָבִי גִבְעוֹן וְשֵׁם אִשְׁתּוֹ מַעֲכָה
Abdon, Zur, Kish etc. eight/nine sons	וּבְנֵי הַבְּכוֹר עֲבֵדוֹן וְצוּר וְקִישׁ וּמְקִלוֹת הַזֶּלֶד אֶת־שִׁמְאָה

Now these also lived...in Jerusalem

We find the same text on the ancestors and descendants of Saul at the end of chapter 9, where it is inserted between lists of inhabitants of Jerusalem and people serving in the Temple and the narrative part, which starts with the death of Saul. This second text is shorter, but more complete. In chapter 8 the name of ancestor Jeiel is missing. Mikloth is absent in the list of sons. Also Ner is missing in this list of sons, thus losing the genealogical connection between verses 29-30 and 33.<sup>193</sup>

<sup>193</sup> Unless Kish is taken as the connecting link, but in 9:36 the first Kish seems to be a brother of Ner and an uncle of the second Kish. Aaron Demsky shares this interpretation. Aaron Demsky, “The Genealogy of Gibeon (I Chronicles 9:35-44): Biblical and Epigraphic Considerations”, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 202 (April 1971), 18. Abiel who figures in the Samuel books could then be Jeiel, the father of Ner, the father of Kish. In the genealogy in I Sam 9 the intermediate link of Ner is missing. The connection between 29-32 and 33-40 is however complicated for another reason: Saul is normally not connected to Gibeon but to Gibeah, closer to Jerusalem. Dirksen therefore sees the two parts as unconnected. Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 146. We cannot solve this geographical divergence but the names in the two parts seem to be too similar to completely sever them (Kish, Ner, even Baal and Nadab return).

In both lists we find first אָבִי Pattern, here clearly to indicate a connection between a person and a place, Gibeon.<sup>194</sup> The following בְּנֵי Pattern is incomplete: בְּנֵי is missing. There just is the reference ‘his firstborn son’, and then follows an enumeration of names, of the other sons. In both lists this incomplete בְּנֵי Pattern is followed by the Hiphil Pattern. In the introductory verse (8:29) the name of his wife, Maacah, is given. This is the fourth time the name Maacah occurs in Chronicles. We found a mother named Maacah for several important sons, for Absalom, Gilead and Gibeon, and for one important daughter, Achsah, who demands and gets springs from her father Caleb. As see above, the name might point to Aramaean influence in the Jewish tribes, which would then be indicated by a foreign wife of an ancestor.<sup>195</sup> The genealogy of Mikloth using the Hiphil Pattern is a sideline, giving a genealogical reference to a brother, like will be done at the end of the genealogy of Ner, for the brother of Eshek.

The Hiphil Pattern continues with a regular linear genealogy encompassing three generations (Ner<sup>196</sup>-Kish-Saul) before broadening to a segmented list of the descendants of Saul:

	וְנֵר הוֹלִיד אֶת־קִישׁ
	קִישׁ הוֹלִיד אֶת־שְׂאוּל
four sons	וְשְׂאוּל הוֹלִיד אֶת יְהוֹנָתָן וְאֵת

4

The daughters of Saul are missing in the genealogy. The creative inclusion of wives in the Hiphil Pattern we found in the genealogy of Shaharaim is absent. The Hiphil Pattern is used for an exclusively male lineage, twice in the regular way for a linear genealogy and once for a less usual segmented one.<sup>197</sup> For his firstborn son Jonathan the genealogy restarts linear, but with a variant of the בְּנֵי Pattern, וְבָן. Again in the fourth generation it broadens to a segmented genealogy, using בְּנֵי Pattern as for ancestor Jonathan:

וְבָן־יְהוֹנָתָן מְרִיב בְּעַל

<sup>194</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 196: “The formula ‘X the father of Y’ implies that the occupation of Gibeon by this Benjaminite family is actually a secondary process (...), as is well borne out by other biblical evidence.” Japhet describes how it is likely that the Benjaminites gradually occupied Gibeon and the remains of the Gibeonite population merged into Benjamin. Demsky interprets from Josh 9 that they did not really integrate into Benjamin, but remained as second-class citizens, serving the Benjaminites. Demsky, “The Genealogy of Gibeon”, 20.

<sup>195</sup> Thus Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 196. To Demsky it seems probable that she is one of the Transjordanian wives, whom the Benjaminite men married according to Judg 21:12-14. Demsky, “The Genealogy of Gibeon”, 18, footnote 10.

<sup>196</sup> Demsky identifies two names on the handles of pottery with two names in the list of the genealogy of Jeiel, namely Ner and Gedor. These were apparently the main clans around Gibeon. The families of both clans would have sent their wine jars to central places for registration. The clan names -plus other names- were there inscribed on the handles of the pots. Demsky, “The Genealogy of Gibeon”, 22/23.

<sup>197</sup> For the whole analysis of the Hiphil Pattern, see below, under ‘Patterns in Chronicles’.

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וּמְרִיב בְּעַל־198 הוֹלִיד אֶת־מִיכָה  
four sons וּבְנֵי מִיכָה-... נֶאֱקָז

The genealogy then continues the lineage of the fourth son, Ahaz, now again with Hiphil Pattern. Here the genealogy already broadens in the third generation to three sons, still using Hiphil Pattern as for the lineage of Ner:

וְנֶאֱקָז הוֹלִיד אֶת־יְהוֹעָדָה  
three sons וַיְהוֹעָדָה הוֹלִיד ... וְנֶאֱתַנְמָרִי

The genealogy follows again the lineage of the last son, Zimri, now for a strictly linear descent using two different patterns, Hiphil Pattern and בְּנוּ Pattern, ending in a בְּנֵי Pattern:

וְנֶאֱמָרִי הוֹלִיד אֶת־מוֹצָא  
וּמוֹצָא הוֹלִיד אֶת־בְּנֵי־עֵא  
רָפָה בְּנוֹ אֶלְעָשָׂה בְּנוֹ אֶצֶל בְּנוֹ  
וּלְאֶצֶל שְׁשֵׁה בְּנִים וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹתָם עֲזַרְיָקָם בְּכָרוֹ  
קַל־אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי אֶצֶל  
וּבְנֵי עֲשָׂק אֶחָיו אוֹלָם בְּכָרוֹ

intro: six sons<sup>199</sup>, counted & intro names  
conclusion  
three sons, numbered

This linear genealogy has a depth of sixth generations<sup>200</sup>, before broadening to a segmented genealogy in the seventh generation. After the second הוֹלִיד we would have expected a broadening by a segmented Hiphil Pattern genealogy as in verses 33 and 36, but instead there follows a בְּנוּ Pattern. It is as if the author wants to speed things up by using the very fast and succinct בְּנוּ Pattern to cover three more generations in order to reach the most important generation, namely of Azel and his six sons. With Azel the genealogy slows down and comes to a rest. For there suddenly the בְּנֵי Pattern is used in a very complete version, including double introduction and a concluding line.

<sup>198</sup> His son is still called Meribbaal instead of Meri/Mephiboshet, the derogatory rewriting of the name in Samuel, as Ishboshet is uncomplicatedly written Eshbaal. As Japhet concludes: “The Chronicler himself was not bothered by these, or other, non-Israelite theophoric names.” Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 198.

<sup>199</sup> The problem here is that only five names are listed, so either firstborn is read as a personal name Bocheru -the solution of NRSV following the Masoretic vocalisation- or which might be more likely, there is a name missing.

<sup>200</sup> Demsky nicely describes how the fluid middle of this Hiphil Pattern might be formed: “In long genealogies, one can usually descend several generations from an illustrious ancestor as well as trace back from the last entry four or five generations. The problem is to tie them both together. The compiler of this table solved the difficulty by introducing the towns to which the family had migrated in the interim.” Alemeth, Azmaveth and Moza are towns in Bethlehem. Demsky, “The Genealogy of Gibeon”, 19.



Azel was clearly an important man, the centre of this genealogy. That is why Eshek is only defined as brother of Azel and does not figure in the lineage of their common father Eleasah.

The genealogy of Azel is followed by the segmented genealogy of his brother Eshek, the last genealogy of the chronicle of Benjamin. Interestingly, it numbers the children again, thus forming an *inclusio* with the beginning, the list of sons of Benjamin. A narrative description of the grandsons of Eshek is added, using the expression “mighty men of valour”, with a number attached. Not counting these descriptive lines, the whole genealogy of Ner reaches a depth of 15 generations, from Ner to the descendants of Azel and Eshek. Knoppers combines with verses 39-40 and comes even to a depth of 17 generations.<sup>201</sup> The whole genealogy of Benjamin ends with the conclusion:

כָּל־אֱלֹהֵי מִבְּנֵי בְנֵי־מֶן

The preposition *-מֶן* is special here. Not all Benjaminites are registered, but all these are. In the *בְּנֵי* Pattern we usually have the conclusion: “These are the descendants of ...”. The construction: “from the sons of ...” will be used again in 9:5-8. The chronicles of the other sons of Israel mostly have no concluding line, or a line referring to their settlement (in these lived the sons of Joseph, son of Israel). The genealogy of Benjamin remains special till the end.

4

### 4.13 I Chronicles 9

In the beginning of chapter 9 the genealogical preamble of Chronicles finds its conclusion in a closing section in the first verse: *וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל הִתְנַחֲשׁוּ*. These first three words summarise the objective of the genealogies of Chronicles: to register<sup>202</sup> all Israel, including the genealogies of minor and by now insignificant or even vanished tribes. In the genealogies this complete Israel is recreated. Knoppers sees the opening phrase as forming an *inclusio* with 2:1: “These are the sons of Israel.”<sup>203</sup> After a reference to the exile, the transition is made to the next part in verse 2.

In which period are the lists in I Chronicles 9 situated? It seems tempting to situate them in post-exilic times. NRSV clearly does this by adding the title to 9:3-9: “*Inhabitants of Jerusalem*

<sup>201</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 486. Japhet calculates that for the generation of Ulam, son of Eshek, we must have reached around the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, taking Micah as a contemporary of Solomon. Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 199. Demsky places this generation of the sons of Azel and Eshek around the same time, at the end of the first Temple period. Demsky, “The Genealogy of Gibeon”, 19.

<sup>202</sup> On the ideological and probably fictional character of the registration, see Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 43-44.

<sup>203</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 486.

*after the Exile*". We had already reached post-exilic times in the genealogies, namely in chapter 3, which extended the presence of Davidides far into the time after the exile. The decision depends on the position of verse 1b: "And Judah was taken into exile because of their unfaithfulness".

Is this sentence considered to be a gloss? Is it connected to the following or not?

On this decision depends also the interpretation of the word הַרְאִשִּׁימִים, the first, in the next verse: "Now the first to live again in their possessions were Israelites, priests, Levites, and temple servants." Does הַרְאִשִּׁימִים הַרְאִשִּׁימִים mean the first inhabitants after the exile? Or does it mean 'the inhabitants of old/ of the former days'?<sup>204</sup> Sparks remarks that from the perspective of the Chronicler also the first centuries after the exile are 'former days', so even a translation of 'former' should not lead automatically to the assumption that it refers to pre-exilic times, let alone the time of king David.<sup>205</sup> If the connection is made between verse 1b and verse 2, the chapter is clearly situated in post-exilic times. It thus would form a fitting and hopeful conclusion to the mostly pre-exilic genealogies of Chronicles. After the exile, the situation is unchanged: different tribes are again present in the countryside and the capital<sup>206</sup>. Priests and Temple servants are still 'mighty men of capability' in charge of the work, as their ancestors had been. The chapter is so foreshadowing and taking further the end of the books of Chronicles, which opens up the possibility of return after the exile and even of restoration of the Temple, by the proclamation of Cyrus.

In the lists in chapter 9 we have some backward genealogies, giving background to some of the introduced men. In total we find 12 backward genealogies in verses 4, 7-8, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19 introducing 12 persons. They all use כָּן. The depth of the genealogies differs. There are three sections. The lay people head the lists; the clergy follows, priests first and Levites following:

#### **Inhabitants of Jerusalem: list of seven persons**

Uthai                      four x כָּן                      five generations    from the sons of Perez, son of Judah  
From the Shilonites<sup>207</sup>:    Asaiah, firstborn & his sons

<sup>204</sup> So Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 208.

<sup>205</sup> Sparks, *The Chronicler's Genealogies*, 356-357.

<sup>206</sup> Oeming makes clear that we ought to distinguish between the first settlers living around Jerusalem (verse 2) and a second group (starting from verse 3), daring to settle in Jerusalem. Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, 182.

<sup>207</sup> Sparks and others interpret the Shilonites as referring to Shelah, the third son of Judah, as the Chronicler added a genealogy of Shelah at the end of the genealogies of Judah. Sparks, *The Chronicler's Genealogies*, 343.

Crüsemann leaves it in the middle whether Shelah is meant. He points to the connection of the genealogies of Genesis and the names in 1 Chron 9: "there are descendants of the sons of Judah, Perez and Zerah, and perhaps also Shela, in post-exilic Judah. Along with these, of course, are members of the lineages of the Levites and descendants of Benjamin." But he points to the surprising fact that "none of the ten sons of Benjamin mentioned in Gen 46:12 appear as ancestors of the post-exilic Benjaminites." Crüsemann, "Human Solidarity and Ethnic Identity", 65. In Neh 11 the Shilonite clearly refers to a member of the tribe of Judah, whether to the clan of Perez or Shelah. In Chronicles this

From the sons of Zerah: Jeuel, & their brothers		number: 690 <sup>208</sup>
From the sons of Benjamin: Sallu <sup>209</sup>	three x קָרָה	four generations
Ibneiah	one x קָרָה	two generations genealogical reference
Elah	two x קָרָה	three generations
Meshullam	three x קָרָה	four generations
	נְאֻמֵיהֶם לְתַלְדוֹתָם	
	number: 956	

All these men were heads of fathers (houses) to the house of their fathers

Though verse 3 seems to indicate that lists of men from the two main Northern tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, and the two main Southern tribes will be following, the enumeration only has seven persons from the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. There will be members of the Northern tribes living in the city, but the lists focusses on the Southern tribes. The backwards genealogies reach a depth of two to five generations. Presumably, the longest ones will reach pre-exilic times.

Two persons, Asaiah and Jeuel, do not have a backwards genealogy, but they have a similar opening: from the Shilonites/ from the sons of Zerah and a genealogical phrase attached to their name. There are two numbers in the text. The first one indicates the number of Zerahites, part of the tribe of Judah; the second the number of Benjaminites. After the number comes the general conclusion of the whole section: “All these men were heads of fathers (houses) to the house of their fathers.” We found a similar phrase in the genealogies of Issachar, Benjamin I and Asher, with numbers attached, and in Benjamin II, without numbers.

connection is not made. As it is written now, it might even still be a deliberate reference to Shiloh in Ephraim, making a connection with the Northern tribe mentioned in vs. 3.

<sup>208</sup> Does this number refer to the brothers of Jeuel or the members of the tribe of Judah living in the city? The suffix ‘their’ in ‘their brothers’ is currently connected to Jeuel, but might be better connected to Judah.

<sup>209</sup> There are many similarities between these lists and the lists of people, priests and Levites in Neh 11. Several names and lineages are the same or similar, like Sallu, son of Meshullam of the Benjaminites. Especially in the section of the priests there are similarities: the names are the same, but Jedaiah and Jojarib are son and father in Nehemiah; Jachin, the lineage of Azariah/Seraiah; Aadaiah’s lineage is the same, but extended. In the section of the Levites there are also names we already found in Chronicles: Shemaiah and Mattaniah, both with similar lineage.

There is also a major difference: in Nehemiah the Temple guardians and Temple servants are not Levites; in Chronicles they are. Nehemiah is clearly situated in post-exilic times; in Chronicles this is unclear.

On the (im-)possible dependence of I Chron 9 on Neh 11: see Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 154-55 and Sparks, *The Chronicler’s Genealogies*, 335-350. According to Japhet, I Chron 9 uses an earlier version of the present text in Neh 11 and is an abridgement. See Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 203. Sparks does not want to speak about literary dependence anymore and concludes: “...the author of Nehemiah and the Chronicler compiled their own lists, on the basis of the data available to them, and in line with their own purposes...” Sparks, *The Chronicler’s Genealogies*, 350. The similarity in form (division in lay people and clergy and the subdivisions of the clergy) means that this division in groups had become standardised in the post-exilic period. Sparks, *The Chronicler’s Genealogies*, 349-350.

**From the priests: list of six persons**

This list is the shortest and only counts six persons. The first three names have no further attachment; the last three have a backwards genealogy. The whole section is ended by a similar formulaic conclusion as the first section:

Jedaiah<sup>210</sup>

Jehoiarib

Jachin

Azariah            five x כֹּהֵן six generations            נָגִיד of the house of God

Adaiah            three x כֹּהֵן four generations

Maasai            five x כֹּהֵן six generations

and their brothers

heads to the house of their fathers

number: 1760

mighty men of capability of the work of the service of the house of God

The backwards genealogies are longer than the ones in the first section. They will all reach the time of the kings of Judah when Temple service was still unthreatened. By the genealogies, a bridge to this pre-exilic time is made. The first genealogy of Azariah is probably the one of the high priests<sup>211</sup>, but the exilic/post exilic priests, like Seraiah, are missing. The names in this list are the same as in the lineage of the high priest we found in I Chronicles 6, though not in the same order. The list resembles the one in Nehemiah 11:11, lineage of Seraiah, but in Nehemiah 11 Azariah is omitted. There as here Meraioth is listed in between Zadok and Ahitub. The title ‘chief officer’ is attached to the name of the ancestor Ahitub.

The final conclusion is even more similar to the cluster of genealogies of Issachar, Benjamin I and Asher than the conclusion of the first section. The expression used גְּבוּרֵי הַיָּלִד is

<sup>210</sup> Because the first three priests have no genealogy, text emendations are proposed. But as Dirksen remarks: “Het is veiliger af te zien van een historische reconstructie, en de tekst in Kronieken te laten zoals die is.” (it is safer to refrain from a historical reconstruction and leave the text in Chronicles as it is. HK). Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 157.

<sup>211</sup> Also, in II Chron 31:13 an Azariah is chief officer of the house of God and high priest during the reign of Hezekiah. But Japhet states: “It would seem that the ‘chief officer’ might have been a high priest, but not necessarily;...” Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 212 Blenkinsopp identifies the נָגִיד in this context with the high priest: “The designation ‘ruler (nagid) of the house of God,’ which could be used of more than one temple official (...), came to be restricted to the high priest (I Chron 9:20, II Chron 31:13), ... It may be taken to indicate that the jurisdiction of the high priest, while exercised primarily in the religious sphere, also had important political and social implications.” Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah, A Commentary*, Old Testament Library (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1988), 325.

almost the same as גִּבּוֹרֵי הַקָּלִים we found in these three genealogies, to indicate warriors, which we translated as: mighty men of valour. We also found it once at the end of Benjamin I. There is apparently a connection between the warriors and the priests, for we must assume that the Chronicler has an intention with the repetition of all these formulaic phrases. All those serving in the military and in the priesthood were valiant mighty men, defending the essence of their country. Here קָיִל is in the singular, which we translate as ‘capability’.

#### From the Levites: list of seven persons

The list of the Levites counts again seven persons, as the first list of the lay people living in Jerusalem. The first Levite has a backward genealogy attached to his name and a reference to Merari, son of Levi, The next three have no further attachment, like the first three priests. The last three have backwards genealogies:

Shemaiah	three x קָיִל four generations	from the sons of Merari
Bakbakkar		
Heresh		
Galal		
Mattaniah	three x קָיִל four generations	
Obadiah	three x קָיִל four generations	
Berechiah	two x קָיִל three generations	

4

The names in the list seem to point to Temple singers. Elkanah was a recurrent name in the list of Heman, the singer, in chapter 7. Asaph and Jeduthun are connected to several psalms. The villages of the Netophathites were native villages of Temple singers in Nehemiah 12:28.

#### Gatekeepers

List of gatekeepers: Shallum, Akkub, Talman, Ahiman. Shallum was the head.

Shallum	three x קָיִל four generations	and his brothers to the house of his father the Korahites their task
Zechariah	one x קָיִל two generations	genealogical reference number gatekeepers: 212

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Two of the names of Shallum's ancestors are familiar to us from the backwards genealogy of the Kohathite Temple singer Heman, namely Ebiasaph and Korah, in the same order. Korah is the grandson of Kohath, the son of Levi. The gatekeepers are thus firmly placed within the tribe of Levi. Japhet remarks on the lack of effort put in by the author to provide the connecting links between Shallum, the sons of Kore and his ancestor Ebiasaph, son of Korah, in contrast to the lengthy backwards genealogies of the Temple singers in the time of David.<sup>212</sup> Here they are just easily connected with no generations in between.

In the narrative that follows the work of the gatekeepers is explained. They were guardians of the Temple. Their authority is enhanced by three persons: by the priest Phinehas, who was their chief in former times (20) and by king David and the prophet Samuel (22) who "established them in their office of trust." There are still some genealogical references, like to Mattithiah, firstborn of Shallum. In 9:34 there is again the concluding line we found earlier:

"These were heads of the fathers for the Levites, according to their generations, heads.

These lived in Jerusalem."

The formula is now almost exactly the same as the one used in Benjamin II, for the further descendants of Shaharaim, including the reference to Jerusalem and the curious doubling of "heads", but with addition: "to the Levites". I Chronicles 9:3 started with Jerusalem and the whole part ends with a reference to Jerusalem in I Chronicles 9:34, as Japhet notices, in chiasmic order (lived in Jerusalem-in Jerusalem lived).<sup>213</sup>

### Benjamin III

In 9:35-44 we have a repetition of 8:29-38<sup>214</sup>, with some small changes. It starts differently: וּבְגִבְעוֹן יְעֹאֵל יָשְׁבוּ אֲבֵי-גִבְעוֹן יְעֹאֵל. We noted the differences in the text under chapter 8. Generally, the text in chapter 9 is more complete and better structured than the one in chapter 8. Dmsky considers this text therefore to be the oldest of the two versions. He uses it as the basic text.<sup>215</sup> We used the first text as the basic text, since that still belonged to the genealogical preamble of Chronicles, even though names are missing. The first verse of chapter 9 rounded off this preamble. Knoppers sees

<sup>212</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 215.

<sup>213</sup> Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 218.

<sup>214</sup> Knoppers points out at the hand of this example that text variants are found within MT Chronicles, indicating that corruption in the MT is possible. Knoppers, *Chronicles*, 64-65.

<sup>215</sup> He notes two arguments: later material is missing, and the text has fewer errors. Dmsky, "The Genealogy of Gibeon", 17.

the repetition of these two texts as a framework of the list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the last part of the genealogies of Chronicles.<sup>216</sup>

Probably the text is inserted here to make the transition to the narrative part, as introduction to the main character in the following part, Saul. We saw how the genealogy of Terah in 11:27-32 introduced the stories of Abraham and served as credits to the following narrative. The genealogical background of the main character is given to introduce the stories about him. In this case, a genealogy of David might however have been more appropriate as introduction, since only chapter 10 deals with the death of Saul and his sons and the end of the house.

Fokkelman, in a short overview of structures of stories, saw Genesis 11:27-32 as a prologue to the Abraham stories and connected it to the genealogy in Genesis 25:1-18. He regarded both texts to be framing the stories of the Abraham cycle as prologue and epilogue.<sup>217</sup> Likewise, we see that genealogies frame the stories of David. They mark transitions of power. Just before Saul dies and David succeeds Saul in I Chronicles 10 and 11 we find the genealogy of Saul (I Chron 9:35-44). After David made his son Solomon king over Israel, still during his lifetime, we find other extensive lists and genealogies in I Chronicles 23-27. In chapters 28-29 David gives the final instructions to his son regarding the Temple, prays and dies. His son Solomon succeeds to the throne in 29:28. The sequence genealogy-death-succession of chapters 23-29 mirrors the order of genealogy and events in chapters 9-11. In II Chronicles we do not find a similar framework, though a short genealogy can be found in chapter 11, for king Rehoboam.

#### 4.14 Other genealogies in Chronicles

We find several genealogical references in the rest of the book of Chronicles like ‘x son of y’, which we will not treat, some lists and enumerations and a few longer genealogies.

##### **List of descendants of David in Jerusalem: I Chronicles 14:3-7/ II Samuel 5:13-16**

At the beginning of chapter 3 we found two lists of sons of David: a list of six sons born in Hebron, numbered, using passive לל and naming the mothers, and a list of 13 sons born in Jerusalem, using passive לל, but naming just one mother, Bath-shua. The sons of the concubines and Tamar were

<sup>216</sup> Knoppers, *Chronicles*, 488.

<sup>217</sup> Fokkelman, *Reading Biblical Narrative*, 212.

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added after the closure of the pattern. In 14:3-7 we find this second list of descendants of David, namely children born in Jerusalem. It is just a name list, with a depth of two generations:

וַיִּקַּח דָּוִד עוֹד נָשִׁים בִּירוּשָׁלַם  
וַיֹּלֶד דָּוִד עוֹד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת  
13 sons וַאֲלֵהָ שְׁמוֹת הַיְלָוָדִים אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ-לוֹ בִּירוּשָׁלַם

It is a mixture of patterns. It starts with וַיִּקַּח but does not continue with feminine ילד as usual, but with ילד Hiphil, possibly to avoid using a feminine plural for nameless women. Then follows an introductory phrase we usually find in the בְּנֵי Pattern, namely “These are the names of the children...”. וַיִּקַּח and introduction are similar to Samuel, but I Chronicles 14 has a Hiphil Pattern instead of a passive. Now the colon is similar to the ending of the ילד Hiphil sequences in Genesis 5 and 11: וַיֹּלֶד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת. Maybe the standard expression ‘sons and daughters’ triggered the author to use the Hiphil Pattern. Apart from some differences in spelling, we find the same names as in chapter 3. The name of mother Bath-shua is missing, like in II Samuel 5:13-16.

In the text in Samuel there are only 11 sons listed. The strange doubling of the name Eliphelet/Elpelet is missing. Also the next son Nogah is absent. Contrary to I Chronicles 3 there is no number attached to the list of descendants. II Samuel 5 and Chronicles 14 both have Elishama and Elishua instead of the double Elishama of I Chronicles 3. I Chronicles 14 is closer to the Samuel-text than I Chronicles 3, which was adapted to the list of sons in Hebron, but I Chronicles 14 follows I Chronicles 3 in the number of sons. This number 13 was retained. There are some differences with the Samuel text: instead of “from Jerusalem”. I Chronicles 14 has the better understandable “in Jerusalem”; the concubines are not mentioned and the reference to Hebron is missing. Unusual is the word used in the introductory phrase: הַיְלָוָדִים. It is similar to the word used in II Samuel 5:13-16, but vocalised differently, indicating the born ones, those who were born. Normally we find בְּנֵי in genealogies in such an introductory line. However, this is no proper genealogy, just a name list, like in Samuel.

### **The census lists in I Chronicles 23-27**

In the introduction of the list we find the same division in groups as we found in I Chronicles 9: lay people and clergy, and the clergy divided in priest and Levites. In the actual census lists the order is reversed: the Levites come first, followed by the sons of Aaron. After that, the order is



again as in I Chronicles 9: other Levites, the Temple musicians<sup>218</sup> and the Gatekeepers coming last. Other lists are added: Temple treasurers, officers and judges, and military division of the people and the tribal leaders. Finally, the king's court officials are listed, following the same order: first the treasurers, then counsellors, a friend, and at last the military commander. The lists are not proper genealogies, but we find some short genealogies in them, all using בני Pattern.

### Levites I in I Chronicles 23:6-24

The sons of Levi are in the usual order in the introduction in verse 6, Gershon, Kohath and Merari, an order we also found in I Chronicles 6:1-15:

וַיְהִי קָדְשׁ דְּוִיד מִחֻלְקוֹת  
 לְבָנֵי לֵוִי לְגֵרְשׁוֹן קָהַת וּמְרָרִי

We see the same preference for Kohath as in chapter 6: to him the largest part of text is dedicated (23:12-20), bigger than the parts of his brothers together (7-11 and 21-23), and his genealogy reaches the greatest depth of five to six generations. In the sixth generation the high number of sons is only indicated (23:17). In the similar text in Numbers 3, the census of the Levites, Gershon, Kohath and Merari are also treated in this order, though there all three seem to be equally important.

In the genealogy of Gershon there is confusion about Shimei. In Chronicles he was called son of Gershon in 6:2 and grandson in 6:27. The sons of the first Shimei in 23:9 fall under the descendants of Ladan, so instead of Shimei we would expect the name of one of the three sons of Ladan. In I Chronicles 6 Ladan was called Libni. The first section of Ladan ends with the expression “heads of the fathers (houses)” which we found in I Chronicles 7, 8, and 9. The second section of Shimei ends with the usual בני conclusion:

to Gershon: Ladan and Shimei	לְגֵרְשׁוֹן לְעֵדֹן וְשִׁמְעִי
Ladan: three sons	בְּנֵי לְעֵדֹן הָרֵאשִׁי יְחִיאֵל
three sons of Shimei? or of son of Ladan?	בְּנֵי שִׁמְעִי
conclusion	אֵלֶּה רֵאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת לְלְעֵדֹן
Simei: four sons	וּבְנֵי שִׁמְעִי-
conclusion	אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי שִׁמְעִי אַרְבָּעָה

<sup>218</sup> Only indicated in I Chron 9:16.



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The second part is dedicated to Kohath. The four sons of Kohath are identical to list of his sons in I Chronicles 5/ 6. The descendants of all four sons are given. For Izhar, Hebron and Uzziel the generation of their sons will be the maximum depth, but Amram's line continues, this time not through Aaron, but through Moses. The names of his sons and grandsons are added. Miriam is not named. Aaron's lineage is not given here. Instead there follows a narrative describing his being set apart for the service to the Lord.

There is a preoccupation with numbers in these chapters in line with the census counting and calculations. In the genealogical preamble of Chronicles numbering was exceptional. But here all sons are counted and sometimes even numbered. We see that the maximum number of sons is four. Only three or four sons are counted. For single sons, whether the rest of the brothers remain nameless or the child is indeed a single son, *הַרֵאשִׁית*, “the chief”, is added (for the son of Gershom, Eliezer and Izhar). Pairs of sons are not counted, just once numbered (sons of Uzziel). The sons of Shimei are numbered in the narrative verse following the genealogy. The sons of Hebron are the only ones always to be numbered, in this part and in I Chronicles 24.

four sons, counted	<i>בְּנֵי קַהַת עַמְרָם יִצְחָר חֶבְרוֹן וְעִזִּיאֵל-אַרְבָּעָה</i>
two sons of Amram	<i>בְּנֵי עַמְרָם אֶהֱרֹן וּמֹשֶׁה</i>
two sons of Moses	<i>בְּנֵי מֹשֶׁה גֵרְשׁוֹם וְאֶלְיָזָר</i>
one son	<i>בְּנֵי גֵרְשׁוֹם</i>
one son	<i>וַיְהִי בְּנֵי-אֶלְיָזָר</i>
one son of Izhar	<i>בְּנֵי יִצְחָר</i>
four sons of Hebron, numbered	<i>בְּנֵי חֶבְרוֹן</i>
two sons of Uzziel, numbered	<i>בְּנֵי עִזִּיאֵל</i>

This is the first time in the genealogies of Kohath we find the lineages of all four sons. In Exodus 6 we found the lineages of Amram, Izhar and Uzziel; in I Chronicles 6 of Amram and of Izhar. Apparently, for the author of these census lists, it was important to treat the Kohathites in their widest extent, in the full expansion of the four clans, and to include the less mentioned families of Uzziel and Hebron.

We see the introductory *בְּנֵי* used for plural sons and for a single son. For Eliezer, Moses' second son, it is even explicitly added that he just had one son, but -fortunately- this one son had many sons himself, so the family is not threatened with extinction. And even though he was just a

single son, he is still called “head”. Instead of firstborn, we find *הראש*, the head<sup>219</sup>, in line with the hierarchical expression: heads of the fathers (houses). If the title is also used for a single son, then it should have a hierarchical meaning related to the extended family, possibly in relation to his descendants. The last section is dedicated to Levi’s last son, Merari:

two sons	<i>בני מררי מקלי ומושי</i>
two sons	<i>בני מקלי אלעזר וקיש</i>
no sons, but daughters	<i>ונקמת אלעזר ולא היו לו בנים כי אם בנות</i>
three sons, counted	<i>בני מושי</i>

In 23:22 it is described how Mahli’s son Eleazar died having no sons, but daughters. In Numbers 26:33 and I Chronicles 2:34 we had the same expression for fathers without sons, but with daughters: *ולא היה ל בנים כי אם בנות*. Here it is combined with “and he died”, which in 2:30 and 32 came in combination with having no sons/ children *ונקמת ותר לא בנים*. No mention was made there of daughters. In chapter 23 the daughters of Eleazar are explicitly mentioned, like the daughters of Zelophehad and Sheshan, but they remain nameless, like Sheshan’s daughter. We only read that thanks to them Eleazar’s and his brother’s families merged, by intermarriage. The whole description of the sons of Levi ends with the *בני* Pattern conclusion:

*אלה בני לוי*

#### Levites II in I Chronicles 24

Chapter 24 starts with the priests. After the listing of the families of the non-priestly Levites and the description of their duties, in chapter 24 the focus is now finally<sup>220</sup> on the priests, the descendants of the two surviving sons of Aaron, and their hierarchy. Aaron’s genealogies were missing in chapter 23. Then in 24:20-30 the focus is again on the non-priestly Levites. Here follows another listing of the sons of Levi. The lineage of Gershon is missing, but Merari and descendants of all four sons of Kohath are treated. Here as above we find only *בני* Pattern. The list is sketchier

<sup>219</sup> There is an interesting remark in ch. 26:10: “though he was not the firstborn, his father made him chief”.

<sup>220</sup> According to Japhet, this order is an example of the Chronicist appreciation of the priests. “Of all the Levitical groups, the priests receive the least attention.” Of course the priests were indubitably the highest cult officials, but still, as Japhet puts it nicely: “...his (the Chronicler’s) sympathy still lies with the Levites.” Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 425. In the genealogical parts of the chs. 23-27, apart from a few references in the narrative, the lineage of Aaron is indeed strikingly absent.

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than the genealogies above. The introductory sentence, which we had in chapter 23, naming the three sons of Levi, is missing here. It starts directly with Amram:

וְלִבְנֵי לֵוִי הַגִּדְוָהִים  
לִבְנֵי עֲמֶרָם שׁוּבְאֵל  
לִבְנֵי שׁוּבְאֵל יְחִדְיָהוּ  
לְרִשְׁבֵּיָהוּ לִבְנֵי רִשְׁבֵּיָהוּ קְרָאֵשׁ יִשְׂיָה

The whole descent through Amram is not given. Amram is directly connected with his great-grandson, through Moses and Gershom. Till now the **בְּנֵי** introduction could include a daughter, or be used for a single son, but we did not see it used to connect more distant generations to each other. The author wants to add new generations to each lineage but does not want to give the whole genealogical framework again, so he takes a short-cut in immediately connecting Amram and Shebuel and in mentioning Eliezer's son Rehabiah, without genealogical introduction. As reader we can know who Shebuel and Rehabiah are from chapter 23.

The pattern uses the preposition **לְ** which we might interpret as: regarding Shebuel: (a new generation is added namely) Jehdeiah. We will also find this in the next part, the other sons of Kohath, Izhar, Hebron and Uzziel:

לְיִצְחָקְרִי שְׁלֵמוֹת לִבְנֵי שְׁלֵמוֹת יִחַת  
four sons, numbered ? **וּבְנֵי**  
**בְּנֵי** עֲזִיזָאֵל מִיכָה לִבְנֵי מִיכָה שְׁמוֹר  
**אֲחֵי** מִיכָה יִשְׂיָה לִבְנֵי יִשְׂיָה זְכַרְיָהוּ

The first part is different, but the sentences have the same pattern in the last part of the verse: regarding the sons of Isshiah: Zechariah. To all lineages, apart from Hebron's and Mushi's families, a new generation is added. This was already indicated in the opening verse mentioning that here we will find the rest of the sons of Levi. The new generation consists of just one son.

For Hebron<sup>221</sup> and Mushi the lists of sons are just the same as in I Chronicles 23, giving the fourth generation from Levi. For Uzziel and Izhar the fifth generation is reached in the new descendant, but Amram's lineage has the greatest depth of seven generations including Levi, since his genealogy in 23 already consisted of more generations than the others. The generational level

<sup>221</sup> The name Hebron was probably missed out. The four sons are the same as Hebron's sons in I Chron 23, so the name Hebron should be added here.

reached is not the same. If the last descendants added are considered to be contemporaries, there is still a generational gap between them.

The section on Levi's son Merari is confused. A new son of Merari is added, who was not present in I Chronicles 23, Jaaziah. It starts with the standard introductory line of Merari:

בְּנֵי מֵרָרִי  
מִחֵלִי וּמוֹשִׁי  
בְּנֵי יַעֲזֹנָהוּ בְּנֵי  
בְּנֵי מֵרָרִי לַיַּעֲזֹנָהוּ בְּנֵי וְשֵׁם וְזָכֹר וְעֵבֶרִי

Dirksen suggests that the verse on Jaaziah might be a later addition. To solve the syntactic difficulties of this insertion he translates: “the sons of his son Jaaziah, meaning the sons of Merari in line of his son Jaaziah: Soham, Zakkur and Ibri.”<sup>222</sup> Dirksen translates בְּנֵי as his son, the most likely option, instead of NRSV's translation of a personal name בְּנֵי. The conjunction before Soham is still a problem. The preposition before the second Jaaziah Dirksen translates as: ‘in the line of, concerning’. So the sons of verse 27 would be three sons of Jaaziah.<sup>223</sup> The בְּנֵי introduction of Jaaziah interrupts the pattern used, or the second בְּנֵי מֵרָרִי interrupts the part of Jaaziah. For a regular pattern it should have read: “The sons of Merari: Jaaziah (his son). Regarding the sons of Jaaziah: Shoham and Zaccur and Ibri.” The segmentation to three sons is a deviation too, since till now a single son was named. Another interruption occurs through Eleazar, who had no sons. He is still mentioned here, as he was in chapter 23. The last regular pattern is used in the verse on his brother Kish, whose genealogical position is presumed to be known, as was Rehabiah's:

לְמִחֵלִי אֶלְעָזָר וְלֹא-הָיָה לוֹ בְּנִים  
לְקִישׁ בְּנֵי-קִישׁ וְרַחֲמָאֵל  
וּבְנֵי מוֹשִׁי מִחֵלִי וְעֵדֶר וִירִימוֹת

The line on Mushi is the same as in chapter 23, without the number attached. The whole genealogical section of chapter 24 ends with the בְּנֵי Pattern conclusion, and a short version of the specific Chronistic attachment of the “house of their fathers” we found in 23:24. The house of their fathers seems to have the same unifying role as clans/משפחות we found in Numbers:

<sup>222</sup> “De zonen van zijn zoon Jaaziah, dat wil zeggen de zonen van Merari in de lijn van zijn zoon Jaaziah: Soham, Zakkur en Ibri.” Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 301.

<sup>223</sup> Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 301.

**Levites III: Gatekeepers in I Chronicles 26:1-11**

The last genealogical part, in the section of the gatekeepers, comprises the families of the Korahites and Merari. Levites II was based on Levites I, but this section introduces new genealogical material. The focus is again especially on the Kohathites, the families of Korah. Of three Korahites the lists of sons are given. At the end, we also find a genealogy of a son of Merari.

The passage is well structured. The genealogies are all segmented. They have a depth of two or three generations (Obed-edom, Shemaiah and sons). There is an unconnected reference to the Temple singer Asaph, descendant of Gershon, in the first section of Meshelemiah.<sup>224</sup> This might be read differently.<sup>225</sup> Obed-edom receives no genealogical background contrary to Meshelemiah. Dirksen suggests, that this way Obed-edom, being a Gittite, is smuggled into the genealogy of the Korahites, without making this too explicit.<sup>226</sup>

The pattern consists of a nominal clause, with the preposition ל attached to the name and בני: 'to x sons'. In a similar construction in 8:3 the verb ניהו is added; in 3:1, 4 a passive of the verb ילד, as נולד. The section of the gatekeepers starts with Meshelemiah, from the Korahites.

seven sons, numbered

eight sons, numbered

למחלקות לשערים  
לקרחי משלמיהו בן־קרא מן־בני אסף  
ולמשלמיהו בנים  
ולעבד אדם בנים

The genealogy of Shemaiah the firstborn of Obed-edom is a bit different. We find a characterisation of his sons surprisingly at the beginning instead of at the end. Only then the list of sons follows. The sons are not numbered, like all the others. After the first four sons the list of sons is interrupted

<sup>224</sup> Japhet suggests reading 'Shallum' for Meshelemiah. Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 452. We saw that Shallum was prominent in I Chron 9, the only gatekeeper with a genealogical background. He was also called 'son of Kore'. There is however another Meshelemiah in I Chron 9 with a son Zechariah, like in ch. 26.

<sup>225</sup> Which might be read as Abiasaph, one of the sons of Korah, following Ex 6:24. Thus Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 452.

<sup>226</sup> Dirksen, *I Kronieken*, 315.

with a remark on his brothers, summarising the initial characterisation. Another two sons follow:<sup>227</sup>

to Shemaiah his son was born sons וְלִשְׁמַעְיָה בְּנוֹ נֹלְדוּ בָּנִים

interruption:

who exercised authority over the house of their fathers, for they were mighty men of valour

four sons

בְּנֵי שְׁמַעְיָה

interruption: whose brothers were sons of valour

two sons

conclusion: all these... כָּל־אֵלֶּה מְבֹנֵי עַבְדֵי אֱלֹהִים הָיְתָה וּבְנֵיהֶם וְאַחֵיהֶם

men of valour qualified for service

number of male descendants of Obed-edom

number of male descendants of Meshelemiah

Meshelemiah surrounds the genealogy of Obed-edom, as an inclusio. With the final number of his sons and brothers the section of the Korahites is finished. In the last section the genealogy of Hosah, the descendant of Merari, is given in the regular form:

to Hosah four sons, numbered וְלְחֹסָה מִן־בְּנֵי־מְרָרִי בָּנִים

number of sons and brothers of Hosah

כָּל־בְּנָיִם וְאַחֵיהֶם לְחֹסָה

In the first two sections we find ‘firstborn’ again instead of ‘head/ chief’, which we found in chapters 23 and 24. In the last section this is replaced by ‘head’, with an explanation: Shimri was not the first born, but made ‘head’ by his father. As such he now heads the list of sons. There is no concluding line to end the whole genealogical part, like in chapters 23 and 24. From the numbers added of the ‘mighty men of valour’ it is clear that Obed-edom’s family was by far the most important one. The number of able men of his family is exactly twice the sum of the numbers of the other two families. There are no women mentioned in the genealogies of chapters 23-26.

<sup>227</sup> Japhet regards the second list as a secondarily enlargement, to reach the favourite census number 24 (7 sons of Meshelemiah, 7 sons of Obed-edom without Shemaiah, 4 of Hosah and then 4+2 of Shemaiah). Japhet, *1 Chronicles*, 456. Shemaiah’s list is indeed different from the rest.

## Genealogy of King Rehoboam

## II Chronicles 11:18-21

The genealogy of Rehoboam cannot be found in the book of Kings. Chronicles adds this from other sources. It is a well-structured and even slightly moving genealogy of a king, a bit similar to David's genealogy in I Chronicles 3. The names of some of David's wives were also mentioned, as are the two wives of Rehoboam. The genealogy of King Rehoboam has the Pentateuchal לקח נתקלד Pattern we occasionally found in the genealogies in I Chronicles, especially in the genealogies of Caleb. The pattern is repeated twice, for two different wives, and then again in a variant form, for the other wives and children:

three sons with	ויקח לו רתבעם אשה את מתלת בן זרימות בן דויד
Mahalath	אביהיל בת אליאב בן ישי
	נתקלד לו בנים
four children with	ואתריה לקח את מעקה בת אבשלום
Maacah	נתקלד לו את-
total number of wives	כי נשים שמונה עשרה נשא ופילגשים ששים
and concubines	
total number of children	ויולד עשרים ושמונה בנים וששים בנות

The first wife of Rehoboam, Mahalath, has an exceptional genealogical background of father and mother<sup>228</sup> attached to her name, to introduce her. David and Abihail are just put next to each other, without explanation. Mother Abihail has a double descent attached to her name. The son of David would have married his cousin, like Rehoboam married in Mahalath his own cousin. The second wife mentioned, Maacah, only has her paternal background attached to her name. Maacah is then another cousin of Rehoboam. The name Maacah we also found for the foreign mother of Absalom, pointing to mammonymy.<sup>229</sup> Maacah, the daughter of Absalom, is also mentioned as the mother of Rehoboam's son Abijah (and his grandson Asa) in I Kings.<sup>230</sup> Those two women stand out, for different reasons, Mahalath for being the first wife and Maacah for being the best loved by

<sup>228</sup> If Abihail is interpreted as the mother of Mahalath and not as a second wife of Rehoboam, which seems unlikely seeing the following singular and the generation gap between them.

