

J. A. LLOYD

# Archaeology and the Itinerant Jesus

*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen  
zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe*  
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**Mohr Siebeck**

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J. A. Lloyd

# Archaeology and the Itinerant Jesus

A Historical Enquiry into Jesus'  
Itinerant Ministry in the North

Mohr Siebeck

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This is dedicated to Roy Lloyd  
whose inspiration made this work possible.



## Preface

This study is a revised version of my doctoral thesis, which was completed at the University of Otago, New Zealand in 2017 under the supervision of Dr Paul Trebilco, and Dr Christopher Forbes from Macquarie University, Australia. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my PhD supervisors for their encouragement, expertise, and advice. I would also like to thank Dr Joan Taylor whose recommendations proved invaluable, Professor Jörg Frey, the series editor, and Elena Müller, Bettina Gade, and Tobias Stäbler at Mohr Siebeck who were instrumental in the refining process.

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Auckland, July 2020

*J. A. Lloyd*





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## List of Abbreviations

<i>ABD</i>	<i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman et al. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
<i>ABS</i>	Anchor Bible Series
<i>AJ</i>	<i>Antiquaries Journal</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–.
<i>AsJT</i>	<i>Asia Journal of Theology</i>
<i>AS</i>	<i>Aramaic Studies</i>
<i>ATR</i>	<i>Anglican Theology Review</i>
<i>AYB</i>	<i>Anchor Yale Bible</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>BAIAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
<i>BARIS</i>	BAR (British Archaeological Reports) International Series
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BBB</i>	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin: A Journal of Bible and Theology</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CBR</i>	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
<i>CH</i>	<i>Church History</i>
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . Edited by August Boeckh. 4 vols. Reimer: Berlin, 1828–1877. Repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1977.
<i>CIJ</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum</i> . Edited by Jean-Baptiste Frey. 2 vols. Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1936–1952.
<i>COJS</i>	Centre for Online Judaic Studies
<i>CW</i>	<i>Classical World</i>
<i>DJG</i>	<i>Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels</i> . 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. Edited by Joel B. Green, Jeannine K. Brown and Nicholas Perrin. Downers

- Grove, IL; Nottingham, England: IVP Academic; InterVarsity Press, 2013.
- DNTB* *Dictionary of New Testament Background*. Edited by Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000.
- EAEHL* *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Edited by Michael Avi-Yonah. 4 vols. London: Oxford University Press; Jerusalem: Massada Press, 1975–1978.
- EC* *Early Christianity*
- EDEJ* *Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*. Edited by John J. Collins and Daniel C. Harlow. Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2010.
- EHJ* *Encyclopedia of the Historical Jesus*. Edited by Craig A. Evans. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- EKK* Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
- ER* *Ecumenical Review*
- ESI* *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*
- ExpT* *The Expository Times*
- FCNTECW* Feminist Companion to the New Testament and Early Christian Writings
- FRLANT* Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
- GELNTECL* *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*.
- HA-ESI* *Hadashot Arkheologiyot: Excavations and Surveys in Israel*
- HThKNT* Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
- HTR* *Harvard Theological Review*
- IAA* Israel Antiquities Authority Reports
- ICC* International Critical Commentary
- IEJ* *Israel Exploration Journal*
- IMSA* *Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology*
- INJ* *Israel Numismatic Journal*
- ISBE* *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*. Edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 4 vols. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1979–1988.
- JAJSup* Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
- JAR* *Journal of Archaeological Research*
- JBL* *Journal of Biblical Literature*
- JFA* *Journal of Field Archaeology*
- JHG* *Journal of Historical Geography*
- JJS* *Journal of Jewish Studies*
- JLA* *Journal of Late Antiquity*

<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRASup</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series
<i>JSHJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplementary Series
<i>JSPSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
<i>LA</i>	<i>Liber Annuus</i>
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library
<i>LMDLB</i>	<i>Le Monde de la Bible</i>
<i>NEA</i>	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
<i>NEAEHL</i>	<i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> . Edited by Ephraim Stern. 5 vols. Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society and Carta, 1993–2008.
<i>NewDocs</i>	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i> . Edited by Greg H. R. Horsley and Stephen Llewellyn. Vols. 1–7 North Ryde, N.S.W: Macquarie University Press; Vols. 8–10 Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1981–2012.
<i>NIDB</i>	<i>New Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible</i> . Edited by Katherine Doob Sakenfeld. 5 vols. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2006–2009.
<i>NIGTC</i>	New International Greek Testament Commentary
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NovTSup</i>	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
<i>NSR</i>	Numismatic Studies and Researches
<i>NTOA</i>	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>NTTS</i>	New Testament Tools and Studies
<i> OCD</i>	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . Edited by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth. 4 <sup>th</sup> ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
<i>OEANE</i>	<i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East</i> . Edited by Eric M. Meyers. 5 vols. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<i>OEBA</i>	<i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Archaeology</i> . Vol. 1. Edited by Daniel M. Master. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RBS</i>	Resources for Biblical Studies

RINAP	The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period
<i>RRJ</i>	<i>Review of Rabbinic Judaism</i>
SBF	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum
SBFCMa	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Major
SBFCMi	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Minor
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature: Resources for Biblical Study
SBTS	Sources for Biblical and Theological Study
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> . Leiden; Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1923–.
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
<i>SH</i>	<i>Studia Hierosolymitana</i>
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
TENTS	Texts and Editions for New Testament Study
<i>TIR</i>	<i>Tabula Imperii Romani: Judaea-Palaestina Maps and Gazetteer</i> . Edited by Yoram Tsafrir, Leah Di Segni, and Judith Green. Jerusalem: Israel Academy, 1994.
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
VCSup	Supplements to <i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
<i>VE</i>	<i>Vox Evangelica</i>
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

