Table of Contents

| Preface | VII |
|---|-----|
| Abbreviations | |
| Chapter 1. Aims, Method, and Procedure | 1 |
| 1.1 Aims | |
| 1.2 Method and Procedure | |
| | |
| 1.3 Structure | |
| 1.4 Translations | |
| 1.5 Terminology | |
| 1.5.1 Judea and Iudaea | |
| 1.5.2 Toponyms | |
| 1.5.3 Synoptic Gospel Sources | |
| 1.6 Archaeological Periods | 7 |
| Part One: Josephus | |
| Chapter 2. Josephus as a Historian | 10 |
| 2.1 Using Josephus as a Source for Galilee | |
| 2.1.1 Josephus' Personal Agenda | |
| 2.1.2 Josephus and His Audience | 12 |
| 2.1.3 Josephus' Rhetorical Aims | 13 |
| 2.1.4 Outside Checks on Josephus' Reliability | 14 |
| 2.1.5 Using Josephus as a Historical Source | |
| 2.2 A Methodological Note | 14 |
| Chapter 3. Josephus' Portrayal of Galilee | |
| 3.1 Ethnicity | 16 |
| 3.1.1 Ethnic Identity in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Periods | 16 |
| 3.1.2 Ethnic Identity in the Hasmonean Period | |
| 3.1.3 Ethnic Identity in the Early Roman Period | |
| 3.2 Urbanization | |
| 3.2.1 Population Numbers According to Josephus | 17 |
| 3.2.2 Major Cities in Galilee | |
| 3.2.3 Urban-Rural Relations | |
| 3 2 A Urbanization and Tavation | 19 |

| 3.3 The Economy | . 20 |
|--|------|
| 3.3.1 Monetization | |
| 3.3.2 Prosperity and Poverty | . 21 |
| 3.3.3 Interregional Trade | . 21 |
| 3.3.4 Taxation | . 22 |
| 3.4 Political Climate | |
| 3.4.1 Rulers of Galilee | |
| 3.4.2 Patronage | |
| 3.4.3 John of Gischala as a Local Leader | . 31 |
| 3.4.4 Local Politics in Tiberias | . 32 |
| 3.4.5 Class Conflict | |
| 3.4.6 Bandits and Revolutionaries Before 66 CE | . 33 |
| 3.5 Religious Ethos | . 34 |
| 3.5.1 Jewish Religious Identity | . 34 |
| 3.5.2 Aniconism | . 35 |
| 3.5.3 Pharisees | . 35 |
| 3.6 Hellenization and Romanization | . 36 |
| 3.6.1 The Herodian Rulers and Pro-Roman Propaganda | |
| 3.6.2 Greco-Roman Institutions | |
| 3.6.3 Linguistic Milieu | |
| 3.7 Participation in the Great Revolt | |
| 3.7.1 Fortifications | |
| 3.7.2 Banditry During the Great Revolt | . 38 |
| 3.7.3 Troops in Galilee | |
| 3.7.4 Collaboration with Rome | . 39 |
| 3.7.5 Captives and Casualties | . 40 |
| 3.8 Jewish-Gentile Relations | . 41 |
| 3.8.1 Ethnic Tensions | |
| 3.8.2 Jewish-Samaritan Relations | |
| 3.9 Relationship Between Galilee and Judea | |
| Part Two: The Gospels | |
| Chapter 4. The Gospel of Mark | 44 |
| 4.1 Introduction | 44 |
| 4.1.1 Information Relevant to This Inquiry | 45 |
| 4.2 Mark's Portrayal of Galilee | |
| 4.2.1 Ethnicity | 45 |
| 4.2.2 Urbanization | 46 |
| 4.2.3 The Economy | |
| 4.2.4 Political Climate | 47 |
| 4.2.5 Religious Ethos | 47 |
| 4.2.6 Hellenization and Romanization | 49 |
| 4.2.7 Jewish-Gentile Relations | |
| 4.2.8 Relationship Between Galilee and Judea | 51 |