<sup>229</sup> Absalom also called his daughter after his sister.

<sup>230</sup> For the intricacies involved with the different and conflicting biblical information on Maacah, daughter of Absalom, see Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 670-671. She gives as a final suggestion, that Maacah might have been a granddaughter of Absalom, daughter of Absalom's daughter Tamar who would have married Uriel of Gibeah. Abijah and Asa could be either brothers, or Asa is the grandchild of Maacah.



Rehoboam. That is why her firstborn son Abijah will succeed to the throne, though he was not the firstborn child of Rehoboam. Maacah's fourth child might be a girl. Shelomith can be either masculine or feminine. Her place at the end of the list of sons might point to a daughter.

A variant on *לָקַח וַתֵּלֶד* seems to start with *וַיִּשָּׂא*, followed by his numerous wives and concubines, but it continues not with the expected Feminine *יָלַד* but with Masculine *יָלַד* Hiphil: *וַיֵּלֶד*. Thus it forms a deviation on the grounding of the *לָקַח וַתֵּלֶד* Pattern, which is formed by a masculine verb for the action of the father followed by a feminine verb for the action of the mother. We will call this variant the *לָקַח וַיֵּלֶד* Pattern. Usually the deviations of the *לָקַח וַתֵּלֶד* Pattern concern the subject of the first verb, who can occasionally be a different person than the father of the child that will be born to the mother in the second clause. In some cases in the Pentateuch this different person can be a woman. In this *לָקַח וַיֵּלֶד* Pattern, the subject of the second clause is the same as the subject of the first clause, namely the father of the children, probably due to the presence of the pattern in a subclause explaining the number of wives and concubines. Still, all these wives could have been the subject of *יָלַד*, as a plural modification of the *לָקַח וַתֵּלֶד* Pattern. As the verse it constructed now, it follows the order of Genesis 5 and 11 where one son is identified by name and the other children grouped together in a general phrase: "he became the father of (other) sons and daughters." The number of children is relatively low (88) considering the number of wives Rehoboam would have had (78). There ought to have been hundreds of children. The numbers, however, are high when compared to other genealogies. Israel himself only had 12 sons. David had many sons, in I Chronicles 3 in total 19 sons were counted, but Rehoboam has more: 28. The number 60 for concubines and daughters seems to be a rounded number.

A similar counting of children we find in the genealogical reference in II Chronicles 13:21, of Rehoboam's successor Abijah. Hiphil Pattern is used once, as in the genealogy of King Rehoboam, for the general counting of children: "and he became father of twenty-two sons and sixteen daughters". As for Rehoboam, we find a variation of *לָקַח וַתֵּלֶד* with *וַיִּשָּׂא-לוֹ נָשִׁים אַרְבַּע עָשָׂר*, continuing with Masculine *יָלַד* Hiphil: a *לָקַח וַיֵּלֶד* Pattern. There is no further genealogy, naming descendants. The last time the verb is used in Chronicles is in II Chronicles 24:3, and now in the traditional P phrase: "and he became the father of sons and daughters".

### 4.15 Scattered genealogies in other books

The following genealogies are, with the exception of Ruth, examples of extended Backwards Patterns. They are regular examples of this pattern, similar to the genealogy in Luke. It is a pattern suitable for introducing a person. Sometimes the genealogy comes in the middle of the action, like in Joshua. In other cases it serves as part of the introducing credits of a story or book, as in Samuel and the prophets. There the genealogies are part of an introducing phrase: “there was a man...and his name was..., the son of...” or: “the word of the Lord came to ....., son of ... in the days of...” Especially in Samuel and in Ezra the whole genealogy might have been phrased differently, starting with the ancestor and leading to the name of the person introduced, as in Genesis 11 or in Matthew. So the backwards genealogy was chosen deliberately, to focus immediately on the main character. Surprisingly, the person introduced in Samuel is the father of the main character.

In Nehemiah 11 we find ten examples of a backwards genealogy, added to the name of the person listed. The lists of sons of David are in fact more like genealogical references since they have a depth of only two generations and are not used in a genealogical context. We still add them here and treat them briefly, since they are important for the genealogical texts in Chronicles.

#### Genealogy of Achan: Joshua 7:1,18

וַיִּקַּח אֶחָן  
 בֶּן־פְּרָמִי  
 בֶּן־זִבְדִּי  
 בֶּן־זֵרָח  
 לְמִטָּה יְהוּדָה  
 מִן־הַחֵרֶם

The short backwards genealogy, comprising four and through למטה five generations, serves as an introduction to Achan, descendant of Judah through Zerah, who took some of the banned objects that were looted after the conquest of Jericho. Again a descendant of Judah incurs the wrath of God. After the first and the second son, a descendant of the third son of Judah and the Canaanite woman disrupts the divine order. He is also heavily punished. Since the genealogy will be important in the elimination process to find the guilty one, it is added twice. A third time there is a genealogical reference in a shortened form, before the brutal execution of Achan (Achan son of Zerah, 7:24). In Chronicles Achan was called Achar, forming a word play with the following verb

עֶכָר עוֹכֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל, Achar the troubler (*okher*) of Israel. Zabdi might be the same name as Zimri, the first son of Zerah in Chronicles.

### Genealogy of Elkanah, father of Samuel: I Samuel 1:1

In this genealogy Samuel belongs to the tribe of Ephraim. Ephrati is probably indicating someone from the tribe of Ephraim.<sup>231</sup> In I Chronicles 6 we found his name twice in the genealogy of Levi, in the genealogy of Kohath in verses 12 and 19, the backwards genealogy. In the latter genealogy his grandson is one of the men “whom David put in charge of the service of song”. The names in Chronicles are similar, especially in the last lineage. Elkanah is a popular name in the list of descendants of Kohath to Samuel and his sons and grandson, occurring regularly. As we saw, this incorporation of an Ephraimite into the Levite tribe was part of an effort in Chronicles to adapt the genealogies to the ideal reality, in which all priests belong to the lineage of Kohath, son of Levi. Apparently in Samuel this descent of Ephraim instead of Levi is not felt as a problem. Philip Esler notices that in the description of Elkanah the information is all group oriented. We hear about his village, his region (hill country), his tribe and his family descent. There is only one word personal: his name.<sup>232</sup> The genealogy of Elkanah has a depth of five generations:

וְנָהִי אִישׁ אֶתְנָד מִן־הַרְמָתַיִם צוֹפִים מֵהַר אֶפְרָיִם  
 וְשֵׁמוֹ אֶלְקָנָה  
 בְּנֵי־יִרְמָה  
 בְּנֵי־אֶלְיָהוּא  
 בְּנֵי־תַחֲוִי  
 בְּנֵי־צוֹרָה  
 אֶפְרָתִי

His wives Hannah and Peninnah have no genealogical background. Though Hannah is the true heroine of the first chapters, and her son Samuel will be the hero of the book of Samuel, the focus of I Samuel 1 is on father Elkanah.<sup>233</sup> His genealogy introduces the narrative.

<sup>231</sup> Thus for example Isaac Kalimi, *The Reshaping*, 152. It might also point to Bethlehem Ephrat(ah). But here of course also the geographical indication “from the hill country of Ephraim”, points to Ephraim.

<sup>232</sup> Philip Francis Esler, *Sex, Wives, and Warriors: Reading Old Testament Narrative with its Ancient Audience* (James Clarke & Co: Cambridge, 2011), 56.

<sup>233</sup> As Rachelle Gilmour writes “...the reader may initially expect Elkanah to be the hero of this story.” Rachelle Gilmour, *Representing the Past, A Literary Analysis of Narrative Historiography in the Book of Samuel* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 57.

**The genealogy of Kish, the father of Saul: I Samuel 9:1**

Similarly to I Samuel 1, where a genealogy of father Elkanah introduced the narrative of son Samuel, the stories that introduce Saul start with a genealogy of his father Kish, thus leading the attention first to a person who will be relatively unimportant in the narrative.<sup>234</sup> In this way the main character gets a genealogical background, without standing in the centre of attention. It starts in the same way as I Samuel 1: “There was a man...and his name was...the son of...” The text of the second reference to Benjamin בְּנֵי-אִישׁ יְמִינִי, “the son of a man of Jemini”<sup>235</sup> is unusual. The Syriac and the Aramaic manuscripts suggest a more conventional reading: from (the tribe of) Benjamin. The genealogy comprises five generations, from Kish to Aphiah, if we do not count Benjamin to be a reference to a person. There ought to be more generations from Benjamin to Kish, than the five mentioned here, if we compare it to the genealogy of Ruth 4. Even the latter was probably too short to cover the time span between the generation of the sons of Jacob and the first kings. In other texts Ner is named as the father of Kish<sup>236</sup>, but in Samuel Ner is Saul’s uncle, the brother of his father Kish. The intermediate link of Ner is missing between Abiel/ Jeiel and Kish.

בְּנֵי-אִישׁ מִבְּנֵי-יְמִין  
 וְשֵׁמוֹ קִישׁ  
 בְּנֵי-אֲבִיאל  
 בְּנֵי-צֹרֹר  
 בְּנֵי-בְכוֹרֶת  
 בְּנֵי-אֶפְיָח  
 בְּנֵי-אִישׁ יְמִינִי  
 גְבוּרֵי הָהָר

Both genealogies in I Samuel 1 and 9 have a similar depth. We found the expression גְבוּרֵי הָהָר, the description of Kish, in several genealogies in Chronicles as a description of men of a tribe.

<sup>234</sup> In Genesis we might have a similar case with Terah and Abraham. Terah, and not Abram, is the focus point of the genealogy in ch. 11.

<sup>235</sup> The Vulgate translates thus literally: *fili viri Iemini*.

<sup>236</sup> I Chron 9: 39: “Ner became the father of Kish, and Kish became the father of Saul...”

### The genealogy of Zephaniah

In Zephaniah 1:1 a genealogy is attached to the name of the prophet, functioning as an introduction to his person. The word of the Lord was to Zephaniah, who was the son of Cushi son of Gedaliah son of Amariah son of Hezekiah, in the days of King Josiah son of Amon of Judah:

דְּבַר-יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הָיָה אֶל-צְפַנְיָה  
 בֶּן-כוּשִׁי  
 בֶּן-גְּדַלְיָה  
 בֶּן-אֲמַרְיָה  
 בֶּן-חִזְקִיָּה  
 בְּיָמֵי יֹאשָׁהוּ  
 בֶּן-אֲמוֹן  
 מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה

4

As in Samuel the genealogy comprises five generations. There is one Hezekiah among the ancestors of the prophet. This might refer to Hezekiah the king of Judah, the great-grandfather of king Josiah. In that case the prophet would belong to a distant branch of the royal family, to a younger generation, at the same genealogical level as the sons of king Josiah. There is a debate whether Cushi refers to a person or to a nationality. David Adamo remarks on the fact that all names of Zephaniah's ancestors end on *יָה*, apart from Cushi, thus singling Cushi out as special.<sup>237</sup>

The backwards genealogy finds its mirror in the short genealogical reference after the name of the king. Of course it is interesting to see that the genealogy of the prophet (4 x *בֶּן*) is far longer than the genealogical reference of the king (1 x *בֶּן*). The temporal indication does not just have the purpose of dating the prophet but also serves as a contrast to underline the longer descent of the prophet. No women occur in the genealogy of Zephaniah. Also in the Backwards Pattern in Chronicles and in Luke there will be no room for mothers, sisters or for different branches of the family within this pattern. It is a strictly linear genealogy. The major prophets all have a

<sup>237</sup> David T. Adamo, *Africa and the Africans in the Old Testament* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2001), 116. He clearly regards Zephaniah as an African prophet. According to him the main purpose of the genealogy is "to show to the readers that the prophet Zephaniah is a full Israelite with a royal status, he is also of African ancestry." And he states that more Hebrew names end on -i, so Cushi could be a personal name pointing to an African. He discusses the possibility that King Hezekiah married an African woman, who would have given birth to Zephaniah's great-grandfather. Adamo, *Africa*, 117-118. Gerald West and Musa Dube point to the several references to Cush, which seems "to reveal a special awareness of these distant people". Gerald O. West and Musa W. Dube, *The Bible in Africa, Transactions, Trajectories, and Trends* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 577.

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genealogical reference after their names.<sup>238</sup> Of the minor prophets Joel and Jonah have a similar reference. Zephaniah and Zechariah are the only ones to possess a longer genealogy, comprising respectively five and three generations including the prophet. Zephaniah's genealogy is compared to other backward genealogies in the Hebrew Bible not special. The genealogies in Samuel are of similar depth. Ezra receives a much longer genealogy. But within the book of the latter prophets, Zephaniah's backwards genealogy covering five generations is quite remarkable.

### The genealogy of Zechariah

In Zechariah 1:1 we find a genealogy of three generations, giving background to the prophet Zechariah. First comes the temporal indication and then the intermediary formula<sup>239</sup> followed by the name and the genealogy of the prophet:

בַּחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁמִינִי בַשָּׁנָה שְׁמִינִי לְדָרְיוֹשׁ  
הָיָה דְבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־זְכַרְיָה  
בֶּן־בְּרַכְיָה  
בֶּן־עֲדוּ  
הַנְּבִיא  
לְאֵמֶר

The introduction of a prophet consists of three elements, usually in this order:

1. Intermediary formula
2. Name + genealogical reference/genealogy
3. Time

“The word of the Lord came to....son of....in the time of....”

We found these elements in this order in Zephaniah. In Zephaniah there was an extra בְּנֵי in the temporal indication containing a genealogical reference of the king, which formed a contrast to the longer preceding genealogy of the prophet. In several other prophetic books we find the same order. Usually the time indication if present comes at the end.<sup>240</sup> In Ezekiel, Zechariah and Haggai

<sup>238</sup> Micah, Amos and Nahum have a geographical indication after their names.

<sup>239</sup> Term by W.M. Schniedewind. He defines it as follows: “An intermediary formula presents a person as the bearer of a message from God to a human audience.” William M. Schniedewind, *The word of God in transition: From Prophet to Exegete in the Second Temple Period*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 197 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 60.

<sup>240</sup> So in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Amos, Micah. The dating of the revelation to the prophet is not added in Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk and Malachi.

however, the temporal indication comes first. Apparently for these books the dating during the exile and about 20 years after the exile was of primary importance. Both Zechariah and Haggai are dated in the same year, the second year of King Darius.

In the two references in Ezra<sup>241</sup> the middle generation is left out and Zechariah is directly connected to Iddo. The Septuagint has the three generations of MT with similar names. Does the epithet הַנְּבִיאָה refer back to Zechariah or is it connected to Iddo? It is hard to tell.<sup>242</sup> If Iddo was already known as a prophet, it becomes clear why Ezra would connect Zechariah directly to his already famous grandfather, skipping the intermediary link of Berechiah. And the reason why Zechariah has a three-generation genealogy would be clarified too.

#### Ruth 4:17

In Ruth 4:17 we first find a short genealogy, comprising three generations. This text is the only occurrence of the אָבִי Pattern as an independent genealogical pattern. In other genealogies the pattern is combined with for example Hiphil or לָקַח וְתָלַד. It uses the אָבִי Pattern twice:

וַתִּקְרָאנָהּ לוֹ הַשְּׂכֵנֹת שֵׁם לְאִמֶּר  
 יָלַד בֶּן לְדַעְמִי  
 וַתִּקְרָאנָהּ שְׁמוֹ עוֹבֵד  
 הוּא אָבִי יֵשׁוּעַ אָבִי דָוִד

It is clear and succinct, with no additional information or title to grandson David, as the longer genealogy following. The אָבִי phrase is introduced by an exceptional Passive Pattern, not combined with a father, but with a grandmother, Naomi, and it is introduced by the repeated naming of the child by the women of the village. Another example of naming by women as in Genesis 4:25, Genesis 19:37-38, Genesis 30:24, Genesis 35:18, but now interestingly enough not by the mother or even the grandmother, but by the female neighbours.<sup>243</sup>

Berlin calls this verse in Ruth 4 the coda of the book of Ruth, an ending and an evaluation. It makes the story ‘tellable’. And its function is also, she adds: “to advance the time frame beyond

<sup>241</sup> Ezra 5:1, 6:14.

<sup>242</sup> Mark Boda suggests the epitheton might refer back to Zechariah, though “...in many cases, such as those of kings and priests, because the person in view and his ancestors share the same vocation, it is impossible to know if the title is related to the son or the ancestor listed”. Mark J. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, NICOT (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids Michigan: 2016), 66. Zechariah and Iddo might both have been prophets. They might also have been priests. In Neh 12:16 a priest Zechariah was from the priestly house of Iddo.

<sup>243</sup> Finlay concludes that in ancient Israel the woman usually named the child. And she almost always gave the etymological speech, explaining the name of the child. Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre*, 41.

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that of the story closer to that of the audience.” It bridges the time to a point known to the audience, so they can identify with the story. It is according to Berlin an integral part of the text, just as the first ending (actual birth) and the third ending (genealogy Hiphil Pattern).<sup>244</sup>

### The genealogy of Perez: Ruth 4:18-22

After this genealogical ending of the narrative text, we find a surprisingly traditional genealogy in Ruth 4:18-22. Ruth 4 has the well-structured rhythm of the genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11, using the characteristic Hiphil Pattern, but without the annotations we find there. The genealogy starts with the תולדות-heading, אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת פֶּרֶץ, as in Genesis 11:10. This is a clear example of this formula (and following genealogy) concluding the narrative, as presumably in Genesis 2:4a. For Hieke Genesis 2:4a starts the genealogies of Genesis and further and Ruth 4:18-22 ends it. Thus the תולדות of heaven and earth result in the תולדות of Perez, leading to king David.<sup>245</sup> My own final conclusion will go in the opposite direction: there is a development over time in the Hiphil Pattern, from Genesis to Chronicles 8 to Matthew, to which Ruth does not contribute. We find as pattern a repetition of the הוליד clause, in total nine times:

#### א הוליד אֶת־ב

The structure is brought back to basics. All other information is omitted. We do not get any information on the age of the ancestor at the birth of his son or at his death. The verbs היה and היתה are not used. In a way, this short genealogy is an idealised genealogy: straightforward and succinct. Unfortunately, that leaves no room for women. The parallel genealogy of Matthew 1 introduces the names of two mothers: Tamar and Ruth. Especially Ruth would have been a logical addition to this genealogy concluding her story. But no mothers are mentioned. Even the words ‘and he had other sons and daughters’ are left out.

If the three linear genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11 and Ruth 4 are compared, we see an increasing terseness. Genesis 5 provides most additional information. Genesis 11 less and in Ruth 4 the pattern is brought back to the bare basics. It is similar to I Chronicles 2:10-12, but there the

<sup>244</sup> Berlin, *Poetics*, 109.

<sup>245</sup> Hieke, *Die Genealogien der Genesis*, 41-42. Hieke adds an overview of תולדות formula with other genealogies in between, including Num 3, but excluding Num 26. He adds the תולדות formulas not introducing a genealogy but a genealogical narrative. Also Hieke, “Genealogie als Mittel”, 181: “-die engen Beziehungen zwischen Genesis-Texten und dem Rutbuch sprechen eher dafür, Rut im Kontext des Buches Genesis zu lesen und damit die Genealogie am Schluss des Rutbuches als Verlängerung der Genesis-Genealogien aufzufassen.”



regularity is broken by an addition and an extension to a segmented genealogy. The Ruth-genealogy remains linear. If the structure of the two genealogies of Genesis using the same pattern had been followed faithfully, the linear genealogy would have ended in a segmented one, as in Genesis 5:32 and Genesis 11:26 (and 27). With David being, according to I Chronicles 2, the seventh son of Jesse, this might have been a possibility. However, these linear genealogies ending in segmented ones always seem to introduce the following story. In that case only a genealogy of Boaz, or the forgotten Elimelech, might have headed the story of Ruth. Or this genealogy of David would have headed the stories of David and his family. In the comparisons, Ruth stands out as a genealogical exception. According to Lohfink this ten-generation lineage of King David is the biblical genealogy that forms the best comparison to the Mesopotamian King Lists.<sup>246</sup>

דָּוִד is used nine times as in Genesis 11:10-26, making David the tenth person mentioned in the genealogy. The seventh generation is not distinguished in any way, but maybe it is not coincidental that this is Boaz. The genealogy starts with Perez, the son of the tribal father Judah by his daughter-in-law Tamar. Thus David was a descendant of Judah in the eleventh generation, or twelfth, if we count Perez to be the child of the dead Er.<sup>247</sup> Still, Lemche considers the number of generations to be insufficient to cover the time span between Judah and David.<sup>248</sup> He remarks critically: "If this level of tradition uses a chronology like the official one found elsewhere in the OT, then at least eight hundred years will have elapsed between Judah and David. There is no doubt but that the intervening nine generations are all too few."<sup>249</sup> Rendsburg disagrees. He even uses David's chronology as criterion for the genealogies of Samuel and Zadok. While they are too long in his eyes, extending to 13 or 14 generations from the tribal father Levi, David's descent from Judah reaches the more probable length of ten generations.

Since however there are "no other characters after Joshua who have genealogies who link them to the patriarchal period"<sup>250</sup>, it might be difficult to establish the number of ancestors separating the generation of David from the tribal fathers. Rendsburg makes a plausible cause for internal consistency of the genealogies of the Wilderness generation, among whom David's ancestor Nahshon, brother to Aaron's wife Elisheba. All members of this generation are three to six ancestors removed from the tribal father, depending on age and overlapping of generations.<sup>251</sup>

<sup>246</sup> Lohfink, *Theology of the Pentateuch*, 157 footnote 53.

<sup>247</sup> Gen 46 is also counting Perez and his brother under the sons of Judah. A further complication is the omission in the lineage of the names of Elimelech and his son Mahlon, the husband of Ruth. The stories of the Levirate marriages are told, but these stories do not seem to affect the genealogies. The exact familial relationship of Boaz and Elimelech and the descent of Elimelech are unclear.

<sup>248</sup> Luke 3:33 has an additional generation inserted between Amminadab and Aram (Arni), viz. Admin.

<sup>249</sup> Lemche, *Early Israel*, 259.

<sup>250</sup> Rendsburg, "The Internal Consistency", 187.

<sup>251</sup> Rendsburg, "The Internal Consistency", 185-204.

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The name of the deceased man whose family line was officially continued by his widow and his next-of-kin, disappears in the genealogy of Ruth, as in Genesis 46. Both Er and Mahlon are forgotten. Instead, the biological fathers Judah and Boaz figure in the genealogy of the ancestry of king David. King David has, in the words of Rendsburg, “the best-preserved genealogy of all biblical characters.”<sup>252</sup> The terseness of the genealogy does not allow any distinction to be given to the name David. No title is given, contrary to Matthew 1, but in line with I Chronicles 3.<sup>253</sup>

Berlin sees the genealogy as a way of legitimizing not David—who does not need legitimizing—but the book of Ruth itself.<sup>254</sup> Lemche interestingly suggests that possibly the Book of Ruth has only survived because of this genealogy in Ruth 4, linking Ruth to David. And Lemche adds: “Furthermore, if David was really of Moabite descent (if only partially), this would explain why he took his family to safety from king Saul in Moab (1 Sam 22,3), a point worth noting.”<sup>255</sup> So genealogies can be lifesavers, for both books and people.

Unfortunately, the Moabite mother is absent in Ruth 4. Both genealogies are exclusively male, and do not include this surprising, foreign foremother of the king of Israel, David.

### Genealogy of Ezra: Ezra 7:1-5

In Ezra 7:1 we find an extended backwards genealogy, added to the name of Ezra:

ואחר הדברים האלה במלכות ארתחשסטא מלך־פרס  
עזרא  
16x **בן** in total **בן־שִׁרְיָה**  
**בן־אֶהֱרֹן הַכֹּהֵן הָרִאשׁוֹן**  
הוא עזרא עלה מבבל

This is the longest backwards genealogy we find in the scattered genealogies. A normal backwards genealogy introducing a person would have an average of five generations. But this list in Ezra has a depth of 17 generations, connecting Ezra with Aaron. Ezra is placed firmly in the lineage of the

<sup>252</sup> Rendsburg, “The Internal Consistency”, 187.

<sup>253</sup> In I Chron 3 the title ‘king’ is not added to David’s name, though the verb ‘to be king, to rule’ is used twice.

<sup>254</sup> Berlin, *Poetics*, 110: “David is already the known figure, ...But Boaz and the others are unknown from the material in Gen-Kgs. Where do they fit in? This question is answered by providing the genealogy-...-and by highlighting Boaz by putting him seventh in line (...).”

<sup>255</sup> Lemche, *Early Israel*, 259.

high priests.<sup>256</sup> A problem is that Ezra is connected to the pre-exilic high priest, Seraiah, so there is a large gap in time. Between Ezra and Seraiah several generations seem to be missing.<sup>257</sup> We found high priestly genealogies in Exodus 6, in I Chronicles 5 and a short one in I Chronicles 9:10-11. There is another short high priestly lineage in Nehemiah 11:10-11, the parallel text to I Chronicles 9. Nehemiah 11 and I Chronicles 9 are as Ezra 7 reversed genealogies, but both only go back to Ahitub, chief officer of the house of God. Exodus 6 is a segmented genealogy giving the lineage of Levi to the fourth generation and to the fifth generation in Phinehas.

Ezra 7 is a parallel text to the High Priest List of I Chronicles 5. The names are identical. Here we also face the problem of known priests being absent.<sup>258</sup> At the beginning and the end the names are more or less well established. The middle seems to be fluid. Ezra's lineage of 17 generations is shorter than the list in Chronicles. Six generations are absent in the middle. If a generation is taken as 30 years 510 years would connect Ezra with the generation of the wilderness. The list in I Chronicles 5 was much longer: 23 generations. In I Chronicles 5 the sequence Amariah, Ahitub and Zadok occurred twice, which was improbable. Here in Ezra the first sequence and the following three names (Ahimaaz, Azariah and Johanan) are left out. The absence of the repetition makes the list more convincing.<sup>259</sup> On the relation between I Chronicles 5 and Ezra 7 several theories have been suggested. Either one is dependent on the other or both are independent texts. Japhet's theory that I Chronicles 5 is dependent on Ezra 7 seems convincing.<sup>260</sup>

Outside MT we can find a genealogy of Ezra in II Esdras 1:1-3.<sup>261</sup> The list has a different function: it introduces quite formally the writer of the book Esdras. In Ezra 7 the genealogy

<sup>256</sup> But he does not seem to be interested in being a priest, as Theodore Bergren remarks in trying to explain why Ben Sira omits Ezra from his list of priests in the 'Praise of the Fathers': "... Ezra, while assigned an impeccable high-priestly genealogy in Ezra 7:1-5 (...), does not perform, or even seem vaguely interested in, any traditional priestly activities." Theodore A. Bergren, "Ezra and Nehemiah Square Off in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha", in: *Biblical Figures outside the Bible*, edited by Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1998), 356.

<sup>257</sup> Juha Pakkala suggests that Seraiah might have been the known name of Ezra's father who was then identified by an editor with the high priest Seraiah. He adds: "This conclusion makes it doubtful that Ezra was regarded as a priest at all in the basic text." Juha Pakkala, *Ezra the Scribe, The Development of Ezra 7-10 and Nehemia 8* (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 24.

<sup>258</sup> Priests like Jehoiada II Kings 11 and Uriah II Kings 16 are missing in these lists. The succession of high priests will not have been a strict succession of father to son. Japhet states: "We lack the critical tools needed to establish whether or not this is an authentic list." Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 152.

<sup>259</sup> The absence of some names might also be an example of genealogical telescoping, the third manifestation of fluidity that Wilson distinguished. Wilson, *Genealogy and History*, 35-39.

<sup>260</sup> Japhet regards the list in Ezra as the more original and the list in I Chron 5 as the elaboration of this list, Japhet, *I Chronicles*, 151. Pakkala agrees. According to Pakkala the author of the genealogy in Ezra did probably not know the text in I Chron 5, for there are two omissions in Ezra compared to I Chron 5, namely the six priests in the middle and the connection of Aaron and his descendants to the tribe of Levi: "The idea that the Aaronides are Levites can only be found in some (especially young) parts of the Hebrew Bible. It is hard to believe that its omission is intentional." Pakkala, *Ezra the Scribe*, 25.

<sup>261</sup> In 2 Esdras 1 the list of forefathers of Ezra is slightly different: 1 The book of the prophet Ezra son of Seraiah, son of Azariah, son of Hilkiah, son of Shallum, son of Zadok, son of Ahitub, son of Ahijah, son of Phinehas, son of Eli,

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interrupts the story about Ezra that is starting (after these things Ezra -son of etc.- this Ezra went up from Babylonia), indicating probably that it is a later insertion by an editor.<sup>262</sup> Still, that does not imply automatically that the biblical text does not regard Ezra as a priest.

**The lists in Nehemiah 11:3-19**

In Nehemiah we find several lists. Most of them are not genealogies but lists of people, without genealogical references. We find a list of returned captives, of officials, priests, Levites and many others. Some of these names have short genealogical references, like: “Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel” (Neh 12:1). In between the lists we sometimes find short genealogies, like in Nehemiah 8:10: “One day when I went into the house of Shemaiah son of Delaiah son of Mehetabel,” or in Nehemiah 6:18: “and his son Jehohanan had married the daughter of Meshullam son of Berachiah.” They all belong to the genre of the backwards genealogy. In chapter 11 we find longer examples of this form of genealogy. Nehemiah 11 gives lists of men living in Jerusalem, in the order well known from Chronicles: the lay people first, then the priests followed by the Levites, then the gate keepers. Contrary to Chronicles, the gate keepers do not belong to the Levites, though associated with them.<sup>263</sup> In total 25 men are named; ten persons get a backwards genealogy. The genealogies reach a greater depth than those in I Chronicles 9.

**people/Israel**

From the בְּנֵי of Judah	Athaiah	5x בְּנֵי	from the בְּנֵי of Perez	
	Maaseiah	7x בְּנֵי	of the Shilonite	
	all the בְּנֵי of Perez			468 men of valour
These are the בְּנֵי of Benjamin	Sallu	7x בְּנֵי		
	Gabbai			
	Sallai			928
פְּקִידֵי over them	Joel	1x בְּנֵי	genealogical reference	
2 <sup>nd</sup> over the city	Judah	1x בְּנֵי	genealogical reference	

son of Amariah, son of Azariah, son of Meraimoth, son of Arna, son of Uzzi, son of Borith, son of Abishua, son of Phinehas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron, of the tribe of Levi, who was a captive in the country of the Medes in the reign of Artaxerxes, king of the Persians. Three names are added to the list, thus giving Ezra 20 forefathers instead of 17, as in MT. Some names are spelled differently.

<sup>262</sup> So also Pakkala, *Ezra the Scribe*, 23-26.

<sup>263</sup> Blenkinsopp speaks about a “stage intermediate between the early post-exilic period when musicians and gatekeepers were distinct from Levites and the time of C when both functions had been absorbed into the Levitical office.” Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 326.

Genealogies in Chronicles and other books

From the <b>priests:</b>	Jedaiah	1x <b>בְּנֵי</b>	genealogical reference	
	Jachin			
	Seraiah	5x <b>בְּנֵי</b>	of Ahitub, the <b>נָגִיד</b> of the house of God	
	and their brothers, doing the work for the house			822
	Adaiah	6x <b>בְּנֵי</b>		
	and his brothers, heads to the fathers (houses)			242
	Amashai	4x <b>בְּנֵי</b>		
	and their brothers, mighty men of valour			128
<b>פְּקִידֵי</b> over them	Zabdiel	1x <b>בְּנֵי</b>	genealogical reference	
From the <b>Levites</b>	Shemaiah	4x <b>בְּנֵי</b>		
	Shabbethai		over the outside work of the house of	
	Jozabad		God, from the leaders of the Levites	
<b>רֵאשִׁי</b>	Mattaniah	3x <b>בְּנֵי</b>	starting the thanksgiving in prayer	
2nd	Bakbukiah			
	Abda	3x <b>בְּנֵי</b>		
All the Levites				284
The <b>gatekeepers</b>	Akkub			
	Talmon			
	and their brothers, keeping watch at the gates			172

The <b>Temple servants</b>	Ziha and Gishpa		over the Temple servants	
<b>פְּקִידֵי</b> over the Levites	Uzzi	4x <b>בְּנֵי</b>	from the <b>בְּנֵי</b> of Asaph, the singers	
at king's hand for the <b>people</b>	Pethahiah	1x <b>בְּנֵי</b>	from the <b>בְּנֵי</b> of Zerah, <b>בְּנֵי</b> Judah	

There is an inclusio with the Judahites and the people. We find Judahites at the beginning and a Judahite at the end. The numbers of persons listed are similar to I Chronicles 9, namely seven +

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one for the lay people, six for the priests, six + one for the Levites<sup>264</sup>. The number of backwards genealogies is equally distributed: 3 for each of the three larger groups, the people, priests and Levites. The פקיד over the Levites only follows at the end of the whole section on Levites, gatekeepers and Temple servants, thus also forming an inclusio.<sup>265</sup> He is the only overseer who has a backwards genealogy too. We find the longest genealogies in the section of the people. We do not find any backwards genealogy or reference in the sections of the gatekeepers and the Temple servants. The section of the gatekeepers is very short compared to I Chronicles 9. The work itself is in this list not explained, only indicated. The Temple servants have no real section: only the two people in charge are mentioned. There is also no counting of Temple servants.

Apart from the backwards genealogies there are five genealogical references. Three of the four overseers have references instead of a longer genealogy. One reference is for a priest. The last one is for Pethaiah, in charge of all people, for the Persian king. Generally, the persons belonging to one of the three big groups have either a longer backwards genealogy or nothing. The men of the smaller groups have nothing. The overseers have a reference. We find “from the בני” once at the beginning and at the end, twice. The whole list ends with a reference to the patriarch Judah, which we also found at the beginning of the list.

The high priestly backwards genealogy of Seraiah is similar to the one in Ezra 7, but some intermediate generations are added/ left out: Seraiah is the son of Hilkiah instead of the grandson<sup>266</sup> and Meraioth is inserted between Zadok and Ahitub. The list is also much shorter and makes no effort to connect to the exodus/wilderness generation. It has a depth of six generations, as the parallel text in I Chronicles 9:11. The list as it stands now begins with Seraiah, which is unlikely. Seraiah was the last pre-exilic priest, exiled and killed. Either for example Jachin should be connected to the list, standing in the same generational place as Ezra and Jehozadak, or the list must be meant to form a different genealogy. The names in the lists of Nehemiah 11 can partly be found in I Chronicles 9:2-18.<sup>267</sup> We also find expressions familiar from Chronicles in this text, like ‘mighty men of valour’ and ‘heads to the fathers (houses)’. The number of priests is surprisingly high, compared to the number of Levites. But contrary to Chronicles there are more lay people than priests. The number of Benjaminites is almost double the number of the Judahites.<sup>268</sup> In Chronicles

<sup>264</sup> I Chron 9 has seven persons for the people, six priests, seven Levites and five gatekeepers. The section of the gatekeepers is quite different from the Chronicles account, though the names can be found in Chronicles. The Temple servants are missing as a special category in Chronicles.

<sup>265</sup> Blenkinsopp suggests that this text might have been inserted at least half a century later, since Uzzi, seeing his genealogical background, must be the great-grandson of Mattaniah son of Micah in 11:17. Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 327.

<sup>266</sup> I Chron 9:11 starts with Azariah, son of Hilkiah.

<sup>267</sup> On the relationship of Neh 11 and Chronicles, see under I Chron 9.

<sup>268</sup> In Chronicles the difference is less.

we also noticed an expansion of the tribal territory of the Benjaminites. Jerusalem became their territory. There was in Chronicles an indication of a movement from the towns in the countryside in verse 2 to the capital in verse 3.<sup>269</sup> In Nehemiah this movement is quite clear. To live in Jerusalem was apparently not popular and had to be organised centrally. That is why the numbers of people daring to live in the holy city are given. As in Chronicles there are no women in these lists.

### Nehemiah 12:10-11

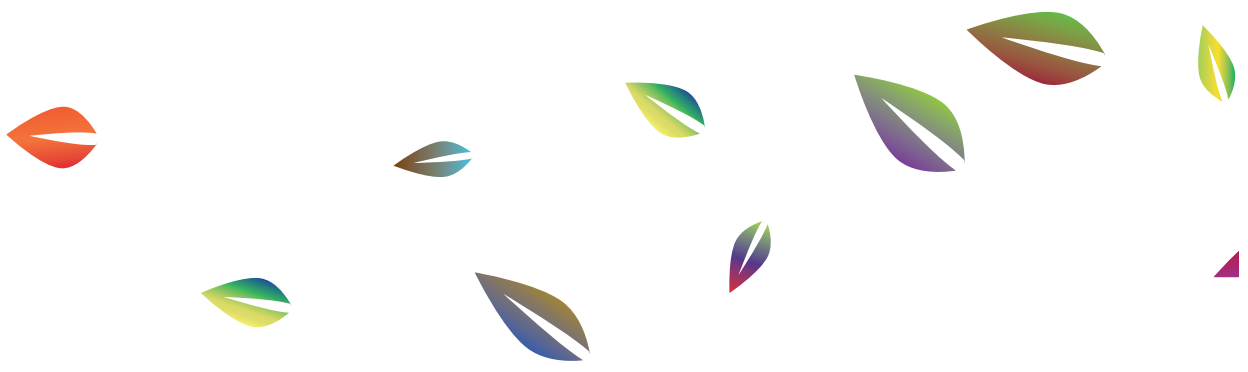
After the lists of people living in Jerusalem follow lists of the priests and Levites who came back from exile. In between there is a six generation-genealogy of the post-exilic high priests using the Hiphil Pattern, as in I Chronicles 5:30-40: Jeshua 4x הוֹלִיד, to Jaddua. Exactly in the middle between Eliashib and Joiada הוֹלִיד is missing once. This is exceptional: in the other examples of the pattern the verb was always repeated, adding to the rhythm of the text. The list continues where the genealogy in I Chronicles 5:40 ended, with the son of Jehozadak/Jozadak, Jeshua. In Nehemiah 12:26 the connection is made.<sup>270</sup> The names in the genealogy return in the following narrative text, but sometimes with a change in name (Johanah instead of Jonathan).<sup>271</sup> Eliashib is portrayed in Nehemiah 3 as a contemporary, actively involved in the rebuilding of the city gates. As in Chronicles we see that there is a preference to use the Hiphil Pattern for genealogies of important persons. In the description of the festive dedication of the city walls in Nehemiah 12:27-43 we find lists of people taking part in the procession circling the walls. Just one person has a backwards genealogy in verse 35: Zechariah, 6x זָכַר, of Asaph. The preceding words 'from the sons of the priests with trumpets' would then refer back to the preceding names.<sup>272</sup> Zechariah is the choir master of the Levites, the counterpart of Jezrahiah in the other group. He might be of the same family as Uzzi in chapter 11, another greatgrandchild of Mattaniah.

<sup>269</sup> According to Oeming we ought to distinguish between the first settlers living around Jerusalem (verse 2) and a second group (starting from verse 3), daring to settle in Jerusalem. Oeming, *Das wahre Israel*, 182.

<sup>270</sup> "These were in the days of Joiakim son of Jeshua son of Jozadak, and in the days of the governor Nehemiah and of the priest Ezra, the scribe."

<sup>271</sup> Thus Neh 12:22. Though Johanah might also be a different person, another son of Eliashib. In Ezra 10:6 we hear again of a Jehohanan son of Eliashib, in whose chamber Ezra spent the night, but it is unclear whether this Jehohanan was a high priest. For the whole discussion on the identification of Johanah with Jonathan and the importance of this identification for the order of Ezra and Nehemiah, see Edwin Yamauchi, "The Reversed Order of Ezra/Nehemiah Reconsidered", *Themelios* 5.3, (1980), 8. If they are the same, Ezra would have been a contemporary of a grandson of Eliashib. Yamauchi himself does not identify the two and supports the traditional order of Ezra preceding Nehemiah. He keeps to a dating of Ezra around 458/457, preceding Nehemiah by 12 years, instead of a dating of Ezra around 398. Yamauchi, "The Reversed Order", 7-13. The order of Ezra and Nehemiah is beyond the scope of this research.

<sup>272</sup> So Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 342. Rashi calls Zechariah following MT a priest.





5

# Chapter 5

Genre patterns in the  
genealogies in Chronicles and  
in other books: an analysis



In Chronicles we find the same genre patterns as in the Pentateuch, but we also find two new ones. We treat the patterns, as in the Pentateuch, in the order of the Bible. Chronicles starts with a new pattern, the Ancient Near Eastern Pattern, in I Chronicles 1:1-4. After that there is the same mixture of  $\text{קל}$ , Qal and Passive Patterns, which we found earlier in Genesis 10. In Chronicles, the Female Patterns of Genesis 4 are left out. The first Female Pattern is used in the genealogy of Keturah. Since the extended Hiphil Patterns are summarised, the Hiphil Pattern is used for the first time directly after Keturah's genealogy, for Abraham. The Chronicler kept the Backwards Pattern of Mahalath from Genesis. The auxiliary  $\text{קל}$  Pattern was used already in the Pentateuch, but comes to full bloom in Chronicles. It is treated in this chapter as an independent pattern, since in one case, in Ruth 4:17, it is used for a lineage of three generations. The second new pattern of Chronicles,  $\text{קל}$  Pattern, ends the list, before the auxiliary elements.

## 5.1 The Ancient Near Eastern Pattern

Before and after treating Genesis 10 in his first genealogical chapter the Chronicler gives an ongoing genealogy, extremely abridged, reminding us of ancient Mesopotamian king lists<sup>273</sup>. It is a style we do not find in Genesis which might be influenced by ancient lists of this kind. This terse form of genealogy is used for the ancestors of humankind and of Israel. We will call it the Ancient Near Eastern Pattern.

These succinct genealogies of I Chronicles 1:1-4 and I Chronicles 1:24-27 are in themselves complete, listing the generations of Adam through Seth to Abraham. The side-branch of Cain is left out. The two lists of names summarise in the shortest possible way the P genealogies of Genesis 5 and 11, from Adam to Abraham. The author might have left it at that, for the list is complete, but he added Genesis 10. The way we find it now, the mixture of the two styles (Gen 10 and the Ancient Near Eastern Pattern) awakens our curiosity. Apparently, the Chronicler wanted to start his genealogy in this way, with a respected pattern and a view to the whole world. The rewriting of history by the Chronicler focusses on Israel, but still includes the whole world.

I Chronicles 4:1 with the introduction  $\text{קל}$  Judah is a similar succinct list of names which is in fact a hidden linear genealogy. Linear and segmented genealogies cannot be distinguished in

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<sup>273</sup> The Assyrian King List also starts by just enumerating names: Tudija, Adamu, Janqi, Sahlamu, Harharu, Mandaru, Imsu, Harsu, Didanu, Hanu, Zuabu, Nuabu, Abazu, Belu, Azarah, Ušpija, Apiašal, later followed by lists of kings, with addition 'son of'.

this pattern. We can only know from other sources whether the lineage is linear or segmented or a mixture of both. In 1:4 an exactly identically structured list of names as in 1:1-3 indicates not a linear, but a segmented genealogy. There is no similar segmented ending to the genealogy in 1:24-27. That lineage remains linear till the end. 1:17 with the introduction שֵׁם Shem is a mixture of two segmented genealogies, also indistinguishable from each other. In all these Ancient Near Eastern Pattern lineages the author presupposes knowledge of the genealogies in Genesis. As in the Assyrian King List, female names do not appear.

The Ancient Near Eastern Pattern texts in Chronicles				
ancestor	last descendant		depth	
Adam	Shem, Ham, Japheth	linear-segmented	11	1:1-4
Shem	Abra(ha)m	linear	10	1:24-27
Benjamin	Bela, Becher and Jediel	segmented	2	7:6
combination with שֵׁם introduction				
Shem	4 grandsons	doubly segmented	3	1:17
Judah	Shobal	linear	6	4:1

The beginning of the genealogy of Benjamin misses the usual שֵׁם Pattern that starts the genealogies of the other sons of Israel. The names of Benjamin and his three sons follow each other without distinction between father and sons, just like Noah and his three sons in 1:4. We know but we cannot see whether this is a linear or a segmented list.