## Chronological periods for Palestine<sup>1</sup>

Iron Age II A period <sup>2</sup>	IA IIA	1000–733/32 BCE
Iron Age II B period	IA IIB	ca. 733/32–586 BCE
Babylonian and Persian periods	BP	586–332 BCE
Early Hellenistic period <sup>3</sup>	EH	332–167 BCE
Late Hellenistic period	LH	167–63 BCE
Early Roman I period <sup>4</sup>	ER I	63 BCE–70 CE
Early Roman II period	ER II	71 CE–135 CE
Middle Roman period	MR	135–250 CE
Late Roman period <sup>5</sup>	LR	250–363 CE
Byzantine period	Byz	363–640 CE

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<sup>1</sup> Lists of chronological periods vary across regions and among scholars. This list reflects the archaeological periods of settlements in Galilee. It draws on the work of Jonathan L. Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Re-examination of the Evidence* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 21; Mark A. Chancey, *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee*. SNTSMS 188 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), xii; David A. Fiensy and James Riley Strange, eds., *The Archaeological Record from Cities, Towns, and Villages*, vol. 2 of *Galilee in the Late Second Temple Period and Mishnaic Periods* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2015), ix; and Ephraim Stern et al., eds., *NEAEHL* 4.1529.

<sup>2</sup> For Palestine, the Iron Age spans the period 1200–586 BCE. Iron Age II has been divided into A and B to denote the periods before and after the Assyrian conquest of Galilee.

<sup>3</sup> I have followed Reed with regards to the Hellenistic period. His dates better reflect the decline in Seleucid influence in Galilee and shifts in the material culture after 167 BCE.

<sup>4</sup> I have followed Chancey and Reed in marking the beginning of the Early Roman period at 63 BCE, the year Pompey conquered Judea and brought an end to Hasmonean independent rule over Palestine. The Early Roman period has been divided to mark the periods before and after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE.

<sup>5</sup> The end of the Late Roman period in Palestine is usually set at 324 CE. However, the material culture of Galilee during the Byzantine period is more evident after 363 CE, when a violent earthquake struck the region and destroyed towns and villages.





## Important historical dates<sup>1</sup>

Assyrian conquest of Galilee and the Golan	733/732 BCE
Assyrian conquest of Samaria	722/721 BCE
Babylonian conquest of Judah	587/586 BCE
Period of Hasmonean rule	142–63 BCE
Pompey conquers Judea	63 BCE
Period of Hasmonean ethnarchy <sup>2</sup>	63–37 BCE
Reign of Herod the Great <sup>3</sup>	37–4 BCE
Archelaus: ethnarch of Judea and Samaria	4 BCE–6 CE
Herod Antipas: tetrarch of Galilee and Perea	4 BCE–39 CE
Philip: tetrarch of the central and northern Golan, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanea	4 BCE–34 CE
Roman province of <i>Judaea</i> <sup>4</sup>	6–40 CE
Jesus' itinerant ministry	ca. 28–30 CE <sup>5</sup>
The First Jewish Revolt	66–70CE

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<sup>1</sup> The following material is largely derived from David A. Fiensy and James Riley Strange, eds., *The Archaeological Record from Cities, Towns, and Villages*, vol. 2 of *Galilee in the Late Second Temple and Mishnaic Periods* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2015), xi–xv.

<sup>2</sup> The Jewish territories became a vassal state of Rome, attached to the province of Syria. They were ruled by the ethnarch and High Priest Hyrcanus II, along with the governor (ἐπίτροπος) Antipater.

<sup>3</sup> The Roman Senate, with the support of Antony and Octavian, declared Herod the Great the 'King of the Jews' in 40 BCE (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.377–379; *War* 1.280–285). During the next three years, Herod subdued opposing forces in the Jewish territories, including Galilee. He conquered Jerusalem and defeated the last Hasmonean contender in 37 BCE.

<sup>4</sup> After the removal of Archelaus in 6 CE, Judea and Samaria became the Roman province of *Judaea*. It was annexed to Syria and ruled by governors of equestrian rank.

<sup>5</sup> This is probably the period within which Jesus conducted his public ministry, although there is a slim possibility that Jesus died in 33 CE. See John P. Meier, *The Roots of the Problem and the Person*, vol. 1 of *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 372–409.

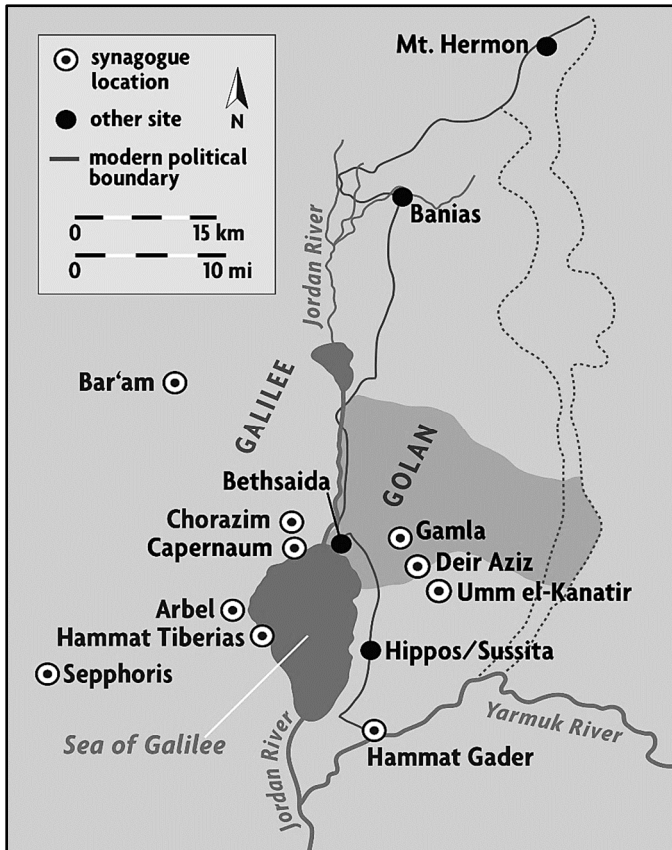
## Hasmonean dynasty

Jonathan: governor of Judea	160–142 BCE
Simon: High Priest and ethnarch	142–135 BCE
Reign of John Hyrcanus I	135–104 BCE
Reign of Aristobulus I	104–103 BCE
Reign of Alexander Jannaeus	103–76 BCE
Reign of Salome Alexandra	76–67 BCE
Aristobulus II and period of civil war	67–63 BCE
John Hyrcanus II: High Priest and ethnarch	63–40 BCE
Matthias Antigonus II: contender for the throne	40–37 BCE