٠.

| Chapter 5. The Synoptic Sayings Source (Q) | 53 |
|---|------|
| 5.1 Redaction Criticism and Q | 53 |
| 5.1.1 Redaction in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke | 53 |
| 5.1.2 Methodological Issues | 54 |
| 5.1.3 Methodological Implications for This Inquiry | 55 |
| 5.2 Q's Provenance | 56 |
| 5.2.1 Arguments for a Galilean Provenance | 56 |
| 5.2.2 Conclusions About Q's Provenance | 60 |
| 5.3 Using Q as a Source for Galilee | 61 |
| 5.3.1 Q's Literary Setting | 61 |
| 5.3.2 Information Relevant to This Inquiry | |
| 5.4 Q's Portrayal of Galilee | 61 |
| 5.4.1 Ethnicity | 61 |
| 5.4.2 Urbanization | |
| 5.4.3 The Economy | |
| 5.4.4 Political Climate | |
| 5.4.5 Religious Ethos | 64 |
| 5.4.6 Jewish-Gentile Relations | 65 |
| 5.4.7 Relationship Between Galilee and Judea | 65 |
| Chapter 6. The Gospel of Matthew | 66 |
| 6.1 Introduction | |
| 6.1.1 The Special Matthean Material | |
| 6.1.2 Matthean Redaction to Mark and Q | |
| 6.1.3 Methodological Implications of the Synoptic Problem | 67 |
| 6.1.4 Date and Provenance | |
| 6.1.5 About the Author | |
| 6.1.6 Matthew's Tendencies | 69 |
| 6.1.7 Information Relevant to This Inquiry | |
| 6.2 Matthew's Portrayal of Galilee | 70 |
| 6.2.1 Ethnicity | |
| 6.2.2 Urbanization | 71 |
| 6.2.3 The Economy | .71 |
| 6.2.4 Political Climate | |
| 6.2.5 Religious Ethos | . 73 |
| 6.2.6 Jewish-Gentile Relations | |
| 6.2.7 Relationship Between Galilee and Judea | . 14 |
| Chapter 7. The Gospel of Luke | |
| 7.1 Introduction | |
| 7.1.1 About the Author | |
| 7.1.2 Date and Provenance | . 76 |
| 7.1.3 Information Relevant to This Inquiry | . 77 |

| 7.2 Luke's Portrayal of Galilee | 78 |
|--|-----|
| 7.2.1 Ethnicity | 78 |
| 7.2.2 Urbanization | |
| 7.2.3 The Economy | 79 |
| 7.2.4 Political Climate | 79 |
| 7.2.5 Religious Ethos | |
| 7.2.6 Jewish-Gentile Relations | 82 |
| 7.2.7 Relationship Between Galilee and Judea | 83 |
| Chapter 8. The Gospel of John | 84 |
| 8.1 Introduction | 84 |
| 8.1.1 Date and Provenance | |
| 8.1.2 Cultural and Religious Context | 85 |
| 8.1.3 Information Relevant to This Inquiry | |
| 8.2 John's Portrayal of Galilee | |
| 8.2.1 Ethnicity | |
| 8.2.2 Urbanization | 86 |
| 8.2.3 The Economy | 87 |
| 8.2.4 Political Climate | 87 |
| 8.2.5 Religious Ethos | 87 |
| 8.2.6 Hellenization and Romanization | 88 |
| 8.2.7 Jewish-Gentile Relations | |
| 8.2.8 Relationship Between Galilee and Judea | |
| Chapter 9. The Gospel of Thomas | 92 |
| 9.1 Introduction | |
| 9.1.1 Date | |
| 9.1.2 Provenance | 93 |
| 9.1.3 Theological Tendencies | 94 |
| 9.1.4 Literary Setting | 94 |
| 9.1.5 Information Relevant to This Inquiry | 94 |
| 9.2 Thomas' Portrayal of Galilee | |
| 9.2.1 The Economy | |
| 9.2.2 Political Climate | |
| 9.2.3 Religious Ethos | 95 |
| - | |
| Part Three: Archaeology | |
| Chapter 10. Galilee's Material Culture | |
| 10.1 Population Size and Settlement Patterns | 99 |
| 10.1.1 The Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods (ca. 500-100 BCE) | 99 |
| 10.1.2 The Late Hellenistic Period (ca. 100-50 BCE) | 99 |
| 10.1.3 The Early Roman Period (ca. 50 BCE-135 CE) | 99 |
| 10.2 Human and Animal Remains | |
| 10.2.1 Human Remains | 100 |
| | 101 |
| 10.2.2 Pig Bones | 101 |