The last two genealogies will also be treated under the שֵׁם Pattern. The following genealogical chapters the Chronicler more often uses enumeration as a stylistic device.

## 5.2 The שֵׁם Pattern

If we try to make a general statement on the distribution of patterns in Chronicles, we might say that the Chronicler uses the longer Hiphil Pattern especially for royal genealogies or the genealogies of the high priest, the Female Patterns to underline the importance of certain families and tribes and the שֵׁם Pattern for all the rest. We find this pattern equally distributed over the

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genealogical chapters of Chronicles. We hardly find it in the scattered genealogies in the narrative parts of the Hebrew Bible.

So generally, the P patterns are dominant in Chronicles, but not necessarily in the pure P form. Sometimes new elements are added, like the Backwards Pattern, treated above, and **בְּנוּ** is used for the first time in chapter 3, for the King List from Solomon to Josiah. It is mostly connected to the **בְּנֵי** Pattern, but not always. We will add **בְּנוּ** in the charts in those cases where both patterns are connected, but also treat **בְּנוּ** as a separate pattern. In some cases **בְּנוּ** is not attached to a **בְּנֵי** introduction.

Since the **בְּנֵי** Pattern is used so often, or at least elements of the **בְּנֵי** Pattern are, we will treat them in separate charts, per chapter or tribal division. In the first chapter the **בְּנֵי** Pattern is used to rewrite the complicated genealogies of Genesis 10:

The <b>בְּנֵי</b> Pattern texts in I Chronicles 1 and 2:1-2					
ancestor	last descendants	parts of <b>בְּנֵי</b> pattern used	depth	other pattern or structure	
Japheth	7 sons	introduction	from Japheth-grandchildren: 3 generations		1:5
Gomer, 1 <sup>st</sup> son J	3 sons	introduction			1:6
Javan, 4 <sup>th</sup> sons J	4 sons	introduction			1:7
Ham	to: Sheba & Dedan	introduction	3 x <b>בְּנֵי</b> , 4 generations	followed by Qal	1:8-9
Shem	9 sons & grandsons	introduction	indiscernible	followed by Qal & Passive	1:17
Joktan		conclusion	only <b>בְּנֵי</b> conclusion	Qal Masc. , followed by ANE	1:23
Abraham	Isaac & Ishmael	introduction	2 generations		1:28
Ishmael	12 sons	<b>תולדות</b> + conclusion	2 generations		1:29-31
Keturah	6 sons	intro& conclusion	from Keturah-	Female	1:32

The הַנִּזְּ Pattern texts in I Chronicles 1 and 2:1-2					
ancestor	last descendants	parts of הַנִּזְּ pattern used	depth	other pattern or structure	
			grandchildren:		
Jokshan, 2 <sup>nd</sup> s K	Sheba & Dedan	introduction	3 generations		1:32
Midian, 4 <sup>th</sup> s K	5 sons	introduction			1:33
Isaac	Esau & Israel	introduction	2 generations		1:34
Esau	5 sons	introduction	from Esau-		1:35
Eliphaz 1 <sup>st</sup> s of E	7 sons	introduction	grandchildren: 3 generations		1:36
Reuel 2 <sup>nd</sup> s of E	4 sons	introduction			1:37
Seir	7 sons of 3 generations; daughter as sister	introduction	indiscernible total 5 generations through Zibeon		1:38
Lotan, 1 <sup>st</sup> s of S	2 sons	introduction	2 generations		1:39
Shobal, 2 <sup>nd</sup> s of S	5 sons	introduction	2 generations		1:40
Zibeon, 3 <sup>rd</sup> s of S	to: greatgrandsons	introduction	4 generations		1:40-41
Ezer, 4 <sup>th</sup> s of S	3 sons	introduction	2 generations		1:42
Dishan, 5 <sup>th</sup> s of S	Uz & Aran	introduction	2 generations		1:42
Israel	12 sons	introduction	2 generations		2:1-2

Mostly the הַנִּזְּ Pattern is used for two generations only. The genealogy either does not continue after this first generation of sons or continues with the הַנִּזְּ of different sons. Not all sons have a genealogy. The genealogies that continue have a depth of three to five generations. The preferred

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genealogy seems to follow the descendants of two sons and ends with the generation of their sons.<sup>274</sup> Only the genealogy of Ham continues with the lineage of just one son, and one grandson within the קני Pattern. Two of the other branches of Ham use the Qal Masculine Pattern.

The pattern is in this chapter used for segmented genealogies. In chapter 2 it can also introduce just one son. Within the enumerations, as we have seen, there is no distinction between a linear or a segmented lineage. So in two cases, in 1:17 and 38, the author must trust the audience or reader to understand that the list of names mixes several generations. Genesis 10:22 and 23 are summarised in one enumeration of names in I Chronicles 1:17, putting sons and grandsons next to each other, without distinction. This mingling of generations was already present in Genesis 36 for the descendants of Seir and returns in I Chronicles 1:38. In one case a woman heads the genealogy. In chapter 2 this will happen more often. The number of sons is generally two to seven. The number of 12 sons of both Ishmael and Israel is exceptional. In Ishmael's case this ends his genealogy as it did in Genesis; for Israel this ends the genealogy of the patriarchs and starts the tribal lineages, following in chapters 2-9.

The קני Pattern texts in the genealogies of Judah, chapters 2 and 4					
ancestor	last descendant	elements קני Pattern	depth	other patterns	
Judah	3 sons	intro & conclusion	2 generations	Passive, Female, counting	2:3
Perez	2 sons	introduction	2 generations		2:5
Zerah	5 sons	introduction	2 generations	counting	2:6
Carmi 4 <sup>th</sup> son of Zerah?	1 son	introduction	2 generations, plural for sing.	from Zerah-grandchildren: 3 generations	2:7
Ethan 2nd son of Zerah	1 son	introduction	2 generations, plural for sing.		2:8
Hezron	3 sons	introduction	2 generations	followed by Hiphil	2:9

<sup>274</sup> So Japheth, Keturah and Esau. Of the many sons of Japheth, Keturah and Esau just two have a genealogy. All three genealogies list the grandsons of the ancestor in these two branches only. This follows the system of the texts in Genesis 10, 25 and 36. Compared to Genesis 25 Keturah's lineage in Chronicles is one generation shorter, leaving out the people/sons of Dedan, thus conforming Keturah's genealogy to the pattern of Japheth and Esau.

Genre patterns in the genealogies in Chronicles and in other books: an analysis

The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in the genealogies of Judah, chapters 2 and 4					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנֵי Pattern	depth	other patterns	
Zeruiah	3 sons	introduction	2 generations	counting	2:16
Jerioth?	3 sons	introduction: these her sons	2 generations		2:18
Machir		only conclusion			2:23
Jerahmeel	5 sons	introduction & conclusion (33)	Jerahmeel- Ahelai:	followed by אָב	2:25-33
Ram 1 <sup>st</sup> s J	3 sons	introduction	8 generations		2:27
Onam extra son Jerahmeel	Shammai & Jada	introduction			2:28
Shammai	to: Ahelai	5 x בְּנֵי intro 3x pl. for sing.	6 generations	Female no sons	2:28-31
Jada	Peleth&Zaza	2 x בְּנֵי intro conclusion Jerahmeel	3 generations	no sons	2:32-33
Caleb	Mesha	introduction & conclusion (50)	2 generations plural for sing.	אָבִי	2:42-50
Mareshah?		introduction		אָבִי Hebron	2:42
Hebron	5 sons	introduction	2 generations	followed by Hiphil	2:43
Shammai	1 son	וְכֵן	2 generations	אָבִי	2:45
Jahdai	6 sons	introduction	2 generations	followed by female	2:47
Caleb	Achsah	וְכֵן conclusion Caleb	2 generations		2:49-50
Hur	3 sons	intro sing. for pl. conclusion 4:4?	2 generations		2:50
Shobal 1 <sup>st</sup> son Hur	Zorathites & Eshtaolites	וַיְהִי בְנֵים לְשׁוֹבָל	4 generations, through אָבִי & מִשְׁפָּחָת	מִשְׁפָּחָת, אָבִי, from these came	2:52-53

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The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in the genealogies of Judah, chapters 2 and 4					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנֵי Pattern	depth	other patterns	
Salma 2 <sup>nd</sup> son Hur	4/5 sons/ people/places	introduction	2 generations		2:54
Judah	5 descendants	introduction	indiscernible	linear: 6 generations	4:1
Etam/Hareph 3 <sup>rd</sup> son Hur	3/4 sons + sister	וְאֵלֶּה אֲבִי introduction	2 generations	בְּנֵי or אֲבִי? <sup>275</sup>	4:3
Hur		אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי: conclusion			4:4
Naarah		בְּנֵי אֵלֶּה N.: conclusion		Female, אֲבִי	4:6
Helah	3 sons	introduction	2 generations		4:7
Recah					4:12
Kenaz	to: 2 sons	2 x בְּנֵי intro	3 generations		4:13
Caleb	to: Kenaz	2 x בְּנֵי intro plural for sing	3 generations	בְּנֵי	4:15
Jehallelel	4 sons	introduction	2 generations		4:16
Ezrah	4 sons	introduction	2 generations		4:17
Bithiah	1 daughter 2 sons?	introduction	2 generations	Female, אֲבִי	4:18
wife of Hodiah	?	introduction		אֲבִי	4:19
Shimon	4 sons	introduction	2 generations		4:20
Ishi	2 descendants	introduction	2/ 3 generations?	בְּנֵי?	4:20
Shelah	1, families, 1, men, 2	introduction	2 generations	בְּנֵי Judah מְשֻׁפָּחֹת, אֲבִי	4:21,22

All the tribal sections but for Benjamin in chapter 8 start with the בְּנֵי introduction, listing the sons of the tribal ancestor. We see in chapter 2 that בְּנֵי has become a standard introductory phrase. It is

<sup>275</sup> As discussed above Japhet suggests reading: "Sons of Hareph, abi Etam, Jezreel etc." Japhet, *Chronicles*, 107.



used also for a single descendant in 2:8, 31 (3 x) and 2:42. In I Chronicles 2:52 we find the opposite: the singular  $\text{בן}$  is probably used to introduce more sons. For Caleb and Jerahmeel we find the introductory phrase and the conclusion of the  $\text{בני}$  pattern at the end, rounding off their section. Possibly we find the same for Caleb's son Hur. We have put in this chart chapters 2 and 4 together, since Hur's genealogy seems to find its conclusion in chapter 4.

Twice in chapter 2 mothers head the  $\text{בני}$  introduction, namely Zeruah and probably Jerioth. In Zeruah's case the pattern used is identical to that used for a man. Within the  $\text{בני}$  Pattern we find one daughter Achsah, indicated by  $\text{ובת}$ , at the end of the section of Caleb, just before the conclusion. In chapter 4 we find again twice the  $\text{בני}$  Pattern for two women, close to each other, for Naarah and Helah. In Naarah's case the Female Pattern is used;  $\text{בני}$  is just present in the conclusion. For Helah the pattern is again identical to that of a man. The last block of female presence can be found in 4:18,19: a single introduction of the sons of Bithiah, without children following and another deficient  $\text{בני}$  Pattern without sons for the wife of Hodiah.

We see that mostly  $\text{בני}$  Pattern is used for two generations, father and sons. Just a few times a longer lineage is described. The genealogy of Zerah follows the pattern we saw in chapter one: an ancestor has several sons. Only two of his sons get genealogies. For the others, the genealogy ends with their names. The lineage of the two chosen branches is followed to the generation of their children, so three generations in total.

Another possibility for a three generation-genealogy we find in 4:13,15: only one son gets a genealogy. The generation of his children is also described by  $\text{בני}$  Pattern. We will call this linear-segmented  $\text{בני}$  Pattern the 'linear  $\text{בני}$  genealogy'. After the linear  $\text{בני}$  genealogy the pattern changes to Hiphil; in 4:15 the genealogy ends. If a genealogy is longer than two or three generations, a different pattern is chosen, like Hiphil Pattern for the descendants of Ram. Jerahmeel's section is exceptional: it covers eight generations albeit a bit stumblingly, but still continuously progressing to a further generation, with the use of the  $\text{בני}$  Pattern. The number of children decreases, and two branches die out completely, but the genealogy of Jerahmeel continues nonetheless.

In I Chronicles 2:50-55 the genealogy becomes more and more a description of people and places. The  $\text{בני}$  Pattern is mixed with  $\text{אֶרֶץ}$ , for the relation of a people to a village, and with  $\text{מְשֻׁפָּחָה}$ . The introduction of the ancestor in 4:1, a hidden linear genealogy covering six generations, is exceptional. It is in line with the Ancient Near Eastern Pattern, treated above.

In the first verses sometimes the sons are counted. In chapter 3 sons will also occasionally be numbered. In the rest of the chronicle of Judah in chapter 4 there is no numbering nor counting. We will treat counting and numbering separately, after the  $\text{בני}$  Pattern.

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The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in the genealogies of Judah, chapter 3					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנֵי	depth	other patterns	
David	6 sons + 13 (passive)	intro & conclusion	2 generations	passive 2x numbered	3:1-9
Solomon	Josiah	introduction	16 with בְּנֵי	בְּנֵי	3:10-14
Josiah	4 sons	introduction	2 generations	numbered	3:15
Jehoiakim 2nd	2 sons	introduction	3 with בְּנֵי		3:16
Jeconiah 1st son of Jehoiakim	to: sons of Elioenai	8 x intro בְּנֵי 4 x בְּנֵי or בְּנֵי	13 with בְּנֵי? or 9?	בְּנֵי/בְּנֵי ? בְּנֵי vs.17 counting 4x אַחֲזִיקָם vs.19	3:17-24

David has an exceptional number of sons, namely 19. Till now the maximum genealogical width was 12 sons. Again בְּנֵי is used mostly for two generation genealogies. The real depth of the genealogies is reached by another pattern: בְּנֵי. In 3:10-14, the Israelite King List, 16 generations from Solomon to Josiah are covered by בְּנֵי. In 3:17-24 however, בְּנֵי seems to function in the same way. Every generation is segmented, but through the generations we can discern, with help of the בְּנֵי Pattern, a linear line: from father to one of the sons mentioned and to his descendants, like in 4:13-15. One daughter, Shelomith, stands as sister in the midst of her brothers. In four cases בְּנֵי even seems to become בְּנֵי (4:21), but the verse is unclear. Once בְּנֵי is used for a singular son in verse 22. After that, every generation becomes segmented again, more sons are named, though only one line is followed. From Josiah in total probably 15 generations are covered by בְּנֵי. In some generations it is unclear whether there is a linear or a segmented genealogy, so the exact number of generations is unclear. This is the longest genealogy using more or less consistently בְּנֵי Pattern. The genealogy of Jerahmeel in 2:25-33 counted eight generations, seven x בְּנֵי Pattern.

We find twice numbering for the sons of two of the most important kings, David and Josiah. The chapter ends with the counting of sons, four times. We will not find this counting in the chronicles of Simeon, Reuben, Gad and Levi. Only twice we find some indication of numbering.

Genre patterns in the genealogies in Chronicles and in other books: an analysis

The בְּנוֹ Pattern texts in the genealogies of Simeon, Reuben, Gad and Levi					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנוֹ	depth	other patterns	
Simeon	5 sons	introduction	2 generations	followed by בְּנוֹ: 3x	4:24
Mishma	Hammuel his son	introduction	-	followed by בְּנוֹ: 3x	4:26
Reuben	4 sons	introduction	2 generations		5:1/3
Joel	Shemaiah his son	introduction	-	followed by בְּנוֹ: 7x	5:4
Gad	4 sons	intro in narr.	2 generations	narrative; partly numbered	5:11
Abihail	-	introduction	-	followed by בְּנוֹ	5:14
Levi	4 sons Aaron	intro 4 x	5 generations		5:27
Levi	3 sons	intro, conclusion vs. 3: מְשֻׁבָּה הָאֵלֶּה	From Levi to grandchildren: 3 generations		6:1
Gershom	Libni& Shimei	these are the names of the sons			6:2
Kohath	4 sons	introduction			6:3
Merari	Mahli & Mushi	introduction conclusion Levi			6:4
Gershom	Libni his son	לְ Gershom	-	followed by בְּנוֹ 7x	6:5
Kohath	Amminadab his son	introduction	-	followed by בְּנוֹ 10x	6:7
Elkanah	2 sons	introduction	2 generations	followed by בְּנוֹ 6x	6:10
Samuel?	2 sons?	introduction	2 generations	numbered?	6:13
Merari	Mahli	introduction	2 generations	followed by בְּנוֹ 6 x	6:14

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Chapter 5

The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in the genealogies of Simeon, Reuben, Gad and Levi					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנֵי	depth	other patterns	
Kohathi	Heman	from the Kohathite sons	2 generations	followed by בְּנֵי	6:18
Merari	Ethan	introduction	2 generations	followed by בְּנֵי	6:28
Aaron	Eleazar his son	אֶלְעָזָר בְּנֵי	-	followed by בְּנֵי 11x	6:35

We find a long genealogy using בְּנֵי Pattern in 5:27, the first genealogy of Levi. We called this type of genealogy the linear בְּנֵי Pattern: for every generation more sons are registered, but it only follows one line of descent of a chosen son. In the first generation that is the lineage of the middle child, Kohath, but for the other generations that is the line of the first son. In 4:13-15 such a genealogy reached only three generations. Other generations were covered by Hiphil Pattern. But here five generations are covered by the בְּנֵי Pattern. Only then Hiphil takes over. There is one hidden daughter under the בְּנֵי in Levi's first genealogy, Miriam. She is mentioned last, thereby changing the biological order and possibly giving an indication that at the end of the list comes a daughter. The second genealogy of Levi is an example of the segmented בְּנֵי Pattern, treating different branches of the genealogy. It only reaches three generations, as did the segmented בְּנֵי Pattern of this type in chapter 1 (Japheth, Keturah, Esau). In this genealogy we find the only example of a conclusion of the בְּנֵי Pattern.

For Heman and Ethan, there is only a בְּנֵי Pattern introduction, followed by a backwards genealogy. The longer genealogies all use either this Backwards Pattern or בְּנֵי. בְּנֵי sometimes comes directly after the בְּנֵי introduction: Hammuel his son. So בְּנֵי has become in these cases an introductory phrase to the linear בְּנֵי Pattern instead of an independent pattern.

The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in I Chronicles 7					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנֵי	depth	other patterns	
Issachar	4 sons	introduction: 4 x (1 x pl for sing)	5 generations	counting 2x; 3x military phrase (MP) and number	7:1-5

Genre patterns in the genealogies in Chronicles and in other books: an analysis

The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in I Chronicles 7					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנֵי	depth	other patterns	
Bela, 1st son Benjamin	5 sons	introduction	2 generations	counting MP, number	7:7
Becher 2nd son B	9 sons	introduction	2 generations	MP, number	7:8-9
Jediael 3rd son B	7 sons	introduction 2x (1x pl for sing)	3 generations	MP, number	7:10-11
Ir/Dan?	Hushim	introduction	2 generations		7:12
Aher	?				7:12
Naphtali/Bilhah	4 sons	intro and conclusion: בְּנֵי Bilhah	2 generations		7:13
Manasseh	Asriel	introduction (plur for sing)	2 generations	followed by Female	7:14
Peresh	Ulam&Rekem	וּבְנָיו	Peresh-	after Female	7:16-17
Ulam	Bedan	intro (pl:sing)	Bedan 3 generations		
Gilead		conclusion		בְּן	7:17
Shemida	4 sons	וַיְהִי בְנֵי	2 generations		7:19
Ephraim	Shuthelah	introduction	?	בְּנוֹ 6x	7:20-21
Asher	Heber& Malchiel	intro 2x & conclusion vs. 40	3 generations	אָחֻזָּה; אָבִי	7:30
Japhlet 1st son Heber	3 sons	intro & conclusion	2 generations	Hiphil אָחֻזָּה	7:33
Shemer 2 <sup>nd</sup> s	4 sons	introduction	2 generations		7:34
Helem 3 <sup>rd</sup> s	11 sons	introduction 2x	3 generations		7:35-37

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Chapter 5

The יָנִי Pattern texts in I Chronicles 7					
ancestor	last descendant	elements יָנִי	depth	other patterns	
Jether/Ithran?	3 sons		2 generations		7:38
Ulla/Shua?	3 sons		2 generations		7:39
Asher		conclusion MP, number			7:40

There is another example of a linear יָנִי Pattern in the chronicle of Issachar. It encompasses five generations without hitches, as in the genealogy of Levi I. That is the only genealogical line we find in Issachar. The sons of Issachar are counted. At the end there is a counting of chiefs, father and four sons. Three times we find the number of warriors the tribe of Issachar can provide.

As seen above, in this block of genealogies the genealogies of Issachar, Benjamin and Asher all have similar concluding sentences after each section. Issachar, Benjamin I and Asher belong together. They all concentrate on the ‘mighty men of valour’ and focus on numbers. Benjamin I and especially Issachar also has a counting of the number of sons, which is missing in Asher. The genealogy of Benjamin has in two branches the usual depth of a segmented יָנִי genealogy of three generations, like Japhet, Keturah, Esau and Levi II. The only time Benjamin’s first genealogy reaches the generation of the greatgrandchildren is in the branch of his third son.

In Ephraim’s chronicle it is unclear how many generations are covered, depending on whether the genealogy is interpreted as a segmented or as a linear lineage. On the relationship between יָנִי Pattern and יָנִי, see below.

Asher’s genealogy is in fact an ongoing lineage covering six generations, from Asher to his last descendants, the 11 sons of Zophah. The יָנִי Pattern however consists only of a linear יָנִי genealogy at the beginning and of segmented יָנִי genealogies of the sons of Heber. The lineage of the third son of Heber reaches the generation of the grandchildren. In between this linear יָנִי genealogy and these segmented ones there is a Hiphil Pattern connecting the two. The last two genealogies of Asher might be connected. Is Ulla in fact Shua, the sister of the three brothers?

The genealogical width does not reach the 12 sons of Israel (and Ishmael) anymore. In the first generation of all chronicles of the sons of Israel the tribal ancestor never has more than five sons. The tribal genealogies only covering two generations, like Gad and Naphtali and partly

Genre patterns in the genealogies in Chronicles and in other books: an analysis

Reuben, have four sons for the ancestor. For the other generations apart from the ancestor Benjamin's chronicle has the highest numbers of descendants. The other chronicles have standard one to four sons when using the בְּנֵי Pattern, with the exception of Issachar's six grandsons and Helem's 11 grandsons through Zophah. The only one who had more sons than Israel in the genealogical chapters of I Chronicles is David, using Passive Pattern and counting them as three blocks of sons: six, four and nine. Asher is the only one that has a female name in this first generation of descendants. Even Israel's own first generation does not mention sister Dinah.

The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in the genealogies of Benjamin and other genealogies in Chronicles					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנֵי	depth	other patterns	
Bela	9 sons	וַיְהִי בְנֵים לְבִלְעַ	2 generations	Hiphil	8:3
Ehud	6 sons? or none?	וְאַלְהָה בְּנֵי אַחֲזַר	?		8:6
Shaharaim		conclusion	-	Hiphil + מָן	8:10
Elpaal	3 sons (?)	introduction	2 generations		8:12
Beriah	6 sons	intro as conclusion	2 generations		8:15/16
Elpaal	7 sons	intro as conclusion	2 generations		8:17/18
Shimei	9 sons	intro as conclusion	2 generations		8:19/21
Shashak	11 sons	intro as conclusion	2 generations		8:22-25
Jeroham	6 sons	intro as conclusion	2 generations		8:26/27
Jonathan	Meribbaal	וַיִּבֶן	2 generations	Hiphil	8:34
Micah	4 sons	introduction	2 generations	Hiphil	8:35
Azel	6 sons	וַלְאֲצֵל שִׁשָּׁה בְנֵים conclusion	2 generations	counting	8:38
Eshek	many (150)	intro 2x	3 generations	numbering, number	8:39-40
Benjamin		conclusion			8:40
Micah	4 sons	introduction	2 generations	Hiphil	9:41
Azel	6 sons	וַלְאֲצֵל שִׁשָּׁה בְנֵים	2 generations	counting	9:44

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The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in the genealogies of Benjamin and other genealogies in Chronicles					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנֵי	depth	other patterns	
		conclusion			
David	13 sons	and these are the names of הַבְּנֵי	2 generations		14:4

Benjamin II uses concluding phrases similar to those of Issachar, Benjamin I and Asher and focuses, as Issachar and Benjamin I, on the number of sons, either by actually numbering them or by counting them, especially in the beginning and the end of the chapter. The number of sons in Benjamin I and II is high compared to the other chronicles, as we saw above.

We find in 8:15-27 a whole list of a בְּנֵי Pattern in which the introduction בְּנֵי comes after the list of sons, in reversed order. The chronicle of Benjamin does not start with בְּנֵי Pattern, as the other tribal accounts, but does end with the traditional concluding phrase of the בְּנֵי Pattern “all these were from the sons of Benjamin.” This conclusion is not repeated in the excerpt of Benjamin II we find in chapter 9.

Apart from the genealogical chapters we only find בְּנֵי Pattern occasionally, like in 14:4 where a variation of the usual בְּנֵי introduction is used. In genealogies outside the genealogical corpus we mostly find בְּנֵי to introduce people or female pattern for a short genealogical narrative. As in Genesis the בְּנֵי Pattern does not necessarily exclude women. Already in Genesis 22:24 Maacah might be a daughter among the list of בְּנֵי of Reumah. In Genesis 36:25 we found Oholibamah, daughter of Anah, under the בְּנֵי of her father. In I Chronicles Timna (1:36), Ephah (2:47) and Mahlah (7:18) might all be daughters, who are called בְּנֵי. We find twice the female name Miriam listed under the sons in 4:17 and 5:29. More daughters may be counted under sons. Shelomith is clearly a woman, named under the בְּנֵי of her father, with epithet אֶחָתָם. There might be more hidden daughters like Miriam, whose names we cannot identify as female, included in the standard formula בְּנֵי. In other cases a daughter is added to the בְּנֵי Pattern, but not included in the pattern. Achsah is named at the end of the genealogies in 2:49, but before the concluding phrase. Tamar in 3:9 after the conclusion of the pattern. Hazzelelponi stands in the midst of the genealogies, but has a separate phrase at the end of a list of sons וְשֵׁם אֶחָתָם הַצֶּלְפֹּנִי.

The pattern usually lists the son of a father, but it can be open to mothers too. There are seven mothers heading or concluding a genealogy; five of them in Judah’s genealogies. We found in the first chapters Keturah (1:32), Zeruiah (2:16 no father mentioned), Jerioth (2:18 same),



Naarah (4:6 as conclusion), Helah (4:7), Bithiah (4:18), the wife of Hodiah, sister of Naham (4:19). Then once again we find a mother in a concluding line in 7:13: בְּנֵי Bilhah. Possibly Ulla stands for daughter/sister Shua in 7:39. A first son can also be connected to his mother, like Hur's name is mentioned in 2:50 and 4:4 with the epithet: firstborn of Ephratah.

In the lists of I Chronicles 23-26 there are no female names. The first genealogy of Levi is a segmented בְּנֵי Pattern. Within this segmented בְּנֵי genealogy we find other segmented genealogies for the three sons of Levi and their sons. With the generation of the greatgrandchildren of Levi the genealogy ends for several branches. There are two continuing linear בְּנֵי genealogies reaching a greater depth: the one of in 23:9, probably of the grandchildren of Ladan, and the linear בְּנֵי genealogy for Amram-Moses, that becomes segmented again in the following generation. In Moses' lineage the genealogy of Levi reaches its greatest depth of seven generations in the nameless sons of Rehabiah.

The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in I Chronicles 23					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנֵי	depth	other patterns	
Levi	Gershon, Kohath, Merari	Libne	from Levi-sons Rehabiah: 7		23:6
Gershon	Ladan&Shimei	to Gershon	from Gershon to		23:7
Ladan	3 sons	introduction	last generation: probably 4 generations	הָרֵאשִׁית counting	23:8
(Shimei) son Ladan?	3 sons	introduction conclusion Ladan		counting	23:9
Shimei	4 sons	intro&concl		counting, numbering	23:10-11
Kohath	4 sons	introduction	2 generations	counting	23:12
Amram 1 <sup>st</sup>	Gershom&Eliezer	introduction	3 generations		23:13-15
Gershom 1 <sup>st</sup> s Moses	Shebuel	intro: plural for singular	2 generations	הָרֵאשִׁית	23:16
Eliezer	sons of Rehabiah	2 x בְּנֵי	3 generations	הָרֵאשִׁית no other sons	23:17

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The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in I Chronicles 23					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנֵי	depth	other patterns	
Izhar 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Shelomith	introduction	2 generations	הָרֵאשׁ	23:18
Hebron 3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 sons	introduction	2 generations	numbered	23:19
Uzziel 4 <sup>th</sup>	2 sons	introduction	2 generations	numbered	23:20
Merari	Mahli&Mushi	introduction	2 generations		23:21
Mahli	grandd x grandss	1 x intro	3 generations	no בְּנֵי , but (for) בָּנוֹת	23:22
Mushi	3 sons	introduction	2 generations	counted	23:23

There is also some information given about Merari's greatgrandchildren, reaching the fifth generation from Levi. We find here the expression "no sons" in different forms, as in the genealogies of Jerahmeel, in the chronicle of Judah. There we found: "no sons & no sons but (for) daughters". Here we have the same expression בָּנוֹת אִם בְּנִים כִּי אֵם בָּנוֹת. In chapter 2 father Sheshan took a family slave to marry his daughter, thereby continuing his own lineage. Here a similar solution is found: the brotherless daughters marry their paternal cousins. The lineage continues.

We find a new variation too: "no other sons". There is also genealogical comfort given to the father of this single son: the single son has a numerous offspring himself. These census chapters in Chronicles focus on numbers, so it is to be expected that numbers figure prominently in this genealogy. Sons are counted and numbered. The second genealogy of Levi adds another generation to the genealogies. Much is taken for granted in this second genealogy. For the first time the בְּנֵי Pattern is used to describe the relation of an ancestor (Amram) with his great-grandson (Shubael, father of Jehdeiah).

The בְּנֵי Pattern texts in I Chronicles 24					
ancestor	last descendant	elements בְּנֵי	depth	other patterns	
Amram	Jehdeiah	intro Levi 2 x לְבָנֵי	3/5		24:20
Rehabiah	Isshiah	no בְּנֵי : לְ	2 generations	הָרֵאשׁ	24:21
Izharites	Jahath	לְ/ intro	3 generations		24:22
(Hebron)	4 sons	intro	2 generations	numbered	24:23
Uzziel	Shamir	2 x intro	3 generations		24:24

Genre patterns in the genealogies in Chronicles and in other books: an analysis

Isshiah, brother	Zechariah	1 x intro	2 generations		24:25
Merari	Mahli&Mushi	1 x intro	2 generations		24:26
Merari/Jaaziah	3 sons	2 x intro	2/3 generations	confused	24:26-7
Mahli	Eleazar	ל	2 generations	no sons	24:28
Kish	Jerahmeel	ל	2 generations		24:29
Mushi	3 sons	1 x intro	2 generations		24:30
		conclusion Levi			24:30

Of the new generation added to the genealogy in chapter 23 descendants are now named, but not all of them belong to the same generation. In the lineages of Kohath through Uzziel and the Izharites we are now probably in the fifth generation from Levi. Three new sons are added: the cousins Shamir and Zechariah in the family of Uzziel and Jahath from the Izharites. In Amram's family the new generation also consists of a single son for each branch: Jehdeiah grandson of Gershom and Isshiah grandson of Eliezer. Isshiah is the only one who is called: שְׁרָאִי. But they form the seventh generation from Levi. There is no addition to Hebron's family.

In the lineage of Merari we are also probably dealing with the fifth generation from Levi in the new generation. The descent through Kish follows the pattern of a single son in the new generation, Jerahmeel, but the complicated genealogy of Jaaziah is different. Here there are surprisingly three sons in our reconstruction. There is no counting anymore in this second genealogy of Levi; once the sons are numbered, but the numbering is incomplete. Numbers are conspicuously absent. The לְנֶכֶד Pattern is used standard for a single son. Often there is just the preposition ל used instead of לְנֶכֶד or לְנֶכֶדִי. As seen above, the full pattern of this second genealogy of Levi is: "The sons of the ancestor: son; regarding (ל) his son: grandson." There are three linear לְנֶכֶד genealogies: from Amram to Jehdeiah, from the Izharites to Jahath and from Uzziel to Shamir. The other genealogies just add one generation. There is still the full width of Levi's segmented family in this second genealogy, but less complete. The last genealogies using the לְנֶכֶד Pattern can be found in chapter 26. Here we find lots of numbers again.

The לְנֶכֶד Pattern texts in I Chronicles 26					
ancestor	last descendant	elements לְנֶכֶד	depth	other patterns	

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Meshelemiah	-	M בן Kore מִן־בְּנֵי אֶסָרָה	-	בן	26:1
Meshelemiah	7 sons	to M בְּנֵים	2 generations	numbering	26:2,3
Obed-edom	6 grandsons	to O בְּנֵים בְּנֵי Shemaiah	3 generations	1x numbering final number	26:4-8
Meshelemiah				final number	26:9
Hosah	4 sons	מִן־בְּנֵי־מְרָרִי	2 generations	1x numbering final number	26:10,11

The number of sons is much higher than in the other genealogies of Levi. Four was the maximum number in the preceding genealogies; here four is the minimum. There is a general focus on numbers and the scope and numerical power of a family branch. The lineage of Obed-edom is the only linear בְּנֵי genealogy, the other lineages comprise only two generations.

### 5.3 The Qal Masculine Pattern

We only find ילד used in the Qal Masculine, in the parts that are literary dependent on Genesis 10, namely in I Chronicles 1:10-16 and 1:18-21.

The Qal Masculine Pattern texts in I Chronicles				
ancestor	son		depth	
Cush	Nimrod	linear	2 generations	1:10-16
Egypt	7 people/sons	segmented	2 generations	1:10-16
Canaan	11 countries/sons	segmented	2 generations	1:10-16
Arpachshad	Eber	linear; 2x ילד	3 generations	1:18-21
Joktan	13 people/sons	segmented	2 generations	1:18-21

The masculine ילד dominates the genealogy in the same way as the feminine ילל in the Female Patterns. The Qal Masculine Pattern is used only once for a linear genealogy, comprising three generations. In other cases it just describes the fathering of many nations and there the lineage ends. With Nimrod this is different: he is a single son, but still his genealogy does not continue.

As in Genesis, the segmented Qal Masculine Pattern is used for non-human relationships; the linear Qal Masculine Pattern for human kinship. The Chronicler apparently does not want to change the verbal forms of Genesis 10, but does not use this ancient tense in the other genealogies.<sup>276</sup> In the genealogies written or adapted by him, the Chronicler uses the Hiphil Pattern, if he chooses a masculine  $\text{לֵךְ}$ .

## 5.4 The Passive Pattern

The Passive Pattern uses  $\text{לֵךְ}$  in the passive, either Niphal or Pual. We found the form regularly in the Pentateuch. As we have seen above, the Niphal and Pual of  $\text{לֵךְ}$  were originally Qal passive.<sup>277</sup> Since the Masoretes no longer recognised this form, they pointed the perfect as a Pual, the imperfect as a Niphal.<sup>278</sup> Finally, the Niphal replaced the Qal passive. In Chronicles this new form is used: a Niphal perfect  $\text{לֵךְ}$ .<sup>279</sup> The author changes the imperfects of the Samuel-text into perfects. In just one case for the birth of the children of Eber in I Chronicles 1:19 the Pual is retained from the original text in Genesis 10. In general, the passive is a rare form in the genealogies in Chronicles, used because it was present in the sources the author adapted to write his history.

In the Pentateuch, the passive could be used in a female context, for example in combination with a Female Pattern. The mother could be connected in such cases with a subclause, like in Genesis 46:20: “To Joseph..was born, whom Asenath... bore to him Manasseh and Ephraim.” But in Samuel and Chronicles we find an interesting, more direct possibility to connect the mother, that we did not find in the genealogies in the Pentateuch, namely passive  $\text{לֵךְ}$ , with names of both parents attached, by preposition  $\text{בְּ}$  and  $\text{בְּ}$  for both father and mother (for example I Chron 3:1-9) or  $\text{בְּ}$  or father and  $\text{וּ$  for mother (for example I Chron 2:3). In the list of sons of David we find this possibility to combine both parents with the birth of a child.

<sup>276</sup> This is in line with the statement of Hendel that Qal Masculine was over time replaced by the Hiphil Masculine. Hendel, “Begetting”, 41.

<sup>277</sup> Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 167.

<sup>278</sup> Hendel, “Begetting”, 42-46.

<sup>279</sup> We find it in the singular in I Chron 2:3; 2:9, 3:1, 3:4, 26:6 and in 3:5 in the plural.

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The Passive Pattern texts in II Samuel and I Chronicles					
ancestor	descendant	Passive Pattern MT	mother connected	annotation	
David	בָּנָיִם	Niphal imperf pl intro	six mothers by ל ל בָּנָיִם ל ל	Hebron numbering	II Sam 3:2-5
David	אֶלְהָהּ	Pual perf pl concl		Hebron	II Sam 3:5
David	בָּנָיִם וּבָנוֹת	Niphal impf pl	לָקַח	Jerusalem	II Sam 5:13
Absalom	three sons 1 daughter, Tamar	Niphal impf pl	-	Jerusalem	II Sam 14:27
the giant?	nameless giant	Pual perf sg	-		II Sam 21:20
the giant?	these four	Pual perf pl	-	Gath	II Sam 21:22
Naomi	a son	Pual perf sg	-		Ruth 4:17
Eber	two sons	Pual perf sg	-	number	I Chron 1:19
Judah	three	Niphal perf sg	מִבֵּית-שׁוּעַ	number	I Chron 2:3
Hebron	בָּנָיִ H that were born to him	Niphal perf sg	-		I Chron 2:9
David	בָּנָיִ D that were born to him	Niphal perf sg	six mothers by ל ל בָּנָיִם ל ל	Hebron	I Chron 3:1-3
David	six were born to him	Niphal perf sg		numbering, number, Hebron	I Chron 3:4
David	וְאֶלְהָהּ	Niphal perf pl	מִבֵּית-שׁוּעַ four	Jerusalem	I Chron 3:5
Shemaiah	בָּנָיִם	Niphal perf sg	-	phrase	I Chron 26:6

The passive can be combined with women in other ways too. Once a named daughter is born, Tamar, born to her father Absalom, as Rebekah to Bethuel in the narrative of Genesis 24:15: "...Rebekah, who was born to Bethuel son of Milcah, the wife of Nahor, Abraham's brother...". There is an exceptional case of women saying that a son is born to a woman, Naomi, without mentioning a man. Normally the passive is used to underline the importance of the fathers. In this

case the grandmother takes pride of place instead of the father. In these few texts we do not find the construction of a passive with a female pattern, which we found in the Pentateuch. It is not needed anymore, since a more direct connection is now possible.

As we have seen in Genesis, the pattern is often adding a place or a time or a number. Here happens the same: to David's genealogies geographical locations are added. Often a number is directly part of the pattern. But contrary to Genesis, there are no time indications (after the flood, before the famine).

## 5.5 Female Patterns

We find two possibilities as in the Pentateuchal genealogies:

1. interaction husband - wife (knew, took)  
followed by ילד in Qal F; ותקד (נתהר) or ילדה
2. wife subject ילד in Qal F; ותקד, ילדה, ותקד  
husband absent or indirect object

In these patterns the sons are objects, preceded by the object-marker את. The female ילד dominates the genealogy.

### The לקח ותקד Pattern (1)

The complete לקח ותקד Pattern is as follows: interaction husband-wife (knew, went, took), followed by feminine verbs: ותהר and ילד in Qal Feminine: ותקד. In the pattern a masculine verb precedes the feminine ילד. Most often this is לקח, but there are alternatives, like אל, ידע. In two cases other men are the subjects of the masculine verb. Pharaoh and father Sheshan both give nameless relatives (a sister in law and a daughter) as wives to a named man. Both Pharaoh and Sheshan are hierarchically superior to the bridegroom. Therefore the woman who marries, is of a superior class of society to her husband. In the three cases in Genesis it was another woman, namely the mistress, who took the slave girl and gave her as wife to the shared husband. We called this specific לקח ותקד Pattern the נתן ותקד Pattern.

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There is no Divine Female Pattern in Chronicles, in which God takes over the masculine role, as we found in the Pentateuch. God does not interfere directly in Chronicles and the other extra-Pentateuchal genealogical texts to ensure the fertility of mothers. The only text in which God is at least partly present before the conception is I Samuel 1:19: God has an active verb after the verb ידע with subject Elkanah: וַיִּזְכְּרֵהּ, “and the Lord remembered her.”

The לקח ותלד Pattern is also popular in short mostly two-three generation genealogies within narrative texts since it is the most narrative of the genealogical patterns. We find it twice in the narrative parts in Chronicles and in the prophets Isaiah and Hosea, to describe the birth of their own children, who will become part of their prophecies.

The לקח ותלד Pattern extra-Pentateuchal texts					
man	woman	masc. verb	fem. verb	child	
Elkanah/God	Hannah	וַיִּדַע וַיִּזְכְּרֵהּ	וַתִּהְיֶה וַתֵּלֵד	Samuel	I Sam 1:19/20
David	Bathsheba	sent, brought her to his house	was wife, וַתֵּלֵד	a nameless son	II Sam 11:27
David	Bathsheba	consoled/ וַיִּבֹא אֵלֶיהָ /lay with her	וַתֵּלֵד	Solomon	II Sam 12:24
Pharaoh for Hadad	sister of Tahpenes	he gave him as wife the sister T	וַתֵּלֵד לוֹ (Hadad)	Genubah, his son	I Kings 11:19/20
Isaiah	the prophetess	went near to	וַתִּהְיֶה וַתֵּלֵד	1 son	Isaiah 8:3
Hosea	Gomer	וַיִּלְדָּה וַיִּקַּח	וַתִּהְיֶה וַתֵּלֵד	1 son	Hosea 1:3
Caleb	Ephrath	וַיִּקַּח	וַתֵּלֵד	1 son	I Chron 2:19
Hezron	daughter of Machir	בָּא אֵל / לִקְחָהּ	וַתֵּלֵד	1 son	I Chron 2:21
Abishur	Abihail	וַיִּשָּׂם	וַתֵּלֵד	2 sons	I Chron 2:29
Sheshan for Jarha	daughter of Sheshan	and he gave as wife	וַתֵּלֵד לוֹ (Jarha)	1 son	I Chron 2:35
Mered	Bithiah	לָקַח	וַתִּהְיֶה בְּנֵי B.	1 daughter 2 sons?	I Chron 4:17,18?
Ephraim	his wife	וַיִּבֹא אֵל	וַתִּהְיֶה וַתֵּלֵד	1 son	I Chron 7:23



The $\text{לְקַח וְתֵלֵד}$ Pattern extra-Pentateuchal texts					
man	woman	masc. verb	fem. verb	child	
David	wives	$\text{לְקַח}$	no feminine	13 sons & daughters	I Chron 14
Rehoboam	Mahalath	$\text{לְקַח}$	$\text{וְתֵלֵד}$	3 sons	II Chron 11:18/19
Rehoboam	Maacah	$\text{לְקַח}$	$\text{וְתֵלֵד}$	3 sons & 1 daughter?	II Chron 11:20

Four of the six occurrences of the  $\text{לְקַח וְתֵלֵד}$  Pattern in Chronicles are within the genealogy of Caleb. Just one is in another tribe than Judah (Ephraim). The presence of women might be an indication of the importance of the tribe. The Independent Female Pattern is more equally distributed over the chapters and occurs almost double the number of times, but we also find it predominantly within the tribe of Judah, and additionally within Manasseh, the other tribe with major female presence.

The Chronicler seems to have a slight preference for the Independent Female Pattern over the classical  $\text{לְקַח וְתֵלֵד}$  Pattern. Both have different literary functions, especially in the Pentateuch: the  $\text{לְקַח וְתֵלֵד}$  Pattern often introduces the ancestral couple and their first son; the Independent Female concludes it. In Exodus 6 the  $\text{לְקַח וְתֵלֵד}$  Pattern, mentioning the name of the mother, was used for the most important line of descent, whereas the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Pattern was used to briefly describe the other branches of the genealogy. In Chronicles 2:19-20 and 21-22 the same happens: the  $\text{לְקַח וְתֵלֵד}$  Pattern naming both father and mother of the child is followed by Hiphil Pattern for a linear genealogy of the son, omitting women.<sup>280</sup> In 2:35-41 the first generation, of the daughter of Sheshan and the Egyptian slave, uses also the  $\text{לְקַח וְתֵלֵד}$  Pattern. It is followed by a long linear genealogy using Hiphil Pattern leading to Elishama. So the  $\text{לְקַח וְתֵלֵד}$  Pattern is in 2:19-22 and in 2:35-41 used for the most important generation, the ancestral couple, as in Genesis 4. They are all followed by linear genealogies for the following generations. Mothers can in such a way be present at the head of linear genealogies. But the  $\text{לְקַח וְתֵלֵד}$  Pattern is not used to distinguish a certain lineage in Chronicles, as in Exodus 6 for the lineage of Amram.