## Herodian dynasty

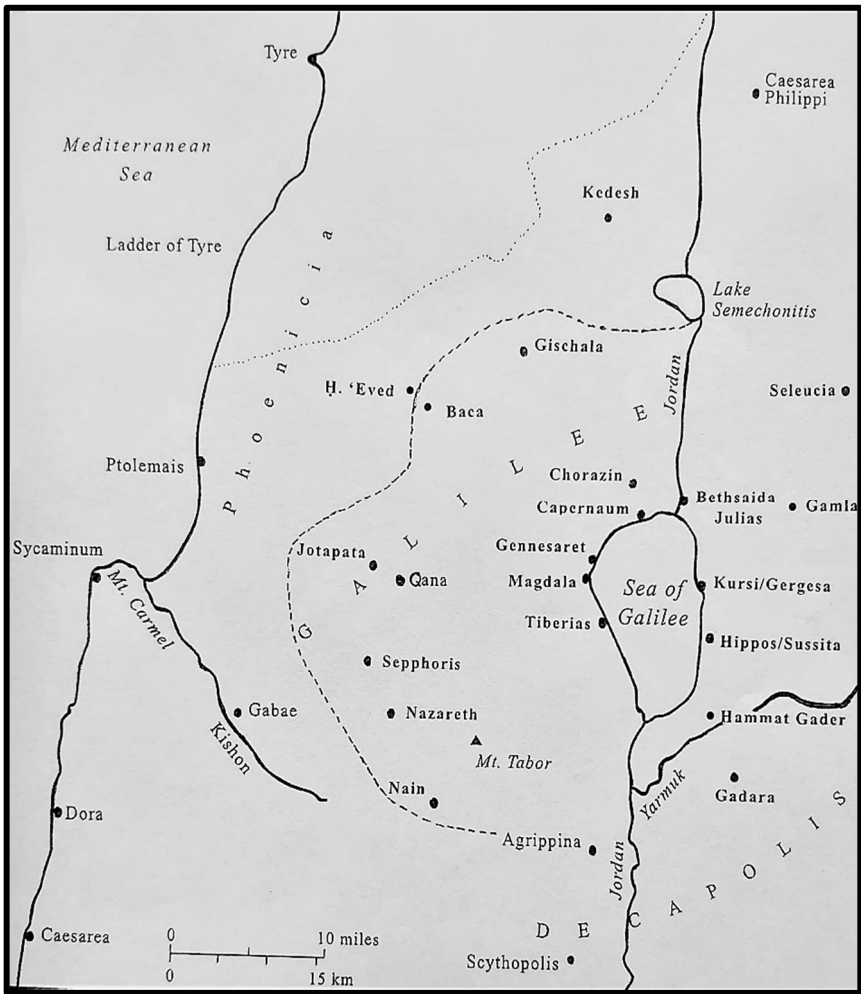
Herod the Great: Governor of Galilee	47–37 BCE
Herod the Great: King of the Jews	37–4 BCE
Archelaus: ethnarch of Judea, Idumea, Samaria	4 BCE–6 CE
Herod Antipas: tetrarch of Galilee and Perea	4 BCE–39 CE
Philip: tetrarch of the central and northern Golan, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanea	4 BCE–34 CE
Agrippa I: ruler over Philip's former territories, and Judea, Galilee, and Perea	37–44 CE 41–44 CE
Agrippa II: ruler over Philip's former territories and Tiberias and Taricheae and their districts	53–ca. 93 CE

## Maps



Map 1: East Galilee and the Golan.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chaim Ben David, "Golan Gem," *BAR* 33.6 (2007): 44–51. Used by permission. © Biblical Archaeology Society. The shaded region represents the central Golan (Gaulanitis). Apart from Gamla, the synagogue sites in this map post-date the Early Roman I period. Banias is the Arabic name for ancient Paneas.