| 10.3 Small Finds | |
|---|-------|
| 10.3.1 Pottery and Limestone Vessels | |
| 10.3.2 Brass | |
| 10.3.3 Epigraphy | 104 |
| 10.4 Coins | 104 |
| 10.4.1 Coins Circulating in Galilee | |
| 10.4.2 Coins Minted in Galilee | 105 |
| 10.5 Architecture | 106 |
| 10.5.1 Synagogues | |
| 10.5.2 Basilicas | |
| 10.5.3 Theaters | 107 |
| 10.5.4 Other Public Structures in Tiberias | . 109 |
| 10.5.5 Marble and Frescoes | . 110 |
| 10.5.6 Fortifications | . 110 |
| 10.5.7 Miqvaot | |
| 10.5.8 Olive and Wine Presses | . 111 |
| | |
| Chapter 11. Interpretation of the Archaeological Evidence | . 112 |
| 11.1 Ethnicity | . 112 |
| 11.1 Ethnicity | . 112 |
| 11.1.2 Ethnic Identity in the Late Hellenistic Period | . 112 |
| 11.1.3 Ethnic Identity in the Early Roman Period | |
| 11.2 Urbanization | . 114 |
| 11.2.1 Urbanization in Galilee | |
| 11.2.2 Rural Settlements | |
| 11.2.3 Bronze Coinage and Urbanization | . 116 |
| 11.3 The Economy | .117 |
| 11.3.1 Economic Growth | .117 |
| 11.3.2 Social Stratification | . 117 |
| 11.3.3 Demographics, Population Pressures, and Living Standards | . 118 |
| 11.3.4 Human Remains and Living Standards | . 119 |
| 11.3.5 Trade | |
| 11.3.6 Monetization | . 123 |
| 11.4 Political Climate | . 125 |
| 11.4.1 Local Politics | . 125 |
| 11.4.2 Pro-Roman Propaganda | . 125 |
| 11.4.3 Antipas' Rivalries With Other Rulers | . 126 |
| 11.5 Religious Ethos | . 126 |
| 11.5.1 Absence of Pagan Temples and Cultic Objects | |
| 11.5.2 Synagogues | |
| 11.5.3 Absence of Figurative Art | 127 |
| 11.5.4 Ritual Purity in Galilee | . 128 |
| 11.6 Hellenization and Romanization | 129 |
| 11.6.1 Greek Language in Galilee | |
| 11.6.2 Evidence of Romanization | . 130 |
| 11 6 3 Evidence of Galilean Resistance to Romanization | 132 |