We see that generally  $\text{לְקַח וְתֵלֵד}$  Pattern focusses more on one child, a son (ten out of 15 cases). For the Independent Female Pattern this is more diverse: ten out of 22 cases mention a

<sup>280</sup> So in ch. 2 for Caleb & Ephraim, Hezron & daughter of Machir, Jarha & daughter of Sheshan. In ch. 4 there is no continuation. In 7:23 the pattern is followed by  $\text{בְּנֵי}$ . The Independent Female Pattern closes the section in 2:17, 2:24, 2:48/49. In ch. 4 it is not continued; in ch. 7 it does not close a section, but is followed by  $\text{בְּנֵי}$ . In 2:46 it is followed by Hiphil. The Independent Female Pattern of Tamar opens the whole genealogies of especially her son Perez.

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single child. The case of Hannah and Gomer underline this general picture: for the first birth both parents are involved in active verbs. Both are fully introduced and the *לָקַח וְתָלַד* Pattern is used. For the further children, this full introduction of both parents is no longer considered necessary: the father disappears, and the only active verb is a female one. Those children are also frequently taken together as a group. Their separate births are not recorded. The Independent Female Pattern is also used in those cases where the father is less important, due to angelic interference (Manoah), old age (Shunammite), death (Phinehas) or a strong brother (David & brothers, Machir).

**The Independent Female Pattern (2)**

The Independent Female Pattern extra-Pentateuchal texts				
mother	verb	father indirect object?	child(ren)	
concubine Gideon	לָדָה	לוֹ	Abimelech	Judg 8:13
wife of Manoah	וְתָלַד	-	Samson	Judg 13:24
Hannah	וַתִּסְתַּר וְתָלַד	-	3 sons & 2 daughters	I Sam 2:21
wife of Phinehas	וַתִּשְׁתַּחוּ וְתָלַד	-	Ichabod	I Sam 4:19
Rizpah	לָדָה	to Saul	Armoni and Mephibosheth	II Sam 21:8
Merab	לָדָה	to Adriel	5 sons	II Sam 21:8
Haggith	לָדָה	-	Adonijah	I Kgs 1:6
Shunammite woman	וַתִּסְתַּר וְתָלַד	-	one nameless son	II Kgs 4:17
Gomer	וַתִּסְתַּר וְתָלַד	-	daughter: Lo ruhamah	Hos 1:6
Gomer	וַתִּסְתַּר וְתָלַד	-	son: Lo-ammi	Hos 1:8
Keturah	לָדָה	-	6 sons	I Chron 1:32
Tamar	לָדָה	לוֹ	Perez & Zerah	I Chron 2:4
Abigail	לָדָה	-	Amasa	I Chron 2:17
Abijah	וְתָלַד	לוֹ	Ashhur	I Chron 2:24
Ephah	לָדָה	-	3 sons	I Chron 2:46

The Independent Female Pattern extra-Pentateuchal texts				
mother	verb	father indirect object?	child(ren)	
Maacah	ילד ?	-	2 sons	I Chron 2:48
Maacah	נתלד	-	Shaaph & Sheva daughter?	I Chron 2:49
Naarah	נתלד	לו	4 sons	I Chron 4:6
his Jewish wife	ילדה	-	3 sons	I Chron 4:18
Aramean concubine?	ילדה	-	Asriel	I Chron 7:14
Aramean concubine	ילדה	-	Machir	I Chron 7:14
Maacah	נתלד	-	Peresh &? Sheresh	I Chron 7:16
Hammolecheth	ילדה	-	3 children	I Chron 7:18

We define this pattern as the use of *נתלד/ילדה* without a prior masculine verb. We find it in total 22 times. It might be derived from the *נתלד לקח* Pattern. In all these cases the *נתלד* clause has now become independent. The father is sometimes referred to in a designation following the name of the mother, like: *פילגש* Abraham 1:32, *פלחו* 2:4, called *פילגש* Caleb 2:46, called *פילגש* Caleb before name 2:48, *ואשתו* 4:18 instead of name, *פילגשו* 7:14 instead of name, *אשת* Machir 7:16. Sometimes the father is indirect object, like in 4:6: *לו*. In most cases (16 out of 22) he is absent. In 7:18 a brother is mentioned instead of a husband, and the designation is accordingly: *ואחיו*, as introduction to the name Hammolecheth. The name of the father of Hammolecheth's children is apparently unimportant within this genealogy. For the child of Abigail, the father is mentioned in a separate clause, in relation to the son (2:17). Abigail's name is not determined by the husband. She is introduced with her sister Zeruah at the beginning of verse 16 as *אחיותיהם*. Sometimes being a sister is more important than being married.

In general, we can say that fathers gradually start disappearing in this pattern. In the example of Gomer we can see this clearly: for the first child there is still a full *נתלד לקח* Pattern, but for the second and third child Gomer stands alone. Hosea is not even involved in the act of the delivery by the preposition *ל*. Keturah and Tamar function as independent ancestors, whose

independent  $\text{לֵוִי}$  introduces a whole new genealogy. Tamar gives birth to the house of Perez, which will dominate the genealogy of Judah.

Of the 19 mothers six are nameless. The case of the Shunammite woman is exceptional: in II Kings 4 all three, father, mother and child receive no names. Normally at least the father and the child at least have a name. The first child of David and Bathsheba will also die without ever having been named. In 4:9, which we did not add to the chart, a mother describes her difficult delivery to explain the name of her son, Jabez.

## 5.6 The Hiphil Pattern

The Chronicler has a clear liking for this pattern. We find it all over in the genealogical chapters of Chronicles, sometimes in clauses in between other patterns, sometimes as only pattern in a (part of a) genealogy. The Chronicler seems to use this pattern to speed the genealogy up. And he uses the genealogies for special, important lineages. Especially the long ones are for important personalities. The Hiphil Pattern gives these lines of descent an ancient flavour. There are three long linear genealogies with this pattern: first of all the high priestly genealogy in chapter 3 of 22 generations, followed by the 13 generation-genealogy of Attai to Elishama. Unfortunately, it is unclear who this Elishama is- it is clear he must be important. The next longest is the genealogy of Ram to the seven sons of Jesse. The last son mentioned is future king David. Ram's lineage is an example of a linear genealogy ending in a segmented one. We see in the chart below more examples of a linear genealogy culminating in the last generation in a generation of more sons. Just once, in I Chronicles 8:36-37, the opposite is happening: a linear genealogy becomes a segmented one and again a linear one. Especially these longer lineages are very well structured. They are strictly regular. We always find:

א הוליד את־ב

ב הוליד את־ג

In 5:30-41 this pattern is broken only once, with a narrative explanation in verse 36. The pattern restarts with an imperfect consecutive 'wayoled' in verse 37. In 2:36-41 it is never broken.

I Chronicles 2:10-13 starts as a linear lineage, very regular and fast, with only one narrative predicate in verse 10, but ends with luxurious eloquence, naming and counting all sons of Jesse, and adding in verses 16-17 the sisters of the sons and their sons.

In the other books we find two longer, linear genealogies using Hiphil Pattern, namely the genealogy of the post-exilic high priests in Nehemiah 12 and the genealogy of Perez, in Ruth 4. Again the pattern is used for the genealogies of the most important lineages, the high priest line of descent and the genealogy leading to king David. Nehemiah 12 completes the list of I Chronicles 5. It is a regular linear list, but for the missing verb in the middle generation. In Ruth 4 we find the pattern in an idealised version, similar to I Chronicles 2:10-13: completely regular without additions or deviations. And in Ruth the expansion to seven sons is missing, making it even more regular. Jesse is just becoming the father of one son, David. In the New Testament Matthew will choose this pattern to add an ancient and authentic flavour to his genealogy of Jesus, as the Chronicler and the author of the genealogy of Ruth did.

Hiphil Pattern is also used for short genealogies, of two-three generations, either linear or segmented. If the pattern becomes segmented it may look like this:

א הוֹלִיד אֶת־ב  
 וְב הוֹלִיד אֶת־ג וְאֶת־ד

In a more horizontal structure like this, there seems to be room for daughters, at least theoretically. She might be mentioned as object of הוֹלִיד, even when she could not sire herself. In the genealogy of Asher in 7:32 we indeed find one special example of a daughter, Shua, within the Hiphil Pattern of her father Heber. She is fully part of the pattern, but her gender is made clear by the addition “their sister”. In this case the pattern is used only for a segmented genealogy, without a preceding linear one. We found the pattern used only for a segmented two generation in four other cases, all within the chronicle of Benjamin.

In the lineage of Shaharaim in Benjamin’s chronicle the Hiphil Pattern is used innovatively, by including a wife/mother. We find this special construction of Hiphil Pattern combined with a wife/mother for the first time in 8:9. Hodesh is added to the pattern by the preposition וְ. This is repeated in verse 11 for the children Shaharaim had by a second woman, Hushim. These lineages of Shaharaim happen to be segmented, but in principal this addition would be possible for a linear genealogy too. Another example of such an inclusion of a wife and daughter can be found in 2:18. The present text is unclear. Possibly the object marker before Azubah should be interpreted as indicating an indirect object: “Caleb fathered by Azubah his wife Jerioth”. The second object marker would indicate the direct object, namely Jerioth, the daughter of Caleb and Azubah.

The traditional linear form (א הוֹלִיד אֶת־ב) necessarily excludes women, since women cannot sire children. Only the fathers are mentioned and the children who can become father, if the pattern

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is used for a continuing line of descent. And in the P texts where we find this pattern there are indeed no women present. Also the passages in which this pattern becomes more horizontal and/or is mixed with narrative elements, hardly mention women, either in the role of wives, mothers or daughters. Still, as we can see, the author of these genealogies found a way around the problem, by creating a possibility of adding a wife to the pattern or including a daughter.

Contrary to the Hiphil Pattern genealogies in Genesis, we do not find the general expression *וַיְהִי וַיִּבְרָא* here. As in Genesis 5 and 11, the first son is named. But that is all. Only in the list of sons of David in Jerusalem we find the additional phrase: “and David became the father of more sons and daughters.” Just this phrase is taken from the Hiphil Pattern. The rest of the genealogical reference is a mixture of other patterns. In Rehoboam’s genealogy we find a similar mixture of patterns. There *לְקַח וְתִלְדָּה* Pattern is dominant. Hiphil Pattern is used for the other sons and daughters, as in David’s list of children, but numbers are added. Abijah’s reference copies the wording of his father’s section, but is no proper genealogy.

The Hiphil Pattern extra-Pentateuchal texts				
ancestor	last descendant	pattern		
Abraham	to: Isaac	1 x Hiphil	linear	I Chron 1:34
Ram	7 sons	7 x Hiphil	linear-segmented	I Chron 2:10-13
Caleb	to:? His wives?	1 x Hiphil	unclear	I Chron 2:18
Hur	to: Bezalel	2 x Hiphil	linear	I Chron 2:20
Segub	to: Jair	1 x Hiphil	linear	I Chron 2:22
Attai	to: Elishama	12 x Hiphil	linear	I Chron 2:36-41
Shema	to: Shammai	2 x Hiphil	with <i>וַיִּבְרָא</i> , in <i>וַיְהִי</i>	I Chron 2:44
Haran	to: Gazez	1 x Hiphil	follows Female	I Chron 2:46
Reaiah	2 sons	2 x Hiphil	linear-segmented	I Chron 4:2
Koz	2 sons + families	1 x Hiphil	segmented	I Chron 4:8
Chelub	3 sons	2 x Hiphil	with <i>וַיִּבְרָא</i> linear-segmented	I Chron 4:11-12
Meonothai	to: Ophrah	1 x Hiphil	linear	I Chron 4:14
Seraiah	to: Joab	1 x Hiphil	with <i>וַיִּבְרָא</i>	I Chron 4:14
Eleazar	to: Jehozadak	21 x Hiphil	linear	I Chron 5:30-40
Heber	3 sons, 1 daughter	1 x Hiphil	segmented	I Chron 7:32

Benjamin	5 sons	1 x Hiphil	segmented	I Chron 8:1
Gera	2 sons	1 x Hiphil	segmented	I Chron 8:7
Shaharaim	-	1 x Hiphil	-	I Chron 8:8
Shaharaim	7 sons	1 x Hiphil	מִן־הֹדֶשׁ Hodesh seg	I Chron 8:9
Shaharaim	2 sons	1 x Hiphil	מִן־הֹשִׁיבִים Hushim seg	I Chron 8:11
Mikloth	to: Shimeah	1 x Hiphil	linear	I Chron 8:32
Ner	4 sons	3 x Hiphil	linear-segmented	I Chron 8:33
Meribbaal	to: Micah	1 x Hiphil	בְּנֵי in בְּנֵי	I Chron 8:34
Ahaz	to: Binea	4 x Hiphil	lin-seg-lin-lin	I Chron 8:36-37
Mikloth	to: Shimeam	1 x Hiphil	linear	I Chron 9:38
Ner	4 sons	3 x Hiphil	linear-segmented	I Chron 9:39
Meribbaal	to: Micah	1 x Hiphil	linear	I Chron 9:40
Ahaz	to: Binea	4 x Hiphil	lin-seg-lin-lin	I Chron 9:42-43
David	more sons and daughters	1 x Hiphil	segmented	I Chron 14:3
Rehoboam	28 sons & 60 daughters	1 x Hiphil	segmented	II Chron 11:21
Abijah	22 sons & 16 daughters	1 x Hiphil	segmented	II Chron 13:21
Jeshua	to: Jaddua	4 x Hiphil, 6 gen	linear	Neh 12:10-11
Perez	to: David	9 x Hiphil	linear	Ruth 4:18-22

## 5.7 The Backwards Pattern

The reversed genealogy is an extended form of the genealogical reference. Of course, we still find the designation  $\text{בן}$  as a short genealogical reference in the genealogical part of Chronicles, for example in 4:34 and 9:20. The extended reversed genealogy is mostly very regular. It is a pattern suitable for introducing a person. The average depth in the genealogies is four-five generations, with eight generations being the longest ones. But there are four exceptions: the backwards genealogies introducing Ezra and the three Temple singers. We will also find a very long reversed genealogy in Luke. We also found the extended genealogical reference in the Pentateuch, but in a

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shorter form, for instance in the female genealogies in Genesis 36. In Numbers 27:1 the longest example was found, of seven generations, introducing the Manassite daughters.

In the first part of his genealogical book, the Chronicler used the  $\text{יָגָה}$  Pattern as a variant of  $\text{יָגָה}$  Pattern (and other patterns). In the latter part we find the Backwards Pattern<sup>281</sup> and  $\text{יָגָה}$  Pattern.<sup>282</sup> The Backwards Pattern neatly ‘takes over’ from  $\text{יָגָה}$  Pattern.

The form of the pattern is: PN  $\text{יָגָה}$  PN  $\text{יָגָה}$  PN. This pattern is strictly linear and excludes other descendants and wives. In these lists no women are mentioned. Only in II Chronicles 11 the wife of Rehoboam and her mother have a genealogical background similar to Oholibamah and Queen Mehetabel in Genesis 36.

This Backwards Pattern is especially useful in lists of present office bearers (chapter 6) or inhabitants (chapter 9) to show their background. The lists in chapters 4 and 5 are also connected to geographical remarks. The genealogy functions as an extended genitive of relationship. In the reversed pattern there is often no real heading, but the genealogy is added as an extra introduction to a person. In chapter 4 the backwards genealogies are additions to names in an enumeration of princes. In chapter 5 they form part of a list of people in Transjordan, giving the background of three of them.

The three longer genealogies in chapter 6 are different. Here the Backwards Pattern is dominant and not just an addition to highlight certain family members. There is a longer introduction, repeating the heading: “These are the men...”. “These are the men whom David put in charge of the service of song in the house of the Lord...; These are the men who served and their sons.” In chapter 9 the Backwards Pattern functions again as background to some inhabitants in the land after the exile. It is puzzling why some are thus singled out and others are just mentioned by name. Emendations to the text have been proposed, adding for example backwards genealogies also to the first three priests mentioned in verse 10. The last reversed genealogy in verse 19 gives the descent of the first of four gatekeepers in David’s time, Shallum. The other three gatekeepers receive no genealogical background.

The Backwards Pattern is present in Chronicles in genealogical texts, but elsewhere we mostly find it in narratives. It is popular in the Deuterocanonical books, as an introduction to the characters. We find it for instance in I Maccabees 2:1 (introduction Matthias, three generations) and I Maccabees 8:17 (introduction envoy of Judas to Rome, three generations); Tobit 1:1

<sup>281</sup> Sparks calls this backwards genealogy an ascending genealogy, tracing the ancestry from child to parent. Sparks, *The Chronicler’s Genealogies*, 17. In contrast he calls the ‘normal’ genealogy a descending genealogy, tracing the ancestry from parent to child.

<sup>282</sup> For  $\text{יָגָה}$  see below. Only  $\text{יָגָה}$  3:10-14 occurs before the final pattern.



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(introduction Tobit, six generations). We found the same number of generations, three to six, for the genealogies of Samuel, Zephaniah and Zechariah. In Judith 8 the pattern is used for an exceptionally long, linear genealogy of a woman, Judith daughter of Merari, son of Ox etcetera, covering 15 generations between Judith and Israel. Ezra's genealogy was as Judith's impressive, covering 17 generations. The Backwards Pattern is usually strictly linear. In the texts below, the lists exclude all other descendants apart from one son. No female names occur in these genealogies, unless the genealogy belongs to a woman. Then a mother might be present too (II Chron 11:18).

The Backwards Pattern extra-Pentateuchal texts				
descendant	ancestor		depth	
Jehu	to: Asiel	3 x יָדָה	4 generations	I Chron 4:35
Ziza	to: Shemaiah	5 x יָדָה	6 generations	I Chron 4:37
Bela	to: Joel	3 x יָדָה	4 generations	I Chron 5:8
Abihail	to: Buz	7 x יָדָה	8 generations	I Chron 5:14
Ahi	to: Guni	2 x יָדָה	3 generations	I Chron 5:15
Heman	to: Israel	22 x יָדָה	23 generations	I Chron 6:18-23
Asaph	to: Levi	14 x יָדָה	15 generations	I Chron 6:24-27
Ethan	to: Levi	13 x יָדָה	14 generations	I Chron 6:29-32
Uthai	to: Bani/ Perez/Judah	4 x יָדָה	5-7/8 generations	I Chron 9:4
Sallu	to: Hassenuah	3 x יָדָה	4 generations	I Chron 9:7
Elah	to: Michri	2 x יָדָה	3 generations	I Chron 9:8
Meshullam	to: Ibnijah	3 x יָדָה	4 generations	I Chron 9:8
Azariah	to: Ahitub	5 x יָדָה	6 generations	I Chron 9:11
Adaiah	to: Malchijah	3 x יָדָה	4 generations	I Chron 9:12
Maasai	to: Immer	5 x יָדָה	6 generations	I Chron 9:12
Shemaiah	to: Hashabiah/Merari	3 x יָדָה	4/6 generations	I Chron 9:14
Mattaniah	to: Asaph	3 x יָדָה	4 generations	I Chron 9:15
Obadiah	to: Jeduthun	3 x יָדָה	4 generations	I Chron 9:16

The Backwards Pattern extra-Pentateuchal texts				
descendant	ancestor		depth	
Berediah	to: Elkanah	2 x בָּן	3 generations	I Chron 9:16
Shallum	to: Korah	3 x בָּן	4 generations	I Chron 9:19
Mahalath	to: David	2 x בָּן/בֵּת	3 generations	II Chron 11:18
Abihail	to: Jesse	2 x בֵּת	3 generations	II Chron 11:18
Achan	to: Zerah/Judah	3 x בָּן	4-5 generations	Josh 7
Elkanah	to: Zuph	4 x בָּן	5 generations	I Sam 1
Kish	to: Benjamin?	5 x בָּן	6 generations	I Sam 9
Zephaniah	to: Hezekiah	4 x בָּן	5 generations	Zeph 1
Zechariah	to: Iddo	2 x בָּן	3 generations	Zech 1
Ezra	to: Aaron	16 x בָּן	17 generations	Ezra 7
Athaiah	to: Mahalalel/Perez	5 x בָּן	6-8 generations	Neh 11
Maaseiah	to: the Shilonite	7 x בָּן	8 generations	Neh 11
Sallu	to: Jeshaiiah	7 x בָּן	8 generations	Neh 11
Seraiah	to: Ahitub	5 x בָּן	6 generations	Neh 11
Adaiah	to: Malchijah	6 x בָּן	7 generations	Neh 11
Ashmaiah	to: Immer	4 x בָּן	5 generations	Neh 11
Shemaiah	to: Bunni	4 x בָּן	5 generations	Neh 11
Mattaniah	to: Asaph	3 x בָּן	4 generations	Neh 11
Abda	to: Jeduthun	3 x בָּן	4 generations	Neh 11
Uzzi	to: Mica/Asaph	4 x בָּן	5-7 generations	Neh 11
Zechariah	to: Asaph	6 x בָּן	7 generations	Neh 12

## 5.8 The אָבִי/אֵם Pattern

We find the pattern several times in segmented genealogies, in combination with other patterns. All three main patterns can be aided by an אָבִי/אֵם Pattern. It is a simple way to give the genealogy more depth by making the born child immediately the father of a child. Once we find a double אָבִי,

connecting one father with two sons, in I Chronicles 2:49. In the Pentateuch this happens more often: Rebekah was connected to two sons by a single  $\text{אָב}$ - (Gen 28:5); Haran was connected to two daughters by a double  $\text{אָבִי}$  (Gen 11:29). Also in Genesis 4 an ancestor can be connected to different groups of professionals.

In these genealogies in Chronicles the  $\text{אָבִי/אָב}$  Pattern functions as an auxiliary pattern. Especially in the chapters 2 and 4 we find many examples of this pattern. In three cases the pattern grows to a short phrase, namely in 2:42, 2:45 and in 2:26, “she was the mother of Onam.” In 4:4 we find two such short phrases after each other, but for two different genealogical references and not as a descending lineage. Still, this is an occurrence of the pattern being used independently. The names of the children of the  $\text{אָבִי/אָב}$  Pattern often sound like villages. We find a clear example in 8:29: “Jeiel the father of Gibeon lived in Gibeon,” and 9:35: “In Gibeon lived the father of Gibeon, Jeiel...”. As Japhet writes, the pattern is especially used to connect an ethnic group and a locality.<sup>283</sup> Knoppers suggests a possible translation ‘founder’ instead of ‘father’ of the village.<sup>284</sup>

One son, like Bethlehem, can occur twice in the genealogies: “the ‘son’, Bethlehem, remains the same, but is inhabited, synchronically or diachronically, by various ethnic elements.”<sup>285</sup> In 4:5 we find another example of such a possible ethnic group-locality combination. Asshur is called “father of Tekoa”, but in the following lists of sons Tekoa is not present. In most cases the line of the son/village does therefore not extend to a further generation. The village has no children. So the  $\text{אָבִי/אָב}$  Pattern often is a kind of a genealogical dead end. However, we do find some examples of a continuing lineage, namely 4:11,12, where Eshton, the son of the  $\text{אָבִי/אָב}$  Pattern, has children in the next verse. Hebron’s lineage continues in 2:43. In chapter 7 Gilead will also have children, though not directly after the  $\text{אָבִי/אָב}$  Pattern. In the one case of the  $\text{אָב}$  pattern in 2:26, we also see that son Onam will have children. So there is apparently not always a tribe-village relation implied in the  $\text{אָבִי/אָב}$  Pattern. Sometimes we also find the pattern to introduce an adult, like Machir, father of Gilead. The first time in a rather complicated construction to introduce a nameless wife of Hezron: “Afterward Hezron went into the daughter of Machir father of Gilead,...”<sup>286</sup> Apparently the connection of the wife to Gilead was too important to be left out. Japhet sees this whole passage, verses 21-23, as belonging to the genealogy of Machir, expressing in a genealogy “the ethnic connection between Judah and Manasseh,...”<sup>287</sup>

<sup>283</sup> “In the formula ‘X the father of Y’, Y is always a place name, while X is an ethnic element.” Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 81.

<sup>284</sup> Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1-9*, 314.

<sup>285</sup> Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 81.

<sup>286</sup> I Chron 2:21.

<sup>287</sup> “Its main point is to claim a Judahite affiliation for large parts of Gilead, which was originally a Manassite and Machirite territory *par excellence*.” Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 80.

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The pattern is regularly used in a feminine context.<sup>288</sup> As we see below in the chart the majority of the occurrences of the אִם/אָבִי Pattern is somehow connected to a woman, either as mother or as grandmother. Finally, we once find the feminine counterpart of the pattern אִם- in a more narrative genealogical verse. In the Pentateuch we already came across the אִם/אָבִי Pattern. There it was mostly used in narrative texts as a short genealogical reference and occasionally in longer genealogies. We found it in the genealogies in Genesis 4:20,21 (father of a professional group of people); in 11:29 (father of daughters Milcah and Iscah); 22:21 (for son of Milcah, with Independent Female Pattern) and 36:9,43 (Esau father of Edom). As in Genesis 36 the pattern regularly connects a person with a geographical name in Chronicles. In the first occurrence of אָבִי in Chronicles, the order is different. First the son is introduced and only then as אָבִי of the son, the father is mentioned by name:

אָבִי Amasa	Jether	Female	Abigail	I Chron 2:17
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In the other occurrences of the pattern, but for I Chronicles 9, the ancestor comes first. אָבִי is either attached to his name or a short nominal sentence connects the ancestor with his or her descendant:

The אִם/אָבִי Pattern extra-Pentateuchal texts					
ancestor	descendant	tribe	main pattern	feminine context	
Machir	אָבִי Gilead		Female	daughter M	2:21
Machir	אָבִי Gilead		בְּנֵי		2:23
Asshur	אָבִי Tekoa	Judah	Female	Abijah	2:24
Atarah	אִם הִיא Onam	Judah	אִם	Atarah	2:26
Mesha	אָבִי הִיא Ziph	Judah	אָבִי / בְּנֵי		2:42
Mareshah	אָבִי Hebron	Judah	בְּנֵי		2:42
Raham	אָבִי Jorkeam	Judah	Hiphil		2:44
Maon	אָבִי Beth-zur	Judah	אָבִי		2:45
Shaaph	אָבִי Madmannah	Judah	Female	Maacah?	2:49
Sheva	אָבִי Machbenah אָבִי Gibe'a	Judah	Female	Maacah?	2:49

<sup>288</sup> Also Löwisch, *Trauma Begets Genealogy*, 178.

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Shobal	אָבִי Kiriath-jearim	Judah	בְּנֵי קָן	Ephratah	2:50
Salma	אָבִי Bethlehem	Judah	בְּנֵי קָן	Ephratah	2:51
Hareph	אָבִי Beth-gader	Judah	בְּנֵי קָן	Ephratah	2:51
Shobal	אָבִי Kiriath-jearim	Judah	בְּנֵי קָן	Ephratah	2:52
Hammath (place?)	אָבִי Beth-rechab	Judah?	narrative		2:55
?	אָבִי? Etam	Judah	בְּנֵי ?		4:3
Penuel	אָבִי Gedor	Judah	אָבִי	Ephratah?	4:3
Ezer	אָבִי Hushah	Judah	אָבִי	Ephratah?	4:4
Hur?	אָבִי Bethlehem	Judah	בְּנֵי	Ephratah	4:4
Asshur	אָבִי Tekoa	Judah	To Asshur were two wives		4:5
Mehir	אָבִי הוּא Eshton	Judah	Hiphil		4:11
Tehinnah	אָבִי Irnashah	Judah	Hiphil		4:12
Joab	אָבִי Gerarashim	Judah	Hiphil		4:14
Ishbah	אָבִי Eshtemoa	Judah	לְקַח / נִתְּנָה?	Bithiah?	4:17
Jered	אָבִי Gedor	Judah	Female	Judean wife	4:18
Heber	אָבִי Soco	Judah	Female	Judean wife	4:18
Jekuthiel	אָבִי Zanoah	Judah	Female	Judean wife	4:18
?	אָבִי Keilah	Judah	בְּנֵי	wife of Hodiah	4:19
Er	אָבִי Lecah	Judah (Shelah)	בְּנֵי		4:21
Laadah	אָבִי Mareshah	Judah (Shelah)	בְּנֵי		4:21
Machir	אָבִי Gilead	Manasseh	Female	Aramean wife	7:14
Malchiel	הוּא אָבִי Birzaith	Asher	אָבִי / בְּנֵי		7:31

?	אָבִי Gibeon	Benjamin	-	Maacah	8:29
אָבִי Gibeon	Jeiel	Benjamin	-	Maacah	9:35
Obed	אָבִי הוּאֹ Jesse אָבִי David	Judah	אָבִי	Naomi	Ruth 4:17

The majority of the pattern is used within the tribal names of Judah, within the descendants of Perez. It is just three times used elsewhere, within Manasseh. Asher and Benjamin, where it is repeated in chapter 9. We see that where the Backwards Pattern is used, there is no אָבִי. The same is true for the בְּנוֹ Pattern. The אָבִי/אִם Pattern at the one hand and בְּנוֹ and Backwards Pattern at the other hand seem to be mutually exclusive. Possibly this can be explained that where the accent is on geographical connections and extent of the tribes as in the אָבִי/אִם Pattern, there is less focus on authenticity, which the בְּנוֹ and Backwards Pattern provide. Outside the Pentateuchal genealogies and Chronicles we only find the אָבִי Pattern in the genealogical context twice in Ruth 4:17 (Obed, father of Jesse, the father of David), the only occurrence of the pattern as an independent genealogical pattern that reaches a genealogical depth of more than two generations.

We find אִם also in a narrative context.<sup>289</sup> There are also a few fathers in the narrative texts who are connected by אָבִי to a son, like Hamor אָבִי Shechem (Josh 24:32, Judg 9:28), apparently a fixed combination we also found in Genesis 34. In Joshua, the pattern is used the most, for Manasseh אָבִי Gilead (Josh 17:1), known from Chronicles, for Terah אָבִי Abraham (Josh 24:2) and for the puzzling Kiriath-abba אָבִי the Anak (Josh 15:13,21:11). In Samuel we find אָבִי in the genealogical references to Saul's family, twice in I Sam 14,51 (Kish אָבִי Saul; Ner אָבִי Abner) and in the introduction of Saul in I Sam 9:3: Kish אָבִי Saul. So in the narrative texts there are relatively few occurrences.

## 5.9 The בְּנוֹ Pattern

Apart from the Ancient Near Eastern Pattern there is another specific pattern of Chronicles, namely בְּנוֹ. It is attached to individual names, coming after the name. It thus gives a different rhythm to the text, focusing on the names first. Usually the בְּנוֹ Pattern is introduced by בְּנֵי.

<sup>289</sup> See under אָבִי/אִם Pattern in the Pentateuch.

The $\text{בְּנוֹ}$ Pattern texts in Chronicles					
ancestor	last descendant	$\text{בְּנוֹ}$ pattern	linear/ segmented start	$\text{בְּנוֹ}/\text{בְּנֵי}$ combination options	
Rehoboam	Josiah	14 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	linear	1 $\text{בְּנוֹ}$ Solomon	3:10-14
Jehoiakim	Zedekiah	2 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	linear	option 2 $\text{בְּנֵי}$ intro	3:16
Jeconiah	Shealtiel	1 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	linear	option 2 $\text{בְּנֵי}$ intro	3:17
Shaul?	Mishma	3 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	segmented	1 $\text{בְּנֵי}$ Simeon	4:24
Mishma	Shimei	3 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	linear	option 2 $\text{בְּנֵי}$ intro	4:26
Joel	Beerah	7 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	linear	option 2 $\text{בְּנֵי}$ intro	5:4-6
Gershom	Jeatherai	7 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	linear	-	6:5
Kohath	Shaul	10 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	linear	option 2 $\text{בְּנֵי}$ intro	6:7
Ahimoth?	Elkanah	6 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	segmented	1 $\text{בְּנֵי}$ Elkanah	6:10
Mahli	Asaiah	6 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	linear	1 $\text{בְּנֵי}$ Merari	6:14
Aaron	Ahimaaz	11 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	linear	option 2 $\text{בְּנֵי}$ intro	6:35
Shuthelah	Shuthelah	6 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	linear	1 $\text{בְּנֵי}$ Ephraim	7:20
Ephraim?	Sheerah	1 x $\text{וּבְתוֹ}$	no start	-	7:24
Beriah?	Joshua	9 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	no start	-	7:25-26
Jeiel?	Abdon	1 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	no start	$\text{וּבְנוֹ הַבְּכוֹר}$	8:30
Binea	Azel	3 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	linear	follows Hiphil	8:37
Jeiel	Abdon	1 x $\text{בְּנוֹ}$	no start	$\text{וּבְנוֹ הַבְּכוֹר}$	9:36

In the Judah genealogies we only find  $\text{בְּנוֹ}$  in the probably inserted chapter on the royal descendants. The long and complex genealogies of Solomon have a mixture of  $\text{בְּנוֹ}$  and  $\text{בְּנֵי}$ . Often it is hard to tell them apart. Does the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  formula in 3:21 in fact mean  $\text{בְּנוֹ}$ ? Does the  $\text{בְּנוֹ}$  formula always indicate a linear genealogy as in the Kinglist or can it also indicate a segmented lineage? Possibly verse 16 is segmented.

After these first occurrences of  $\text{בְּנוֹ}$  in Chronicles the pattern disappears again to restart in Simeon's chronicle. Simeon's chronicle has a mixture of patterns using  $\text{בְּנוֹ}$ . In the first verses we find a mixture of  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  and  $\text{בְּנוֹ}$  Patterns With the combination of  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  and  $\text{בְּנוֹ}$  there are two options:

**Option 1**  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  introduction; name of son(s); name of son of son with  $\text{בְּנוֹ}$  attached

**Option 2**  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  introduction; name of son with  $\text{בְּנוֹ}$  attached

In 3:10 we have a good example of the first option: **בְּנֵי** Solomon: Rehoboam, Abijah his son.

In 4:26 we have an example of the second option: **בְּנֵי** Mishma: Hammuel his son. Both options seem to be equal in meaning. The first option can start either linear (one son only) or segmented. There is a preference for a linear genealogical start from the beginning. The **בְּנֵי** Pattern in that case just introduces one son. Still, the pattern often occurs in the plural. We find only two examples of the usual segmented beginning of the **בְּנֵי** Pattern: the five descendants of Simeon in 4:24 and the two sons of Elkanah in 6:6. In both cases we assume the next name with **בְּנוֹ** to be attached to the last son mentioned in the segmented beginning. In the second option the **בְּנוֹ** Pattern takes over in an earlier phase, making the **בְּנֵי** introductory phrase just a way of introducing the father, which the **בְּנוֹ** Pattern does not have.

Is the last descendant always extra special? Is the genealogy stretched to reach a certain person? Especially for the longer genealogies we might expect them to end with a person of importance. This indeed seems to be the case with the longest genealogy, the King List of Solomon to Josiah. Also the surprising genealogy of probably Beriah to Joshua which seems to come out of the blue within the Ephraim chronicle, is an example of this. Sometimes the **בְּנוֹ** Pattern leads to a descendant to whom a narrative is attached, like Beerah or Shimei. But in the Levi accounts it is hard to see why Asaiah would for instance be more important than his father Haggiah. And instead of the last descendant Elkanah we would expect Samuel. In the chronicles of Levi the last descendant does not seem to be the most important. Azel in the Benjamin chronicle is however a man of importance again. A segmented genealogy is attached to his name and Eshek is referred to as brother of Azel.

The **בְּנֵי** Pattern and the **בְּנוֹ** Pattern, as seen above, appear to be mutually exclusive.

The majority of the **בְּנֵי** Pattern is used within the tribal names of Judah, within the descendants of Perez. It is just three times used elsewhere, within Manasseh, Asher and Benjamin. The **בְּנוֹ** Pattern is used in the other tribal accounts. Especially in the chronicle of Levi the **בְּנוֹ** Pattern is used extensively, in combination with the **בְּנֵי** Pattern, to reach depth. The longest genealogies are within the clan of Kohath. But still longer is the royal genealogy of Solomon within Judah. In the Issachar-Benjamin I-Asher block of genealogies the **בְּנוֹ** Pattern is absent. In these accounts there is more interest in segmented genealogies, signifying the numerical extent of the tribe, than in long lineages indicating the authenticity of the tribe.



## 5.10 Auxiliary elements

### The combination with משפחה

In some texts בני pattern -or once Hiphil Pattern- is combined with משפחה. As we have seen in our discussion on the Pentateuch, משפחה is used regularly in genealogies. We found it especially in Genesis 10, Exodus 6 and Numbers 26. Apart from this, משפחה is used in the census and territorial lists in Numbers and Joshua. In Chronicles there seems to be a smooth transition from birth language to the domain of families and clans, where ‘a son’ can mean half a family: הַיְצִי הַמְּנַחֵזֹת, as in I Chronicles 2:52. There the word משפחה is used for the first time.

The texts with משפחה in Chronicles					
ancestor	last descendant	בני pattern	generations	other patterns	
Shobal 1 <sup>st</sup> son Hur	Zorathites & Eshtaolites	וַיְהִי בָנִים לְשׁוּבָל בני Pattern	4 generations, through אָבִי & משפחה	משפחה, אָבִי, from these came	2:52-53
Salma 2 <sup>nd</sup> son Hur	4, 5 sons/ people/places	בני intro	2 generations		2:54
		conclusion: these were the families of the Zorathites			4:2
Koz	2 sons & 1x families	-	2 generations	combined with Hiphil, בָּן	4:8
Shelah	5 sons, 1x families, 1x men	introduction	2/3 generations	אָבִי, בָּן	4:21,22

Genealogically speaking, משפחה take the place of sons. Apparently משפחה can be fathered by men in the genealogical context. Families have ancestors. The depth reached is two-four generations in combination with the בני introduction. משפחה is further found in the narrative parts, like in the text



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on the cities and land given to the different families of the Levites in chapter 6. We do not find this combination in the scattered genealogies.

### The numbering and counting of sons

Another auxiliary structuring element is the numbering and counting of children. The counting of children can be connected to all main patterns. Numbering will not be found in combination with a Female Pattern. In the Pentateuch sons are not numbered. Occasionally a number is added to the list of sons, counting them, as in Genesis 22. In Samuel we find the first full numbering of the sons of David. In Chronicles however the sons are numbered in several genealogies. The numbering of sons seems to be used in Chronicles for segmented lists of special families, like royal families (sons of king Josiah, of king David, born in Hebron) or the family of the prophet Samuel (5:28). In the lists of Levites in I Chronicles 23 and 26 there is an explosion in numbers and numbering, so much so that the single genealogy without numbering catches the eye.

Numbering in Samuel and Chronicles				
ancestor	children	numbering	pattern	
David	6 sons	all numbered	Passive	II Sam 3:2-5
Jesse	7 sons	all numbered	Hiphil	I Chron 2:13-15
David	6 sons	all numbered	בְּנֵי /Passive	I Chron 3:1-3
Josiah	4 sons	all numbered	בְּנֵי	I Chron 3:15
Benjamin	5 sons	all numbered	Hiphil	I Chron 8:1
Eshek	3 sons	all numbered	בְּנֵי	I Chron 8:39
Hebron	4 sons	all; הָרֵאשִׁי	בְּנֵי	I Chron 23:19
Uzziel	2 sons	all; הָרֵאשִׁי	בְּנֵי	I Chron 23:20
Meshelemiah	7 sons	all numbered	to M בְּנֵי M	I Chron 26:2,3
Obed-edom	8 sons	all numbered	to O בְּנֵי O	I Chron 26:4,5
Hosah	4 sons	all; הָרֵאשִׁי	to H בְּנֵי H	I Chron 26:10,11
Samuel	2 sons	all/partially?	בְּנֵי	I Chron 6:13
Eber	2 sons	1 numbered	Passive	I Chron 1:19
Gad	4 sons	2 numbered	narrative	I Chron 5:11

Numbering in Samuel and Chronicles				
ancestor	children	numbering	pattern	
Shimei	4 sons	2; הָרֵאשִׁי	בְּנֵי , counting	I Chron 23:10-11
(Hebron)	4 sons	3 numbered	בְּנֵי	I Chron 24:23
Joseph	Manasseh	בְּכוֹר	narrative	Josh 17:1
Manasseh	Machir	בְּכוֹר	אָבִי, narrative	Josh 17:1
Canaan	Sidon	only בְּכוֹר	Qal M	1 Chron 1:13
Ishmael	Nebaioth	only בְּכוֹר	תּוֹלְדוֹת	I Chron 1:29
Jerahmeel	Ram	only בְּכוֹר	בְּנֵי	I Chron 2:25
Caleb	Mesha: only son	בְּכוֹר	בְּנֵי	I Chron 2:42
Jeiel?	Abdon	only בְּכוֹר	בְּנוֹ הַבְּכוֹר	I Chron 8:30
The Shilonites	Asaiah: 1 name	בְּכוֹר	enumeration	I Chron 9:5
Shallum	Mattithiah: 1 name	בְּכוֹר	enumeration	I Chron 9:31
Jeiel	Abdon	only בְּכוֹר	בְּנוֹ הַבְּכוֹר	I Chron 9:36
Ladan	Jehiel	הָרֵאשִׁי	בְּנֵי	I Chron 23:8
Gershom	Shebuel, only son	הָרֵאשִׁי	בְּנֵי	I Chron 23:16
Eliezer	Rehabiah, only son	הָרֵאשִׁי	בְּנֵי	I Chron 23:17
Izhar	only Shelomith	הָרֵאשִׁי	בְּנֵי	I Chron 23:18
Rehabiah	Isshiah	הָרֵאשִׁי	בְּנֵי	I Chron 24:21
Hezron	Jerahmeel	father called בְּכוֹר	בְּנֵי Jerahmeel	I Chron 2:25
Jerahmeel	Ram	father called בְּכוֹר	בְּנֵי Ram	I Chron 2:27
Ephratah	Hur	father called בְּכוֹר	בֶּן Hur	I Chron 2:50
Ephratah	Hur	father called בְּכוֹר	בְּנֵי Hur	I Chron 4:4
Israel	Reuben	father called בְּכוֹר	בְּנֵי Reuben	I Chron 5:1
Israel	Reuben	father called בְּכוֹר	בְּנֵי Reuben	I Chron 5:3

In the genealogies of Levi in the census lists of I Chronicles 23 and 24 בְּכוֹר, firstborn, is replaced by הָרֵאשִׁי. In chapter 26 it changes back into בְּכוֹר, but for the genealogy of Hosah, which has הָרֵאשִׁי, explaining that Shimri was not the firstborn. For some sons בְּכוֹר is a regular epithet, also used when they themselves are heading a genealogy. In 8:30 and 9:36 בְּנוֹ הַבְּכוֹר has become the pattern itself instead of an expected 'Jeiel בְּנֵי'. Daughters are never numbered, nor are they called בְּנֵי in

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Chronicles.<sup>290</sup> But we can find a woman as ancestor of a בְּכוֹר, as ancestress. In Chronicles we find Hur's name twice in connection with Ephratah. Ephratah makes her son a בְּכוֹר. Is there any counting of sons coming after the female pattern, or connected to a mother like in Genesis 22?