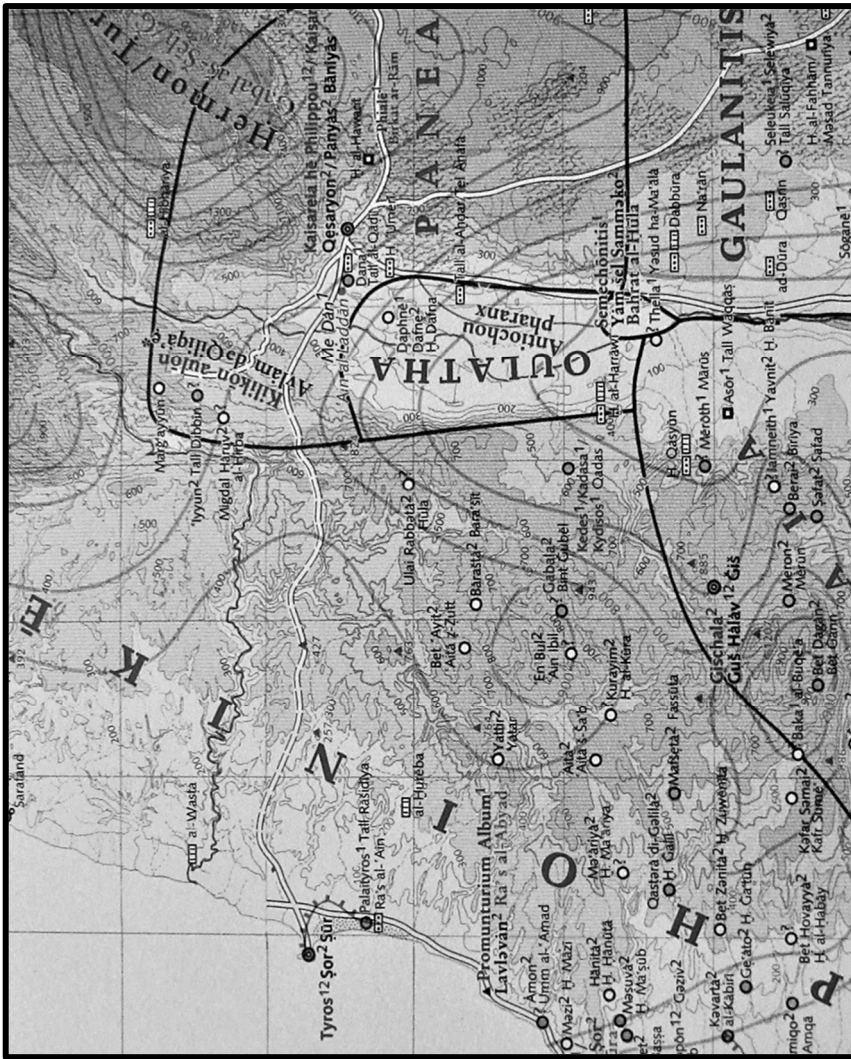


Josephus' border ----- Baraita borderline .....

Map 2: First century CE Galilee and surrounding regions.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> This map is adapted from that of John Paul Meier, "The Galilee of Jesus' Ministry," in *A Marginal Jew*, 1.435. Lake Semechonitis was also known as Lake Huleh.

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Map 3: Phoenicia, Hulatha (Oulatha), Paneas, and the Tyre-Damascus Highway.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Siegfried Mittmann and Götz Schmitt, eds., *Tübinger Bibelatlas/Tübingen Bible Atlas*. Map BV 18 © Dr. Ludwig Reichert Wiesbaden. *Tübinger Bibelatlas /Tübingen Bible Atlas* © 2001 Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft Stuttgart. Used by permission. This map shows the highway which ran from Tyre (Tyros) to Damascus via Paneas/Caesarea Philippi, and the beginning of the highway which ran from Paneas in a north-westerly direction into Sidon. This map also distinguishes the district of Paneas from Gaulanitis.



## Chapter 1

# Introduction

There is a general consensus among New Testament scholars and historians that the historical Jesus was itinerant.<sup>1</sup> The itinerant nature of Jesus' ministry is attested in the Gospel of Mark, the sayings source Q, some of the special material in the Gospel of Luke (L), the Gospel of John, and the Gospel of Thomas. However, there has been uncertainty as to the geographical extent of Jesus' itinerant ministry and whether he did in fact travel to the places indicated in the Gospels. This work will explore the extent and plausibility of Jesus' itinerant ministry in the north, particularly as it is depicted in Mark.<sup>2</sup> Drawing on literary sources and archaeology, this work will argue that Mark's depiction of Jesus' itinerant ministry in and around Galilee is historically plausible. We will begin, however, with a brief survey of what the sources listed above say about Jesus' itinerancy and where he travelled.

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Gerd Theissen, "Jesus as an Itinerant Teacher: Reflections from Social History on Jesus' Roles," in *Jesus Research: An International Perspective. The First Princeton–Prague Symposium on Jesus Research*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Petr Pokorný (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 98–122; N.T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, vol. 2 of *Christian Origins and the Question of God* (London: SPCK, 1996), 148, 168–171, 657; E.P. Sanders, *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (London: Penguin Books, 1993), 13; John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991), 345–348, 422; J. Ramsey Michaels, "The Itinerant Jesus and his Hometown," *Authenticating the Activities of Jesus*, ed. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans (Boston; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 177–193; Eckhard Schnabel, *Jesus and the Twelve*, vol. 1 of *Early Christian Mission* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP, 2004), 207–265; Martin Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader and his Followers*, trans. James C.G. Greig (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1981), 14–15; and Robert W. Funk and the Jesus Seminar, *The Acts of Jesus: What Did Jesus Really Do? The Search for the Authentic Deeds of Jesus* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1998), 566.

<sup>2</sup> Henceforth, when referring to the Gospel of Mark or to the Markan evangelist I will use the designation Mark, without any assumption regarding the actual name or identity of the author. The same will apply to the authors and Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John.



## A. Jesus' itinerancy in the literary sources

### *I. Jesus' itinerancy in Mark*

Mark conveys the impression that Jesus travelled extensively throughout Galilee and surrounding regions, before heading south towards Jerusalem. In a few summary statements Mark claims that Jesus journeyed among the towns and villages of Galilee.<sup>3</sup> Mark also includes topographical references to indicate places to which Jesus travelled. Two settlements in particular deserve special mention: Capernaum, which appears to have been Jesus' base of operations,<sup>4</sup> and Nazareth, Jesus' hometown.<sup>5</sup> Mark also depicts Jesus teaching and healing people in the synagogues of Galilee,<sup>6</sup> beside the Sea of Galilee,<sup>7</sup> and in private homes.<sup>8</sup>

Jesus is also depicted journeying through neighbouring regions. He visits Bethsaida in Gaulanitis, crosses the border into the region of Tyre, passes through the region of Sidon, ministers to people in the Decapolis, and travels north to the villages of Caesarea Philippi.<sup>9</sup> Mark also describes Jesus crossing the Sea of Galilee and coming ashore in the region of the Gerasenes, the region of Dalmanutha, and the region of Gennesaret.<sup>10</sup> Finally, Mark depicts Jesus travelling south to Judea and across the Jordan, and passing through Jericho, Bethphage, and Bethany before arriving in Jerusalem.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, at face value, Mark conveys the impression that Jesus' itinerant ministry was extensive: that Jesus covered a broad geographical area, visited numerous towns and villages, and taught in synagogues, in private homes, and in the open air. Mark also conveys the impression that Jesus attracted large crowds.<sup>12</sup> Further insight into the way Jesus conducted his itinerant ministry is suggested in his instructions to the twelve disciples whom he appointed and sent out on mission.<sup>13</sup> In addition, Jesus' itinerancy is reflected in the frequent

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<sup>3</sup> Mark 1.39; 6.6b, 56. See also Mark 1.14–15 and the saying of Jesus in Mark 1.38.

<sup>4</sup> Mark 1.21; 2.1; 9.33.

