SEAN FREYNE

Galilee and Gospel

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament
125

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Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

125

Sean Freyne

Galilee and Gospel

Collected Essays

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This collection of essays is dedicated to Professor Martin Hengel as an expression of gratitude to him for his continuing support and encouragement since he first suggested to me the topic of Galilee in Hellenistic and Roman times in 1972.

My first visit to Tübingen came about through the enthusiastic invitation of Professor Otto Betz who has befriended many visiting students to Tübingen with unfailing kindness and warmth. The *Institutum Judaicum* of the University there has provided me with a friendly and helpful environment for research on several occasions in the intervening years.

The Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung has generously supported my visits to Tübingen and I am happy to be able to acknowledge my appreciation of the courtesy of several General Secretaries of the Foundation and their staff. I trust that the publication of this collection of essays by a prestigious German academic publisher demonstrates the importance of the dialogue in the Humanities between German and visiting scholars that the Foundation continues to make possible.

In the preparation of these essays for publication I have received generous help from the Provost's Academic Development Fund, the Trinity Association and Trust, and the Joint Program for Mediterranean and Near Eastern Studies at Trinity College. My thanks are also due to Peter Kenny and David Edgar, Trinity College, Dublin, for their meticulous care in preparing the manuscript and indices. I am also deeply indebted to my wife, Gail, and to my children, Bridget and Sarah, for whom my preoccupation with Galilee has become a way of life over the years.

I have resisted the temptation to make any large-scale revision to the essays, confining myself to stylistic changes and the addition of new bibliographical information as appropriate. These are indicated by the use of an asterisk in the footnotes.

I also wish gratefully to acknowledge permission to publish the following articles:

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Wilfiried Laurier University Press: 'Galilean Questions to Crossan's Mediterranean Jesus,' in *Whose Historical Jesus?* ed. W. Arnal and M. Desjardin (1997) 63–91.

E.J. Brill: 'Jesus the Wine-Drinker, Friend of Women,' in *Transformative Encounters. Jesus and Women,* ed. I. R. Kitzberger (1999) 162–80.

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North Carolina Museum of Art: 'Christianity in Sepphoris and Galilee,' in *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture,* ed. R. Martin Nagy, et al. (1997) 67–74.

Seán Freyne, Trinity College, Dublin March 2000.

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Abbreviations

Standard abbreviations are used for the biblical books, apocrypha, pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls and the tractates of the Mishnah, Tosefta and Talmuds. The Loeb Classical Library translation of Josephus is used.

ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSSH	*Comparative Studies in Society and History*
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
INJ	*Israel Numismatic Journal*
JA	*Jewish Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus,
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JW	*Jewish War* of Flavius Josephus,
Life	*Life* of Flavius Josephus
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
NEAEHL	*The New Encylopedia of Archeological Excavations in the Holy Land*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
RelSRev	*Religious Studies Review*
SBLASP	*Society of Biblical Literature Abstracts and Seminar Papers*
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,* ed. Kittel and Friedrich
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

Introduction

Galilean Studies: Problems and Prospects

'Galilee, Galilee, you hate the Torah. In the end you will be victimised by oppressors.' (Johanan ben Zakkai, *y. Shabb.* 16,8; 15d).

'Surely you are not from Galilee. Search the Scriptures and see that no prophet is to arise from Galilee.' (Chief Priests and Pharisees, Jn 7,52).

'With this limited area and although surrounded by such powerful foreign nations the two Galilees have always resisted any hostile invasion, for the inhabitants are from infancy inured to war. . . . Never did the men lack courage nor the country men.' (Josephus, *JW* 3,41–42).

'Every nation called to high destinies ought to be a little world in itself, including opposite poles. . . . It was the same with Judea. Less brilliant in one sense than the development of Jerusalem, that of the north was much more fertile; the greatest achievements of the Jewish people have always proceeded thence. . . . The north has given to the world the simple Shunammite, the humble Canaanite, the impassioned Magdalene, the good foster-father, the Virgin Mary. The North alone has made Christianity: Jerusalem, on the contrary is the true home of that obstinate Judaism which founded by the Pharisees, and fixed by the Talmud, has traversed the middle ages and come down to us.' (Ernest Renan, *The Life of Jesus*, 55 f.)