Counting in Chronicles				
ancestor	number of sons	pattern	other parent	
Judah	3	Female	Bath-shua	2:3
Zerah	5	בְּנֵי	-	2:6
Zeruiah	3	בְּנֵי	-	2:16
David	6	Passive	6 mothers	3:4
David	4	Passive	Bath-shua	3:5
David	9	Passive	-	3:8
Zerubbabel	5 last children	בְּנֵי	-	3:20
Shemaiah	6 for 5 sons	בְּנֵי	-	3:22
Neariah	3	בְּנֵי	-	3:23
Elioenai	7	בְּנֵי	-	3:24
Shimei	16 sons, 6 daughters	to Sh בְּנֵים וּבָנוֹת, narrative	-	4:27
Issachar	4	וְלִבְנֵי	-	7:1-5
Benjamin	3	ANE	-	7:6
Bela	5	בְּנֵי	-	7:7
Azel	6	to Azel 6 sons	-	8:38
Azel	6	to Azel 6 sons	-	9:44
Ladan	3	בְּנֵי	-	23:8
son Ladan?	3	בְּנֵי	-	23:9
Shimei	4	בְּנֵי	-	23:10
Kohath	4	בְּנֵי	-	23:12
Mushi	3	בְּנֵי	-	23:23

Mothers are indeed present in the pattern. And once we find the combination of a Female Pattern with counting, as in Genesis 22. Special remains Zeruiah's genealogy. As we have seen before, she

<sup>290</sup> We do find בְּנֵי־הַאֵל in Gen 19, Gen 26 and I Sam 14, always to distinguish the elder sister of two, but not in a longer genealogy.

really heads the genealogy, identical to a male ancestor. Her sons are counted. There is no father mentioned. We see that in the first cases, in the less important genealogies the sons are counted. Of the first three sons of Judah two will die and one will just be mentioned briefly. Zerah is the less important son. Perez's genealogy will dominate the rest of the chapters of Judah's chronicle. Zeruah as sister of David is mentioned, but her lineage does not continue. It is as if by counting the author rounds off these genealogies. The less important lineages are neatly finished. And now we can continue with the genealogies of the more important family members.

Starting from chapter 3, this changes. David's sons are important and are numbered and counted. The less important children, like Tamar and other daughters and other sons are not included in the numbers given. At the end of the list of descendants of Solomon suddenly the last three generations receive numbers. Why? Do the numbers have a special meaning? Is it to make clear that there are still many Davidides living? With the three numbers of the sons of David the last three numbers form an *inclusio*. The counting of the beginning returns at the end.

In Issachar's and Benjamin's chronicles the first and most important genealogies have a number attached to the list of sons. Azel, as we have seen, must also have been important to the author. So the counting in these cases indicates as the numbering the importance of the ancestors. Almost always all descendants are counted. In just one case only the last group of sons is counted, in Zerubbabel's genealogy. In Shemaiah's list of descendants one son is missing. Possibly the number 6 is incorrect or the list should be read together with the preceding list of a single son of Shecaniah, Shemaiah.

## 5.11 Conclusions

In Chronicles we found the same genre patterns as we found in the Pentateuch, but also two new ones. The book of Chronicles starts with a completely new pattern, an abridged linear genealogy, consisting only of names. This style of genealogy seems to be influenced by ancient lists of this kind. Therefore we called it the Ancient Near Eastern Pattern. Apart from the Ancient Near Eastern Pattern there is another new pattern in Chronicles: *כְּנִי*. It is attached to individual names, coming after the name. Usually the *כְּנִי* Pattern is introduced by *כְּנִי* since the pattern itself has no introduction. The *כְּנִי* Pattern takes over in either the second or the third generation. The last descendant of the *כְּנִי* Pattern is often an important man, like Joshua, Josiah or Azel, but not always.

Chronicles is also innovative (as far as we know) in the use or adaptation of patterns.

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The Backwards Pattern is present in non-genealogical texts, to introduce people. In Chronicles it grows into a full-fledged, independent genealogical pattern, introducing a lineage with an average depth of four to five generations. It can be used for a woman too, though we only find examples of this in the narrative parts of Chronicles. In the genealogies in the narrative parts of the Bible the Backwards Pattern is the main pattern, added after the person, as an extra introduction.

A grammatical development can be found in the use of the passive of ילד in Chronicles. Where in the Pentateuch existed a Qal Passive of ילד, this form was no longer used in later times. The Chronicler chooses a Niphal instead. In his texts we find the first occurrences of a Niphal Perfect ילד, but generally the passive is a rare form in the genealogies in Chronicles, mostly used because it was present in the sources the author adapted to write his history. Mothers can be attached in a more direct way than in the Pentateuch, namely by preposition לְ, as the father, or by preposition מִן. In one case a daughter is the subject of the passive. In Genesis, there is often the addition of a place or a time or a number. We do not find temporal phrases attached to the pattern in Chronicles, but places and numbers are present too. Another pattern less popular in Chronicles is ילד Qal Masculine. The Chronicler only uses it in the parts literary dependent on Genesis 10.

There are also innovations in the auxiliary structuring elements. In some texts the בְּנֵי Pattern -or once Hiphil Pattern- is combined with the auxiliary מִשְׁפָּחָה, but not as often as in the Pentateuch. In the Pentateuch sons are not numbered, and only occasionally counted. In Chronicles, however, this auxiliary pattern becomes very popular: the descendants are numbered in several genealogies. The numbering of sons seems to be used in Chronicles for segmented lists of special families, like royal families or the family of the prophet Samuel (5:28). For counting this is less clear. In some cases a number is attached to the descendants to round off a less important genealogy. In Issachar's and Benjamin's chronicles however, the first and most important genealogies have a number attached to the list of sons. So the counting in these cases indicates as the numbering the importance of the ancestors. Almost always all descendants are counted. Also בְּכוֹר is used frequently in Chronicles. In the lists of Levites in I Chronicles 23 and 26 there is an explosion in numbers and numbering. בְּכוֹר replaces הֵרֵאשׁ. Daughters are never numbered, nor called בְּנֵי־בָרָה in Chronicles.

The auxiliary אֶם/אֲבִי Pattern was also present in the Pentateuch, for example to connect the sons of Lamech to their professions, but it is used more extensively in Chronicles. It can connect founders with villages, but also fathers with children. We noticed several correlations regarding this pattern that still need to be explained: the pattern occurs regularly in a feminine context and it is used mostly in the first part of the genealogical preamble of Chronicles. In the latter part the Backwards Pattern and בְּנוּ take over. The בְּנוּ and אֲבִי Patterns appear to be mutually exclusive.

In Judah's chronicles in I Chronicles 2 and 4 we find the אָבִי Pattern and no occurrences of the בְּנוּ Pattern. Likewise there is the בְּנוּ Pattern in David's lineage and the chronicles in chapters 5-7, but for Manasseh and Asher. Only in Jeiel's genealogy we find both patterns. There is one special example of the אָבִי Pattern becoming an independent genealogical pattern, namely in Ruth 4:17. That is why we treated it in chapter 5 under genealogical patterns.

The last auxiliary element is מִשְׁפָּחָה. In some texts בְּנוּ Pattern (or once Hiphil Pattern) is combined with the auxiliary מִשְׁפָּחָה, but not as often as in the Pentateuch.

There are three main patterns left: the בְּנוּ Pattern, the Hiphil Pattern, and the Female Patterns. The בְּנוּ Pattern and the Hiphil Pattern in its short sequences are the regular patterns. The longer Hiphil Pattern and the Female לָקַח וְתָלַד Pattern are used for special families or tribes. We find the extended Hiphil Pattern for royal genealogies or the genealogies of the high priest. It puts emphasis on the last descendant. The Female לָקַח וְתָלַד Pattern underlines the importance of certain families and tribes. It puts emphasis on the first generation, the ancestral couple. All three patterns, בְּנוּ, Hiphil Pattern, and Female Patterns, are quite popular in Chronicles.

We find the Hiphil Pattern all over the genealogical chapters of Chronicles, mostly in short genealogical sequences. In the extended genealogies, the Hiphil Pattern gives to these lines of descent an ancient flavour. Here also, the author found a way to connect women in this seemingly exclusively male pattern, by adding a wife by the preposition מִן or including a daughter.

The בְּנוּ Pattern is equally distributed over the genealogical chapters of Chronicles and is mostly used for two generations only. Just a few times a longer lineage is described. The number of sons is generally two to seven. A woman can head such a genealogy. In total we found seven examples of such female ancestors. Daughters can also be included in the בְּנוּ. We found six probable cases of daughters hidden among the בְּנוּ. As in Genesis the בְּנוּ Pattern does not necessarily exclude women. The term בְּנוּ is open to include daughters, for it has become a standard formula, irrespective of number, generation or gender. They are sometimes hidden, but in other cases explicitly called 'daughter' or 'sister'. As in the Pentateuch we distinguish between a linear בְּנוּ Pattern and a segmented בְּנוּ Pattern. The first has more descendants in one generation, but follows only one line of descent. The linear בְּנוּ Pattern reaches the greatest depth, for example the linear בְּנוּ Pattern genealogy in the chronicle of Issachar in I Chronicles 7:1-5. It encompasses five generations without hitches. The segmented בְּנוּ Pattern follows more branches. The preferred בְּנוּ genealogy in I Chronicles 1, rewriting Genesis, follows two lines of descent of an ancestor till the third generation. Apart from the genealogical chapters we only find בְּנוּ Pattern occasionally.

The Female Pattern also has two types, namely the לָקַח וְתָלַד Pattern, with a masculine verb (בוא אל, ידע or לקח) preceding the feminine ילד, and the Independent Female Pattern. Interestingly,

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in Chronicles the subject of this first masculine verb is in two cases not the husband, but a hierarchically superior man. The  $\text{הַקָּדֵן הַתְּלֵד}$  Pattern is also popular in short mostly two-three generation genealogies within narrative texts, since it is the most narrative of the genealogical patterns. The Independent Female Pattern uses  $\text{הַתְּלֵד/הַקָּדֵן}$  without a prior masculine verb. The father is sometimes referred to in a designation following the name of the mother or forms an indirect object, but in most cases he is absent. In Chronicles we found the following differences between the  $\text{הַקָּדֵן הַתְּלֵד}$  Pattern and the Independent Female:

1. Four of the six occurrences of the  $\text{הַקָּדֵן הַתְּלֵד}$  Pattern in Chronicles are within the genealogy of Caleb, in the chronicle of Judah. The Independent Female Pattern is more equally distributed over the chapters and occurs almost double the number of times, but is also found predominantly within the tribe of Judah, and in Manasseh. We took the presence of women following Julia Myers O'Brien and Alice L. Laffey<sup>291</sup> to be an indication of the importance of the tribe.
2. The  $\text{הַקָּדֵן הַתְּלֵד}$  Pattern can be used for the most important generation, the ancestral couple. For further children, the full introduction of both parents is no longer considered necessary: the father disappears, and the only active verb is a female one.
3. The Independent Female Pattern is used in those cases where the father is less important due to special circumstances.
4. Generally the  $\text{הַקָּדֵן הַתְּלֵד}$  Pattern focusses more on one child, a son (ten out of 15 cases). For the Independent Female Pattern this is more diverse: ten out of 22 cases mention a single child.

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<sup>291</sup> *Women in Scripture*, 92.







6

# Chapter 6

Genealogies in the New Testament



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In the New Testament there are surprisingly only two genealogies, namely in Matthew and Luke, both listing the descent of Jesus. The disciples and the members of the early church appear from nowhere, out of the blue. Important people like Lydia and Stephen are introduced just by name, and in Lydia's case, also by place, but no genealogical information is given. We just find occasionally some short genealogical references like 'of the daughters of Aaron' for Elizabeth or 'sons of Zebedee' for James and John. Even Paul pays scant attention to his lineage<sup>1</sup>.

The genealogical interest in the post-Old Testament Jewish literature has, according to Johnson, mostly two concerns, namely purity of the nation and messianic speculation.<sup>2</sup> In the NT the genealogical interest is narrowed down to the last concern, the lineage of the Messiah.

Why the gospels of Mark and John lack a genealogy of Jesus is an open question. Although not providing a genealogy of Jesus, Mark uses a genealogical reference in the title of the gospel, Jesus Christ, Son of God, though there is discussion whether this is part of the original text.<sup>3</sup> According to Severus, sixth century patriarch of Antioch, the main purpose of the genealogy in Matthew was to make clear: "...that Christ participates in our human generation and in our nature. Otherwise some might claim that he appeared in illusion and in imagination only, rather than becoming genuinely human."<sup>4</sup> John dealt with this, according to Severus, by the juxtaposition of the Word being with God and becoming flesh.

As we have seen above, there is a debate on the relationship between narrative and genealogy in especially Genesis and Exodus. Do the genealogies introduce the events in the stories, or do they round them off? Are the genealogies like panels of a medieval painting surrounding the story? The two genealogies in the New Testament clearly introduce the events. Westermann sees here a similarity between Old Testament and New Testament. According to him the genealogies in both Old and New Testament precede the narrative, "the story of salvation".<sup>5</sup> The early fifth century incomplete commentary on Matthew, Homily 1, notes another similarity between the Old Testament birth stories and the New Testament birth story of Jesus. Both deal with a problematic birth. "Although God's son was born from a virgin and Isaac from an old woman, both were born wholly beyond the expectations of nature."<sup>6</sup> A genealogy is more often followed by a story about

<sup>1</sup> Though he gives some genealogical information in Phil 3:5: "circumcised on the eighth day, a member of the people of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrews; as to the law, a Pharisee;" he clearly deems it 'confidence in the flesh'.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 85.

<sup>3</sup> See Jan Slomp, "Are the Words "Son of God" in Mark 1.1 Original?," *The Bible Translator* 28 (1977): 143-150

<sup>4</sup> Severus, "Cathedral Sermons, Homily 94" in: *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, New Testament I a, Matthew 1-13*, edited by Manlio Simonetti (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 2.

<sup>5</sup> Westermann, *Genesis 1-11*, 361-362.

<sup>6</sup> *ACC Matthew*, 5. James A. Kellerman discusses the possible authors of this anonymous work in the introduction to the edition of this commentary on Matthew. He concludes that he must have been a teacher in the church, and thus a member of the clergy, writing in Latin, not earlier than the beginning of the fifth century. James A. Kellerman,

fertility problems. The line of generations falters and comes to a stop. The continuation of life is threatened. But beyond all expectation, in the narrative following the genealogy, an old woman becomes fertile, a barren woman delivers twins and a virgin has a son.<sup>7</sup>

## 6.1 Genealogy in Matthew

Just as the book of Chronicles starts with a genealogical preamble, the gospel of Matthew starts with a genealogy, introducing the narrative.<sup>8</sup> Within the New Testament such a genealogical introduction is unique.<sup>9</sup> The genealogy uses 39 times the M active form of γεννάω, to beget, become the father of, in the Aorist. In the Septuagint we also find this Aorist as translation for נָלַד, for both the Qal and the Hiphil. Matthew starts his genealogy with a noun derived from this verb, Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υιοῦ Δαυὶδ υιοῦ Ἀβραάμ, quoting the unusual Genesis 5:1 expression<sup>10</sup>: תִּדְלֹת רָבָה הִיא, in Septuagint Αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως ἀνθρώπων<sup>11</sup>, instead of the more regular תִּדְלֹת לֵלֶךְ, Αὐταὶ δε αὶ γενέσεις. The only other occurrence of this combination of words in either Septuagint or Greek NT is in Septuagint Genesis 2:4: αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς. βίβλος/רָבָה is missing in Genesis 2:4 in MT.

As seen above, Renaud and others suggested that in Genesis this might point to the use of an existing document.<sup>12</sup> Here it is not only a deliberate quotation of the Book of the generations of Adam, linking the genealogy of Jesus Christ to the beginning of humankind, but it also seems to serve as a heading to the entire gospel, or even to the whole New Testament.<sup>13</sup> Contrary to Luke,

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translator, *Incomplete Commentary on Matthew (Opus Imperfectum)*, edited by Thomas C. Oden, *Ancient Christian Texts*, Volume 2 (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2010), xvii-xx. The commentary was popular in the Middle Ages.

<sup>7</sup> The gospel of Matthew follows this pattern, but in Luke the genealogy comes later, as an extra introduction to Joseph.

<sup>8</sup> Anne Clements underlines the importance of the genealogical beginning for the whole gospel: “The genealogy places Jesus within an Old Testament theological and historical framework essential for understanding the rhetoric of the Gospel as a whole.” E. Anne Clements, *Mothers on the margin?: the significance of the women in Matthew’s genealogy* (Eugene OR: Wipf and Stock, 2014), 22.

<sup>9</sup> Herman C. Waetjen, “The genealogy as the Key to the Gospel according to Matthew”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* (95/2 1976), 205 He adds that also early Christian literature does not begin with a genealogy.

<sup>10</sup> Nolland sees “evident similarities between the Matthean and Genesis genealogies”. Nolland, “Genealogical Annotation”, 122.

<sup>11</sup> “...Matthew is generally considered to have had access to both Hebrew and Greek forms of the Old Testament,...” John Nolland, “Genealogical Annotation in Genesis as Background for the Matthean Genealogy of Jesus”, *Tyndale Bulletin* 47.1 (May 1996), 117, note 7.

<sup>12</sup> Renaud, “Les généalogies et la structure”, 17.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Hieke opens this perspective in his article “Biblos Geneseos”: “Sie (die Lesenden, HK) können anhand von Mt 1,1-17,..., Tradition und Verheißung Israels rekapitulieren- und erst auf dieser Basis ist “das Buch der Geschichte Jesu Christi” zu verstehen, das jetzt nicht nur das Matthäusevangelium, sondern das gesamte Neue Testament ist.” Thomas Hieke, “Biblos Geneseos, MT 1,1 vom Buch Genesis her gelesen”, in: J.-M. Auwers/ H.J. de Jonge, *The Biblical Canons* (Peeters, Leuven, 2003), 648.

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Matthew skips the pre-patriarchal genealogies and continues with Abraham. In this reference to Genesis 5:1 and possibly Genesis 2:4, the beginning of humankind and creation are still present.<sup>14</sup>

Usually the title contains the name of the first ancestor.<sup>15</sup> Following this system the heading ought to be: “The book of the generations of Abraham.” In Matthew 1 however, the genealogy is attributed to the last descendant, Jesus Christ. Another surprising difference is the short ascending genealogy after his name: “the son of David, the son of Abraham”. Sometimes generations are fluid -a grandson might occasionally become the son of his grandfather- and even the gender of ‘son’ might be flexible and actually refer to a daughter<sup>16</sup>, but in the OT genealogies we do not find such an interpretation of ‘son’ as the most recent descendant of a famous ancestor, overlapping a gap of numerous generations.<sup>17</sup> This double reference using the Backwards Pattern already contains the whole genealogy that follows and that will descend again from Abraham through David, and through Jechoniah, back to Jesus.

Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ Δαυιδ υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ <sup>18</sup>	heading
(father) ἐγέννησεν τον (son) (son) δε ἐγέννησεν τον (grandson) etc.	linear genealogy
Ἰακωβ δε ἐγέννησεν τον Ἰωσηφ τον ἄνδρα Μαρίας ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος χριστός	final ‘begetting’ & connection to Jesus through Mary
3 x counting of 14 generation	

<sup>14</sup> Hieke points to the fact that John (ἐν ἀρχῇ) and possibly Mark (ἀρχῇ) are also referring to Genesis, viz. Gen 1:1 ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν (LXX), in the first words of the gospels. Hieke, “Biblos Geneseos”, 644. LAB of Pseudo Philo opens with a similar reference, just before the genealogy of Adam: “Initio mundi”.

<sup>15</sup> This is the Book of the generations of Adam, These are the descendants of Shem, etc

<sup>16</sup> Thus we stated above, in discussing Gen 36, that the term יב should not be taken too literally. It can include descendants of various degrees and gender. In Gen 36 we found a grandson and great-grandson and a daughter listed among the יב.

<sup>17</sup> I limit this conclusion to a genealogy, a lineage of at least three generations. In narrative texts, people can be linked to a single, distant ancestor in a phrase like ‘sons of Israel’.

<sup>18</sup> Hieke sees this phrase and the following Ἀβραάμ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἰσαάκ, as an almost literal quotation of Gen 25:19, the הַיְלֵל of Isaac. Hieke, “Biblos Geneseos”, 645.

For 39 times the pattern is regular: a father begets a son. The 40<sup>th</sup> time it changes. Instead of the masculine active form of γεννάω the passive is used.<sup>19</sup> The pattern seems to follow the very regular pattern of the linear genealogy of Ruth 4, omitting all details regarding the age of the father and the birth of other children. We also found examples of such succinct genealogies in the Masculine Qal patterns, for example Genesis 10:24, in the Septuagint και Αρφαξὰδ ἐγέννησεν τον Καϊναν, και Καϊναν ἐγέννησεν τον Σάλα, Σάλα δε ἐγέννησεν τον Εβερ. In Matthew, the connecting word is always δε. Only twice this word is missing, namely at the beginning (Abraham was the father of Isaac) and after the deportation to Babylon (Jechoniah was the father of Shealtiel), but δε is still present in the relative temporal clause preceding this sentence. The final counting serves as a conclusion. In Genesis, the number of children could be counted, but not the generations.

Interesting are the deviations of the pattern. John Nolland classifies the Matthean genealogy as an annotated genealogy. In his eyes the breaches of standard patterns are important since they “set the genealogies into the wider narrative context and (...) ensure that the genealogies function as compressed tellings of the history that stands behind them.”<sup>20</sup> According to Nolland Matthew has learned this craft from the study of the genealogies in Genesis. He sees similarities between Matthew’s use of the time of the deportation to Babylon and temporal annotations in Genesis, like for example Genesis 10:25 (for in his days the earth was divided) and Genesis 11:10 (two years after the flood).<sup>21</sup> Where Nolland points to the narrated historical context, Peter-Ben Smit underlines the importance of the deviations or ‘irregularities’, as he calls them, for the interpretation of the genealogy. “These irregularities attract the attention of the audience and push the interpretation of the genealogy in a particular direction;”<sup>22</sup> Twice the phrase “and his brothers” is added, in verse 2 for the brothers of Judah and in verse 11 for the brothers of Jechoniah. In a way this addition reminds us of the regular addition in Genesis 5 and 11: “and had other sons and daughters”. We also found the expression “and A was their sister”. Such a short way of including -nameless- brothers in a genealogy, however, is new.<sup>23</sup> No daughter is mentioned in the genealogy in Matthew 1.

<sup>19</sup> Smit calls it a *passivum divinum*, used to avoid a direct reference to God. Peter-Ben Smit, “Something about Mary? Remarks about the Five Women in the Matthean Genealogy”, *New Testament Studies* 56, Cambridge University Press, 2010, 197. He rightfully says the use of the passive instead of the active mostly indicates a change towards the position of the father, not so much the mother, Mary, who is like the other mothers preceded by the preposition εκ. The use of the passive also “heightens the suspense somewhat for what will come in Matt.1.18-25 and thus prepares for it.” Smit, “Something about Mary”, 198.

<sup>20</sup> Nolland, “Genealogical Annotation”, 115.

<sup>21</sup> Nolland, “Genealogical Annotation”, 122.

<sup>22</sup> Smit, “Something about Mary”, 191.

<sup>23</sup> Nolland does not agree. He sees a link between this annotation “and his brothers” and the expansion to three sons in Gen 5:32 and Gen 11:26. Nolland, “Genealogical Annotation”, 122. I would say these two texts are too different. We find in them a deliberate change of a linear genealogy to a segmented one, at the conclusion of the lineage.

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Quite interesting is the addition of five mothers to the linear genealogy. The inclusion of Mary is self-evident, but the addition of the other four women puzzles theologians since ages. Much has been said and many sermons have been preached on these four women. They are by far the most talked about women present in biblical genealogies. The main question asked and answered is: Why did Matthew choose *these* four? Why did he not choose to insert the names of the four matriarchs, Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel and Leah? The answers given reflect -at least partly- the person and position of the interpreter.

The traditional answer is that “Matthew, ..., mentions women- not any women at all, but sinners, and those whom Scripture had reprov’d.”<sup>24</sup> Jerome writes aphoristically that the genealogy does not mention any holy woman but just sinners for a theological reason, namely, to show “that the one who came for sinners, being born of female sinners, would erase the sins of all.”<sup>25</sup> This traditional answer is possibly theologically satisfying, but not exegetically, considering the positive evaluation of Tamar, Rahab, Ruth and Bathsheba in the Bible and in later interpretation. The women are portrayed as loyal, guiltless, faithful, religious and -apart from Rahab- modest. And, theologically speaking, was the one who erased the sins of all, not also born of male sinners? As Smit says, the interpretation was “already rendered highly problematic because of the presence of Mary as the fifth woman.”<sup>26</sup>

According to Smit, the most popular interpretation in modern scholarship is that the four women are all Gentiles and thus represent the nations incorporated in Israel.<sup>27</sup> Ruth and Rahab are clearly foreigners, faithfully adhering to the God of Israel. But did Matthew consider Tamar and Bathsheba to be Gentiles? The evidence for such an understanding is shaky. And Mary is of course not included in this interpretation. But Jason Hood makes a good case for an extra argument for the Gentile theory. He points to the peculiar indirect reference to Bathsheba, “she of Uriah”, often overseen, and states: “...four praiseworthy Gentiles (Tamar, Rahab, Ruth and Uriah) receive focus in the genealogy rather than four women...”<sup>28</sup> He shows that this is in line with the worldwide orientation of the gospel of Matthew. But Mary is not included in this interpretation.

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In Matthew the linear genealogy continues and the brothers in the additions remain nameless. The annotation “and his brothers” makes it possible for the writer of the gospel to include important men, whom he will not and cannot pass over completely.

<sup>24</sup> Origin, “Homilies on the Gospel of Luke” 28.2, in *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, New Testament III, Luke*, edited by Just, Arthur A. Jr., 71.

<sup>25</sup> “Ut qui propter peccatores uenerat, de peccatricibus nascens omnium peccata deleret.” Jérôme, *Commentaire sur S. Matthieu, Tome I*, Sources Chrétiennes no. 242 (Paris: les Éditions du Cerf, 1977), 72. Translation, HK.

<sup>26</sup> Smit, “Something about Mary”, 200.

<sup>27</sup> Smit, “Something about Mary”, 192.

<sup>28</sup> Jason B. Hood, *The Messiah, His Brothers, and the Nations, Matthew 1.1-17*, Library of New Testament Studies (T&T Clark, London-New York, 2011) 162.



In her book “Mothers on the margin?: the significance of the women in Matthew’s genealogy” Anne Clements treats the question why Matthew chose these women extensively. Clements distinguishes several reasons given by scholars for the inclusion of these women.<sup>29</sup> According to Clements, another popular reason in modern scholarship for the addition of the four women is their foreshadowing Mary.

Smit is not focused on finding one encompassing interpretation for the inclusion of all five women. Some of them “introduce an ethnic aspect into the genealogy:...”, namely the women around king David (especially Rahab and Ruth). Both Tamar and Bathsheba have irregular relationships with “two persons with the strongest messianic connotations in Matthew’s genealogy...”<sup>30</sup>, Judah and David. Tamar and Bathsheba are in their irregular pregnancies both foreshadowing Mary’s “awkward pregnancy”.<sup>31</sup> So there are different reasons why the women are included, but there is one thing that binds them together: their gender.<sup>32</sup> Anne Clements herself sees the five women as representing the message of the gospel of Matthew. They stand for the focus of Matthew on marginalised people. The gospel of Jesus will change society by including marginalised people and therefore these mothers on the margin are included in the genealogy of Jesus Christ.

My own interpretation would start from the curious description of Bathsheba, “she of Uriah”. Why would the author choose not to mention her name, but to describe her by the name of her former husband? The relation with another man than the father of Solomon, is made very explicit. All four women were connected to other men than the father of their child. Tamar, Ruth and Bathsheba were all married before. Rahab was probably connected to many men. In this aspect these four women foreshadow Mary, who is giving birth to the son of God, while she is betrothed to Joseph. This interpretation would, in my opinion, explain why Bathsheba is called “she of Uriah”. Probably Bathsheba was chosen since her situation corresponds best with Mary’s situation. Tamar might also have been called ‘she of Er or Onan’, but in that case a comparison would have been made between Joseph and a sinner. A connection between Mahlon and Joseph might also have had negative connotations, due to Mahlon’s name. All four women foreshadow Mary, but only Uriah foreshadows Joseph. The resemblance between Batsheba and Uriah and Mary and

<sup>29</sup> She lists these reasons in six columns as follows: 1. they are all sinners; 2. they are all gentiles; 3. they all foreshadow Mary; 4. they form a divine irregularity; 5. their inclusion is polemical; 6. other reasons. In modern scholarship reason 2 and 3 are the most popular, she concludes. In historical Christian interpretation however, 1 was the most influential. Elizabeth Anne Clements, *Mothers on the margin? The Significance of the Women in Matthew’s Genealogy* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock, 2014), 28-38. My own interpretation falls under reason 3 (they all foreshadow Mary).

<sup>30</sup> Smit, “Something about Mary”, 201.

<sup>31</sup> Smit, “Something about Mary”, 205-6.

<sup>32</sup> Smit, “Something about Mary”, 206-7.

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Joseph might have been felt to be the closest.

Form-critically speaking it is surprising that these mothers are included not in a segmented genealogy but in a linear one. Can female elements be present in linear genealogies, describing the succession of sons to fathers? There is more room for women in a segmented genealogy like Genesis 36, but we found some women in linear genealogies in the Hebrew Bible, especially in short linear genealogical phrases. In Matthew however, we find exceptions at a completely different level:

Ἰούδας δὲ	ἐγέννησεν	τὸν Φάρες καὶ τὸν Ζάρα	ἐκ τῆς Θαμάρ
Σαλμῶν δὲ	ἐγέννησεν	τὸν Βόες	ἐκ τῆς Ῥαχάβ
Βόες δὲ	ἐγέννησεν	τὸν Ἰωβὴδ	ἐκ τῆς Ῥούθ
Δαυὶδ δὲ	ἐγέννησεν	τὸν Σολομῶνα	ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου <sup>33</sup>

The same verb in the same form is used and nothing changes. The mothers are added in a natural way with just the addition of the simple preposition ἐκ, without further ado and without disturbances in the pattern. The inclusion of mothers seems so obvious, that you start to wonder whether linear genealogies can be cognatic too. Matthew 1 forcefully breaks the general rule that only segmented genealogies leave room for female elements. The construction we find in Matthew 1: “Judah fathered Perez and Zerah by Tamar” is special. Usually in the Hebrew genealogies a different construction would be used, like the traditional: “he knew/took her and she gave birth”.<sup>34</sup> There were three examples of a Hiphil pattern including a mother in Chronicles. The texts that resemble Matthew most, are two verses in Chronicles, namely I Chronicles 8:9 and 11. In these verses, mothers Hodesh and Hushim are included in the Hiphil pattern of their husband Shaharaim by the preposition יָרָ. In contemporary literature the verb γεννάω and the preposition ἐκ were more often combined, for instance in Tobit 1:9, Diodorus Siculus 4,2,1, but not in a linear genealogy.

<sup>33</sup> The brown colour does not indicate a pattern, but the additions to the pattern.

<sup>34</sup> In Tobit 1:9 there is an interesting combination of the יָרָ יָרָ pattern, and γεννάω plus ἐκ: “... ἔλαβον Ἄνναν γυναῖκα... καὶ ἐγέννησα ἐξ αὐτῆς Τωβίαν.” Diodorus Siculus also uses this construction in 4,2,1, with ‘to marry’ and infinitive Aorist of γεννάω.

The last, fifth *ἐκ* in Matthew 1, we find with Mary:

Ἰακώβ δὲ	ἐγέννησεν	τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἄνδρα	Μαρίας ἐξ ἧς
	ἐγεννήθη	Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος χριστός. <sup>35</sup>	

The elements are still the same. The verb *γεννάω* and the preposition *ἐκ* are there, as if all is regular. But apart from that, the pattern has changed dramatically. The progenating father is missing; only the mother's name is mentioned. The verb is now used in the passive. Subject is the son. The name Ἰησοῦς and the epitheton *χριστός* form an *inclusio* with the heading of the genealogy.

If we look at the whole text the first verses (vss. 2-3a) form the most irregular part, containing a reference to brothers, and to the twins Perez and Serah by Tamar. There seems to be no direct dependence on one Bible text. From verse 3b to 6a Matthew follows Ruth 4, the idealised linear genealogy: straightforward and succinct. But contrary to Ruth 4, that leaves room for two women, Rahab and Ruth, who appear in the middle of the pattern. As in Ruth 4 David is the tenth generation from his ancestor Perez, the son of Judah and Tamar. In Ruth 4 he is not singled out in any way, but here we find his title: the king. The first subdivision ends here.

The second subdivision (6b-11) and verse 12 seem to be based on I Chronicles 3. We find the additions in the second part at the beginning and the end. At the beginning we find the only female element, the curiously formulated reference to Bathsheba as “she of Uriah”, pointing to her relation to another man than David. In this part telescoping takes place. Six kings are missing. Three are omitted in the middle (Joash, Amaziah and Azariah). The other three are more or less covered by the addition “and his brothers” at the end, just before the temporal indication that closes this part. From verse 13, from Abiud onwards it is not clear where the names are derived from. Mary figures at the end as the link between the genealogy and her son Jesus Christ.

The final conclusion calculates the number of generations. As in Luke, there seems to be a focus on the number seven. In Matthew there are three x 14 generations. 14 is possibly not accidentally also the numerical value of the name David (4-6-4). Samuel Tobias Lachs concludes: “Since the purpose was to emphasize the Davidic ancestry of Jesus, the author worked this into the

<sup>35</sup> Waetjen points to the similar construction found in vs. 18 where *ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου* is used for the pregnancy of Mary by the Holy Spirit. “In contradistinction to Perez and Zerah, Boaz, Obed, and Solomon who are “from” various women, Jesus (although he is also from Mary in 1:16) is “from the holy Spirit.”” Waetjen, “Genealogy as the Key”, 221. Interestingly, this would put the Holy Spirit on the same level as Tamar, Rahab, Ruth and Bathsheba, and of Mary. This is line with a certain interpretation of the Holy Spirit, as Waetjen says: “In this respect at least the account of both Luke and Matthew must be read in the context of Hellenistic Judaism where the Spirit is the generative principle of life...” Waetjen, “Genealogy as the Key”, 222.

very form of the genealogy.”<sup>36</sup> We cannot be sure whether this calculation with the numerical value of David’s name is in line with the intention of the author.

The genealogy structures history, leading to the birth of Jesus as culmination point of history. Johnson points to the probable presence of an apocalyptic week-schedule.  $3 \times 14$  might be read as  $6 \times 7$  weeks.<sup>37</sup> The seventh week is the Messianic age. Herman Waetjen, however, found another parallel in II Baruch 53-74. Twelve periods of history passed, before a very dark and frightsome thirteenth period arrives, the period the reader is now living in. This darkest period needs to be survived, before the last, the fourteenth period can come, the arrival of the Messiah.<sup>38</sup> This parallel would account for the incorrect numbering in the third division, with only 13 names. As Waetjen points out, it is not ascertainable whether Matthew was acquainted with II Baruch, but he does use the same numerical structure of history in  $12 + 2 = 14$  periods. Jesus is according to Waetjen a transition figure as David and Jehoniah. He is to be counted double. As Jesus, son of Mary, he is the thirteenth generation and as Christ he is the fourteenth. With the arrival of Jesus the Christ the final fourth age has begun.<sup>39</sup>

Johnson points out the similarities of the time schedule of Matthew and ‘roughly’ contemporary Jewish sources.<sup>40</sup> “The evidence indicates that Matthew’s reconstruction, with its emphatic verse 17, would be understood by a learned Jewish reader to have eschatological significance.”<sup>41</sup> But there is a difference too: the genealogies in Matthew and Luke are the only Messianic genealogies, “which are written to prove that the Messiah has come.”<sup>42</sup> They are not only looking at the future, but at the fulfilment in the past.<sup>43</sup> Lachs sees a different similarity and suggests that the periodisation in Matthew is an imitation of the rabbinical calculation in Avot, of 14 generations from Moses to the rabbinic period.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Samuel Tobias Lachs, *A Rabbinic Commentary on the New Testament: The Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Ktav Publishing House, 1987).

<sup>37</sup> Waetjen does not find this interpretation convincing. “But if Matthew’s  $3 \times 14$  generations are really  $6 \times 7$ , why is this not clearly stated in 1:17?”, Waetjen, “Genealogy as the Key”, 210. Johnson himself admits that “Matthew emphasizes three groups of fourteen each, not six groups of seven; and pre-Israelite history (contrary to the oldest trace of this Jewish tradition in II Enoch 33) is ignored.” Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 202.

<sup>38</sup> Waetjen, “Genealogy as the Key”, 210-212.

<sup>39</sup> Waetjen, “Genealogy as the Key”, 212.

<sup>40</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 192-208. According to Jason B. Hood (*The Messiah, His Brothers, and the Nations, Matthew 1.1-17*, Library of New Testament Studies (T&T Clark, London-New York, 2011), 12) the parallels used by Johnson are not very convincing, since the Jewish sources are hardly contemporary and do not contain actual genealogies, but only genealogical instruction and temporal schedules. Still, the measuring of time practised by Matthew was already present in Daniel, so we will maintain Johnson’s conclusion, that the 14-generation schedule ( $6 \times 7$ ) would ring a bell with contemporary readers.

<sup>41</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 208.

<sup>42</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 208.

<sup>43</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 208.

<sup>44</sup> Lachs, *A Rabbinic Commentary*, 3. Matthew would then have wanted to make clear that his periodisation was superior, since it consisted of  $3 \times 14$  instead of  $1 \times 14$  generations.

Though idealised numbers might be used<sup>45</sup>, we will not find such diachronic calculations in the Hebrew genealogies, apart from the genealogies in Chronicles<sup>46</sup>. We do find synchronic calculations, like the number of people of the house of Jacob who entered Egypt in Genesis 46:27.

## 6.2 Genealogy in Luke

In Luke we find a very regular Backwards Pattern, similar to I Chronicles 6. There we found three longer genealogies, in which the Backwards Pattern was dominant. We find the same pattern here, reaching 77 generations. As we have seen above, Sparks calls this kind of genealogy an ascending genealogy, climbing up from child to parent.<sup>47</sup> In the two genealogies of Jesus we have in New Testament, both types of genealogy are present. In Matthew, a descending genealogy is tracing the lineage from parent to child and in Luke an ascending genealogy. The pattern is:

Και αὐτός ἦν Ἰησοῦς	name of descendant to whom
ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα	belongs the genealogy
ὦν υἱός, ὡς ἐνομίζετο, Ἰωσήφ	so called son of Joseph
τοῦ Ἠλι	of the Eli
τοῦ Μαθθατ	
τοῦ Λευι	
τοῦ.....	
τοῦ Ἀδαμ	
τοῦ θεοῦ	

The genealogy of Jesus is in fact a genealogy of Joseph. It is firmly attached to the name Joseph, with whom the pattern starts. Between Jesus and Joseph there is a certain hesitance in the relationship through the expression: ὡς ἐνομίζετο in between υἱός and Ἰωσήφ. According to Andrew T. Lincoln it means “regarding something as presumably true but without particular certainty,” and he adds: “...often the context will indicate what level of certainty might be attached

<sup>45</sup> See e.g. the discussion on Ruth 4 on the possible reality of the number of ten generations from Perez to David.

<sup>46</sup> See above, especially I Chron 5:27-41.

<sup>47</sup> Sparks, *The Chronicler's Genealogies*, 17.

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to the belief or supposition in question ...”<sup>48</sup> At the end of 6.3 we will discuss the issue of relation of Jesus to Joseph in more detail.

The pattern is even more succinct than the similar structure in Chronicles. After υἱος, ὡς ἐνομιζέτο, Ἰωσήφ, the word υἱος is not used again. Instead we only find the article in Masculine Genitive.<sup>49</sup> We see a similar reduction to the article in some Backwards Pattern genealogies in the Septuagint, for instance in Zephaniah 1:1. Both Zephaniah 1:1 and Zechariah 1:1 have the sequence: τον τοῦ followed by υἱον. Zechariah’s genealogy ends there; Zephaniah’s continues with τοῦ, two times. I Samuel 1 & 6 and I Chronicles 6 continue after an initial υἱος with υἱοῦ. In Acts 13:22 there is a similar genealogical reference, omitting the actual word showing the relationship but retaining the definite article: Δαυῖδ τον τοῦ Ἰεσσαί. Here the accusative article of ‘son’ is still there, as in Zephaniah and Zechariah.

In the reversed genealogies the first father is usually not distinguished in any way. He just heads the long list of ancestors. Luke however adds a verse describing the special relation of Jesus to Joseph. In the Backwards Pattern there is often no real heading, but the genealogy is added as an extra introduction to a person. We found that in I Chronicles they give background information to some names in enumerations, while other names in these lists have no such additions.

In Luke it seems to function in a similar way. The genealogy is added as an extended genitive of relationship, to describe the descent of Jesus, or to be more precise, of Joseph. As such it does not structure the text as other genealogical patterns tend to do, but serves as an addition. There is no formal heading like in Matthew introducing the genealogy or even the whole gospel. It is just added to a seemingly unconnected remark on the age of Jesus at the start of his ministry. There is also no ending, no special final line summarising the generations. The genealogy ends with the surprising: “of the God, putting God seemingly on exactly the same level as the ancestors.”<sup>50</sup> The most similar text is Genesis 5, where the creation is part of the Book of תולדות of Adam. But still, creating and becoming father of are clearly distinguished.

<sup>48</sup> Andrew T. Lincoln, “Luke and Jesus’ Conception: A Case of Double Paternity?”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 132, no. 3 (2013), 646.

<sup>49</sup> A German Bible translation, the Textbibel from 1899, therefore translates consequently: “des Eli, des Mattat, des Melchi” etc. The German language is similar to the Greek in the use of the genitive definite article before a proper noun. Translations in other languages add the word ‘son’.

<sup>50</sup> Mark Strauss considers τοῦ θεοῦ to be a Lukan addition since no Jewish genealogy begins or ends with God. Still, he remarks that the idea of God as the father of Adam is found in the Hellenistic Jew Philo, so “such an idea is not necessarily alien to Hellenistic Jewish thought.” Mark L. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts, The Promise and its Fulfillment in Lukan Christology*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 110 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 211.

What is the meaning of the final τοῦ θεοῦ? Is it added to make clear that Jesus is the son of God in as many ways as possible, as Argyle says?<sup>51</sup> Or does Luke want to assimilate this Jewish lineage to the Greek genealogies, who lead back a person's parentage to the gods?<sup>52</sup>

The lineage has a depth of 77 generations, from Joseph, reaching God as ultimate progenitor. As in Matthew there seems to be a focus on the number seven. In Matthew there were 3 x 14 generations. Here we find from Joseph to Joseph seven generations; from Mattathias to Mattathias seven generations; from Mattathias' father to the third and last Joseph 21 generations, with Jesus' namesake Joshua as fourteenth generation; from Joseph's father Jonam to David seven generations; from Jesse to Abraham 14 generations; from Terah to God 21 generations.

Michael Goulder recognises the same emphasis on the seventh generation, which "contains the most famous names, like David and Abraham..."<sup>53</sup> He compares the genealogy of Luke with visionary world histories like II Baruch and the Apocalypse of Abraham. They also divide the world history in 12 parts. In the twelfth part the Messiah is coming. We might apply this on Luke's genealogy, "since Jesus might then be at the beginning of the final week of history, the twelfth week of generations."<sup>54</sup>

Some names have a familiar ring to them. Names of prophets and priests<sup>55</sup> are present. Famous names like Levi and Mattathias occur twice. Levi stands close to Matthat in both cases. Zerubbabel and Shealtiel were already present in the Matthean list. There are different explanations of the position of the genealogy in the gospel of Luke after the birth stories. There is a clear connection between Luke 3:22 and Luke 3:23/38, describing Jesus as Son of God. After the picturesque birth narrative the genealogy serves as an interlude before the start of the public ministry, or to express it in the terms we used in the discussion on the position of the Genesis genealogies: the genealogy serves as the credits before the film starts. It is followed by the action already suggested in the genealogy. In Genesis, these suggestions concerned the (lack of) fertility

<sup>51</sup> Argyle points to three texts in the first chapters of Luke calling Jesus the Son of God: "He was the eternal Son of God, being conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary. God said to Him at his baptism "Thou art my Son." And finally Luke traces his genealogy up to Adam, "the son of God." A.W. Argyle, "Evidence for the View that St. Luke Used St. Matthew's Gospel", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 83 (1964), 391.

<sup>52</sup> According to Strauss "one should not read too much into Luke's addition of τοῦ θεοῦ following Adam's name." Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah*, 213.

<sup>53</sup> Michael D. Goulder, *Luke, A New Paradigm*, Volume I, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 20 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 284.

<sup>54</sup> Goulder, *Luke, A New Paradigm*, 284. Goulder adds that Luke might have followed Daniel in shortening the last Messianic week to a half-week. Also Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts*, 210: "Such a pattern may reflect the division of world history into eleven weeks, followed by the 12<sup>th</sup> week of the messianic era. Jesus' coming is thus seen at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> week, the climax of world history. Similar schematizations of world history occur in pseudepigraphic and rabbinic works ..." According to Strauss the genealogy might originally have had a descending pattern instead of an ascending one.

<sup>55</sup> Goulder suggests that Melchi might be an echo of Melchizedek. Goulder, *Luke, A New Paradigm*, 288.