<sup>5</sup> Mark 1.9; cf. 6.1. Nazareth is also indicated in references to Jesus the Nazarene (Mark 1.24; 10.47; 14.67; 16.6).

<sup>6</sup> Mark 1.21, 39; 3.1; 6.1–2.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Mark 2.13; 3.7–9; 4.1; 6.34.

<sup>8</sup> Mark 1.29–34; 2.1–2; 3.20, 31–32; 5.38–39; 7.17; 7.24; 9.33–35; 14.3–9.

<sup>9</sup> Mark 5.1, 20; 7.24, 31; 8.22, 27.

<sup>10</sup> Mark 5.1; 6.53; 8.10. Mark records another occasion when Jesus and his disciples set out across the Sea of Galilee to Bethsaida (Mark 6.45), but in this instance they did not arrive there. This will be discussed in Chapter Five.

<sup>11</sup> Mark 10.1, 46; 11.1, 11.

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. Mark 1.32–33; 2.1–2, 13; 3.7–9; 4.1; 5.21, 24; 6.31, 34, 54–56; 7.17, 33; 8.1, 9, 34; 9.14; 10.1, 46; 11.7–8. Mark also reports that some of the people came from as far afield as Judea, Idumea, the Transjordan, and Tyre and Sidon (Mark 3.8).

<sup>13</sup> Mark 6.7–13. The selection of the twelve will be discussed below.

use of verbs of movement, such as variants of ἐξελθεῖν, ἀπελθεῖν, ἔρχεσθαι, ἐκπορεύεσθαι, ἀναχωρεῖν, and διαπερᾶν,<sup>14</sup> in the repeated phrase “on the way” (ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ),<sup>15</sup> and in Jesus' call to potential disciples to “follow me” (δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου).<sup>16</sup>

We can see from this brief overview that Mark provides numerous details of Jesus' itinerant ministry. However, it is also evident that only a small number of settlements or regions are mentioned by name, and for the most part Mark does not provide a clear itinerary of Jesus' travels. Questions have also been raised about the historical value of Mark's summary statements which depict Jesus' itinerancy, and the topographical references which locate him in various places.<sup>17</sup> Are these narrative settings just Markan inventions which have no bearing on history, or do they provide historical information about where Jesus travelled? For over a hundred years there has been doubt as to whether Mark provides reliable geographical information about Jesus' itinerant ministry. Yet as this work will show, the results of archaeological investigation over the past few decades, require that we rethink this position.

Finally, it is widely accepted that Mark was probably the first of the canonical Gospels to be written,<sup>18</sup> and that Mark, or an earlier edition of Mark, was a primary source used by Matthew and Luke,<sup>19</sup> in addition to the sayings source

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<sup>14</sup> See e.g. Mark 1.29, 35; 2.13; 5.1, 21; 6.1, 32, 46, 53; 7.24, 31; 8.10, 13, 22, 27; 9.30; 10.1, 17, 46, 11.12, 27; 13.1; 14.32.

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. Mark 10.17, 32. The phrase ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ will be discussed in Chapter Six.

<sup>16</sup> Mark 1.17. See also ἀκολουθεῖ μοί in Mark 2.14.

<sup>17</sup> Some of these will be discussed below and in subsequent chapters.

<sup>18</sup> The Gospel of Mark was probably written between 65 and 75 CE. John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus*, vol. 1. *The Roots of the Problem and the Person* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1991), 43; Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary*. Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2007), 14; Joel Marcus, *Mark 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 37–39; Rudolf Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium*, 1. Teil. *Einleitung und Kommentar zu Kap. 1,1–8,26*. HThKNT II (Freiburg: Herder, 1984), 12–14; Martin Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, trans. John Bowden (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2003), 1–28; Joachim Gnllka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 1. Teilband: *Mk 1–8, 26*. EKK II.1 (Zürich: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1998), 34–35; Chris Forbes, “The Historical Jesus,” in *The Content and Setting of the Gospel Tradition*, ed. Mark Harding and Alanna Nobbs (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 237.

<sup>19</sup> The hypothesis of Markan priority best accounts for the considerable amount of material common to Mark, Matthew, and Luke. David A. DeSilva, *An Introduction to the New Testament: Contexts, Methods and Ministry Formation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004), 166–167; James D.G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered*, vol. 1 of *Christianity in the Making* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 143–146; Gerd Theissen and Annette Merz, *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1998), 25–26; and Forbes, “The Historical Jesus,” 236.

Q.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, Mark is still recognised as a valuable source for historical Jesus study.

## II. Jesus' itinerancy in Matthew and Luke

Matthew and Luke generally adopt Mark's geographical framework where the bulk of Jesus' ministry is conducted in and around Galilee, followed by a journey south to Jerusalem. Matthew and Luke also follow Mark in depicting Jesus travelling among the towns and villages of Galilee, attracting large crowds, and teaching in their synagogues,<sup>21</sup> although Luke widens the geographical scope of this to include all *Judaea* (Ἰουδαία).<sup>22</sup> In addition, most of the topographical references in Matthew and Luke are derived from Mark.<sup>23</sup> Also Matthew and Luke follow Mark in recording journeys across the Sea of Galilee,<sup>24</sup> and they both include an account of Jesus sending the twelve out on mission.<sup>25</sup>

Matthew follows Mark in recording a journey of Jesus to the regions of Tyre and Sidon, and Caesarea Philippi.<sup>26</sup> Matthew also follows Mark in noting Jesus' journey south to Judea and across the Jordan,<sup>27</sup> whereas Luke depicts Jesus travelling among the villages of Samaria on his way to Jerusalem.<sup>28</sup> Both,

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<sup>20</sup> Q and the two-source hypothesis will be discussed below.

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. Matt. 4.12, 17, 23, 25; 8.1, 18; 9.35; 11.1; 12.9, 15; and Luke 4.14–16, 33, 38, 43–44; 5.1, 19; 6.6, 17; 7.11; 8.1–3. For other references to synagogues see e.g. Matt. 10.17 and Luke 7.5.