'Geographically, this northernmost district of Palestine was a little island in the midst of unfriendly sees. . . . Its overwhelming Jewishness was a relatively recent phenomenon.' (Geza Vermes, *Jesus the Jew,* 44).

'What if we let Galilee take its place in the Greco-Roman world? What if the people of Galilee were not isolated from the cultural mix that stimulated thought and produced social experimentation in response to the times? What if the Galileans were fully aware of the cultural forces surging through the Levant? What if we thought that the Galileans were capable of entertaining novel notions of social identity? What then? Why then we would be ready for the story of the people of *Q*. (Burton Mack, *The Lost Gospel. The Book of Q and Christian Origins,* 68).

The variety of perspectives on Galilee represented by this selection of ancient and modern witnesses underlines both the fascination and the difficulty of providing an accurate account of life in the region during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. With our modern critical awareness it is possible to detect the particular biases of the ancient texts, all expressing the views of Jerusalemite outsiders. Recognising the perspectives that shape modern scholarly construals, including one's own, is a more difficult task. Because of its association with the formative periods of both Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity the relative lack of evidence about the region has not inhibited scholars from filling the vacuum with vastly divergent accounts of the ethnic mix and the religio-cultural affiliations of the Galilean populace. The essays collected in this volume represent my ongoing search over the past 20 years for a more adequate understanding of the complexity of Galilean life. They are presented here not as definitive solutions to the many intriguing problems that have emerged through dialogue with the views of other scholars, but rather as a contribution to the ongoing debate about Galilee which currently shows no signs of abating. In particular the many archaeological excavations and surveys in the region are providing new data that call for new hypotheses to be put forward and old certainties to be challenged. In the light of these discoveries Renan's description of the landscape being like a fifth gospel, 'torn but still legible', takes on a significance that even he could scarcely have imagined, as the remains of ancient sites emerge into the light of day across the Galilean countryside.[1]

The Awakening of Scholarly Interest in Galilee

In the earliest accounts of Christian pilgrims visiting the Holy Land one can detect a growing desire to find evidence for the biblical stories in the landscape, but also an idealisation of the countryside and its people.[2] This expression of early Christian piety provides an interesting backdrop for what occurred in the eighteenth century, when western pilgrims 'rediscovered the Holy Land' in the wake of the Napoleonic wars.[3] Jerusalem, naturally, was the focus of attention, and Galilee does not seem to feature very much, either in terms of the pilgrims' expectations or actual

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[1] Renan, *The Life of Jesus,* English translation of *Vie de Jésus* (Paris, 1863; ET Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1991) 23 f.

[2] Cf. J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (London: S. P. C. K. 1971) and *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1977).

[3] N. Shepherd, *The Zealous Intruders. The Western Rediscovery of Palestine* (London: Collins, 1987).

visits to the region. Thus, as late as 1860 Ernest Renan as leader of a French cartographic expedition to Phoenicia could sit in his hut on the borders of Galilee, admire the landscape and romanticise about its lush vegetation providing the proper setting for the pure religion of Jesus, devoid of both its Jewish aridity and its Christian dogmatism.[4]

Renan's *Life of Jesus* was a best seller in France, even though it was excoriated by the Christian churches. Despite his highly idealised account of Jesus and his religion, Renan was a scholar with an excellent knowledge of the languages and cultures of the Near East. Other liberal lives that dominated the first quest for the historical Jesus, were less interested in the Middle Eastern context of the ministry, especially the Jewish background, given the desire to present Jesus as a teacher of universal ethics that transcended his own immediate background. It was left to scholars of a more pietist persuasion who made Palestine the object of their researches for decades to emulate Renan's efforts. This flood of interest by British, German and French scholars, travellers and missionaries, sometimes in competition with each other, eventually gave rise to the establishment of such foundations as The Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF London, 1865), the Deutscher Palästina-Verein and the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft (1887 and 1900 respectively). These organisations ensured a more scholarly approach to the investigation of the Holy Land, but each in its own way was committed to the defence of the Bible from its rationalistic detractors.[5] As well as surveying the countryside intensive attention was also given by German scholars to the ancient sources, especially Josephus and Eusebius, in terms of their geographical information, corresponding to German Jewish scholars' interest in the geography of the Talmud in the same period.[6]