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of the last generation, which became the topic in the following narrative. The gospel of Matthew follows this pattern. In Luke, the suggestion for the action might be present already in the last words “of the God”. So the genealogy is the start of the real gospel.

William Kurz sees similarities between the position of the genealogy in the book of Exodus and the position of the genealogy in Luke.<sup>56</sup> Both accounts put the birth of Jesus in a historical context (Pharaoh/Herod); both first describe the birth and growth of the heroes and an important event foreshadowing their work<sup>57</sup>; both insert the genealogy in between commission and mission.<sup>58</sup> According to Kurz, Luke deliberately created a “parallelism between the structures of Jesus’ and Moses’ careers.”<sup>59</sup>

What is the purpose of the genealogy in Luke? For Johnson, the purpose lies in the last words of the genealogy: τοῦ θεοῦ, Jesus being son of God. The purpose lies not in Jesus being son of David, for the genealogy continues to reach God. For Johnson this purpose can be discovered by the position of the genealogy within the gospel: directly after the baptism narrative in which Jesus is declared “my son” by a voice from heaven.<sup>60</sup> As seen above, Strauss does not attribute great meaning to the addition τοῦ θεοῦ. Jesus being through Adam a son of God is therefore not the purpose of this list for him. The purpose of the lineage lies in the relation of Jesus to three other ancestors: as a son of Adam his person and work have saving significance for the whole of humankind; as son of Abraham his mission is part of God’s salvation-historical work through the nation of Israel (...); as a son of David he is heir to the throne of David—a throne which is promised universal dominion and eternal duration.<sup>61</sup>

The main question in the debate is whether the evangelist used existing material which he inserted with some alterations or additions or constructed the genealogies himself. The scholars who state that Luke used existing material mostly do not find the play with numbers to be meaningful. The scheme of 11 x 7 is then a remnant of the source, not highlighted by Luke, whereas the additions, like the “son of God” become extra meaningful. According to Strauss Luke was not aware of the 11 x 7 scheme and even obscured the pattern by reversing the order. He thinks the evangelist used existing material. Luke “received the full genealogy from a source,...”, with the

<sup>56</sup> William S. Kurz, “Luke-Acts and Historiography in the Greek Bible”, *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*, Vol.19 (1980): 283-300.

<sup>57</sup> Namely the murderous rescue attempt by Moses of a fellow countryman and the teaching of the adolescent Jesus in the Temple.

<sup>58</sup> William S. Kurz, “Luke-Acts and Historiography”, 287.

<sup>59</sup> William S. Kurz, “Luke-Acts and Historiography”, 288. Kurz uses as further evidence the speech of Stephen in Acts 7 which clearly draws a comparison between Jesus and Moses.

<sup>60</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 237.

<sup>61</sup> Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah*, 213.



addition of τοῦ θεοῦ.<sup>62</sup> The scholars who state that Luke's genealogy was a deliberate fabrication focus on the intention. Why did Luke write the genealogy as he did? What is the meaning of his lengthening the genealogy till creation? Why is David's son Nathan chosen by Luke instead of Solomon? The hidden numerical structure is considered important by them. Goulder considers the Lukan genealogy to be "a carefully constructed work of art, a genealogical poem"<sup>63</sup>, which is most likely written by Luke himself. He compares the genealogy to a building: "...: the architecture seems to stand out clearly in the light of contemporary parallels; some of the bricks have us guessing, but we can conjecture some account of the builder's intention even here."<sup>64</sup> As stated above, Goulder considers the 11 x 7 structure to be quite important. The numbers of the generations stand for the world-history hidden in the genealogy. Nathan was chosen according to Goulder, since Luke in Acts 7:44-48 has shown some hostility to Solomon, who built a house for a God who does not dwell in houses.<sup>65</sup> Luke added names to the list and filled the gaps to reach the 77 names.<sup>66</sup>

### 6.3 The genealogies in Matthew and Luke: a comparison

There are many differences between the genealogy of Matthew and the one of Luke. By choosing the ascending form, Luke gave his genealogy a different stature. Where Matthew placed his genealogy prominently at the beginning, for Luke, even though the placing might be secondary, the genealogy still functions almost as an afterthought. As seen above it is added as an extended genitive of relationship, added to the name of Joseph. There is no heading nor ending and even the numerical pattern is blurred and hard to spot. The backwards genealogy excludes other descendants and wives. No women are mentioned. That in itself makes the genealogy less surprising and eye-catching than the list in Matthew. As seen above, readers of all times have studied the genealogy of Matthew extensively to catch the meaning of the presence of women.

Matthew's genealogy stands prominently at the beginning, using the very biblical linear descending form, reminding the reader of the great genealogies in Genesis. Echoes of Genesis 5 and 11 sound in the regular rhythm of fathers begetting sons; sons becoming father. There can be no doubt that the names of the women are deliberately inserted, as there can be no doubt that the

<sup>62</sup> Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah in Luke-Acts*, 211.

<sup>63</sup> Goulder, *Luke, A New Paradigm*, 288.

<sup>64</sup> Goulder, *Luke, A New Paradigm*, 288.

<sup>65</sup> Strauss adds that Scripture already knew of the special role for the house of Nathan, referring to Zech 12:12. Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah*, 215.

<sup>66</sup> Goulder, *Luke, A New Paradigm*, 289-290.

genealogy is deliberately structured and thought through. Probably Matthew wanted to indicate the beginning of a new era in the seventh week or the fourth period of the history since Abraham.

**How to explain their differences? Solutions proposed in the history of interpretation.**

Readers of all times have been puzzled by the differences in names in both genealogies. Matthew gives a descent through king David and Bathsheba's son Solomon; Luke follows a non-royal line through another son of David and Bathsheba, Nathan, probably to bypass the curse of king Jehoiachin.<sup>67</sup> The list of Luke has more names and reaches a greater depth. From David to Joseph there are 28 (2 x 14) generations in Matthew and 42 (6 x 7) generations in Luke. Matthew starts with Abraham. Luke ends with Adam, the son of God. His list reaches a greater depth, to the last ancestor, God himself. In the list of names from Nathan to Adam three names are added in Luke's genealogy compared to 1 Chronicles: Arni and Admin instead of Ram in the seventh and eighth generation from Jesse and Cainan, in the fourteenth generation from creation.

In the history of interpretation these discrepancies between both New Testament genealogies were seen and dealt with in a creative way. Biblical scholars wanted to uphold the veracity of both texts. That is why different solutions have been brought forward, to solve the differences. This discussion, starting in the early church, continues till today, though in a different form. Several of the options discussed below have reappeared. That is why we will try to follow the discussion through the ages.

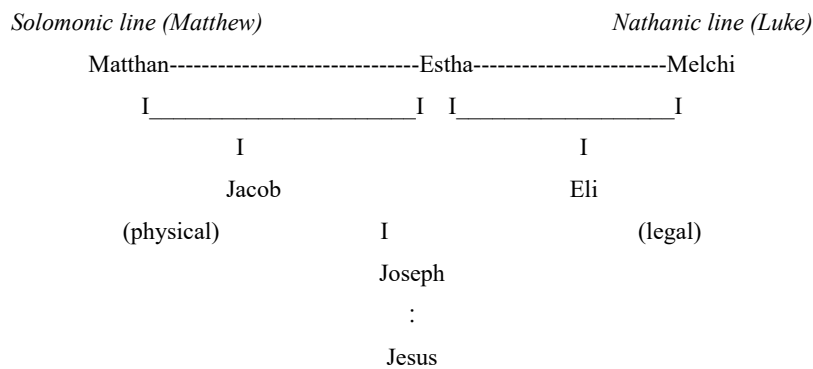
By some the custom of the Levirate marriage was seen as a solution to the problem. The philosopher Julius Africanus developed this theory in his *Epistle to Aristides*, in the second century. The whole letter is dedicated to this issue. He maintained the view that both genealogies are belonging to Joseph, but that the differences could be explained by the Hebrew marriage customs. A brother could raise up children in the name of his deceased childless brother. Therefore the names mentioned by Luke and Matthew are different. "Thus neither of the evangelists is in error, as the one reckons by nature and the other by law."<sup>68</sup> The genealogy of Matthew represents the descent by nature; the genealogy of Luke the one by (Levirate) law.

Julius explains this in some detail by the example of the grandfathers of Joseph, who are in his text of the gospels Matthan (Matthew) and Melchi (Luke) and the grandmother of Joseph, Estha,

<sup>67</sup> Jer 22:30: "Thus says the Lord: Record this man as childless, a man who shall not succeed in his days; for none of his offspring shall succeed in sitting on the throne of David, and ruling again in Judah."

<sup>68</sup> Julius Africanus, *Epistle to Aristides*, *Fathers of the Third Century*, edited by Philip Schaff (documentacatholicaomnia.eu), II 1039.

whose name he adds from tradition. Matthan became the father of Jacob by Estha, but died soon after. Melchi was his relative, being of the same tribe but not the same family. He traced his family line back to Nathan instead of Solomon. He took it upon him to marry the widow of his relative and had a son Heli. So Jacob and Heli are, according to Julius Africanus, uterine brothers, but of different families. Heli then died childless and his brother Jacob married the widow and became the father of Joseph, his son by nature. Johnson put this in a clarifying diagram:<sup>69</sup>



For Heli Joseph is his son by law. In such a way Julius Africanus explains the somewhat ambiguous expression in Luke: “ὡς ἐνομίζετο, as was supposed”, as referring to being father according to the law.<sup>70</sup> Calvin refers to Julius Africanus’ explanation, but would like to turn the attribution around. Matthew is the genealogy of the law, according to him, since Christ is the rightful heir to the throne of Solomon, even though he may not be the descendant in the flesh. He regards the genealogy of Luke as the natural pedigree of Jesus through his father Joseph.<sup>71</sup>

Augustine proposes a similar, but less complicated solution. Where in Julius Africanus’ explanation Joseph has two fathers, the brothers Heli and Jacob, through the custom of the Levirate marriage, in Augustine’s solution Joseph also has two fathers, but through the custom of adoption. “Indeed, it was the custom of adoption even among that people of God. In this way they would endow sonship upon those whom they had not given birth.”<sup>72</sup> Augustine points to the adoption of Moses by Pharaoh’s daughter and to the adoption of the grandsons by Jacob. Luke gives the lineage



<sup>69</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 141.  
<sup>70</sup> Julius Africanus, *Epistle to Aristides*, II 1039.  
<sup>71</sup> Jean Calvin, *Commentaires sur la Concordance ou Harmonie, composee des trois Evangelistes, assavoir saint Matthieu, saint Marc, & saint Luc* (Genève: Michel Blanchier, 1563), 31-35.  
<sup>72</sup> Augustine, “Harmony of the Gospels” 2.3.5 PL 34:1072-1073, in: *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, New Testament I a, Matthew 1-13*, edited by Manlio Simonetti (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2001), 4.

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of the adoptive father of Joseph, Heli, whereas Matthew describes the ancestry of the natural father of Joseph, Jacob. “It was easy for them (Matthew and Luke, HK) to perceive that Joseph was able to have two fathers, one blood father by whom he was born and another adoptive father by whom he was adopted.”<sup>73</sup>

In the fifteenth century the Dominican friar Anniius of Viterbo, who was also a notorious forger of antiquities, wrote two pages on the genealogies of Jesus. He discusses the objections of heretics to the genealogies of Jesus. Anniius is especially quoting the fourth century Roman emperor Julian the Apostate. Julian was a proficient Biblical scholar. As a young adult he refuted Christianity in favour of Roman Traditional Religion, but he still had a thorough knowledge of the Bible. His arguments, retrieved from the polemical texts of his opponents, are as follows: since Jesus was not the child of Joseph, how useful are these genealogies? Jesus cannot be the royal leader from Judah, foretold by the prophets, “for he is not even from Judah. How could he be when according to you he was not born of Joseph but of the Holy Spirit?”<sup>74</sup> For Julian this discrepancy showed the discontinuity between Old and New Testament and the lack of foundation and sense of the ‘Galilean’ religion.

Annius quotes as first answer to Julianus the words in 1 Timothy 1:4: “...not to occupy themselves with myths and endless genealogies which promote speculations...” and the text of the letter to Titus, which Calvin will quote too at the end of his treatise on the genealogies: “But avoid stupid controversies, genealogies, dissensions, and quarrels over the law, for they are unprofitable and futile.”<sup>75</sup> But his main answer lies in his theory that the Lukan genealogy is in fact the genealogy of Mary. It is not the custom of Scripture, he says, that the line of women is woven into the genealogies. *Non est consuetudo scripturarum : ut ordo mulierum in genealogiis texetur.*<sup>76</sup> That’s why the genealogy seems to lead to Joseph instead of Mary. But it is the genealogy of Mary and Joseph, instead of being Heli’s son, is Heli’s son-in-law. So in the first generation of parents the genealogy in Luke would be enatic, listing the relatives of Jesus’ mother, though the whole lineage is patrilinear, following the ongoing line of fathers.

Annius is in fact quoting Jerome here. In his commentary on Matthew Jerome answered thus to the question of an attentive reader (*diligens lector*) of the gospels regarding the usefulness of these genealogies, since Jesus wasn’t the son of Joseph: *primum non esse consuetudinis*

<sup>73</sup> Augustine, “Harmony of the Gospels”, 4-5.

<sup>74</sup> Julian, *Against the Galileans*, From: The Works of the Emperor Julian, volume III, trans. W.C. Wright (London: Heinemann; New York: Macmillan, 1923), 253, 99.

<sup>75</sup> Titus 3:9.

<sup>76</sup> Giovanni Nanni (Joannis Annii), *Antiquitatum variarum* volumina XVII (Paris: Josse Bade/J. Badio et Jean Petit, 1515), Liber XIII Fo. XCIII.

*scripturarum ut mulierum in generationibus ordo texatur, deinde ex una tribu fuisse Ioseph et Mariam,...*<sup>77</sup> Jerome implies without stating explicitly that the genealogy belongs to Mary. Probably he means to say that both genealogies of Joseph in fact belong to Mary. But what is the difference anyway since they belong to the same tribe?

Bishop Ambrose is thinking in the same line. Genealogies were customarily paternal and so Jesus' genealogy had to be in line with this custom:

“You see that the description of descent is connected by the old custom from the fathers to the sons and from the sons to the fathers. You see that the family is everywhere listed through the generations of the husband. .... Do not marvel that Joseph's lineage is described. Indeed, being born according to the flesh, he must follow the usage of the flesh, and he who came into the world must be described in the custom of the world, particularly as the lineage of Mary is also in the lineage of Joseph. For since Joseph was a righteous man, he took a wife from his own tribe and his own country,...”<sup>78</sup>

So maybe the lineage belonged to Mary instead of Joseph, but whatever the case, it does not really matter, since Joseph and Mary were closely related. Joseph's genealogy is Mary's genealogy and vice versa. In Joseph's genealogy Mary's genealogy is included. Ambrose quotes Numbers 36:6-8 as another argument: “Joseph went up from his house and the country of David to be enrolled with Mary his wife. She who enrolls from the same house and the same country surely signifies that she is of this same tribe and of this same country.”<sup>79</sup>

The idea that Mary was of Davidic descent was not new: it was already discussed two centuries earlier, by several second century writers, like for instance Irenaeus. For Irenaeus, the Davidic descent of Mary was essential. If Jesus would have been just the son of Joseph, he could not have become king, since Jechoniah (Jehoiachin), the ancestor of Joseph according to Matthew, was excluded from kingship (Jer 22:30). So Jesus was born from the descendant of David, Mary, “Aus dem Mutterleibe Davids”. As Adam was created from virginal earth, so Jesus is born from the virgin Mary.<sup>80</sup> Another argument put forward to attributing the genealogy of Luke to Mary is

<sup>77</sup> Saint Jérôme, *Commentaire sur S. Matthieu*, Tome I (Livres I-II), Sources Chrétiennes No 242 (Paris: les Éditions du Cerf, 1977), 77.

<sup>78</sup> Ambrose, “Exposition of the Gospel of Luke 3.12-13” in: *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture, New Testament III, Luke*, edited by Arthur A. Just Jr. (Downers Grove Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 69-70.

<sup>79</sup> Ambrose, “Exposition”, 69-70.

<sup>80</sup> *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, des Heiligen Irenaeus fünf Bücher gegen die Häresien*, übersetzt von Prof. Dr. E Klebba (Verlag der Jos. Koeselschen Buchhandlung Kempten & München 1912) I Band, Buch I-III, 305-6.

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the lack of article before Joseph. In contrast to the other real ancestors, whose names are preceded by an article, Joseph would only supposedly be the father of Jesus.<sup>81</sup>

Calvin finds the theory that Luke's genealogy is in fact the genealogy of Mary unconvincing. The Bible is clear, he says, in speaking about Jesus as son of Joseph.<sup>82</sup> His own opinion is not so easily summarised. He sees a substantial agreement between both pedigrees. Sometimes different names might indicate the same persons. Matthew concentrates on the legal line of royal descent; Luke more on the natural line. For memory's sake, Matthew's list is well structured, whereas Luke describes the natural descent with greater exactness. Calvin does not want to give way to endless deliberations on these issues, since he prefers "sobrieté & modestie" to "subtilitez frivoles & vaines".<sup>83</sup>

A different solution is proposed by the modern evangelical scholar R.P. Nettlehorst. According to him Luke follows the line of the paternal grandfather Matthat and Matthew gives the genealogy of the maternal grandfather of Joseph, Jacob. So Jacob would be the father of the nameless mother of Joseph and the genealogy in Matthew would be the genealogy of a woman, viz. Joseph's mother. Nettlehorst sees further evidence for his theory in the inclusion of female names in Matthew's list.<sup>84</sup>

To summarise the discussion we found five different ways to solve the discrepancy between both genealogies of Jesus' father Joseph:

1. Matthew gives the genealogy of the natural father of Joseph; Luke of the father by Levirate law (Julius Africanus)
2. Matthew gives the genealogy of the natural father of Joseph, Luke of the adoptive father (Augustine)
3. Matthew gives the genealogy of Joseph; Luke of Mary (Annius of Viterbo refuting emperor Julian the Apostate, partly Ambrose)
4. Matthew gives the genealogy of the mother of Joseph; Luke of the father of Joseph (Nettlehorst)
5. Matthew gives the genealogy of the royal line; Luke of the natural line -and also partly persons might have different names (Calvin)

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<sup>81</sup> The lack of article would indicate according to some that the expression "supposedly" only regards Joseph and not the other ancestors of the list, who all have the genitive article. They would be the natural forefathers of Jesus, through his mother Mary, whereas Joseph was only supposedly his father. Johnson lists several points against this in his words rather forced exegesis, among others the argument that Luke would have expressed such a thought more clearly in another way. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 143-4.

<sup>82</sup> Jean Calvin, *Commentaires sur la Concordance ou Harmonie*, 31-35.

<sup>83</sup> Jean Calvin, *Commentaires sur la Concordance ou Harmonie*, 35.

<sup>84</sup> R.P. Nettlehorst, "The Genealogy of Jesus", *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 1988, 169-172.

In most of these solutions, apart from Calvin and Nettlehorst, the genealogy of Matthew is regarded as a normal, natural lineage and the one of Luke as special<sup>85</sup>, probably due to the hesitance felt in the subordinate clause ὡς ἐνομιζετο and in the less prominent place of the genealogy, as an addition to the name Joseph. The genealogy in Luke lacks the formality of structure of the lineage of Matthew, with the formal heading and ending. But both genealogies, though different, have equal value, according to Ambrose. “We should not consider one account truer than the other, but that the one agrees with the other in equal faith and truth.”<sup>86</sup> The genealogies are complementary: “Matthew thought the generation should be derived through Solomon, but Luke through Nathan. The fact seems to show both a royal and a priestly family of Christ.”<sup>87</sup>

#### And how is Jesus connected to the genealogies?

In the modern scholarly debate the genealogies are not considered historical. Indeed, according to Johnson, historicity was not the purpose of the speculation of Judaism on the genealogy of the Messiah in the time immediately before and after the New Testament period.<sup>88</sup> The discrepancy between both gospels does not need to be explained anymore. But still, the old discussion whether Joseph is a natural child or a child by law lives on in a new form. It now shifts a generation and is concentrated on Jesus himself and on the intention of the authors. Do they regard Jesus as a natural son or as an adoptive son of Joseph? Joseph plays a larger role in the gospel of Matthew than in Luke. The decisions and actions of Joseph are explained in the text. In the narrative part in Matthew 1:24,25 Joseph formally adopts Jesus. So Jesus is in the gospel of Matthew a natural son of Mary and an adopted son of Joseph. According to Jason Hood three different types of descent of Jesus are implied in Matthew 1:16: Jesus is the natural son of Mary; he is of divine origin and he is legally the son of Joseph through adoption.<sup>89</sup> And Joseph also really acts as a father in the narrative. According to Waetjen, Matthew’s Joseph reminds us of the OT Joseph<sup>90</sup>. “He is also chaste, has dreams and brings Jesus in safety in Egypt.”<sup>91</sup>

<sup>85</sup> According to Johnson several scholars in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century reversed this theory, thus following in the footsteps of Calvin. They regarded Matthew’s genealogy as the legal line and Luke’s genealogy as the natural line. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 142.

<sup>86</sup> Ambrose, “Exposition”, 70.

<sup>87</sup> Ambrose, “Exposition”, 70.

<sup>88</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 145 According to Johnson the genealogies in Luke and Matthew “fall into the category of Midrash, which has a homiletical and hortatory function,…” Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 254.

<sup>89</sup> Hood, *The Messiah, His Brothers*, 84, All three are present according to Hood in Mat 1:16.

<sup>90</sup> Though not directly but through the presentations of Joseph in contemporary works, especially The Testament of Joseph. Waetjen, “Genealogy as the Key”, 227.

<sup>91</sup> Waetjen, “Genealogy as the Key”, 225.

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How did Luke want to portray Jesus, as the natural son or as a legal son? Or does he not distinguish between them? Strauss defends the last option:

“That Luke does not distinguish between legal and natural descent when referring to Jesus’ Davidic descent is clear from his choice of language. He sees no discrepancy in referring to David as ‘his father David’ (1.32), and even using such physical-sounding language as ‘from the fruit of his (David’s) loins (...) (Acts 2.30) and ‘from the seed (...) of this man’ (Acts 13.23). If Luke wanted to downplay Jesus’ natural descent from David he surely would not have referred to him as coming from David’s seed and David’s loins!”<sup>92</sup>

“Why would Luke include a genealogy at all if not to show the importance and legitimacy of Jesus’ descent?”<sup>93</sup> “We may conclude that for Luke Jesus’ Davidic descent is just as authentic and real whether he is a legal or natural son of Joseph. The virgin birth in no way abrogates this position and status.”<sup>94</sup>

Did Luke want to describe Jesus as the natural child of both Mary and Joseph or as the son of Mary and God, through a virginal birth? Andrew Lincoln claims that Luke combines both options, without feeling a contradiction:

“Evidently it was thought not to be inconsistent or inappropriate simultaneously to entertain different stories about the origins of a great figure, one involving ordinary physical lineage and the other, ..., involving a miraculous conception and an origin of the gods.

The juxtaposition of different perspectives on a subject’s conception is, therefore, by no means foreign to ancient biographies.”<sup>95</sup>

And he wonders sarcastically:

“Might it not be, then, that Luke-Acts contains both a virginal conception of Jesus and the tradition that he was of the seed of David through Joseph not because the evangelist is a hopeless editor or unable to see what to present-day readers appear to be a blatant

<sup>92</sup> Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah*, 128.

<sup>93</sup> Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah*, 128.

<sup>94</sup> Strauss, *The Davidic Messiah*, 129.

<sup>95</sup> Lincoln, “Double Paternity?”, 656.



inconsistency but because ancient conventions about dual paternity allow him and his readers to be quite comfortable holding both options?”<sup>96</sup>

Lincoln also sees evidence for such a possibility of double paternity in Hebrew ideas of conception, where special divine interference is necessary to open the female womb.<sup>97</sup> This inconsistency does not only exist in the mind of the modern reader. Already the emperor Julian the Apostate doubted the usefulness of the genealogies since Jesus was not Joseph’s son. So he, in his attacks on Christianity, clearly distinguished between divine paternity and natural paternity. For Johnson, the divine paternity lies in the natural paternity. As son of David and so through the generations, as son of Adam, Jesus is son of God.<sup>98</sup>

## 6.4 Conclusion and summary

The New Testament genealogies form a continuation of the Old Testament genealogies. To answer the question *how* they are written, it is necessary to study the linguistic data of the Old Testament. The two genealogies of Jesus in the gospels are related to two different patterns of genealogies in the Hebrew Bible. Luke’s genealogy is an example of the Backwards Pattern. The main intention of the Backwards Pattern is to connect a descendant to a famous ancestor. The Levite Temple singers in I Chronicles 6 were connected by the Backwards Pattern to their ancestor Levi, and one even to Israel. The daughters of Zelophehad were linked through Manasseh to Joseph. In such a way Luke is connecting Jesus to God Himself. From the comparison with the pattern in the Hebrew Bible we know that here must lie the focal point of the author of the genealogy. This connection through all generations to Adam and God legitimises Jesus. Still, the hesitant *ὡς ἐνομίζετο* of Luke seems to contradict these firm genealogical statements. Perhaps the easiest way of solving this contradiction might be to regard the genealogy as taken by Luke from another source. Luke thought it appropriate to include the genealogy in the preparatory stories, after the baptism, where God called Jesus *יְהוָה*, and before the 40 days in the wilderness. But he still does not completely identify with the genealogy himself.

Matthew’s genealogy is an example of the Hiphil Pattern. This pattern is different from the Backwards Pattern: its focus is on the last descendant. The genealogies with this pattern are

<sup>96</sup> Lincoln, “Double Paternity?”, 656.

<sup>97</sup> Lincoln, “Double Paternity?”, 652.

<sup>98</sup> Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 239.

designed in such a way that the ultimate or the penultimate generation are especially significant. Genesis 5 and 11 are geared towards Noah and his sons and Terah and his sons. Ruth 4 leads to David. Matthew's genealogy works in a similar way. The attention is on Jesus being born in the lineage of Abraham. How he is exactly connected, seems less important. In the Hebrew genealogies we saw that בן does not always literally mean 'son'. The term בן could include descendants of various degrees and gender. The בן Pattern left room for various relationships. The אב/אם Pattern was even used for non-physical relations, of a founder and a village and of a mother with all living. But we did not see such a non-literal interpretation before in a Hiphil Pattern. As such, Matthew's genealogy forms an innovation of the Hiphil Pattern in a double way. It leads to a last descendant, who is not the literal son of the man born in the penultimate generation, but the son of his fiancée. And it includes four mothers by a preposition in a long linear genealogy. Mothers were included before in short genealogies of the Hiphil Pattern, but never in a longer, very systematic and well-structured genealogy as Matthew's.

The four mothers Tamar, Ruth, Rahab and "she of Uriah" foreshadow the fifth mother, Mary, the young woman who is betrothed to another man, when she is found to be pregnant of a son, who is called the Messiah.

## 6.5 Excursus: the genealogies in *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* and women

We noticed a form-critical development in the way the genealogies in Chronicles and Matthew included women, compared to the Pentateuchal patterns. Is there more genealogical material including women in contemporary sources? And if so, does this material point to a further development? A very interesting contemporary example can be found in the pseudepigraphon<sup>99</sup> *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (= LAB), written in Palestine in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>100</sup> There are several similarities between LAB and the biblical genealogies. Like Chronicles and Matthew LAB starts with genealogies. As in Chronicles, Matthew and the Pentateuch the genealogies are very

<sup>99</sup> It is with some hesitance that the term is used, since different interpretations exist. Marinus de Jonge does not consider the term very useful, since there is no consensus and even books incorporated in the OT and NT may be called pseudepigraphy, but he still adds: "Yet it remains meaningful to pay attention to those writings which have in common that they are concerned with the lives, activities and word of a great figure (or great figures) in the Jewish Bible/the Old Testament." Marinus de Jonge, *The Old Testament in the Pseudepigrapha*, in: *The Biblical Canons*, edited by J.-M. Auwers & H.J. de Jonge (Leuven: Peters, 2003), 486.

<sup>100</sup> Frederick J. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo, Rewriting the Bible* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 6

prominent in LAB. LAB is the most interesting extra-biblical source on genealogies for this study, since the author adds many female names. In this short excursus I will look at the forms LAB uses, how LAB includes women in especially the linear genealogies and give a tentative answer to the question, why LAB adds so many women.

The genealogies in LAB cover generally the main genealogies in Genesis. They sometimes summarise them and in other occasions add to them. The chapters I, II and IV give the lineages from Adam to Abram, Nahor and Haran and his son Lot,<sup>101</sup> interrupted in chapter III by the story of the flood. After a census of the descendants of Noah and the story of the Tower of Babel chapter VIII continues with the list of descendants of Abraham. Genesis 4 and 5 are treated in reversed order. Genesis 10 and 11 are woven together. Milcah's, Reumah's and Keturah's lineage are missing. Isaac's wife is therefore not introduced by a genealogy and remains nameless. Of Ishmael it is just said that he had 12 sons. Esau's genealogy is summarised in a few verses. He marries four women, possibly an attempt to combine the narrative and the genealogy. The last genealogy to be treated fully is Genesis 46 in chapter VIII. That genealogy follows generally Genesis, without many female additions. The only surprising addition is the list of sons and daughters of Dinah, who would have been married to Job.

The rewriting of Genesis 5 and 11:20-25 is the most interesting for the present topic because of the names of the daughters added. It seems that the words: "and he had other sons and daughters" triggered Pseudo-Philo in finding names for these anonymous children. Pseudo-Philo likes names. Thus we have a surprising number of female names too. In his introduction to the text of LAB Daniel J. Harrington notices the remarkably positive attitude of Pseudo-Philo towards women: "le Pseudo-Philon ne manque guère l'occasion de parler des femmes, et dans les meilleurs termes."<sup>102</sup> He sees here another similarity to the gospel of Luke, apart from similarities in themes and composition. "... les femmes sont justement honorées, telle Débora, 'notre mère, une sainte', au point même d'être appelée 'femme de Dieu' (33,1.4.6);..."<sup>103</sup>

After the title *Initio mundi*<sup>104</sup>, LAB immediately plunges into genealogy. The story of the creation is omitted; even the verses in MT Genesis 5 referring back to the creation of humankind are left out. We find the following pattern:

<sup>101</sup> *Et vixit Thara annos LXX, et genuit Abram et Nachor et Aran. Aran autem genuit Loth.* LAB IV,15.

<sup>102</sup> Daniel J. Harrington, *Pseudo-Philon Les Antiquités Bibliques*, Tome I : Introduction et Texte Critiques, Sources Chrétiennes 229 (Paris: les Éditions du Cerf, 1976).

<sup>103</sup> Harrington, *Les Antiquités Bibliques*, 52.

<sup>104</sup> LAB of Pseudo Philo opening words *Initio mundi*, are similar to Gen 1:1. Hieke points to the fact that John (ἐν ἀρχῇ) and possibly Mark (ἀρχῇ) are also referring to Genesis, viz. Gen 1:1 ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν (LXX), in the first words of the gospels. Hieke, "Biblos Geneseos", 644.

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*Et vixit A annos (number) et genuit B*

*Et vixit A postquam genuit B annos (number)*

*Et genuit filios (number) et filias (number)*

*Et hec sunt nomina virorum/filiorum et nomina filiarum/ et hec filie eius*

There are the following elements:

- a. name of patriarch
- b. age at time of c
- c. genuit first born son
- d. number of years patriarch lived after c
- e. genuit sons (number) and daughters (number)
- f. names of other sons and daughters

The first genealogy of Adam till Noe/ Noah in chapter I consists of ten sequences. Sequences 2-9 are strictly linear. Sequences 1 and 10 are segmented. The sequence of Adam forms an inclusio with the final sequence of Noe. The linear genealogy in LAB I begins and ends with a segmented genealogy counting three sons. This is different from Genesis 5 and 11 where the genealogies are strictly linear from the start and only end with a segmented genealogy.

The sequence of Adam is surprising in other aspects too. The second child born to him is a girl, Noaba. She has the same position as the firstborn sons. She is mentioned at the beginning with the three sons and not in the additional list of names of extra children. In Noah's sequence daughters are missing as in Genesis. Adam's age at begetting *tres filios et unam filiam* is not given, unlike Genesis 5:3. Therefore the total number of years of the generations before the flood cannot be counted. Clear is that the total time span is longer than in Genesis.<sup>105</sup> As in Genesis 5 the penultimate sequence gives the explanation of the name of Noah. But the explanation is different

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<sup>105</sup> In the Masoretic Text the total time span is 1556 years; in LAB it is 1976, without counting Adam's full life span. The main reason for this longer time span in LAB is the astonishing high age of Cainan when begetting his firstborn son, namely 520 years compared to 70 years in Genesis. That makes Cainan the oldest living patriarch in LAB, 1250 years. Noe on the contrary is younger when his three sons are born, viz. 300 years instead of 500 years. In general the author of LAB seems prefer the number seven as a substitute for eight. The life spans of the first six patriarchs are all in the 700 + numbers (700, 707, 715, 730, 730) instead of 800 + numbers. Sometimes 100 is added to the age of the patriarch before children are born to him. This same adding of 100 years to the age of the father before begetting and subtracting 100 years for the period after the son is born, we find in the case of Enoch, who thus also reaches the earthly age of 365 in LAB, before 'transtulit illum Deus.' No man becomes a father under the age of 100 in LAB, contrary to the Masoretic text. In LAB the final number of years is in most cases different. Only Malaleel, Enoch and Mathusalem reach the same age as in the Masoretic Text.

from the version of MT and LXX, which refer back to Genesis 3. In LAB creation and Eden are missing.<sup>106</sup> Instead LAB finds the explanation of the name in the coming flood.

The pattern contains the names of Genesis 5, but follows the structure of Genesis 11 in its elements. The total number of years of the patriarch and his death are not mentioned. The elements a, b, c, and d are completely regular, but for the use of *procreavit* instead of *genuit* in the fifth sequence. For the elements e and f we find different wordings. The genealogy of Shem to Abram in chapter IV is mostly a mixture of Genesis 10 and 11, till Peleg. From Peleg it continues with Genesis 11. It has three regular sequences, for Peleg's son Reu (Ragau), his son Serug (Seruch) and his son Nahor (Nachor). These sequences follow the same pattern described above, the Genesis 11 Hiphil Pattern. It ends with Terah becoming father of three sons.

Where Genesis 5 and 11 have the general statement 'and had other sons and daughters', LAB fills in the gap of knowledge of the number and the names of these unknown sons and daughters. We find in LAB an interesting list of partly new names. The additions of LAB always come at the end of the sequence. First the number of sons and daughters is given; then the names. The first son does strangely enough not count in the final number of sons. The numbers of daughters and sons do not differ greatly. When a father has many sons, he also has many daughters. There are always fewer daughters than sons. In the first genealogy of Adam to Noah, the total number of sons is exactly double the total number of daughters. There are 52 sons, including the firstborns, and 26 daughters, including the first daughter of Adam. This might point to a special interest in the number 13. We find no names of wives at all.

In the genealogy from Shem to Abram only a few generations follow this model of adding new daughters and sons, mentioned by name. In the three regular sequences (of Reu/ Ragau, Serug and Nahor) there are in total 19 sons, not counting the firstborn son, and 13 daughters. There is one wife, of Ragau, just before the pattern starts. She is called Melcha, the daughter of Ruth. Melcha even prophesies about the descendant to the fourth generation of her son Serug (Abram), that he will be perfect and immaculate and *pater gentium*.

In the rewriting of Genesis 4 in chapter II, the sequence of Cain starts with the Female Pattern. Cain's wife does not remain nameless, as in Genesis 4. Pseudo-Philo calls her Themech. Then LAB tells how Cain built seven cities, before it continues with the genealogy. It is modelled on Genesis 5 and 11, adding other sons and daughters. Apart from Enoch, Cain and Themech have three sons and two daughters, who are supplied with names. The sequence of Cain ends with the pattern of Genesis 5, with the full age of the patriarch and his death (*et mortuus est*), contrary to

<sup>106</sup> But for a reference in LAB 13:8.

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the other genealogies in LAB. After this LAB more or less follows Genesis 4 and adds no more new daughters.

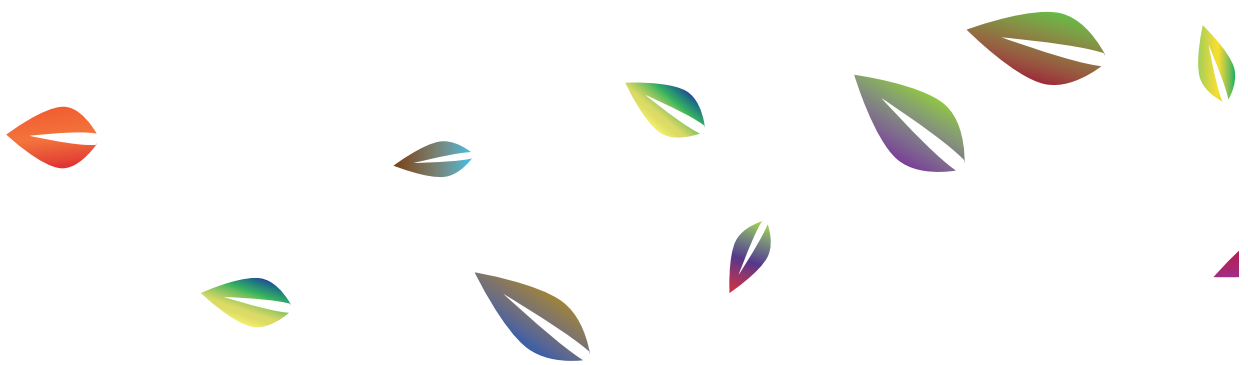
Generally, the order of the biblical pattern is respected.<sup>107</sup> So the verses about the other sons and daughters even with the extra information on numbers and names, still remain an addition, without any interference with the pattern of the linear genealogy. We find that elements taken from the biblical patterns are fixed (a,b,c,d), but that the additions (e,f) differ in phrasing. There are apparently no fixed wordings yet. These additions are in themselves an innovation, pointing to an inner development within the form of the linear genealogy. We saw in Matthew that mothers could be attached in a way impossible before in the linear genealogies in Genesis 5 and 11. Here we find that names of daughters can be added too. In such a way the linear genealogy leaves room for women, even though it remains basically a linear genealogy instead of a segmented one. The lines of descent of the daughters and the other brothers are not given. Every generation is segmented, but through the generations there is a linear line, which is followed. We can conclude that women may find a place in the annotations and the additions to the pattern in later stages of development of the linear genealogy.

Based on the genealogical material alone we cannot conclude that LAB has an especially positive attitude on women. LAB is form-critically innovative in finding possibilities of adding female names to the existing linear genealogies, but does not change the genealogies to make them more gender-balanced. There are still less daughters than sons. Though some female material, like the genealogy of Dinah, is indeed added, other existing female genealogies of Genesis are missing. LAB adds many female names within the existing genealogies since the author simply does not like anonymity. The author wants to find names for all these nameless sons and daughters and wives. In such a way the author fills in the gaps of the Bible.

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<sup>107</sup> This fits in with the general conclusion of Bruce Fisk that, even though Pseudo-Philo's style has free elements, LAB is still "dependent upon the underlying biblical narrative or heavily indebted to secondary Scripture." Bruce Norman Fisk, *Do You Not Remember? Scripture, Story and Exegesis in the Rewritten Bible of Pseudo-Philo*, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 37 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 325.







7

# Chapter 7

Summary and conclusions.  
Women in the genealogies



## 7.1 Conclusions on the genre of biblical genealogies

Chapters 3, 5 and 6 ended with conclusions on the genre of genealogies for all the three main parts of this study, namely the Pentateuch, Chronicles and the New Testament. In this section I will draw the general conclusions on the development of the genre of genealogies that we followed from Genesis to Luke. First the main research question will be answered, in two sections. In the first section I will comment on the regularity of the genre and its changes; in the second I will focus on the deviations.

The sub-question of this research regarded women. As the title already indicated, there was a continuous focus on the role of women in the genealogies, but the material was never systematically put together. In 7.2 I will first bring all genealogical material regarding women together, before answering the sub-question. Therefore section 7.2 lists all genealogical daughters and mothers, drawing conclusions on female presence in the biblical genealogies. Which mothers remain nameless and why? What are the differences in the presence of women in the Pentateuch and Chronicles? What is the significance of a mother, being called a daughter? Only after thus concentrating on daughters and mothers, I will be able to draw the final conclusions on women in genealogies. They follow in section 7.3. Sections 7.4 and 7.5 contain a summary of this book, in English and Dutch.

### Conclusions answering the first part of the main research question

In Chapter 1 the main research question was formulated: how does the genre of genealogies change, in its patterns and in its annotations? The first part of this question is about the regularity of the genre, its patterns. To find answers, I divided the main question into four sub-questions:

1. Is there a development over time within the genre?
2. Do the patterns used remain the same?
3. Is there a change in the popularity of some patterns?
4. Can we discern a specialisation of certain patterns?

In dividing the material into three layers, namely the layers of the Pentateuch, Chronicles and the New Testament, and by analysing the texts, the following answers could be found:

1. **Yes, there is a development over time within the genre of the biblical genealogies, in some patterns.**

Maybe the greatest development can be seen, surprisingly, in the traditional pattern of a linear genealogy, the Hiphil Pattern. We are lucky to have examples of this pattern in the three layers of texts we have been studying: in the Pentateuch, in Chronicles and in Matthew. There is a clear development in the pattern over time. It becomes more flexible and inclusive. Where the Hiphil Pattern in Genesis is rather fixed and exclusive, it proves more adaptable and inclusive in Chronicles, especially in the shorter lineages. In 8:9,11, in short sequences of the Hiphil Pattern, the mothers Hodesh and Hushim were added to the pattern by the preposition ׀. A possible inclusion of a daughter can be found in I Chronicles 2:18. In Matthew it reaches a further level of flexibility in the inclusion of four mothers in an extended Hiphil Pattern genealogy. Matthew's genealogy forms an innovation of the Hiphil Pattern in a double way. It leads to a last descendant, who is not the literal son of the man born in the penultimate generation, but the son of his fiancée. And it includes mothers by a preposition in a long linear genealogy. Pseudo-Philo finds ways to include named daughters too. Such a development shows the versatility of the patterns within the genre, which can be adapted according to the changing need of times.

Even quite male-oriented patterns can become more gender-balanced and inclusive, adapting themselves to the needs of the time and the author. In the Passive Pattern in the Pentateuch mothers could be present in a subclause. In later texts mothers can be directly attached to the pattern by a preposition. In both Hiphil Pattern and Passive Pattern there are more possibilities to include mothers. In Genesis, the Passive Pattern adds a number, a place or a time to the verb. The temporal indication will not be used anymore in Samuel or Chronicles. Patterns change in the connections they make and the annotations they add.

The other example of a pattern we can follow through the three layers of genealogical texts, is the Backwards Pattern. The depth of this pattern will increase over time. Within the Pentateuch, it reaches its maximum depth in Numbers, seven generations from Mahlah and her sisters back to Joseph. In Ezra it is already much longer, namely 16 generations to describe the ancestry of Ezra, leading back to Aaron. In Chronicles it reaches even 23 generations from Heman to Israel. In Luke it has an exceptional depth of 77 generations. Jesus' ancestry does not end with a patriarch or a member of the desert generation, as is usual, but the backwards genealogy of Luke 3 leads back to Adam and through him to God.

We found that the **בְּנֵי** Pattern is flexible from the beginning. The term **בְּנֵי** can include descendants of various degrees and gender, and even single sons. The **בְּנֵי** Pattern leaves room for various relationships. Daughters can be included unproblematically in the term **בְּנֵי**. This flexibility is part of the grounding of the pattern, but there is one other development. Generally the **בְּנֵי** Pattern covers only two to three generations in the biblical genealogies. Its function is to give a broader view, without great depth. In Chronicles, however, we saw that it could also develop into a pattern for linear genealogies or linear segmented genealogies, reaching a greater depth, sometimes in combination with **בְּנֵי**.

2. **The patterns used do not remain the same.**

**Some patterns disappear.**

The Qal masculine active and passive of the verb **יָלַד** both become obsolete. In the times that Chronicles was written, the original Qal passive of the Pentateuch, vocalised as either Pual perfect or Niphal imperfect by the Masoretes, had disappeared. Instead the Chronicler uses the contemporary form of the passive, namely the Niphal. The Qal active was already not very common in the Pentateuch, and must have had an archaic ring to it in the days of the Chronicler. That is why the Qal Masculine Pattern only occurs in the parts that are literary dependent on Genesis 10, namely in I Chronicles 1:10-16 and 1:18-21.