| 11.7 Participation in the Great Revolt | 135 |
|---|-------|
| 11.7.1 Fortifications | 135 |
| 11.7.2 Evidence of Sieges and Destruction | 138 |
| 11.7.3 Numismatic Evidence for Galilean Sentiment About the Revolt | 138 |
| 11.7.4 Human Remains at Yodefat | 140 |
| 11.7.5 Depopulation After the Revolt | 140 |
| 11.8 Jewish-Gentile Relations | |
| 11.8.1 Interregional Trade | |
| 11.8.2 Ethnic Tensions | 141 |
| 11.8.3 Galilean Insularity | 142 |
| 11.9 Relationship Between Galilee and Judea | |
| 11.9.1 Parallel Cultural Trends in Galilee and Judea | |
| 11.9.2 Trade Between Galilee and Judea | 143 |
| • | |
| Part Four: Historical Interpretation | |
| Chapter 12. Synthesis and Conclusions | . 146 |
| 12.1 Ethnicity | |
| 12.1.1 Who Was and Was Not Jewish in Antiquity? | . 146 |
| 12.1.2 Horsley's Northern Israelite Theory | . 147 |
| 12.1.3 Galileans as Judean Settlers | . 149 |
| 12.2 Urbanization | |
| 12.2.1 The Context: Mediterranean Urbanization | . 150 |
| 12.2.2 Urbanization | . 151 |
| 12.2.3 Rural Growth | . 151 |
| 12.2.4 Urban-Rural Relations | . 152 |
| 12.3 The Economy | . 152 |
| 12.3.1 How Much Can We Know About Ancient Economies? | . 152 |
| 12.3.2 Ancient Economies as Underdeveloped | . 153 |
| 12.3.3 The Pax Romana | . 154 |
| 12.3.4 The Economic Consequences of Urbanization | . 155 |
| 12.3.5 Monetization | . 159 |
| 12.3.6 Evidence for Economic Problems Before the Revolt | . 159 |
| 12.3.7 Evidence for Economic Growth and Stability Before the Revolt | . 159 |
| 12.3.8 The Economic Impact of Antipas' Rule | . 160 |
| 12.3.9 The Economy During and After the Revolt | . 161 |
| 12.4 Political Climate | . 162 |
| 12.4.1 Galilee's Political Climate Under Herod the Great | 162 |
| 12.4.2 The Political Climate Under Antipas and Agrippa I | 162 |
| 12.4.3 The Political Climate After Agrippa I's Death | 164 |
| 12.4.4 The Political Climate During the Revolt | 164 |
| 12.4.5 Banditry | 164 |
| 12.4.6 Class Relations | 165 |
| 12.5 Religious Ethos | 167 |
| 12.5.1 Stricter Religious Practices | 168 |
| 12.5.2 Synagogues | 168 |
| 12.5.3 Pharisees | 169 |

| 12.6 Hellenization and Romanization | 171 |
|--|-----|
| 12.6.1 Regional Cultures Within Galilee | |
| 12.6.2 Resistance to Romanization | |
| 12.6.3 Language | |
| 12.6.4 Hellenization and Romanization in Galilee | 174 |
| 12.7 Participation in the Great Revolt | 175 |
| 12.7.1 Josephus vs. Archaeology | |
| 12.7.2 Galilean Support for the Revolt | 175 |
| 12.7.3 Why Was Galilee Less Revolutionary Than Judea? | 176 |
| 12.7.4 The Revolt's Aftermath | |
| 12.8 Jewish-Gentile Relations | 178 |
| 12.8.1 Interregional Trade | 178 |
| 12.8.2 Ethic Tensions and Violence | |
| 12.8.3 Jewish-Samaritan Relations | 179 |
| 12.8.4 Contact Between Galileans and Gentiles | 179 |
| 12.9 Galilee and Judea | 179 |
| 12.9.1 Galilean and Judean Culture | 179 |
| 12.9.2 Trade Between Galilee and Judea | 180 |
| 12.9.3 Galilean Subordination to Judea? | 180 |
| 12.9.4 Temple/Religious Authorities and Galilee | 181 |
| 12.10 Summary of Conclusions | 182 |
| 12.10.1 The Picture of Conflict or the Picture of Harmony? | |
| Appendix 1: Q Passages | 125 |
| Appendix 2: The Special Matthean Material (M) | |
| | |
| Appendix 3: The Special Lukan Material (L) | |
| Bibliography | |
| Index of Ancient Sources | 209 |
| Old Testament | |
| New Testament | |
| Rabbinic Sources | |
| Josephus | 215 |
| Apocryphal Christian Texts | |
| Other Greek and Latin Sources | |
| Index of Modern Authors | 221 |

Index of Subjects and Key Terms......225

Table of Contents

XV