The French, unlike the Germans and the British, did not at first establish nationally supported institutes for the research of Palestine, similar to those that they had established earlier in Athens and Rome. In 1890 a graduate school for the scientific study of the Bible in the context of the Near Eastern cultures was established in Jerusalem by the French Dominican priest and biblical scholar, Père Marie-Joseph Lagrange. Because of its

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[4] *The Life of Jesus,* 39f.

[5] Shepherd, *Zealous Intruders,* 193–227.

[6] A. Neubauer, *La Géographie du Talmud,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1868), vol. 1, 177–240 on Galilee; S. Klein, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie Galiläas* (Leipzig, 1909) and *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Geographie Galiläas* (Vienna, 1923); id., 'Hebräische Ortsnamen bei Josephus,' *MGWJ* 59 (1915) 163f.; E. Klostermann, *Eusebius. Das Onomastikon der Biblischen Ortsnamen* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904; reprint, Hildesheim: G. Olms 1966); P. Thomsen, 'Palästina nach dem Onomasticon des Eusebius,' *ZDPV* 26 (1903) 97–141 and 145–88; W. Oehler. 'Die Ortschaften und Grenzen Galiläas nach Josephus,' *ZDPV* 28 (1905) 1–26 and 49–74;

scholarly achievements, it was subsequently recognised in 1920 by the French Académie des Belles Lettres as the École Biblique et Archéologiques Française. Due to their political interests in Syria/Lebanon and Egypt the French had, however, engaged in an official mapping exercise of both territories, but this did not include Palestine initially. In 1870, ten years after Renan's 'mission to Phoenicia,' the cartographic work done in the Lebanon was extended to Galilee, but only one map of lower Galilee was actually produced.[7] Individual French scholars such as Victor Guérin, an explorer, and Charles Clermont-Ganneau, an epigrapher, did, however, contribute to the research of Palestine, the latter as a member of the Palestine Exploration Fund for a time. Guérin produced a detailed survey of the whole country between 1863 and 1871, and was the first to record every ruin and village in the countryside, including Galilee, and to attempt an identification of these with biblical sites.[8] He thus prepared the way for the detailed survey by Claude Conder and H. H. Kitchener between 1871 and 1877, the maps of which were published in 1880, together with accompanying reports, including one on Galilee written by Trelawney Saunders.

These efforts by the British and Germans to survey and map the whole of Palestine were continued subsequently east of the Jordan with some success in the Golan and to the south in the old kingdom of Moab. Identification of sites with biblical places on the basis either of Arabic placenames retaining something of the older Semitic ones or of other indications from ancient sources, was not always accurate. Yet these surveys and maps provided the starting point for subsequent research when more scientific methods of surveying, allied to stratified digs at chosen tells, the importance of which had not been previously understood, became the norm. However, it should not be forgotten that both the PEF and the German Evangelical Institute, and to a lesser extent the Deutches Palästina-Verein, were initially motivated by a desire to defend the accuracy of the biblical records against their rationalist detractors. In this they were merely continuing in a more systematic manner the aims of the many travellers, missionaries and surveyors who had visited the Holy Land over the previous century and a half. Among these, the name of Edward Robinson stands out because of his efforts to move beyond the paths well trodden by monks

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[7] D. Gavish, 'French Cartography of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century,' *PEQ* 126 (1994) 24–31.