**New patterns are created.**

The Chronicler introduces two completely new patterns, namely the Ancient Near Eastern Pattern and the **בְּנֵי** Pattern. Both will be exclusive for Chronicles. The Ancient Near Eastern Pattern is a wholly new pattern in Chronicles, used to summarise the Hiphil Pattern of Genesis 5 and 11, possibly inspired by ancient Mesopotamian king lists. Further we find **בְּנֵי** Pattern in Chronicles, as a new, full pattern, sometimes in combination with phrases from the **בְּנֵי** Pattern. The **בְּנֵי** Pattern can be used for extended lineages, like the king list leading from Solomon to Josiah in I Chronicles 3 or some Levite lineages. Since the **בְּנֵי** Pattern is only present in Chronicles, in diverse genealogies, it is hard to draw further conclusions on its specialisation. The last descendant of the **בְּנֵי** Pattern is often an important man, but not always. Clear is, that it is a more succinct alternative to the Hiphil Pattern for a linear genealogy. The New Testament has no new genealogical patterns.

**An auxiliary pattern becomes independent.**

In Ruth 4:17 the usually auxiliary יִצְחָק/אֵם Pattern changes into an independent pattern, for normal human relationships. I want to draw the tentative conclusion that this might be a further development of the pattern. On account of the growing popularity of the יִצְחָק Pattern for a father-son relation, the pattern can now also be used for a short, linear genealogy of David's ancestry.

**3. There is some change in popularity of patterns over time, especially in the auxiliary elements.**

The main patterns, the בְּנֵי, Hiphil and Female Patterns are popular in the whole Hebrew Bible. Short Hiphil sequences are more customary in Chronicles than in the Pentateuch, where such sentences might also be made by the Qal Masculine Pattern. The Backwards Pattern is more common in Chronicles than in the Pentateuch, especially in the lists of Temple staff.

The auxiliary elements are generally more popular in Chronicles than they are in the Pentateuch, with the exception of the word מִשְׁפָּחָה, which is more prominent in Numbers. There was some counting in Genesis, but no numbering. In Chronicles, in the genealogies as in the lists, both counting and numbering are quite common, auxiliary elements to the patterns. The יִצְחָק Pattern is not used in the Pentateuch for a normal father-son relation, but for some female and non-human relationships. In Chronicles the auxiliary יִצְחָק/אֵם Pattern becomes more and more popular, for non-human and human relationships.

**4. Yes, there is a specialisation of certain patterns.**

In the Pentateuch, the בְּנֵי Pattern, and in Chronicles, the בְּנֵי Pattern and the Hiphil Pattern in its short sequences, are the regular patterns. The extended Hiphil Pattern is the special pattern in Genesis for the main family line, from Adam to Abram. Ruth, Chronicles and Matthew follow Genesis and make it the special pattern for royalty, high priests and the Messiah. The Hiphil Pattern focuses on the last descendant, who is the reason the genealogy is recorded. The genealogies with this pattern are designed in such a way, that the ultimate or the penultimate generation are especially significant. Genesis 5 and 11 are geared towards Noah and his sons and Terah and his sons. The genealogy of Perez in Ruth 4 leads



to David. Matthew's genealogy is a Greek example of a pattern similar to the Hiphil Pattern with the focus on the last descendant. The attention is on Jesus being born in the lineage of Abraham. How he is exactly connected, seems less important.

The focus of the Backwards Pattern is the opposite. The Backwards Pattern is used for introducing people; the  $\text{לְקַח וְתָלַד}$  Pattern to underline the importance of a first generation of a genealogy. In Exodus 6 we clearly see that the  $\text{לְקַח וְתָלַד}$  Pattern is used for the main lineage. In the Independent Female Pattern women give birth to second sons or daughters. The Passive Pattern is used for prominent fathers and once for a distinguished grandmother.

When describing geographical relations either the Qal Masculine Pattern or the  $\text{אָבִי}$  Pattern can be used. The  $\text{אָבִי}$  Pattern describes the relation of one founder to one village and Qal Masculine for one ancestor to more geographical locations/people. Both patterns can indicate figurative and human relationships.

In narratives there are two patterns popular, namely the Backwards Pattern, as a genealogical introduction to important characters or to their father (Elkanah, father of Samuel, Kish, father of Saul), and the  $\text{לְקַח וְתָלַד}$  Pattern, which is used in birth stories.

To visualise these specialisations of the main patterns I add the following chart:

$\text{בְּנֵי}$ Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• regular, both in Pentateuch and Chronicles</li> </ul>
Backwards Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• introduction of persons</li> <li>• provides authenticity</li> </ul>
$\text{בְּנוֹ}$ Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• last descendant?</li> </ul>
short Hiphil Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• regular, especially in Chronicles</li> </ul>

Summary and conclusions. Women in the genealogies

extended Hiphil Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• focus on (pen-)ultimate generation</li><li>• for special lineages</li></ul>
לְקַח וּמָלָךְ Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• ancestral couple</li><li>• for main lineage in Exodus 6</li></ul>
Independent Female Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• for more sons</li><li>• for second sons or daughters</li></ul>
Passive Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• underlines importance fathers</li></ul>
Qal Masculine Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• both human and figurative</li><li>• one ancestor-more countries/peoples</li></ul>
אִם/אָבִי Pattern	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• both human and figurative</li><li>• one founder-one geographical location</li></ul>

7

Of course, this chart just gives a general overview of the specialisations that are part of the grounding of the genre of genealogy. By knowing the grounding, it is easier to see the deviations.

**Conclusions answering the second part of the main research question**

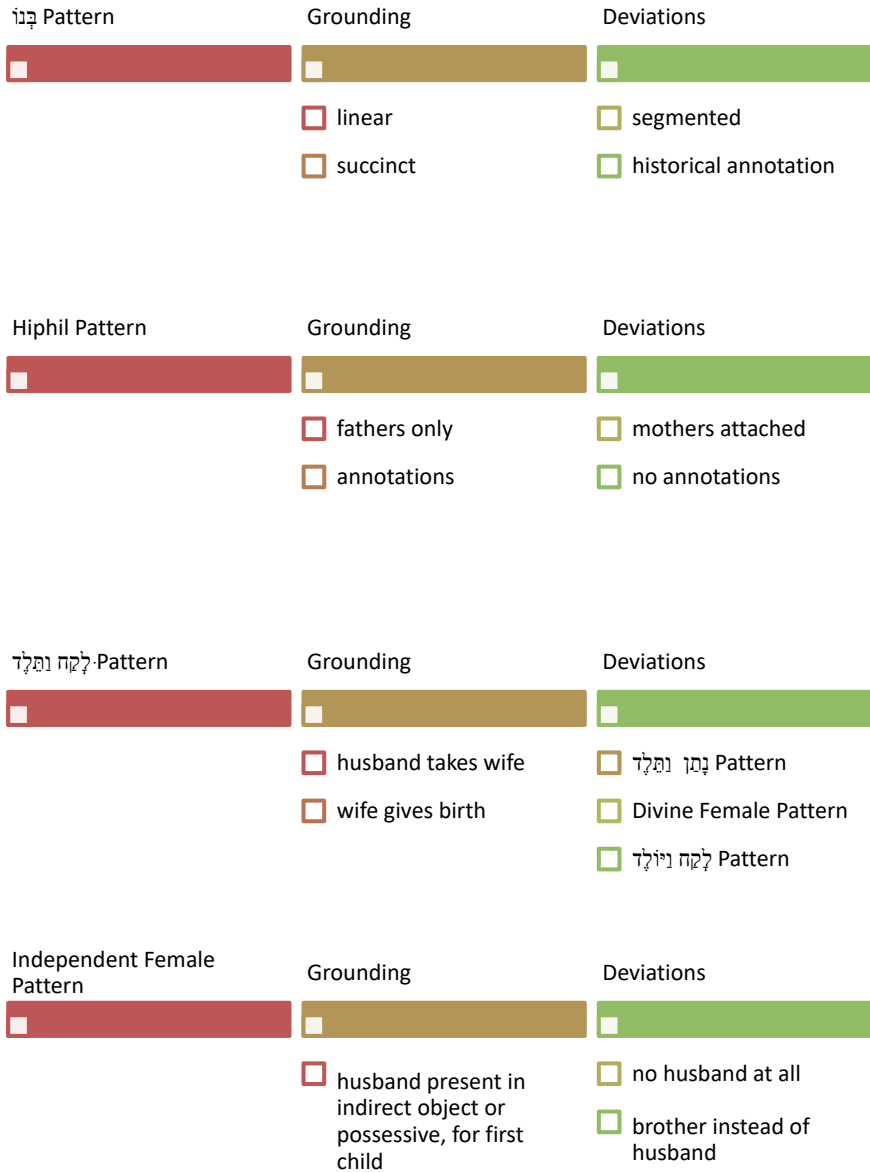
In answering the first part of the research question, the regularities of the pattern gradually appeared. The second part of the research question concerned the deviations, the unexpected elements. These cannot be found without establishing the criteria of the genre. Only by defining the regularity can we see the breaches.

As second part of the main research question we analysed these unexpected elements with the following questions in mind: What are those very significant breaches of the pattern? Do these deviations change and adapt themselves to new circumstances? Are the elements adding to the flexibility of the genre of genealogy? Does this flexibility to include the unexpected change over time? To answer these questions, I will put the grounding of the pattern and the deviations in a chart. The breaches of the pattern I treat here will be general ones. They are not limited to annotations alone, but include other significant deviations from the pattern too. Also the presence or absence of annotations can be part of the grounding. In 7.3 I will draw conclusions on the breaches of the pattern that relate to women.

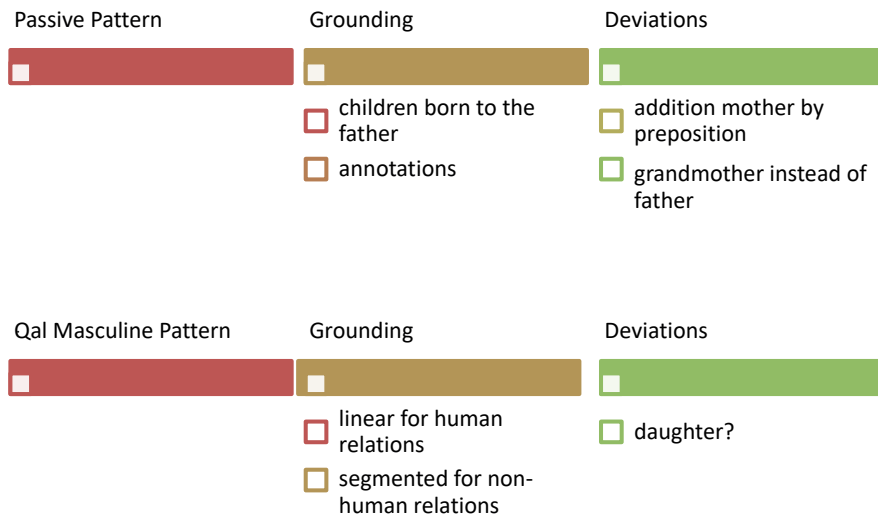
דפוס Pattern	Grounding	Deviations
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/> (linear) segmented	<input type="checkbox"/> linear?
	<input type="checkbox"/> shallow depth	<input type="checkbox"/> קבוצות
	<input type="checkbox"/> open for all	
<b>Backwards Pattern</b>	<b>Grounding</b>	<b>Deviations</b>
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/> singular, one person	<input type="checkbox"/> plural
	<input type="checkbox"/> back to patriarch or desert generation	<input type="checkbox"/> back to God



Summary and conclusions. Women in the genealogies



Chapter 7



It is hard to see breaches of the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  pattern since the pattern is so open in itself. That  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  introduces only a single son for instance, occurs regularly. Is it therefore part of the grounding or a deviation? Also daughters seem to be included without any problem. The phrase to introduce Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah in Numbers 26:33 however,  $\text{וַיִּשְׂם בְּנוֹת}$ , repeated in Numbers 27:1 with  $\text{וַיִּצְמַח לָהֶן שְׂמוֹת בְּנֹתָיו}$ , is indeed special, and as such a breach of the pattern. The  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  introduction can be used for a single daughter too,  $\text{וַיִּשְׂם בַּת}$ , for example for Serah in Numbers 26:44.

The Backwards Pattern introduces usually just one person and is therefore singular. It can be either masculine or feminine. There are already feminine examples in Genesis. With the daughters of Zelophehad, we have a Backwards Pattern starting plural, albeit before the daughters are named. Normally, the pattern links an unknown person to some famous ancestor of the desert generation or a patriarch. In Luke, the lineage is followed back through Adam to God. The  $\text{בְּנוֹ}$  Pattern is in itself linear, but it often preceded by a  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  introduction. This  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  introduction rarely introduces more sons however, thus reinforcing the linearity of the  $\text{בְּנוֹ}$  Pattern. In two cases the introduction includes more sons, namely in I Chronicles 4:24 and 6:6. The pattern itself is possibly segmented in I Chronicles 3:16 and 4:26. Since brevity is part of the grounding of this pattern, we do not find many annotations. Historical information can be added to the beginning or the end of the  $\text{בְּנוֹ}$  Pattern, for example in I Chronicles 3:17 (if Asir means captive) and 5:6.

In the Hiphil Pattern mothers are attached in I Chronicles 8 and in Matthew, as annotations. The fact that these annotations are possible, is part of the development of the pattern. As stated in

the chart, the Hiphil Pattern is quite open to annotations. So much so, indeed, that I regard this openness as being part of the grounding of the pattern. The fact that the Hiphil Pattern in Ruth has no annotations, makes it special. As described above, Ruth has a surprisingly regular Hiphil Pattern. A Hiphil Pattern genealogy like I Chronicles 2:36-41 is also completely regular, but at least it is irregularly preceded by a  $\text{לְקַח וְתָלַד}$  Pattern. Most Hiphil Patterns have all kind of small changes or additions. They either end segmented or include extra information, like “prince of the sons of Judah” in I Chronicles 2:10. In general, Ruth does not conform to the normal expectations of the genre of genealogy.

The  $\text{לְקַח וְתָלַד}$  Pattern starts with a masculine verb,  $\text{לְקַח}$  or a variant verb that is describing the action by the husband. In exceptional cases, in the  $\text{וְתָלַד וְנָתַן$  Pattern, the subject of this first active verb is not the husband, but another person, like the mistress of the woman, a hierarchically superior man, or God. In the royal genealogies in II Chronicles another variant is used, namely the  $\text{וְיָלַד וְלָקַח$  Pattern in which the whole action is dominated by the father. In II Chronicles it is used as a way to describe the large number of wives and the multitude of children of the king.

Characteristic for the Independent Female Pattern is, that there is no masculine verb at all. The husband can however be present by an indirect object or a possessive. When the Independent Female Pattern is used for a second or a third child, the father can be absent, but not for a first child. We can find deviations in the genealogies in Chronicles. In I Chronicles 2:16 there is no husband mentioned at all, even though this is the first recording of Zeruah’s children; in 2:17 the husband is attached to the child as father, not to the wife. An example of a mother who is defined by being a sister instead of a wife, is Hammolecheth in 7:18. The meaning of these deviations is that important women, in these cases sisters, are not defined by their husbands.

In the Passive Pattern there are usually annotations, either indications of time (only in Genesis), a geographical place or a number. So annotations form part of the grounding of the pattern. The pattern concentrates on the father, but in the later stages of the pattern mothers can be attached by a preposition. The wives of David (I Chron 3:1-5) and Mary (Mt 1:16) are thus connected to the Passive Pattern. Exceptional is Ruth 4:17, where Naomi is connected to her grandchild by the Passive Pattern. Naomi takes the place of the father.

The Qal Masculine Pattern is used for human and non-human relationships. Generally, in the segmented sequences of the pattern the relation between an ancestor and nations is described; linear sequences portray human kinship. Is Rebekah, the only daughter in the pattern, an exception? It is hard to tell since there are only four sequences with a linear Qal Masculine Pattern in Genesis and two sequences in Chronicles. The  $\text{אֶם/אָבִי}$  Pattern is not included above since it is only once an independent pattern.



By the deviations, the patterns can indeed change and adapt themselves to new circumstances. The deviations add therefore to the flexibility of the genre, but to a limit. The genre of genealogies possesses an internal inflexibility. The form of genealogy remains in the Bible a patrilinear description of generations, as is the choice of the authors of the different books. It stays more exclusive than inclusive, though the flexibility shown by the inclusion of foreigners and women can be surprisingly substantial.

## 7.2 Daughters and mothers in the biblical genealogies

There are two categories of women who figure in genealogies, namely daughters and mothers. The mothers are of course wives, but childless wives will not have found a place in a genealogy. Daughters are regularly presented as sisters, instead of as descendants of the parents.

### Daughters in the genealogies in the Pentateuch

Daughters can be present in different patterns. We find them in אָבִי, Female Pattern, בְּנֵי, בָּנוּ, Passive and Backwards Pattern, and even in Qal Masculine.

name	called	main relative	pattern	place in pattern?	
Naamah	sister	brother Tubal-Cain	Female	no; separate phrase	Gen 4:22
Milcah	daughter	father Haran	narrative; אָבִי	yes	Gen 11:29
Iscah	-	father Haran	אָבִי	yes	Gen 11:29
Rebekah	-	father Bethuel	Qal M	yes	Gen 22:23
		father Bethuel	Passive,	yes	Gen 24:15
		father Bethuel	Backwards	yes	Gen 24:24
Maacah?	-	mother Reumah	Female	yes	Gen 22:24
Timna	sister	brother Lotan	בְּנֵי Lotan	no; separate phrase	Gen 36:22
Oholibamah	daughter	father Anah	בְּנֵי	yes, daughter	Gen 36:25
Dinah	daughter	Jacob & Leah	Female	partly	Gen 46:15
Serah	sister	4 brothers	בְּנֵי	yes, their sister	Gen 46:17

Summary and conclusions. Women in the genealogies

Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah	daughters	father Zelophehad	בָּנֵי (name of the daughters)	yes	Num 26:33
Serah	daughter	father Asher	בָּנֵי	no, separate phrase	Num 26:46
Miriam	sister	2 brothers	Female	yes, their sister	Num 26:59

There are only 15 daughters in the Pentateuch, excluding wives who are sometimes given genealogical background and are thus called daughter. These 15 daughters—Serah occurs twice—have a place within the genealogies of their own families. Rebekah is a daughter who introduces herself, and thus defines her own genealogy. Four of these 15 daughters we find later as wives, namely Milcah, Rebekah, Timna and Oholibamah. Seven of them do not become wives, but play an important part in the narratives about the families they were born in, namely Dinah, Miriam and the five sisters claiming an inheritance. Naamah, Iscah, Maacah and Serah are just there. They do not play a part in the narrative, but their names are preserved. The names in Chronicles are partly the same as in the Pentateuch.

**Daughters in the genealogies in Chronicles**

name	called	main relative	pattern	place in pattern?	
Timna	-	father Eliphaz	בָּנֵי	yes	1:36
Timna	sister	brother Lotan	בָּנֵי Lotan	no; separate phrase	1:39
Zeruiah	their sisters	7 brothers	Hiphil	no; separate phrase	2:16
Abigail	their sisters	7 brothers	Hiphil	no; separate phrase	2:16
Jerioth	daughter	father Caleb	Hiphil	yes	2:18
nameless	daughter	father Sheshan	וַיִּתֵּן וַתִּלְדָּ	yes; marriage	2:35
Ephah?	-	father Jahdai	בָּנֵי	yes	2:47
Achsah	daughter	father Caleb	Female	no; separate phrase	2:49
Tamar	sister	many brothers	Passive	no; separate phrase	3:9
Shelomith	sister	2 brothers	בָּנֵי	yes, their sister	3:19
Hazzelepni	sister	brothers	בָּנֵי	no; separate phrase	4:3



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name	called	main relative	pattern	place in pattern?	
Miriam	-	mother (?)	Female	yes	4:17
Miriam	-	father Amram	נָנִי	yes	5:29
Hammolecheth	sister	Machir/Gilead	unclear	separate phrase	7:15-18
Mahlah?	-	mother Hammolecheth	Female	yes	7:18
nameless	daughters	father Zelophehad	-	-	7:15
Sheerah	daughter	father Beriah?	narrative	-	7:24
Serah	sister	4 brothers	נָנִי	yes, their sister	7:30
Shua	sister	3 brothers	Hiphil	yes, their sister	7:32

In Chronicles daughters can be present in different patterns, namely in the נָנִי, Female and Hiphil Patterns. There is no direct connection of a daughter to a Passive Pattern. We find slightly more daughters than in the Pentateuch, 17 daughters, when we do not count the casual reference to Zelophehad having daughters. Only three of these daughters were also mentioned in the Pentateuch, namely Timna, Miriam and Serah. The Chronicler does not treat the side-branches. Therefore we will not find the first daughter Naamah and the sisters Milcah and Iscah. It is less clear why Timna is present and Oholibamah is absent as daughter. Compared to the Pentateuch, the Chronicler more often uses a separate phrase for daughters. Possibly Timna's name was preserved, because of the separate phrase. Timna is also present as son of Eliphaz, instead of being a concubine. Timna and Oholibamah are named in the chief list of Edom, as in the Pentateuch.

The genealogical structure of Chronicles also covers later generations present in the books of Joshua and Samuel, not described by genealogies. Daughters who play a role in these stories are taken up in the genealogical preamble. We find Achsah and the two daughters of Jesse and David's daughter Tamar. But that leaves ten new daughters, only described by the Chronicler: Jerioth, the nameless daughter of Sheshan, Shelomith, Hazzelelponi, a second Miriam, Hammolecheth, Sheerah, Shuah and possibly Ephah and Mahlah. Quite a lot of new daughters. To some daughters short stories are connected (Sheshan, Sheerah); Shelomith, descendant of David, is now a historical figure thanks to the discovery of a seal with her name and title, but other women remain just a name in the lists of descendants (Miriam, Shuah, Mahlah, Hazzelelponi). These women only occur

in these genealogies and genealogical references and are not known from other texts. We would love to know more about them.

### **The daughter as sister**

There is a remarkable absence of sisters in the Hebrew Bible. We find 'sister' in legal texts for sexual prohibitions, in the love poetry of Song of Songs and in Ezekiel as a metaphor for a city/country, in a rather negative context. For the narrative texts always the same sisters appear, namely Rebekah, Dinah, Miriam and Tamar. Apart from these four there are just a few references to sisters. In three texts the patriarch tries to pass off his wife as his sister, thus endangering her. Rachel occasionally calls Leah her sister. The hapless Cozbi, killed by Phinehas, is called sister to her people the Midianites (Num 25:18) The father-in-law of Samson tries to appease Samson with a younger sister of his former wife (Judg 15:2). There are two important sisters in the book of Kings: Jehosheba who courageously rescues her baby nephew Joas, thus saving the house of David (II Kgs 11:2) and the nameless sister of Queen Tahpenes, wife of the Pharaoh, the only genealogical reference to a sister of a woman (I Kgs 11:19-20).

The genealogies therefore are special in the number of names of sisters they offer in limited space. In total there are 27 daughters listed in the genealogies, 12 of whom are called sisters: Naamah, Maacah, Timna, Serah, Miriam, Zeruiah, Abigail, Tamar, Shelomith, Hazzelelponi, Hammolecheth and Shua. Possibly Ulla stands for Shua in I Chronicles 7:39. These 12 women are called sister in relation to a brother or brothers. Sometimes the epithet 'their sister' is used, with 'their' always referring back to the sons of the family, never to other daughters or to a mix of boys and girls.

There are some famous pairs of sisters in the stories of the Hebrew Bible. In discussing 'firstborn' we found three pairs of sisters: the two daughters of Lot (Gen 19), Leah and Rachel (Leah called *בְּכִירָה* in Gen 26) and Merab and Michal (I Sam 14). They are not called sisters, but daughters, *הַבְּכִירָה* and *הַקְּטָנָה*, the first born and the small one. The stories of the daughters of Lot and Leah and Rachel are connected to childbearing. Merab and Michal are listed in an overview of Saul's family. Leah and Rachel are the only ones whose names return in genealogies, but not as sisters. They are referred to as daughter of Laban or as wife of Jacob. In genealogical references several wives are called daughter and sister<sup>1</sup>, but they do not play a role in the genealogies of their

<sup>1</sup> For instance Mahalath/Basemath (Gen 28:9; 36:6), Elisheba (Ex 6:23) and Abigail (II Sam 17:25).

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fathers. Jochebed is apparently a daughter of Levi and a sister of Kohath, but she is absent in the genealogy of her own family.

The sisters whom we know from the narratives, Rebekah, Dinah, Miriam and Tamar, are also present in the genealogies, but not as sisters. The only sister mentioned in the narrative and in the genealogy explicitly as sister is Miriam. She is among the children of Jochebed with the epithet 'their sister'. Rebekah is the only child of Bethuel in the genealogy of Genesis 22. Her brother Laban is not mentioned and is therefore genealogically in the same position as for instance Jochebed. Dinah is called daughter. Tamar only figures in the royal genealogy, outside the pattern, as daughter. In the Pentateuch, the daughter is mostly part of the pattern (8 out of 12 cases; and once partly); in Chronicles she is also mostly part of the pattern (10 out of 17 cases), but more often than in the Pentateuch named at the end of the genealogical sequence, as a special addition, in a separate phrase. I Chronicles 2:16/17 and 7:18, are very special for our topic. Here we have three women whose genealogies appear under the genealogies of their own kinsmen. Their lists of descendants are not part of the genealogies of their husbands. Zeruah and Abigail and Hammolecheth have genealogies not as wives, but as prominent women, being sisters of famous brothers.<sup>2</sup> They own their genealogies, since they are important themselves.

### **The daughter as daughter**

A similar case to these three sisters having their own genealogy, is Jerioth. She has her own genealogy too, but not as sister but as daughter. Though the present text is unclear, the most probable explanation is that Jerioth is the daughter of Caleb. The following short genealogy then belongs to her alone. No husband is mentioned. Jerioth's children are part of her father's genealogies. Sheshan deliberately marries his nameless daughter to a foreign slave, to reduce the power of the husband. The son of this daughter is therefore named in his genealogy. Both Jerioth and the daughter of Sheshan continue the line of their father, as a son would do.<sup>3</sup>

Genesis 22 even contains a genealogy that is only added because of the daughter, Rebekah, who appears as an only child. Laban's name is omitted, as in Rebekah's genealogy in Genesis 24.

<sup>2</sup> According to Löwisch, sisters in the genealogies in Judah in I Chronicles stand in the centre of the genealogical system. After their names, the patterns change from segmented to linear or the other way around. Löwisch, "Cracks", 126. This is certainly true for Zeruah, Abigail and Tamar, who neatly round off the genealogies, after the birth of their brothers. Their genealogies, or their names, are followed by a change of pattern. For Shelomith and Miriam and Hazzelponi of I Chron 4 this is less clear. They seem to stand more in the middle, without change of pattern. Finlay notices that there is no special genealogical formula for sisters. Finlay, *The Birth Report Genre*, 83. We have seen at least that in the few genealogies of sisters, the husband is less important or even absent.

<sup>3</sup> I agree with Labahn and Ben Zvi that Sheshan's daughter has the genealogical role of a son. A. Labahn and E. Ben Zvi, "Observations on Women in the Genealogies of I Chronicles 1-9", *Biblica* 48 (2003), 465.



Father Bethuel receives his prominent place in Genesis 22 and 24 because of his daughter Rebekah. Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah have a very special place as daughters. As Rebekah, these daughters are the *raison d'être* of the genealogy of their father. Without them the name of their father Zelophehad would be lost. The genealogy in Numbers 26 is stretched to its longest depth of seven generations, back to Joseph, to reach these five daughters. In Numbers 27 a backwards genealogy of seven generations was attached to them, which we do not find elsewhere in the Pentateuch. There is even a new introductory phrase attached to them in this genealogy: וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת בְּנוֹתָיו, the start of a בְּנוֹת Pattern, a variant of בְּנֵי Pattern.

In total there are 15 daughters in the genealogies, who are not called sisters. They are: Milcah, Iscah, Rebekah, Oholibamah, Dinah, Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, Tirzah, nameless daughter of Sehshan, Achsah, Miriam II, Mahlah II, Sheerah. Apart from these daughters, we regularly find the phrase: “and he had other sons and daughters.” In the royal genealogies of David and Rehoboam and Abijah there are also general references to daughters, with sometimes numbers attached. We know there must have been many more daughters. Jacob will have had more daughters than just this single girl, Dinah, who is mentioned. But the names have not been preserved. Most of these 15 daughters are in fact sisters, but they are never called sister in the genealogies. Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah are of course sisters too. Milcah could easily have been called the sister of Iscah, but instead Genesis 11:29 uses a complicated sentence to explain the family relations: “...and the name of Nahor’s wife was Milcah. She was the daughter of Haran the father of Milcah and Iscah.”

As we have seen, daughters are usually only called sister in relation to their brother, not to their sister. And even then they are not always called sister. Dinah clearly has brothers. In the narrative she is called sister, though still also daughter of Jacob and daughter of Leah. But in the list of people leaving for Egypt she is there under the subdivision of Leah, as daughter. Rebekah’s brother Laban does not play a role in the genealogy. Both Achsah and Sheerah have brothers too, but they are called daughters. To both women narratives are connected.

There are also hidden daughters between the sons. Of some names it seems likely that they are female. The last name of the list of descendants of Reumah in Genesis 22 is probably a girl, Maacah. Maacah would in that case be (probably) the first hidden daughter we encounter in the genealogies. It seems likely that Ephah in I Chronicles 2:47 is in fact a daughter. Miriam is the first mentioned child under ‘she conceived’ of a mother, possibly mother Bithiah in I Chronicles 4:17. Is Mahlah, descendant of Hammolecheth in I Chronicles 7:18, a hidden daughter?

Then there are hidden daughters of whom we are sure they are female. We know Miriam daughter of Amram and Jochebed is a girl, but in the genealogy of I Chronicles 5:29 she is



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undistinguishable from the sons. She is not called sister in this genealogy. In Chronicles 1:36 Timna is surprisingly under the sons of Eliphaz. We concluded that the introductory phrase **וְיָנִי** has become a standardised formula, regardless of number and gender of the descendants.

We found several cases of daughters included in lists of sons, with an epithet attached to their names, either ‘their sister’ or ‘daughter of ...’. Already in Genesis 36 Oholibamah<sup>4</sup> was included in the **וְיָנִי** of her father, with the epithet: daughter of Anah. Shelomith was included in the **וְיָנִי**, with epithet ‘their sister’, in I Chronicles 3:19. In the royal genealogies of David and Rehoboam and Abijah there are general references to daughters, with sometimes numbers attached.

If these women are called daughters, it is mostly in relation to their father. We saw in the charts above that only three women were attached to a mother in the genealogies, Maacah, Miriam and Mahlah. One daughter, Dinah, is attached to both father and mother. Also in the non-genealogical parts of the Hebrew Bible there are hardly any stories about mothers and daughters. In Exodus 2 there is some relation between Miriam and Jochebed, but still it reads: “So the girl went and called the child’s mother<sup>5</sup>.” Jochebed is not called the mother of Miriam. The story of Ruth and her mother-in-law probably comes closest to a story about a mother and a daughter. It is clear that the father-daughter relation is the central one.

We do not find daughters in the few scattered genealogies we find in other books. They are mostly backwards genealogies, which follow the male line back to an important ancestor. We found a few backwards genealogies for women in the Pentateuch, and one in Chronicles, but none elsewhere. And we do not find daughters in the genealogies of the New Testament.

### **Mothers in the biblical genealogies**

The mothers in the genealogies are introduced in different ways, either in relation to their father, or their geographical background or their hierarchical position.

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<sup>4</sup> Timna and Oholibamah were also hidden in the chief list in Gen 36.

<sup>5</sup> It is clear that this way of telling the story, emphasises the central role of Moses. Still, the meaning would have been as clear had Miriam been once called Jochebed’s daughter. Miriam is however only defined in relation to her brother, as the Egyptian princess is consistently defined in relation to her father.

**Mothers in the Pentateuch**

name	husband	descendant	pattern	extra	
Eve	Adam	Cain, Abel, Seth	3 x Female	naming 2x	Gen 4:1,2,25
nameless	Cain	Enoch	Female		Gen 4:17
Adah	Lamech	Jabal (Jubal)	Female		Gen 4:19-20
Zillah	Lamech	Tubal-cain (Naamah)	Female		Gen 4:19,22
Milcah	Nahor	8 sons	Female		Gen 22:20
Reumah	-	4 children	Female	ופילגשו	Gen 22:24
Keturah	Abraham	6 sons	Female/ בְּנֵי		Gen 25:1-4
Hagar	Abraham	Ishmael	Female	the Egyptian, שְׁפֹחַת מִצְרַיִם	Gen 25:12
Adah	Esau	Eliphaz	Female / בְּנֵי	daughter of Elon	Gen 36 3x
Basemath	Esau	Reuel	Female/ בְּנֵי בָן	daughter Ishmael, sister	Gen 36 3x
Oholibamah	Esau	3 sons	Female/ בְּנֵי בָן	daughter of Anah-Zibeon	Gen 36 3x
Matred	-	Mehetabel	Backwards	daughter of Mezahab	Gen 36:39
nameless	Simeon	Shaul	בָּן	Canaanite	Gen 46:10, Ex 6:15
Leah	Jacob	6 sons, 1 daughter	בְּנֵי /Female		Gen 46:15
Zilpah	Jacob	2 sons	בְּנֵי /Female	given to Leah	Gen 46:18
Rachel	Jacob	2 sons	בְּנֵי /Passive		Gen 46:19,22
Asenath	Joseph	2 sons	Passive/Female	daughter of Potiphera	Gen 46:20
Bilhah	Jacob	2 sons	בְּנֵי /Female	given to Rachel	Gen 46:25
Jochebed	Amram	2 sons & sister Num 26	Female 2x	his father's sister/ daughter of Levi	Ex 6:20, Num 26:59



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name	husband	descendant	pattern	extra	
Elisheba	Aaron	4 sons	Female	daughter Amminadab/ sister Nahshon	Ex 6:23
nameless	Eleazar	Phinehas	Female	one daughter of Putiel	Ex 6:25

In the genealogies in the Pentateuch there are 21 mothers present. Three of them remain nameless. The 21 mothers are connected to 12 fathers. Contrary to the daughters, who were present in many patterns, the mothers in the Pentateuch are connected mostly to two patterns only: female and  $\text{בְּנֵי}$ . The  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Pattern is used within polygamous families, but we cannot turn this around. A polygamous, segmented genealogy like Lamech's lineage can also use female pattern. Apart from these two dominant patterns, children can be connected to their mother by  $\text{בְּרָה}$  or  $\text{בְּרָה}$  (Adah, Basemath, Matred, Canaanite). In Rachel's case the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Pattern is dominant: the female  $\text{יֵלֶד}$  has disappeared and is replaced by a passive. Segmented genealogies have more chances of female presence than linear ones. The Hiphil Pattern does not include any mothers nor daughters, in the Pentateuch. But that does not mean that mothers are never present in a linear genealogy. There is one mother, the wife of Cain, who heads a linear genealogy.

As discussed in the text analyses, women are present at crucial moments of the genealogy. Such an essential moment is the start of the first genealogy. Both Adam and Eve are there to mark the beginning of genealogy and later the restart of their genealogy with Seth. The wife of Cain is present at the start of the Cainite line. Adah and Zillah lend weight to the seventh and last generation of Cainites. The clearest example of women giving importance when they are present, is Exodus 6. In this text mothers mark the ongoing line of the main lineage of Levites. All these examples belong to the  $\text{לְקַח וְנָתַד}$  Pattern.

Within the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Pattern women clarify the divisions of the polygamous families. We find divisions being summarised per mother. The depth of this last kind of genealogies is shallow: two, three generations. Women also function in two-three-generation genealogies that use a mixture of Female and  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Pattern. Milcah, Reumah and Keturah are more important than their husbands in these genealogies. In the Female Pattern the husband is mostly still there, but he disappears in the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  conclusion. The lists of descendants are attributed to the mothers.

There are references to other mothers in the more narrative genealogical references, like the daughters of Lot and Rebekah. They become mothers, but they do not figure in the genealogies.

As has been noticed often, there are no תולדות of Abraham, but there is also no genealogy of Sarah. Indeed, of the four main matriarchs, only Leah and Rachel have their place in the genealogies.

Some mothers get a genealogical background in the genealogies. Eight mothers are called ‘daughter of’; two/three of them also ‘sister of’. Others have a background in the narrative. Milcah’s background is described in Genesis 12; Eve, Leah and Rachel are prominent in the stories. But others do not have a genealogical reference attached to their names, namely the wife of Cain, Adah, Zillah, Reumah, Keturah, Zilpah and Bilhah. For the first three mothers this might be explained by their belonging to the first genealogy, in Genesis 4.

Are the mothers without any genealogical reference of lower hierarchical status? There is some indication that this is the case. Reumah, Zilpah and Bilhah are clearly the less important wives in the family hierarchy. Reumah is a שִׁלְיָה; Zilpah and Bilhah are slaves. For Keturah it might also be concluded from the verses following the genealogy, that she had a lower status, though she is called ‘wife’. They all do not receive any background of their own. Two mothers have a geographical reference attached to her names: the mother of Shaul, the Canaanite and Hagar, the Egyptian. Of the nameless mother of Shaul her status is unclear; Hagar is also called שִׁפְחַת שָׂרָה, slave of Sarah. Schneider underlines that שִׁפְחָה is a neutral term, to situate Hagar in the society in which she lives, and not to put her down.<sup>6</sup> As such, she is given as אִשָּׁה by Sarah to Abraham, in Genesis 16:3. But, as Schneider discusses, does that make her a wife, with marital rights?<sup>7</sup> Or is אִשָּׁה here another word for concubine?

We might conclude that indeed the epithet ‘daughter of’ for a mother is an indication of her higher status, though much is unclear about the exact status of wives, concubines and slaves.<sup>8</sup>

### Mothers in Chronicles and Matthew

To clarify the similar constructions used in Chronicles and Matthew, to attach mothers to the pattern, I put all the mothers of these books in one chart:

<sup>6</sup> Schneider, *Mothers of Promise*, 105.

<sup>7</sup> Schneider, *Mothers of Promise*, 106. Schneider also discusses another word used for Hagar in the narrative, namely שִׁפְחָה. Possibly, she suggests, this might indicate a demotion for Hagar, from the previous higher status of שִׁפְחָה. At the other hand, the term is also used for Bilhah and Zilpah, in a neutral context. Schneider, *Mothers of Promise*, 108.

<sup>8</sup> Bilhah is called all four: wife (אִשָּׁה), slave (שִׁפְחָה and אִמָּה) and שִׁלְיָה. Gen 35:22 (שִׁלְיָה), 32:23 (שִׁפְחָה), 30:3 (אִמָּה) 30:4 (שִׁפְחָה, אִשָּׁה), 37:2 (שִׁלְיָה). The same unclarity is found in the description of Hagar, as Schneider points out: “She is a *shiphchah*, she is a wife, she is an *amah*, she is a mother, and she is free. The one consistent description of her is that she is Egyptian.” Schneider, *Mothers of Promise*, 108. Cheryl Exum discussing the cases of Bilhah and the Levite’s concubine, remarks on the present unclarity in the social position of the שִׁלְיָה: “Clearly further study of the social position of the *pilegesh* is called for.” Cheryl Exum, *Fragmented Women*, 141.

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name	husband	descendant	pattern	extra	
Keturah	Abraham	6 sons	Female/בְּנֵי	called פִּילְגֶשֶׁת	I Chron 1:32-33
Matred	-	Mehetabel	Backwards	daughter of Mezahab	I Chron 1:49
Bath-shua	Judah	3 sons	Female	the Canaanite	I Chron 2:3
Tamar	Judah	Perez&Zerah	Female	daughter-in-law	I Chron 2:4
Zeruiah	-	3 sons	בְּנֵי		I Chron 2:16
Abigail	Jether	Amasa	Female		I Chron 2:17
Azubah	Caleb	Jerioth (?)	Hiphil		I Chron 2:18
Jerioth	-	3 sons	בְּנֵי		I Chron 2:18
Ephrath	Caleb	Hur	Female		I Chron 2:19,50
nameless	Hezron	Segub	Female	daughter of Machir	I Chron 2:21
Abijah	Hezron	Asshur	Female	wife	I Chron 2:24
Atarah	Jerahmeel	Onam	אָם	another wife	I Chron 2:25
Abihail	Abishur	Ahban&Molid	Female		I Chron 2:29
nameless	Jarha	Attai	Female	daughter of Sheshan	I Chron 2:35
Ephah	Caleb	3 sons	Female	פִּילְגֶשֶׁת	I Chron 2:46
Maacah	Caleb	3 sons, 1 daughter?	Female	פִּילְגֶשֶׁת	I Chron 2:48,49
Ahinoam	David	Amnon	Passive	Jezreelite	I Chron 3:1
Abigail	David	Daniel	Passive	Carmelite	I Chron 3:1
Maacah	David	Absalom	Passive	daughter of king Talmai	I Chron 3:2
Haggith	David	Adonijah	Passive		I Chron 3:2
Abital	David	Shephatiah	Passive		I Chron 3:3
Eglah	David	Ithream	Passive	his wife	I Chron 3:3
Bath-shua	David	4 sons	Passive	daughter of Ammiel	I Chron 3:5
concubines	David	Sons	-		I Chron 3:9
Helah	Asshur	3 sons	בְּנֵי		I Chron 4:5,7

Summary and conclusions. Women in the genealogies

name	husband	descendant	pattern	extra	
Naarah	Asshur	4 sons	Female/נָקֵבָה		I Chron 4:5,6
Bithiah	Mered	1 daughter, 2 sons (?)	Female/נָקֵבָה	daughter of Pharaoh	I Chron 4:17,18
nameless	Mered	3 sons	Female	his Judean wife	I Chron 4:18
nameless	Hodiah	?	נָקֵבָה	sister of Naham	I Chron 4:19
nameless	Manassch	Ariel&Machir	Female	Aramean concubine	I Chron 7:14
Maacah	Machir	Peresh&Sheresh	Female&name		I Chron 7:16
Hammolecheth	?	3 children	Female	his sister	I Chron 7:18
nameless	Ephraim	2 sons, 1 daughter?	Female	his wife	I Chron 7:14
Hodesh	Shaharaim	7 sons	Hiphil	his wife	I Chron 8:9
Hushim	Shaharaim	Ahitub&Elpaal	Hiphil		I Chron 8:11
Maacah	Jeiel?	9 sons	-	his wife	I Chron 8:29
Mahalath	Rehoboam	3 sons	Female	daughter of Jerimoth daughter of Abihail (?)	II Chron 11:18,19
Abihail	Jerimoth	Mahalath	Backwards	daughter of Eliab-Jesse	II Chron 11:18
Maacah	Rehoboam	4 sons	Female	daughter of Absalom	II Chron 11:20
18 wives & 60 concubines	Rehoboam	28 sons & 60 daughters	Hiphil		II Chron 11:21
Tamar	Judah	Perez&Zerah	ἐγέννησεν		Mt 1:3
Rahab	Salmon	Boaz	ἐγέννησεν		Mt 1:5

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name	husband	descendant	pattern	extra	
Ruth	Boaz	Obed	ἐγέννησεν		Mt 1:5
nameless	David	Solomon	ἐγέννησεν	she of Uriah	Mt 1:6
Mary	-	Jesus	Passive		Mt 1:16

There are 38 mothers in Chronicles, not including the nameless wives and concubines of David and his grandson Rehoboam. The Pentateuchal mothers are almost all missing, but instead Chronicles has many new mothers. Keturah and Matred are the only Pentateuchal mothers left. The Chronicler reproduces all the information of the Edomite King List and therefore includes the genealogy of queen Mehetabel. Keturah was already special in Genesis. Her genealogy seemed to be on the same level as that of Ishmael. Contrary to Genesis, Keturah has in Chronicles both the introduction and conclusion of the יָנַח Pattern attributed to her. Keturah really own this genealogy. For the segmented genealogies of polygamous families of Genesis, the Chronicler just adds up the names of the children of the different mothers, making them into lists of sons of the father.