<sup>22</sup> Luke 4.43–44 (Mark 1.38–39). While the term Ἰουδαία could denote the smaller region of Judea, it could also refer to the broader province which included Galilee, Samaria, and Judea. Thus Luke may be intentionally expanding the geographical range of Jesus' ministry to include Galilee and Judea. I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*. NIGTC (Grand Rapids, MI: Paternoster Press, 1978), 197; John Nolland, *Luke 1–9:20*. WBC (Dallas, TX: Word, 1989), 216. Schnabel believes that Luke 4.44 refers only to the small region of Judea, as distinct from Galilee. Schnabel, *Early Christian Mission*, 1.258–259. The meaning of Ἰουδαία will be discussed further below.

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. Matt. 4.13; 8.5; and Luke 4.31 (Mark 1.21) in relation to Capernaum; and Matt. 13.54 and Luke 4.16 (Mark 6.1–2) in relation to Nazareth. See also Matt. 4.18; 8.5; 14.34; 15.21; 16.13; 17.24; and Luke 4.23; 5.1; 7.1; 8.26; and 9.10. One exception to this is the reference to Magadan in Matthew 15.39.

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. Matt. 8.28; 14.34; 15.39; Luke 8.26; 9.10.

<sup>25</sup> Matt. 10.5–15; Luke 9.1–6. Later in Luke, Jesus sends out seventy or seventy-two disciples (Luke 10.1–12).

<sup>26</sup> Matt. 15.21; 16.13. Luke includes the story of Peter's messianic confession but omits the topographical reference to Caesarea Philippi (Luke 9.18–22; cf. Mark 8.27–30; Matt. 16.13–20).

<sup>27</sup> Matt. 19.1–2.

<sup>28</sup> Luke 9.52 seems to place Jesus in Samaria. Later in the Lucan narrative Jesus appears on the border between Galilee and Samaria, probably in the Jezreel Valley (Luke 17.11).

however, record Jesus passing through Jericho, Bethphage, and Bethany before arriving in Jerusalem.<sup>29</sup>

### III. Jesus' itinerancy in the sayings source Q

The itinerancy of Jesus is also attested in Q. It is evident that there is material common to Matthew and Luke that they did not derive from Mark, and while some have argued that Matthew borrowed material from Luke,<sup>30</sup> or that Luke borrowed material from Matthew,<sup>31</sup> I accept the majority view that Matthew and Luke probably borrowed from a common source, or collection of sources, which has been designated Q.<sup>32</sup> Thus Mark and Q form two early and independent sources for historical Jesus research.<sup>33</sup> Also, the formation of Q probably pre-dated or was roughly contemporary with Mark.<sup>34</sup>

Two sayings/*logia* of Jesus in Q support the claim that Jesus was itinerant. In one Jesus responds to a would-be follower with the words, "Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man has nowhere to lay his head."<sup>35</sup> This saying conveys the impression that Jesus was constantly on the move and that his itinerancy was a way of life, at least while he was engaged in public ministry.<sup>36</sup> In the second saying Jesus extends a warning to the people

<sup>29</sup> Matt. 20.29; 21.1, 10; Luke 18.35; 19.29.

<sup>30</sup> See e.g. Martin Hengel, *The Four Gospels and the One Gospel of Jesus Christ: An Investigation of the Collection and Origin of the Canonical Gospels*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 2000), 169–207.

<sup>31</sup> See e.g. Mark Goodacre, *The Case against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Tradition* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002).

<sup>32</sup> For a brief introduction to the origin of the designation Q see Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 1.50, n. 9.

<sup>33</sup> For a brief introduction to the two-source hypothesis see DeSilva, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 161–171. See also Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 1.43–44; and Forbes, "The Historical Jesus," 237.

<sup>34</sup> For example, Robinson dates the formation of the Q sayings to the fifties, and its final redaction to ca. 70 CE. James M. Robinson, "History of Q Research," in James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, *The Critical Edition of Q. Hermeneia—A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible: Supplements* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2000), lv, lxi–lxiii. Meier suggests a date between 40–60 CE. Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 1.43–44. Theissen suggests a date between 40–70 CE. Theissen, *Gospels in Context*, 221. William Arnal proposes a date in the forties but suggests that some of the earliest material in Q1 may have been formulated during the time of Jesus. William E. Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes: Galilean Conflicts and the Setting of Q* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress, 2001), 164, 168. Similarly, Dunn suggests that some of the oral traditions behind Q were formed prior to Jesus' crucifixion. James D.G. Dunn, *A New Perspective on Jesus: What the Quest for the Historical Jesus Missed* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 26–28.

<sup>35</sup> Q 9.58 (Matt 8.20; Luke 9.58). Q references in English will be taken from the *Critical Edition of Q*.

<sup>36</sup> This saying will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

of Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, because they failed to respond to his message.<sup>37</sup> Apart from this saying, we would not know that Jesus ministered in Chorazin, except for Mark's general statement that Jesus taught in the towns and villages of Galilee.

#### IV. Jesus' itinerancy in other sources

Jesus' itinerancy is also attested in Luke's special source material (L) and in Acts. For example, Luke states that Jesus visited the town of Nain in Galilee.<sup>38</sup> And in Acts, Jesus' itinerancy is attested in a speech attributed to Peter. Luke writes that Jesus began his ministry in Galilee and that he "went about doing good" (διήλθεν ἐνεργετῶν).<sup>39</sup>

John also attests to Jesus' itinerancy, although the material is arranged according to multiple trips between Galilee and Judea, and Jesus' attendance at religious festivals in Jerusalem.<sup>40</sup> John also states that Jesus came from Galilee,<sup>41</sup> spent time in Galilee,<sup>42</sup> attracted large crowds,<sup>43</sup> and crossed the Sea of Galilee.<sup>44</sup> John also refers explicitly to Capernaum,<sup>45</sup> Nazareth,<sup>46</sup> Cana,<sup>47</sup> and Tiberias in Galilee,<sup>48</sup> and Bethsaida which he also locates in Galilee.<sup>49</sup>

Finally, a variant of Q 9.58 is preserved in the Gospel of Thomas (*GTh*). It can be translated, "[Foxes ha]ve [hole]s, and birds have their nests, but the son of man does not have a place to lay down his head and rest hi[msel]f."<sup>50</sup> This saying may preserve an independent tradition which reflects Jesus' itinerancy. However, it is also possible that this saying was derived from Matthew or

<sup>37</sup> Q 10.13–15 (Matt. 11.21–24; Luke 10.13–15). This saying will be discussed further in Chapters Three and Five.