[8] V. Guérin, *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine* (Paris, 1868–80); C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archaeologie orientale*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1903). T. Sanders, *An Introduction to the Survey of Western Palestine* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1881).

and pilgrims and he traversed the whole country consulting with the Arab population of the villages.[9]

Notwithstanding his indefatigable desire for accuracy, Robinson was a man of deep puritan piety, combining the mind of a rationalist with the soul of a mystic. Thus the danger was real that, like other zealous Protestant clergymen of his generation, the details of Palestinian life would be transposed to biblical times in the enthusiasm to explain or illustrate aspects of the biblical narratives. This tendency to idealise the Palestinian landscape, so graphically illustrated in the case of Renan, can be detected in a number of later accounts of Galilee based on the work of the PEF. George Adam Smith's influential *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (1894) combines an impressive knowledge of both the literary sources and the actual terrain, together with a highly romantic account of the effects of the landscape on Jesus as a growing boy in Nazareth, surrounded with 'a map of Old Testament history.' On the other hand, the study of the 'anthropo-geographical relations' in Galilee by V. Schwöbel (1904), also based on the detailed maps of the PEF, seeks to establish the connections between the physical features of Galilee, its patterns of human settlement, network of roads and trade routes in a highly interesting manner. Nevertheless, the overall effect of the investigation is to contrast the present impoverished situation of Galilee with its previous 'golden age' in biblical times when it was a thriving, populous region, endowed with every gift of nature. The same natural conditions – mountains, hills and plains, climate and springs – obtain now as they did 2000 years ago. Only humans have failed over the centuries, and the remedy which Schwöbel proposes is that the present population be awakened from its lethargy through contact 'with western cultural circles' so that a stable government could repulse 'the evil powers of the desert.'[10]

It would be misleading to suggest that the scientific study of Galilee originated solely in the nineteenth-century search for the historical Jesus and the response of Christian scholars to that challenge. The Enlightenment had lead to the emancipation of European Jewry after centuries of confinement to the ghetto, an occurrence that had deep repercussions within the Jewish community itself. Total assimilation was one response to the new situation in the desire of some Jews to participate fully in the intellectual life of Europe. It was in this climate that the Science for the Study of Judaism (*Wissenschaft des Judentums*) emerged with the aims of

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[9] E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions. A Journal of Travels in the Years 1838 and 1852 by E. Robinson, E. Smith and Others* (London: J. Murray, 1856); Shepherd, *Zealous Intruders,* 90–95.

[10] V. Schwöbel, 'Galiläa: Die Verkehrswege und Ansiedlungen in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der natürlichen Bedingungen,' *ZDPV* 27 (1904), 1–151, especially 135 ff. and 149.

demonstrating Judaism's ability to examine its own history and tenets critically, thereby underlining its importance for world culture, while at the same time maintaining its separate and distinctive identity faced with what many perceived to be its impending disintegration.[11] There was then an apologetic impulse to the movement, even when various scholars were to adopt different stances and saw the tasks differently. Many of the most outstanding scholars were the products both of the Jewish Seminaries with their rabbinical training and the major universities such as Berlin, Leipzig, Vienna and Budapest, where the study of the ancient world (*Altertumswissenschaft*) was a highly developed science.

One significant aspect of the movement was the concern with Jewish history, based on the recognition that in the past Judaism had been able to adapt to the various historical situations which confronted it. History could, therefore, teach lessons for the present, whether that be seen as opportunity or as threat. Thus, for Abraham Geiger (1810–74), a radical reformer, the task of the present for Jewish scholarship was to 'loosen the fetters of the previous period through the use of Reason and historical investigation, without interrupting the connection with the past.' For his near contemporary Heinrich Graetz on the other hand, the study of Jewish history would provide roots for a Jewish identity, battered and diminished by modernity.[12]

Galilee had particular significance within the history of Judaism despite the negative judgements on the region expressed by Jerusalem scribes such as Johanan ben Zakkai or the leaders of the Jerusalem council, cited at the outset. It was there that the Jewish Sanhedrin re-established itself after the Bar-Cochba war of 132–35 CE. In Galilee the rabbinic schools of Sepphoris and Tiberias had produced such lasting monuments of Jewish life as the Mishnah and the Palestinian Talmud between the second and the fifth centuries CE and many of the important sages of the period were associated with various centres of both upper and lower Galilee.[13] It is because of this historical significance that Galilee figures prominently in the work of several Jewish scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries within the general approach of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*. In addi-

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[11] L. Wallach, *Liberty and Letters. The Thoughts of Leopold Zunz* (London: Leo Baeck Institute, 1959), especially 5–32.