There is a surprising number of 36 new mothers in Chronicles, making the female presence quite large. Some of the women are present in the list of daughters (sisters) and in the list of mothers. These are mostly the mothers whose children clearly belong more to their birth families than to their husband's family. Zeruah, the sister of the sons of Jesse, has no husband at all in the יָנַח Pattern. The same is true for Hammolechet, who is probably the sister of Machir, the central person in the genealogy of Manasseh. Her husband's name is also absent. The verse about Abigail, sister of Zeruah, concentrates on the mother. The father is attached through a different pattern, in a separate clause. We concluded that if wives have important brothers, the husbands disappear from the limelight. A different example of a mother whose children remain within her own family, is the daughter of Sheshan. Here it is not the brother but the father who plays an important role. Sheshan marries his daughter to his slave to keep his grandchild within his own family and to continue his line.

There are many single sons, remarkably so. Especially in I Chronicles 2 and 3 we find several mothers who are connected to one son only. The genealogies are not so much lists of descendants of a mother as genealogical background to sons. In David's genealogy the descent through the mother is apparently important for the first six sons born in Hebron. Of the Jerusalemite mothers, only Bath-shua is present.

Are wives called daughter again the most important ones, as seems probable in the Pentateuch? This is certainly true for the three mothers who are connected to royalty. Two are the



daughters of kings, Maacah and Bithiah. Of Matred it is unclear if her parents are royalty, but she is the mother of a queen. In the short, segmented genealogy of Rehoboam the descent of two of his wives is given, namely of the ones who are also connected to the royal family. Mahalath is probably even doubly connected to the family of Jesse, through both father and mother. The other wives are just grouped together with the concubines. For Batshua there seems to be a deliberate reason for mentioning her father: in this way her previous marriage to Uriah is blotted out. In Matthew exactly the opposite is happening: her own name has totally disappeared. She is only the wife of Uriah.

Two of the wives called daughter remain nameless. They do not seem especially important, but for continuing the line. In total six wives remain nameless. For one this might be partly due to the present obscurity of the text (I Chron 4:17-18). The wife of Ephraim is not named, like Cain's wife. It is unclear whether she is the mother of all the children of Ephraim, including his daughter. Two of the wives who get a geographical descent do not receive a name too. We also saw this in the Pentateuch, for the mother of Shaul. Apparently, the geographical descent and being called a daughter was found to be enough, for four women.

The preferred pattern used to include a mother in the genealogy is the Female Pattern or a combination of Female and  $\text{בְּנֵי}$ . There are two examples of  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  to combine mother and daughter in short backwards genealogies. Further we find surprisingly Hiphil as a new way to include mothers, with the preposition  $\text{בְּ}$ , in Benjamin's chronicle. Hodesh and Hushim become both part of the Hiphil Pattern in such a way. Another example of such an inclusion of a wife and daughter might be I Chronicles 2:18. The present text is unclear. Possibly the object marker before Azubah should be interpreted as indicating an indirect object: "Caleb fathered by Azubah his wife Jerioth". Grammatically such an inclusion in a normally masculine pattern as Hiphil Pattern would be possible for a linear genealogy too. We see this happening in the linear genealogy in Matthew.

We quoted Malamat's remark that female elements have no place in linear genealogies like the king lists, describing the succession of sons to fathers.<sup>9</sup> Smith seems to imply the same: "Is there a shift in the roles, and therefore importance, of mothers in genealogies if men no longer have multiple wives and thus the family branches are not described in terms of matrilineal connections?"<sup>10</sup> Smith concludes generally that in the earlier (segmented) genealogies women are more important than in the later (linear) genealogies. As general statements, these observations stand. Segmented genealogies indeed contain more women, but we do find women in linear genealogies, at least in the first generation, with the use of the  $\text{לְקַח וְהָלַךְ}$  Pattern. The wife of Cain

<sup>9</sup> Malamat, "King Lists", 16.

<sup>10</sup> Smith, *The Role of Mothers*, 162. He concludes this part with a final, tantalising question: "Does the data support a matriarchal system that was superseded by a patriarchal system?" Smith, *The Role of Mothers*, 163.

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heads a linear genealogy in Genesis; Ephrath and the daughters of Machir and Sheshan start linear genealogies in Chronicles. In the case of Ephrath, the clan is even called after her name. She is the ancestress of the clan of Hur and his descendants.

In Matthew, however, there are mothers present within the further generations of the linear genealogy. Two developments come together in Matthew: first the attachment of women to the lineage by the preposition ἐκ. This was already possible in Chronicles. The Greek ἐκ has come in the place of the Hebrew נָן of I Chronicles 8. And secondly the attachment of mothers in a longer, linear genealogy. This also was also happening already in the Hebrew Bible: women were heading a linear genealogy as ancestors. But in Matthew they are attached to further generations. In such a way they have really become part of the genealogy.

Mary is a special case of a mother connected to her son by a passive and a preposition: ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς. We also see this construction in Chronicles. In the Pentateuch, the passive pattern excluded mothers.<sup>11</sup> The only exceptions were in the genealogies of Genesis 46, but in these texts there was no direct connection between the passive וָלָד and Rachel and Aseneth. The first direct connection between a passive verb and a mother is in I Chronicles 2:3b: three was born to him from Bath-shua. There a different preposition was used for father and mother, namely לְ for father and נָן for mother. Matthew 1:16 has the same connecting preposition to the mother. In David's genealogy in II Chronicles 3 two methods are used to include the mother. For the middle two sons in verse 2 we find: בָּן + mother.<sup>12</sup> II Samuel 3 has only once בָּן + mother, for the fifth mother. But it is now also possible to attach the mother to the child by the same preposition as the father: לְ in verse 1 (לְאֶחָיוֹנָם and לְאֶבְיָגַיִל) for the first two sons/mothers and verse 3 (לְאֶבְיָטָל and לְאֶבְיָגַיִל) for the last two sons/mothers. This double לְ also occurs in the enumeration of David's sons in II Samuel 3.

One mother of a son of David, Eglah, receives the epithet 'his wife', as in II Samuel 3:5. This seems to single Eglah out, as being special. There are more mothers called 'wife' or 'his wife' in genealogies, but they are in those cases the only wives mentioned, like the wife of Ephraim and Jeiel. Another case of a mother possibly being singled out is I Chronicles 8, where one of the two wives of Shaharaim is also called 'his wife'. Three mothers are called אִשְׁתֵּי־כֶתֹרָה, namely Keturah and the wives of Caleb, Ephah and Maacah. Keturah was still called 'another wife' in Genesis, but is probably reduced in status in Chronicles. Possibly, the Chronicler wanted to solve in this way the puzzling chronology of the genealogy of Keturah when compared to the narrative. When was

<sup>11</sup> Also e.g. Gen 4:18 (Niphal), 10:1 (Niphal), 10:21 (Pual), 10:25 (Pual, singular) all have a passive construction with no mention of the name of the mother.

<sup>12</sup> Only for Absalom there is an additional לְ before the name of the son.

Abraham married to Keturah? In another aspect however, Keturah has become more important: her name is now heading the list of her descendants. In the other books of the Bible there are several genealogical references to mothers, for instance in the succession formulae of the kings of Judah<sup>13</sup>, but not in genealogies.

### 7.3 Conclusions on the presence of women in the biblical genealogies

Section 7.2 listed all genealogical daughters and mothers, showing the female presence in the biblical genealogies. In the different stages of the development of the genre, different strategies were used to include women. Only after thus concentrating on daughters and mothers, I will now draw the final conclusions on women in genealogies, answering the sub-question to the research question, about the role of women in the genealogies. How were daughters included? Could they be part of the main pattern, of the expected? Or were they part of the deviations, the unexpected? How were mothers included in the genealogies? Could they be the main ancestor? Which patterns allowed this? I conclude the following:

#### 1. A linear genealogy does not necessarily exclude women.

From the first birth story to the daughters of Zelophehad, it is clear that women regularly play a role in the genealogies of the Pentateuch. That does not mean that they are always present. We do not find them in the long linear genealogies in Genesis 5 and 11, but in Numbers 27 we see how Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah are heading a reversed seven generation linear genealogy. So women can be present in a linear genealogy- albeit a reversed one. In Numbers 26 the partly linear, partly segmented genealogy reaches its greatest depth in their generation, to reach these five daughters.

Generally, as is to be expected, segmented genealogies contain more women than linear genealogies, since the segmentation often takes place by wife. Linear genealogies, however, can include women, at least in the first generation. Three nameless women, the wife of Cain and the daughters of Machir and Sheshan, and one prominent clan-ancestress,

<sup>13</sup> Mignon R. Jacobs, "Mothering a Leader, Bathsheba's Relational and Functional Identities", in *Mother Goose, Mother Jones, Mommie Dearest, Biblical Mothers and Their Children*, edited by Cheryl A.Kirk-Duggan and Tina Pippin (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 70. Jacobs adds a chart with all mothers, kings and the expressions used, on p. 69.

Ephrath, all start linear genealogies. Matthew includes mothers within the further generations of the linear genealogy, not only at the beginning.

**2. Women mark the most important generations.**

In the first two generations of Genesis 4 women are present. Adah and Zillah mark the seventh and last generation of Cainites. The clearest example of women lending weight to a certain lineage, is Exodus 6. The mothers mark the ongoing line of the main lineage, which stands out by their presence among the genealogies of the other Levites. All these examples belong to the  $\text{לְקַח וְתֵלֵד}$  Pattern, but in other patterns women can mark the main generations too. The tribal system of Israel, originating in the genealogy of Genesis 46 using the  $\text{וְיָנִי}$  Pattern, is delineated by the four mothers.

**3. Women are present at crucial moments of the genealogy.**

Eve starts all genealogies, in Genesis 4. Both Adam and Eve are there to mark the beginning of genealogy and later the restart of their genealogy with Seth. The wife of Cain starts the Cainite line. Women are not so much present in the continuation of the family lines, but all the more at the moments of transition: at the start of new genealogies and at the separation of family lines. In the segmented genealogies women mark the different family subdivisions. Mothers make the family to branch out and spread out in different sections. Family branches even become separate families in the genealogies lead by second wives, like Reumah and Keturah.

**4. The presence of women can be an indication of the importance of a tribe.**

This is especially true for Judah. In Chronicles the tribe of Judah has the largest genealogical section and includes many women in different genealogical roles, mothers, sisters and daughters. Of the 35 women in the genealogical preamble of Chronicles, 26 are present in Judah's section, not including the group of concubines of David. It is clear that Judah's chronicle is full of action and partly hidden stories, in which women play a role. This makes the chronicle livelier and more interesting, and adds to the consequence of the tribal account. I discussed above whether the tribe of Manasseh could be special too, having many female names in its relatively short section. A counterargument would be the

genealogical account of the unquestionably important tribe of Levi, which only mentions Miriam. Since Levi's chronicle is mainly a register of high priests and Temple singers, a major female presence is of course not to be expected. Nevertheless mothers could have been present in the first part of Levi's genealogy, as they were in Exodus 6.

**5. Mothers have a natural place to distinguish the branches of the family.**

In the segmented genealogies that describe a polygamous family, like Genesis 36 and 46, mothers are very present. Occasionally, they can head genealogies. Their lineages are attributed to them, so much so, that the father almost disappears. Especially Milcah, Reumah, Keturah, Oholibamah and Rachel are singled out in this way. The Chronicler makes Keturah even more important, in attributing the genealogy totally to her, in the introduction and in the conclusion. This distinction by mother disappears in the summarised genealogies, the list of names of children in Chronicles, but reappears in the segmented polygamous genealogy of David. For the first six sons born to David in Hebron the descent through the mother is apparently just as important for the Chronicler as it was for the author of II Samuel 3.

**6. If wives have important brothers, the husbands disappear from the limelight.**

In Chronicles there are three examples of women, who are married, but whose husbands are genealogically less important than their brothers. The children are recorded within the family register of the mother. The children of David's sisters, Zeruah and Abigail, are added to the genealogy of Hezron, the ancestor of Jesse. Zeruah has no husband at all in the  $\text{בן אב}$  Pattern. The husband of her sister Abigail is only added to the pattern in a separate clause, referring back to the child.

Hammolechet is another example of sister of an important brother, though in her case it is not quite clear who this brother is. The name of her husband is also absent. Hammolechet's genealogy is recorded within the chronicle of her own family. A different example of a mother whose children remain within her own family, is the daughter of Sheshan. Here it is not the brother, but the father who plays an important role. Sheshan marries his daughter to his slave to keep his grandchild within his own family and to continue his line. In I Kings 11, the other example of a wife, sister of the Egyptian queen, who is more prominent than her husband, we see the same thing happening in the following

narrative: her son grows up in the family of her sister and her brother in law. **If the wife is more important than the husband, the children may be recorded within the genealogy of the family of the wife.**

**7. Wives called daughter are often the most important women.**

In Chronicles this is undeniably true. The majority of the women who are called daughter in Chronicles are related to royalty. Some are foreign princesses, like Maacah, the daughter of the king of Geshur and Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh. Matred, who is present in both Genesis and Chronicles, is the mother of a queen. The wives of Rehoboam belong to the family of Jesse. Rehoboam's first wife Mahalath is probably even doubly connected to the family of Jesse, through both father and mother. Of the two nameless wives who are called daughter, the genealogical background is essential. The daughter of Machir who marries Hezron is an essential link between the chronicles of Judah and Manasseh. Sheshan's daughter is the only person who can continue the family line. Their prominence lies in their genealogical background. For Bath-shua there seems to be a different reason than her prominence for mentioning her father: in this way her previous marriage to Uriah and the death of Uriah are blotted out. In Matthew exactly the opposite is happening: her own name has totally disappeared. She is only the wife of Uriah.

In the Pentateuch, the picture is less clear. Women who have a lower position in the social hierarchy, apparently do not get a genealogical background. Reumah, Zilpah, Bilhah and possibly also Keturah do not receive a genealogical background, due to their inferior position. Of the antediluvian women however, like the wife of Cain and Adah and Zillah, their fathers are also not named, maybe because their parentage would be hard to explain. This might also be true for Sarai. There are no princesses among the mothers in the Pentateuch, but some wives called daughter belong to esteemed families, like Matred and Asenath. The prominence of her father Potiphara adds to the importance of Asenath, and through her to her husband and children. The wives in the segmented genealogy of Esau have a genealogical reference attached to their names, as have the wives of the main lineage of Levi. The genealogical background of Adah, Basemath and Oholibamah is essential in a different way, to clarify the connections of Esau. For Jochebed, Elisheba and the daughter of Putiel it is at least clear that their genealogical background underlines the prominence of this one special lineage within the family tree of Levi.

8. Pseudo-Philo adds new names, not new women.

Pseudo-Philo is generally not adding new women to the genealogies, but filling in the names of the unnamed women of the genealogies, like the nameless daughters in the phrase in the Hiphil Pattern “and had other sons and daughters”. The wife of Cain receives finally a name: Themech. Thanks to Pseudo-Philo, also nameless women are mentioned by name.

Chart, indicating the presence of women in the genealogical patterns in the Bible

pattern	mothers	daughters	female form?
בְּנֵי	can head בְּנֵי genealogies, or start/end subsections	can be included, either in or after the pattern	yes, בַּת/בָּנוֹת, introduction
Backwards	-	Mehetabel + mother Gen 36:39/ I Chron 1:50 Mahlah + sisters Num 27:1 Mahalath + mother II Chron 11:18	yes, בַּת בַּת or בָּנוֹת
בְּנוֹ	-	-	-
Hiphil short lineages	attached in I Chron 8, by preposition	Jerioth I Chron 2:18, Shua I Chron 7:32	-
Hiphil extended	4 mothers attached in Matthew, by preposition	-	-
לְקַח וּנְסִיךְ	always, part of pattern	Miriam? I Chron 4:17	Female Pattern
Independent Female	always, part of pattern	Maacah? Gen 22:24 Dinah Gen 46:15 Miriam Num 25:59 Mahlah I Chron 7:18	Female Pattern



pattern	mothers	daughters	female form?
Passive	7 mothers attached in I Chron 3:1-5; Mary, Mt 1:16	-	-
Qal Masculine	-	Rebekah Gen 22:23	-
אָמָה/אָמָה Pattern	Atarah I Chron 2:25	Milcah and Iscah Gen 11:29	אָמָה

#### 7.4 These mentioned by name. A form-critical analysis of biblical genealogies, with a special focus on women: a summary

The first chapter of this study started with a historical overview of opinions and commentaries on genealogies, beginning in biblical times, through early church, Middle Ages, up to recent times. For every period, a few commentaries were quoted preferably to characterise the contemporary opinions and focus regarding genealogies, from different traditions. Biblical genealogies were never very popular. If genealogies were studied, it was not systematically, but selectively. Most of the attention in the early church and reformation went to the genealogies of Cain and Seth, in juxtaposition to each other. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the historicity of the genealogies became the issue under debate. Due to scholars as Marshall Johnson and Robert Wilson the focus shifted in the second half of the twentieth century to the function of genealogies, the socio-political or literary function. Since then this became the primary focus of research of genealogies. Forms and functions were studied in their connection.

In this study, I concentrated on the form of genealogy. Within the study of the form I still discussed the function in a limited way, defining it as the genealogical meaning a specific genre pattern could have. Modern form-criticists in linguistics like Stukker, Spooen and Steen teach us that genres show regular features, but are also fluid and dynamic, adapting themselves to the need of times. With the findings of these modern form-criticists in mind, I studied both the convention of the genre, the grounding, and the uniqueness of the individual genealogies in the deviations of the pattern. The main research question concentrated on the relation between the regularity and fluidity of the genre of genealogies and the development of the genre through the Bible. As sub-question I focused on the role of women. Are women only part of the deviations or are they also



present in the patterns themselves? These are the research questions raised in chapter 1, which formed the background of the analysis of the biblical genealogies.

The same chapter also included some definitions, mainly about fluidity. I defined as genealogy with Wilson a lineage of at least three generations. Shorter genealogies were only included if they were part of a wider genealogical context. The short genealogical references in the narrative were not studied. Only the additional information they occasionally provided, was inserted in the charts, to put the pattern in a broader genealogical context. At the end of chapter 1 a section was dedicated to source criticism and what a traditional division of the genealogies over the sources looked like.

In chapter 2 and 4 the texts of the genealogies in respectively the Pentateuch and Chronicles and other books were studied, partly with the help of the System for Hebrew Text: Annotations for Queries and Markup (SHEBANQ), for the more complicated syntactic and grammatical searches. Within the Pentateuch the majority of the genealogies is found in Genesis. There are also some genealogies in Exodus 6 and Numbers 26 and 27. All these Pentateuchal genealogies were analysed in chapter 2, to find the different patterns used in the genre and the deviations to the pattern in the texts. Chapter 2 started with a short definition of all the patterns used in the biblical genealogies. There are five patterns based on the verb ילד, namely the לְקַח וְתֵלֵד Pattern, the Independent Female Pattern, the Passive Pattern, Qal Masculine and Hiphil Pattern. Three patterns are based on the word בָּן, namely the בְּנֵי Pattern, בָּנוּ Pattern and Backwards Pattern. There are two other patterns, namely the אֶם/אֵבְרָה Pattern and the Ancient Near Eastern Pattern. In this study all these patterns were analysed to find their grounding. If the grounding is clear, the development of the patterns in the books, and through the three diachronic layers of texts, Pentateuch, Chronicles and the New Testament, can be followed. Seven of these in total ten patterns are present in the Pentateuch, starting with the לְקַח וְתֵלֵד Pattern, the Independent Female Pattern and the Passive Pattern to describe the first generations born, through the linear genealogies using Qal Pattern or Hiphil Pattern and the segmented genealogies using בְּנֵי Pattern to the female Backwards Pattern in Numbers 27:1. I gave some attention to missing genealogies too: genealogies that seem to start in the usual way, but are not able to continue, so the narrative has to take over. Having the sub-question in mind, I studied especially the genealogies that are headed by a woman, like Keturah.

In chapter 3 the seven main patterns of the Pentateuch were analysed systematically, defining the depth, the segmentation or linearity, the connection to other patterns and the inclusion of women. By these analyses, deviations like an extraordinary depth immediately leap to the eye. Gradually, it became clear that all patterns have a specialisation and a different genealogical function. Within some patterns further distinctions were necessary, for instance between the linear

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genealogy and the segmented genealogy. Within the לקח ותלך Pattern I classified two sub-categories, namely the Divine Female Pattern and the לקח ויולד Pattern.

Apart from the seven main patterns, I distinguished several auxiliary elements, like the auxiliary patterns אָמַר/אָבִי and מִשְׁפָּחָה, and בְּכִירָה/בְּכוֹר and the counting of children. At the end of the chapters on the Pentateuch I discussed different theories on the function of the formula אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת/אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת as a structuring device and on the existence of a Book of Toledoth. I added a suggestion for a structuring of the book of Genesis by means of genealogies. In the last section of chapter 3 the conclusions for the use of genealogies in the Pentateuch were drawn.

Chapter 4 analysed the genealogies in all other books of the Hebrew Bible, besides the Pentateuch. The material studied in chapter 4 is therefore very diverse, ranging from Chronicles to the prophets. Still, many similarities were perceived between the texts, especially between the books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. The genealogy of the high priest of I Chronicles 5 resembles the priestly lineage in Ezra 7. The lists of Nehemiah 11 and I Chronicles 9 are very similar. The majority of the material is found in the genealogical preamble of the book of Chronicles, I Chronicles 1-9. In the other chapters of Chronicles there are some royal genealogies and census lists that include genealogies, in I Chronicles 23-27. Such lists can be found in Nehemiah too. In the other books, apart from Ruth, there are only just a few genealogies, functioning mainly as an introduction to people in the stories.

In the analysis of these genealogies it gradually became clear that especially the Chronicler was quite innovative in the way he presented genealogical material. He used some different patterns for his genealogies, rewrote the Pentateuchal genealogies in a creative way and added new genealogical patterns, namely the גִּנּוּ Pattern, as an alternative linear genealogy, and the Ancient Near Eastern Pattern. The Chronicler was also innovative in the way he used the auxiliary elements. Especially אָמַר/אָבִי and the counting of children have become established additions to the regular patterns. A new auxiliary element was the numbering of children. In I Chronicles 1-9 a new grammatical form was used, namely the Niphal Perfect of the verb יָלַד. The Qal Masculine Pattern was no longer customary. We saw a further development of the genre in the way the Chronicler used the patterns and innovatively changed them, to include women. Women became in such a way a self-evident, inconspicuous part of the normal patterns. They were in Chronicles not only present as exceptions but were -sometimes- fully integrated in the regular genealogical system.

In the scattered genealogies there were also some innovations perceived. The depth of genealogies increases in some cases. The אָבִי Pattern is usually only an auxiliary pattern, but has become an independent pattern in Ruth 4:17. Ruth 4 proved to be a genealogical exception in other patterns too, namely in the Passive Pattern and Hiphil Pattern.

In chapter 5 the patterns were analysed in a systematic way, as in chapter 3, focusing on depth, segmentation, linearity, combination with other patterns and the presence of women. In total ten patterns were analysed in chapter 5. Gradually their characteristics became clear. Some patterns are only present in a genealogical context; others can also be used in a narrative context for birth stories. Within the patterns, certain differentiations must be made, as in the Pentateuch. The same differentiation between the linear  $\text{גִּנְיָ}$  genealogy and the segmented  $\text{גִּנְיָ}$  genealogy proved useful. Further it was especially in Chronicles useful to distinguish between the shorter Hiphil Pattern genealogies and the extended Hiphil Pattern genealogies. They proved to have a different function. We saw that in the Pentateuch as in Chronicles, the subject of the first verb of the  $\text{לְקַח וְנָתַן}$  Pattern was not always the husband. In Chronicles however, this turned out to be a completely different subject than in the Pentateuch. A special case was the term  $\text{גִּנְיָ}$ . Through the different texts the openness and flexibility of this term gradually became clear. It became also apparent that the Chronicler has a preference for certain patterns. Chapter 5 ended with the conclusions of the analyses of the chapters 4 and 5.

In chapter 6 the genealogies of the New Testament were analysed. The genealogies use patterns we already found in the preceding chapters. The addition of the New Testament genealogies is therefore interesting as a new layer of the development over time of the genealogical patterns. Because of them, I could follow changes and innovations in the patterns in three diachronic layers, namely the Pentateuch, Chronicles and the New Testament. I also found some changes in the use of numbers and calculations between the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament.

Matthew's genealogy starts with a Backwards Pattern, skipping many generations to jump to the main two ancestors, after which a very long linear genealogy follows, using a Greek variant of the Hiphil Pattern. It ends with a Passive Pattern. I gave special attention to the inclusion of the five mothers and to the different theories concerning their inclusion. This inclusion was grammatically a continuation of a possibility we already saw in Chronicles.

Luke uses or inserts a very long Backwards Pattern, which forms, as in the scattered genealogies in the Hebrew Bible, an introduction to a person in the narrative. Grammatically speaking, the genealogy is an extended genitive of relationship, to describe the descent of Jesus through Joseph. The genealogies of Matthew and Luke contradict each other. The solutions proposed in the early church and Middle Ages to solve these contradictions were summarised in a separate section in chapter 6. Finally, I discussed the question how Jesus was connected to the genealogy. Was Jesus regarded as a natural son or as an adoptive son of Joseph?

In a separate section, as an excursus, the place of women in the genealogical part of the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* was analysed in the same way as it was done for the genealogies



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of the Hebrew Bible. Pseudo-Philo's work was of special interest for the sub-question of my research, since the work includes many female names in the rewriting of the biblical genealogies. I analysed which women were inserted in LAB and how they were added to the patterns. At the end of this section I gave a tentative answer to the question, why LAB inserted the female names.

In Chapter 7 I drew the final conclusions to answer the main research question, namely: how does the genre of genealogies change, in its patterns and in its annotations? In following the diachronic division: Pentateuch, Chronicles and New Testament, I drew conclusions about the development over time of the biblical genealogies and answered these questions: Is there a change within the genre? Do the patterns used remain the same? Is there a change in the popularity of some patterns? Can we discern a specialisation of certain patterns? These questions were answered in chapter 7.1, the first section. In the second section I concentrated on the grounding of the different patterns and the deviations, which could be found.

Before answering the sub-question of my research regarding women, I first collected and analysed all the material I found in the different genealogies on daughters and mothers. Section 7.2 thus described the role of daughters, as daughters and as sisters, and the very diverse role of mothers. Mothers can have different epithets to their names, which form an indication of their hierarchical position. In 7.3 I drew the final conclusions on the presence of women in the genealogies of the Bible.

### **7.5 Deze bij name genoemden. Een vorm-kritische analyse van bijbelse genealogieën, met een speciale focus op vrouwen: een samenvatting**

Het eerste hoofdstuk van deze studie startte met een historisch overzicht van meningen en commentaren over genealogieën, beginnende in bijbelse tijden, via de vroege kerk en de Middeleeuwen tot de dag van vandaag. Voor elke periode werden een paar commentaren geciteerd, die de opinies and accenten van die tijd wat betreft genealogieën karakteriseerden, zo mogelijk uit verschillende tradities. Bijbelse genealogieën waren nooit erg populair. Als ze al bestudeerd werden, gebeurde het niet systematisch, maar selectief. In de vroege kerk en de reformatie ging de meeste aandacht naar de genealogieën van Kaïn en Seth, als tegengestelde geslachtslijsten. In de negentiende eeuw werd de historische betrouwbaarheid van de genealogieën onderwerp van discussie. Dankzij wetenschappers als Marshall Johnson and Robert Wilson werd de focus in de

tweede helft van de twintigste eeuw verlegd naar de functie van genealogieën, de sociaal-politieke of literaire functie. Sinds die tijd is de functie het belangrijkste onderwerp binnen het onderzoek naar genealogieën. Vorm en functie worden bestudeerd in hun samenhang.

In deze studie heb ik mij verdiept in de vorm van de genealogie. Binnen de studie van de vorm kwam de functie, gedefinieerd als de genealogische betekenis die een specifiek genre patroon kan hebben, in beperkte mate aan de orde. Moderne vorm-critici in linguïstiek als Stukker, Sporen en Steen leren ons dat genres regelmaat kennen en fluide en dynamisch zijn, om zich zo aan te kunnen passen aan de behoefte van de tijd. Vanuit de resultaten van deze moderne vorm-critici, heb ik de conventie van het genre, de ‘grounding’, en de uniciteit van de individuele genealogieën in de afwijkingen van het patroon, bestudeerd.

Mijn belangrijkste onderzoeksvraag ging over de verhouding van regelmaat en fluiditeit van het genre van genealogieën en over de ontwikkeling van het genre in de Bijbel. Als sub-vraag heb ik gekeken naar de rol van vrouwen. Maken vrouwen enkel deel uit van de afwijkingen of kunnen zij aanwezig zijn in de patronen zelf? Deze onderzoeksvragen werden gesteld in hoofdstuk 1 en vormden de achtergrond van de analyse van de bijbelse genealogieën.

Hoofdstuk 1 bevatte ook enkele definities, voornamelijk over fluiditeit. Met Wilson heb ik genealogie gedefinieerd als een geslachtslijst van tenminste drie generaties. Kortere genealogieën werden alleen opgenomen, als ze binnen een genealogische context stonden. De genealogische referenties (a zoon van b) vormden geen onderdeel van deze studie. Soms kwamen zij voor in de schema’s, om de grotere genealogische context van een patroon duidelijk te maken. Aan het einde van hoofdstuk 1 werd een paragraaf gewijd aan bronnenkritiek en een traditionele indeling van de genealogieën naar bron.

In de hoofdstukken 2 en 4 werden de teksten van de genealogieën in respectievelijk de Pentateuch en Kronieken en andere boeken bestudeerd, deels met behulp van het System for Hebrew Text: Annotations for Queries and Markup (SHEBANQ), voor de meer gecompliceerde zoekvragen. De meerderheid van de genealogieën in de Pentateuch bevindt zich in Genesis. Er zijn ook enkele genealogieën in Exodus 6 en Numeri 26 en 27. Al deze genealogieën in de Pentateuch werden geanalyseerd in hoofdstuk 2, om de verschillende patronen die gebruikt werden in het genre en de afwijkingen van de patronen te vinden. Hoofdstuk 2 startte met een korte definitie van alle patronen van de bijbelse genealogieën. Vijf patronen zijn gebaseerd op het werkwoord יָלַד, namelijk het יָלַד וְיָלַד Patroon, het Onafhankelijke Vrouwelijke Patroon, het Passieve Patroon, het Qal Mannelijk en Hiphil Patroon. Drie patronen zijn gebaseerd op het woord יָבַד, namelijk יָבַד Patroon, יָבַד Patroon en het Terugwaartse Patroon. Er zijn twee andere patronen, namelijk יָבַד/יָבַד Patroon en het Oude Nabije Oosten Patroon. In deze studie werden al deze patronen

geanalyseerd om hun ‘grounding’ te vinden. Als de ‘grounding’ helder is, kan de ontwikkeling van de patronen in de boeken, door de drie diachronische lagen van de Pentateuch, Kronieken en het Nieuwe Testament, gevolgd worden. Zeven van de in total tien patronen zijn aanwezig in de Pentateuch, beginnend met het לְקַח וְתִלְדָּה Patroon, het Onafhankelijke Vrouwelijke Patroon en het Passieve Patroon om de eerste generaties die geboren worden te beschrijven, via de lineaire genealogieën met Qal of Hiphil Patroon en de gesegmenteerde genealogieën met בְּנֵי Patroon, naar het Vrouwelijke Terugwaartse Patroon in Numeri 27:1. Er kwamen ook enkele ontbrekende genealogieën ter sprake: genealogieën die starten zoals gebruikelijk is, maar die dan ineens stoppen, zodat het verhaal het moet overnemen. Vanuit de sub-vraag, heb ik speciale aandacht gegeven aan genealogieën van een vrouwelijke voorouder, zoals Ketura.

In hoofdstuk 3 werden de zeven belangrijkste patronen van de Pentateuch systematisch geanalyseerd, waarbij per genealogie bekeken werd wat de diepte en de breedte (lineair of gesegmenteerd) was, en gelet werd op de mogelijke verbinding met andere patronen en de aanwezigheid van vrouwen. Door deze analyses vallen afwijkingen, zoals een uitzonderlijke diepte, onmiddellijk op. Langzamerhand werd het duidelijk dat alle patronen een specialisatie kennen en een verschillende genealogische functie hebben. Soms waren er binnen patronen verdere onderscheidingen nodig, zoals bijvoorbeeld tussen een lineaire בְּנֵי genealogie en de gesegmenteerde בְּנֵי genealogie. Binnen het לְקַח וְתִלְדָּה Patroon heb ik als subcategorie een Goddelijk Vrouwelijk Patroon geïdentificeerd.

Naast deze zeven hoofdpatronen, zijn er verschillende hulpelementen, zoals de hulppatronen אֶם/אָבִי en מְשֻׁפָּחַת /בְּכֹר, en het tellen van kinderen. Aan het einde van de hoofdstukken over de Pentateuch heb ik verschillende theorieën besproken over de functie van de formule וְאֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת /אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת als een structuurmiddel en over het bestaan van een Boek van de Toledoth. Ik heb een suggestie toegevoegd van een mogelijke structurering van het boek Genesis op basis van de genealogieën. In de laatste paragraaf van hoofdstuk 3 volgden de conclusies over het gebruik van genealogieën in de Pentateuch.

Hoofdstuk 4 analyseerde de genealogieën in alle andere boeken van de Hebreeuwse Bijbel, buiten de Pentateuch. Het bestudeerde materiaal in hoofdstuk 4 is daarom erg divers: het varieert van genealogieën in Kronieken tot genealogische introducties van de profeten. Toch bleken er vele overeenkomsten te zijn tussen de teksten, vooral tussen de boeken Kronieken, Ezra en Nehemia. De genealogie van de hogepriester in I Kronieken 5 lijkt op de priesterlijke geslachtslijst in Ezra 7. De lijsten van Nehemia 11 en I Kronieken 9 komen overeen. De meerderheid van het materiaal bevindt zich in de genealogische preambule van Kronieken, I Kronieken 1-9. In de overige hoofdstukken van Kronieken staan enkele koninklijke genealogieën en census lijsten die

genealogieën bevatten, in I Kronieken 23-27. Zulke lijsten komen ook voor in Nehemia. In de overige boeken, met uitzondering van Ruth, bevinden zich slechts een paar genealogieën, die functioneren als introductie van de mensen in het verhaal.

In de analyse van deze genealogieën werd geleidelijk duidelijk dat met name de Kronist het genealogisch materiaal op een vernieuwende manier presenteerde. De Kronist gebruikte enkele verschillende patronen voor zijn genealogieën. Hij herschreef de genealogieën van de Pentateuch op een creatieve manier en voegde enkele nieuwe genealogische patronen toe, namelijk het  $\text{נָּן}$  Patroon, als een alternatieve lineaire genealogie, en het Oude Nabije Oosten Patroon. De Kronist was ook innovatief in de manier waarop hij hulpelementen gebruikte. Vooral  $\text{בְּנֵי/בָּנִים}$  en het tellen van kinderen werden in Kronieken standaard toevoegingen aan de reguliere patronen. Een nieuw hulpelement was het nummeren van kinderen. In I Kronieken 1-9 werd een nieuwe grammaticale vorm gebruikt, namelijk Nifal Perfectum van het werkwoord  $\text{לָּן}$ . Het patroon gevormd met Qal  $\text{לָּן}$  was in ongebruik geraakt. We zagen een verdere ontwikkeling van het genre in de wijze waarop de Kronist de patronen gebruikte en op innovatieve wijze veranderde, om vrouwen op te nemen. Vrouwen werden op deze wijze een vanzelfsprekend en onopvallend onderdeel van de normale patronen. Zij waren in Kronieken niet alleen aanwezig als uitzonderingen, maar werden -soms-volledig geïntegreerd in het reguliere genealogische system. In de verspreide genealogieën konden ook enkele vernieuwingen opgemerkt worden. De diepte van de genealogieën nam in enkele gevallen toe. Het  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  Patroon is normaal slechts een hulp-patroon, maar werd een onafhankelijk patroon in Ruth 4:17. Ruth 4 bleek in andere patronen ook een genealogische uitzondering te zijn, namelijk in het Passieve Patroon en het Hiphil Patroon.

In hoofdstuk 5 werden de patronen op een systematische wijze geanalyseerd, zoals in hoofdstuk 3, wat betreft diepte, segmentatie of lineariteit, combinatie met andere patronen en de aanwezigheid van vrouwen. In totaal werden tien patronen geanalyseerd in hoofdstuk 5. Geleidelijk werden hun karakteristieken duidelijk. Sommige patronen zijn alleen aanwezig in een genealogische context; andere kunnen ook gebruikt worden in een narratieve context voor geboorteverhalen. Binnen de patronen moeten nuanceringen en onderscheidingen gemaakt worden, net als in de Pentateuch. De onderverdeling in lineaire  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  genealogieën en gesegmenteerde  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  genealogieën was ook hier zinvol. Verder was het in het bijzonder in Kronieken nuttig om te onderscheiden tussen de kortere Hiphil Patroon genealogieën en de langere Hiphil Patroon genealogieën. Zij bleken een andere functie te hebben. We zagen zowel in de Pentateuch als in Kronieken dat het onderwerp van het eerste werkwoord van het  $\text{לָּן לָּקַח וְנָתַן}$  Patroon niet altijd de echtgenoot was, hoewel het in Kronieken om anderen gaat dan in de Pentateuch. Een speciaal geval was de term  $\text{בְּנֵי}$ . Via de verschillende teksten werden de inclusiviteit en flexibiliteit van deze term

langzamerhand duidelijk. Het werd ook duidelijk dat de Kronist een voorkeur heeft voor zekere patronen. Hoofdstuk 5 eindigde met de conclusies van de analyses van de hoofdstukken 4 en 5.

In hoofdstuk 6 werden de genealogieën van het Nieuwe Testament geanalyseerd, van Matteüs en Lucas. De genealogieën gebruiken patronen die we al in de vorige hoofdstukken tegenkwamen. Het Nieuwe Testament vormt daarmee een interessante, nieuwe ontwikkelingslaag van de genealogische patronen. Dankzij deze nieuwtestamentische genealogieën kon ik de veranderingen en vernieuwingen van de patronen in drie diachronische lagen volgen, namelijk van de Pentateuch, Kronieken en het Nieuwe Testament. Ik vond ook enkele veranderingen in het gebruik van getallen en berekeningen tussen de Hebreeuwse Bijbel en het Nieuwe Testament.

De genealogie in Matteüs begint met een Terugwaarts Patroon, waarbij vele generaties overgeslagen worden om terug te gaan naar de twee belangrijkste voorouders, gevolgd door een hele lange, lineaire genealogie die een Griekse variant van het Hiphil Patroon gebruikt. Het eindigt met een Passief Patroon. Speciale aandacht ging in deze studie naar de aanwezigheid van vijf moeders in de twee patronen en naar de verschillende theorieën waarom zij vermeld zijn. Grammaticaal is deze vermelding van de moeders een vervolg van een mogelijkheid die al aanwezig was in Kronieken.

Lucas gebruikt een heel lang Terugwaarts Patroon, die een introductie vormt op een persoon in het verhaal, zoals in de verspreide genealogieën in de Hebreeuwse Bijbel. Grammaticaal is deze genealogie een uitgewerkte genitief van relatie, om de afkomst van Jezus via Jozef te beschrijven. De genealogieën van Mattheüs en Lucas spreken elkaar tegen. In een aparte paragraaf van hoofdstuk 6 werden de oplossingen die in de vroege kerk en de Middeleeuwen voorgesteld werden, samengevat. Tot slot besprak ik de vraag hoe Jezus verbonden was aan de genealogie. Werd Jezus beschouwd als een natuurlijke zoon of als een adoptief-zoon van Jozef?

In een aparte paragraaf, als een excurs, werd de plaats van vrouwen in het genealogische deel van de *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* geanalyseerd, op dezelfde manier als de genealogieën in de Hebreeuwse Bijbel geanalyseerd waren. Het werk van Pseudo-Philo had speciale betekenis voor de sub-vraag van mijn onderzoek, aangezien deze herschrijving van de bijbelse genealogieën vele vrouwelijke namen bevat. Ik heb geanalyseerd welke vrouwen toegevoegd zijn in LAB en hoe zij toegevoegd zijn aan de patronen. Aan het einde van deze paragraaf heb ik een mogelijk antwoord geformuleerd op de vraag waarom LAB zoveel vrouwennamen bevat.

Hoofdstuk 7 beantwoordde de belangrijkste onderzoeksvraag van hoofdstuk 1, namelijk: hoe verandert het genre van de genealogieën, in zijn patronen en in zijn annotaties? Door de diachrone verdeling te volgen van Pentateuch, Kronieken en Nieuwe Testament, heb ik conclusies getrokken over de ontwikkeling van de bijbelse genealogieën door de tijd heen en de volgende



vragen beantwoord: is er een verandering binnen het genre? Blijven dezelfde patronen gebruikt worden? Is er een verandering in de populariteit van sommige patronen? Kunnen we een specialisatie van de verschillende patronen onderscheiden? Deze vragen werden beantwoord in hoofdstuk 7.1, de eerste paragraaf. In de tweede paragraaf heb ik mij geconcentreerd op de 'grounding' van de verschillende patronen en op de afwijkingen die gevonden konden worden.

Voordat ik de sub-vraag van mijn onderzoek wat betreft vrouwen beantwoordde, heb ik eerst al het materiaal over moeders en dochters dat ik gevonden heb in de verschillende genealogieën, verzameld en geanalyseerd. Paragraaf 7.2 beschreef de rol van dochters, als dochters en als zusters, en de hele gevarieerde rol van moeders. Moeders krijgen verschillende toevoegingen aan hun namen, die hun hiërarchische positie kunnen aangeven. In 7.3 heb ik de uiteindelijke conclusies getrokken over de aanwezigheid van vrouwen in de genealogieën van de Bijbel.

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<https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?id=3654> אֱלֹהֵי בְנֵי  
<https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?id=3655> בְנֵי וּבְנוֹת  
<https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?id=3658> נִתְהַר וְנִתְהַר (directly connected)  
<https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?id=3659> נִתְהַר וְנִתְהַר (all)  
<https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?id=3688> passive ילד plus מן  
<https://shebanq.ancient-data.org/hebrew/query?id=3691> passive ילד plus ל (niphal)  
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## Biography



### Biography

The common thread in the life of Hedda Klip (1962) is the alternation between teaching at theological institutes abroad and being a parish pastor in the Netherlands. In the 1980s she studied Theology and Hebrew and Aramaic in Leiden. In 1990 she was ordained as a minister of the unifying congregations in Nieuwerkerk, Zeeland. But she also felt the call to serve the worldwide church. That's why Hedda left in 1994 with her family to teach Old Testament and Hebrew in anglophone Cameroon, as a missionary of the Dutch church, followed by a posting in Cairo as a lecturer of the Old Testament. In 2002 the family moved to Switzerland, where Hedda worked as minister for the worldwide church in the cantons of Basel and Baselland. After all these years abroad she returned to the Netherlands. From 2006-2017 she served as a minister in Ootmarsum, a small city in the East of the Netherlands. During a special leave, she taught for one semester at the Near East School of Theology in Beirut, Lebanon. After her years as a minister, she taught at this international, ecumenical institute till the end of 2019, as a missionary of the Kirk, Edinburgh. Hedda has been fascinated by the structures and genres of the Hebrew Bible since her studies. With this doctoral dissertation she hopes to share her fascination with others.

### Biografie

De afwisseling van het domineeschap in eigen land en lesgeven in theologische instituten in het buitenland is de rode draad door het leven van Hedda Klip (1962). Zij studeert in de tachtiger jaren theologie, Hebreeuws en Aramees in Leiden. In 1990 wordt ze geordineerd als predikant van de SOW-gemeente in het Zeeuwse Nieuwerkerk. Maar zij wil ook de wereldwijde kerk dienen. Daarom vertrekt Hedda in 1994 met haar gezin naar het Engelstalige deel van Kameroen, in dienst van de zending van de Hervormde Kerk. Zij geeft les in het Oude Testament en Hebreeuws. Daarna wordt ze beroepen als docent Oude Testament in de Egyptische hoofdstad Caïro. In 2002 volgt de verhuizing naar Zwitserland, waar Hedda predikant is voor de wereldwijde kerk in de kantons Basel en Baselland. Na deze lange periode in het buitenland komt ze terug. Hedda is tussen 2006 en 2017 gemeentepredikant in de Twentse plaats Ootmarsum, tijdelijk onderbroken door een semester waarin zij onderwijs geeft aan de Near East School of Theology in Beiroet. Na het afscheid als dominee is ze in dit internationale, oecumenische instituut tot eind 2019 docent Oude Testament en Hebreeuws, in dienst van de zending van de Schotse Kerk. Hedda raakte al tijdens haar studietijd gefascineerd door de structuren en genres van de Hebreeuwse Bijbel. Met dit proefschrift heeft zij haar wens waargemaakt om anderen daarin te laten delen.