<sup>38</sup> Luke 7.11. Luke also draws on his special source material for Jesus' rejection by a village in Samaria (Luke 9.52), and his encounter with Zacchaeus in Jericho (Luke 19.1–2).

<sup>39</sup> Acts 10.37–38.

<sup>40</sup> John 2.13, 23; 5.1; 7.2, 14; 10.22–23; 12.1.

<sup>41</sup> John 7.41, 52.

<sup>42</sup> John 1.43; 2.1, 11; 4.3, 43, 45–46, 54; 7.1–3, 9; 21.1.

<sup>43</sup> John 6.2, 22, 24.

<sup>44</sup> John 6.1, 17, 25.

<sup>45</sup> John 2.12; 4.46–47; 6.16–17, 24.

<sup>46</sup> John 1.45–46; 19.19.

<sup>47</sup> John 2.1, 11; 4.46; and 21.2.

<sup>48</sup> John 6.23. John also refers to the Sea of Galilee as the Sea of Tiberias (John 6.1).

<sup>49</sup> The location and identification of Bethsaida will be discussed in Chapter Five. John also states that Jesus spent time at Bethany in Judea (John 11.1–2, 17–18; 12.1–2), stayed in a village called Ephraim (John 11.54), ministered near the Jordan River (John 1.28–29; 3.22; 4.1–2; 10.40–41), and travelled through Samaria (John 4.4–5, 40).

<sup>50</sup> *GTh*. 86 [Nag Hammadi II.2] (trans. Gathercole). Simon Gathercole, *The Gospel of Thomas: Introduction and Commentary*. TENTS 11 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 518–519.

Luke.<sup>51</sup> Also, in the context of Thomas this saying may take on a different meaning, having more to say about the plight of humans in the world than the itinerancy of Jesus.<sup>52</sup>

#### V. Jesus' itinerancy: some initial observations

It can be seen, therefore, that Jesus' itinerancy is attested in a few independent sources: Mark, Q, L, John, and possibly *GTh*. It also appears in different forms, in narrative and in the sayings/*logia* of Jesus. Consequently, there is general agreement among New Testament scholars and historians that the historical Jesus was itinerant. Whether Jesus is described as a wandering charismatic teacher,<sup>53</sup> an eschatological prophet,<sup>54</sup> a Cynic-like peasant teacher,<sup>55</sup> or a homeless and displaced individual,<sup>56</sup> Jesus' itinerancy is generally regarded as historical.

Yet it is also evident from this brief survey that only a small number of settlements or regions are mentioned by name and, as with Mark, none of these sources provide a clear itinerary of Jesus' travels. Similarly, questions have been raised about the historical value of the various topographical references.<sup>57</sup> Thus there is uncertainty concerning the geographical extent of Jesus' itinerant ministry. Did Jesus travel throughout all Galilee visiting many of its towns and villages and preaching in their synagogues? Or did Jesus focus on the settlements near the Sea of Galilee and make only a few day trips beyond this area? Also, did Jesus travel through the regions round about, and if so, for what purpose? Given Markan priority and the fact that Mark has several things to say about where Jesus travelled, let us review what scholars are saying about Mark, and the implications of this for the itinerant ministry of the historical Jesus.

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<sup>51</sup> Gathercole, *Gospel of Thomas*, 178–181. Meier argues that while the *logia* in *GTh* that have parallels in the Gospels may be independent, on the whole they show a “tendency to conflate and/or abbreviate the various forms of the Synoptics to produce the Thomasine version.” Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 5.147.

<sup>52</sup> Gathercole suggests the saying concerns the lack of rest and solace humans find in the material world. Gathercole, *Gospel of Thomas*, 519.

<sup>53</sup> Gerd Theissen, *The First Followers of Jesus: A Sociological Analysis of the Earliest Christianity*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1978), 8–16; and Theissen, “Itinerant Teacher,” 98–122.

<sup>54</sup> Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 168–171, 657.

<sup>55</sup> Crossan, *The Historical Jesus*, 345–348, esp. 346, and 422.

<sup>56</sup> Robert J. Myles, *The Homeless Jesus in the Gospel of Matthew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2014).

<sup>57</sup> Some of these will be discussed in the following chapters.

## B. A review of what scholars are saying about Mark

During the early decades of the twentieth century scholars began to recognise that most of the topographical references in Mark belong to editorial material and are therefore secondary. This in and of itself is not a problem. However, for an increasing number of scholars this was understood to mean that most, if not all, of these references were historically unreliable. This in turn impacted scholarly views on the extent of Jesus' itinerancy.

### I. *The influence of Wrede and Schweitzer*

In 1901 William Wrede challenged the historical reliability of Mark in his work, *Des Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*.<sup>58</sup> He was not the first to do so.<sup>59</sup> However, Wrede's analysis of the "messianic secret" in Mark led to the contention that the entire framework of the Gospel was a Markan construct motivated by Markan theological concerns.<sup>60</sup> Wrede therefore doubted whether any of the specific topographical references belonged to pre-Markan tradition, and he argued that since Mark was not an eye-witness, much of this information must have been provided by him.<sup>61</sup>

Wrede's thesis was challenged by Albert Schweitzer in his 1906 work, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede: eine Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung*.<sup>62</sup> Schweitzer argued that the historical Jesus must be understood within the context of first-century apocalyptic Judaism. He therefore saw greater continuity between Jesus and first-century Judaism, and was able to incorporate more of Mark's material in his historical reconstruction than Wrede. Schweitzer's work has had a lasting influence on historical Jesus research. It ensured that Mark retained its status as a primary source for historical Jesus research, and it explains the

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<sup>58</sup> William Wrede, *The Messianic Secret*, trans. James C.G. Greig. The Library of Theological Translations (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1971). Translation of *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien: Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangeliums* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901).