[12] M. Maher, 'The Beginning of *Wissenschaft des Judenthums*' in *The Edward Hincks Bicentenary Lectures,* ed. K. Cathcart (Dublin: The Department of Near Eastern Languages, University College Dublin, 1994) 138–77, especially 160 f.

[13] A. Kaminka, *Studien zur Geschichte Galiläas* (Berlin, 1890) is an early example of this interest, combining rabbinic sources and Josephus' writings in dealing with issues such as the legend of the cleansing of Tiberias and the population mixture in Galilee. Cf. more recently L. Levine, *The Rabbinic Class of Roman Palestine in Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak ben-Zvi, 1989) 33–42.

tion to the geographical studies of Neubauer and Klein already mentioned, this latter also concentrated on the earlier history of Judaism in Galilee, a topic that is still very much to the fore in recent studies of the region, as we shall presently see.[14]

Various studies by A. Büchler (1867–1939) were of particular significance in terms of the social conditions of Jews in Palestine in the early centuries of the Common Era. Trained as a Rabbi at the Jewish seminaries of Breslau and Budapest, he later studied at the university of Leipzig and taught at Vienna for a time, before transferring to Jews' College, London, where he spent most of his academic career. His extensive scholarly output was very much in the spirit of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, especially its apologetic agenda. His writings covered such topics as the Priesthood in the period prior to the Destruction of the Temple (1895), the Jerusalem Sanhedrin and the *Beth Din* of the Temple (1902), Sin and Atonement (1904), the Economic Conditions of Judea after the Destruction of the Second Temple (1912), the Political and Social Leaders of the Jewish Community of Sepphoris in the Second and Third Century (1914), the *minim* of Sepphoris (1912) and Types of Jewish Palestinian Piety from 70 BCE–70 CE (1922). While all of these studies have Galilee very much in their sights, it was Büchler's 1906 book on the Galilean *'am ha-'aṛetz* that was most debated and the issues which it raised are still highly significant in current discussions about Galilee.[15]

Büchler was highly critical of German Protestant scholars who had used the distinction between *haver* and *'am ha-'aretz* in the rabbinic sources as a means of explaining Jesus and his movement in terms of his championing of the ordinary people of Galilee (for the most part) who had been despised by the scribal and pharisaic leadership in Jerusalem. To counteract this distortion, as he saw it, of first-century Jewish life under the law, Büchler made a distinction between the *'am ha-'aretz le-mitzwot* and the *'am ha-'aretz le torah*, the latter term applying to anybody who disregarded the directions of the Torah, irrespective of the period or the location. The concept of the *'am ha-'aretz le-mitzwot* on the other hand was, according to Büchler, the product of the rabbis of the Ushan period (i.e. post 135 CE). The regulations covering the *haverim* were, he claimed, addressed only to the Galilean Aaronides, and the disparaging remarks about the *'am ha-'aretz* were not meant for the populace as a whole but only to

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[14] S. Klein, *Galiläa von der Makkabäerzeit bis 67* (Berlin, 1923); id., *Galilee: Geography and History of Galilee from the Return from Babylonia to the Conclusion of the Talmud, by S. Klein. Completed from the Literary Remains of the Author,* ed. Y. Eltizur (Jerusalem: Translations and Collections in Jewish Studies 20, 1967) [Hebrew].

[15] A. Büchler, *Der Galiläische 'am ha-'aretz des zweiten Jahrhunderts* (reprint, Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1968).

those of priestly background who were lax, and whom the sages sought to goad into proper observance of the tithing and food laws. This restriction of the term to a later period and to a specific audience meant that it should not be used to explain the world of Jesus and his objectives in Galilee, according to Büchler. In this regard Emil Schürer's great work, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (1886–90) seems to have particularly attracted Büchler's attention, and Schürer himself responded vigorously to the charge of having misrepresented the situation.[16]

Later Jewish scholars have also recognised the difficulties with Büchler's handling of the evidence in his apologetic desire to counter the anti-Jewish trends of some German Christian scholarship, especially when it came to presenting Jesus in his historical context of Galilee.[17] It must be said, however, that Schürer's position was also one-sided. In his view, Galilee had only recently been Judaised, and surrounded by a ring of important Greek cities, the epithet 'Galilee of the gentiles' could be employed as an accurate description of the population mix as late as the first century BCE. This was only one step away from a thoroughly gentile Galilee as represented by those scholars who were influenced by the History of Religions approach to the emergence of early Christianity, ultimately leading to the assertion that 'in all probability Jesus was not a Jew,' since Galilee was pagan.[18] This trend among some scholars towards describing Galilee as essentially gentile, and therefore seeing early Christianity as a Hellenistic rather than a Jewish movement from its inception, fitted well with the tenor of the times, as the Nazi storm clouds gathered over Germany in the opening decades of the twentieth century, and the towering influence of Rudolf Bultmann held sway in New Testament studies with the demise of the first quest for the historical Jesus from the turn of the century.

In such a climate it is important to recall that such scholars as G. Dalman (1855–1941) and A. Alt (1883–1956) were to continue the work of

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[16] Büchler, *Der Galiläische 'am ha-'aretz,* 1–5 and 126–28; cf. E. Schürer's review of Büchler's book in *TLZ* 23 (1906) 620. It is interesting to note that the revisers of Schürer's original work, among whom was the noted Jewish scholar G. Vermes, chose to change the title of the section from 'Life under the Law' to 'Life and the Law,' and decided not to revise the particular section of the original, since one is faced here 'not so much with an antiquated account or a faulty historical reconstruction, as with questionable value judgements.' (*A History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ,* revised ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Black, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973–86), vol. II, 464, n. 1).

[17] A. Oppenheimer, *The 'Am ha-'aretz. A Study in the Social History of the Jewish People in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), especially 1–18 and 200–217.

[18] Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, vol. 2, 7–10; W. Grundmann, *Jesus der Galiläer und das Judentum* (Leipzig: Georg Wigand, 1941) 166–75, especially 175. Cf. 'Archaeology and the Historical Jesus,' below pp. 160 ff.

the two German foundations already mentioned. The former's massive 7 volume study of Palestinian customs and manners is still an invaluable resource along the lines of Guérin and others who had found the situation of contemporary Palestine congenial for understanding the world of the Bible. In his *Orte und Wege Jesus* (1924), however, Dalman combined a detailed knowledge of the land – both Galilee and Judea – with an excellent grasp of the literary sources, and this same knowledge was also evident in his study of the languages of Palestine in the first century, especially Aramaic. Alt succeeded Dalman as director of the German Protestant Institute, while maintaining close links with the Palästina-Verein. He had an unparalleled knowledge of ancient sources as well as an intimate acquaintance with the terrain of Palestine, and he also familiarised himself with the results of the early archaeological explorations, thus anticipating more recent developments which seek to utilise the results of both literary and archaeological studies in their reconstructions of the past. In his special contribution to the historical geography of Palestine, Alt's studies of Galilee from a *Territorialgeschichte* perspective have made a unique and lasting contribution to Galilean studies by tracing the impact of different regimes on the administrative and cultural life of Galilee through the different epochs from the Assyrian to the Roman conquests.[19] In general his approach points to continuity of population and allegiance over the centuries to a Jewish way of life in Galilee. This counterbalances to some extent the trend towards a wholesale Hellenisation of Galilee which prevailed in German New Testament scholarship of the Bultmann era, as represented by such scholars as W. Bauer (1926), W. Bertram (1935) and W. Grundmann (1941), following Schürer's earlier lead.[20]