<sup>59</sup> For example, as early as 1835 David Strauss had argued that the four canonical Gospels were replete with myth, legend, and editorial additions to the extent that the critical scholar had to work carefully to peel back these layers to recover a few historical facts. David Friedrich Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, rev. ed. Peter C. Hodgson, trans. George Eliot (London: SCM Press, 1973), 39–92. Translation of *Das Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet* (Tübingen: Verlag von C.F. Osiander, 1835).

<sup>60</sup> See e.g. Wrede, *The Messianic Secret*, 130–131.

<sup>61</sup> See e.g. Wrede, *The Messianic Secret*, 145–146.

<sup>62</sup> Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus zu Wrede*, trans. John Bowden (London: A & C Black, 1954). Translation of *Von Reimarus zu Wrede: Eine Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1906).

ongoing recognition that Jesus must be interpreted within the context of first-century Judaism.

N.T. Wright describes the influence of Wrede and Schweitzer on subsequent historical Jesus research in terms of two highways: the thorough-going scepticism of the *Wredestrasse* versus the thorough-going eschatology of the *Schweitzerstrasse*.<sup>63</sup> While many studies in the twentieth century do not fall neatly into either category, this is a helpful paradigm for understanding how Markan research and historical Jesus research developed in the twentieth century.

## II. The form critics and the Gospel of Mark

In 1919 Karl Ludwig Schmidt, in *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu*, drew attention to the pre-Markan units of tradition in the Gospel, and analysed the way these were arranged into Mark's geographical and chronological framework. He concluded that before Mark wrote his Gospel, most of the units of tradition existed without any fixed geographical or temporal context, and that only fragments of an itinerary survived. Therefore, the entire narrative framework was a Markan creation and should not be taken as historical.<sup>64</sup> He also argued that the Gospel was the product of a community, not an individual, and that it was not a biography but *Kleinliteratur* i.e. folk literature, and cult-legend.<sup>65</sup> This meant that while some topographical references may have been pre-Markan,<sup>66</sup> in the Gospel they belonged to Mark's redactional framework and were therefore governed by Mark's theological interests.

In 1931 in *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, Rudolf Bultmann sought to determine the forms of the individual units of tradition, to discover their *Sitz im Leben* in the life of the early church, and to distinguish earlier units of tradition from secondary additions and forms. He sought to determine whether a unit of tradition reflected primitive Palestinian Christianity or exhibited influence of Hellenistic Christianity. As with Wrede and Schmidt, Bultmann accepted that most of the topographical references in Mark belong to editorial material,<sup>67</sup> and argued that while some may have belonged to pre-

<sup>63</sup> Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 20–21.

<sup>64</sup> Karl Ludwig Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu: literarkritische Untersuchungen zur ältesten Jesusüberlieferung* (Berlin: Trowitzsch & Sohn, 1919), v–vii, 17, 317.

<sup>65</sup> Karl Ludwig Schmidt, "Die Stellung der Evangelien in der allgemeinen Literaturgeschichte," in *EYXAPIETHPION: Studien zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, ed. Hans Schmidt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1923), 2.50–134, esp. 76.

<sup>66</sup> See e.g. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu*, 208–210.

<sup>67</sup> Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, trans. John Marsh (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), 242; trans. of *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. FRLANT 29 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931).



Markan traditions, they were not securely attached to any particular unit and could therefore have been transferred from one unit to another.<sup>68</sup> Bultmann also argued that Mark created many of these geographical contexts and added them to the various apophthegms and stories he found in the tradition.<sup>69</sup> Finally, like Schmidt, Bultmann concluded that the Gospels were not biographies but “expanded cult legends.”<sup>70</sup> Therefore, they could not be expected to provide historically reliable material. Bultmann argued that in writing his Gospel, Mark had created a new and unique literary genre, *sui generis*, and not concerned with history but with theology and *kerygma*.<sup>71</sup>

The form critics were correct to recognise that much of the material in Mark was drawn from pre-Markan traditions, many of which were oral traditions that had probably circulated independently in the early church. They were also correct to note that Mark had gathered and arranged this material into the cohesive narrative of his Gospel. However, it is not evident that Mark created geographical contexts because these were lacking in his sources. When we observe the way in which Matthew and Luke used their Markan source material, assuming Markan priority, they sometimes generalise details and drop topographical references.<sup>72</sup> While we cannot be certain that Mark did the same with some of his sources, it is certainly plausible. One of the assumptions of the form critics was

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<sup>68</sup> Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 242, 338, 341–342. For example, he acknowledged that Capernaum and the Sea of Galilee were probably firmly established in the tradition, but argued that the references to Capernaum in Mark 1.21 and 2.1 were editorial. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 242.

<sup>69</sup> Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 242, 349–350. He considered the reference to Bethsaida in Mark 8.22 as unhistorical, and characterised the story in Mark 8.27–30, which refers to the villages of Caesarea Philippi, as legendary. He also described the references to Tyre and Sidon in Mark 7.24 and 31 as editorial trimming, and the entire trip as a pointless excursion. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 64–65, 213, 257. Even the historical reliability of references like Jesus leaving the synagogue or entering the house of Simon in Mark 1.29, were questioned because these were editorial formulations. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 339–340.

<sup>70</sup> Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 371. Bultmann adds, “There is no historical-biographical interest in the Gospels, and that is why they have nothing to say about Jesus’ human personality, his appearance and character, his origin, education and development.” Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 372.

<sup>71</sup> Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 370–374.

<sup>72</sup> For example, Mark states that Peter’s declaration of Jesus as the Messiah occurred on the road to the villages of Caesarea Philippi (Mark 8.27–30). Matthew simplifies the geographical context to the region of Caesarea Philippi (Matt. 16.13–16). However, Luke omits the topographical reference altogether (Luke 9.18–20). In each case, the core of the pericope is preserved but the geographical context becomes more generalised. As E.P. Sanders has noted concerning the development of the synoptic traditions, there is no clear trend towards the expansion of the material and the addition of place names. Sometimes this does occur, but the trend can also work the other way. E.P. Sanders, *The Tendencies of the Synoptic Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

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