Archaeology and Galilee

This brief sketch of early scholarly interest in Galilee has uncovered two main areas of concern, namely, a better acquaintance with the world of Jesus and its natural conditions and an exploration of the early history of rabbinic Judaism. Both interests were confessionally motivated, but that does not preclude their contributions to our knowledge of the region hav-

[19] A. Alt, 'Galiläische Probleme 1937–40,' in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* 3 vols. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1953–64), vol. 2, 363–435.

[20] W. Bauer, 'Jesus der Galiläer,' in *Festgabe für Adolf Jülicher* (Tübingen, 1927) 16–34, reprinted in *Aufsätze und Kleine Schriften,* ed. G. Strecker (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1967) 91–108; W. Bertram, 'Der Hellenismus in der Urheimat des Evangeliums,' *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 32 (1935) 265–81; Grundmann, *Jesus der Galiläer und das Judentum.* Cf. however the dissenting voice of A. Oepke, 'Das Bevölkerungsproblem Galiläas,' *Theologisches Literaturblatt* 62 (1941) 201–5.

ing a lasting value. The surveys of the early explorers may be seen as the forerunners of more developed methods of archaeological research, the beginnings of which are usually dated to the work of Flinders Petrie at Tell el-Hesi, with his discovery of the importance of Tells as repositories of accumulated rubble of the centuries and not mere natural mounds (1890). With this discovery it became possible through stratigraphy to date the pottery and thus arrive at tentative dating of the various periods of occupation of a given settlement. These techniques were developed further by William Foxwell Albright at Tell Beit Mirsim (1926–32), and later still by Kathleen Kenyon at Jericho (1951).[21] Despite the more 'scientific' approach, the apologetic nature of Biblical Archaeology as it was developing through the first half of the twentieth century can be seen today, especially in the work of Albright who has sometimes been accused of using archaeology to re-establish confidence in the historical nature of the Bible.

In this context a new interest in Galilee emerged in the search for Israelite origins, a search which could be shared by Jewish and Christian scholars alike. Galilee had featured prominently in the 14th century BCE Amarna letters from Egypt, emerging in the Late Bronze Age as a region of city-states, ruled by local princes as officials of the Egyptians, and often engaged in territorial struggles with each other, such as one between Abimilki of Tyre and Abdi-Tirshi of Hazor.[22] Archaeological investigation of some important northern sites such as Hazor (Y. Yadin), Megiddo (G. Schumacher, Y. Yadin) and Dan (A. Biran) suggested a major change at the end of the Bronze Age/early Iron Age (i.e. 13th century BCE), consisting of destruction, followed by re-settlement on a far lesser scale. Inevitably, these finds seemed to match Albright's discoveries elsewhere, and were seen to confirm the biblical account of the conquest as recorded in *Joshua.* However, a survey by Y. Aharoni (1951–53) in the previously unoccupied, mountainous region of Upper Galilee raised doubts. He discovered some fifteen smaller settlements from the Iron Age, but no city settlements corresponding to the Bronze Age ones in the plains, thus supporting Alt's theory regarding the origins of Israel as a peaceful infiltration of nomadic people into the uninhabited highlands.[23] Further examination of the evidence, as well as new evaluation of the data from the cities has

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[21] J. R. Bartlett, 'What has Archaeology to do with the Bible – Or Vice Versa?' in *Archaeology and Biblical Interpretation*, ed. J. R. Bartlett (Routledge: London, 1997) 1–19, especially 6 f.

[22] For an excellent summary cf. R. Frankel, 'Galilee: Prehellenistic,' in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary,* ed. D. N. Freedman, 6 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), vol. 2, 879–94, especially 883 f.

[23] Y. Aharoni, 'Galilee, Upper,' in *Encylopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land,* ed. M. Avi-Yonah, 4 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), vol. II, 406–8.

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