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light, to decide how much we owe of our knowledge of God to the Teacher who spake as never man spake. We may err upon either side. We may overvalue our own ability, fail to recognize the light which flows from the divine word, and overrate our powers of unaided vision in discerning things that pertain to God. On the other hand, if we say that without Christ we have no knowledge of divine things, then we assert that man has no power to recognize the Christ; no test whereby to know that he came from God. But to fair-minded observers, whether believers in divine revelation or not, it is apparent that one of the strongest arguments in favor of admitting the royal claims of Jesus, is the wonderfully beautiful coincidence of every doctrine of his discourse, and every manifestation of his character, with our own conception of what is highest, most true, most worthy of the incarnate Word of God.

ARTICLE II.

GALILEE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

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I. INTRODUCTION.

ONE gets, in general, a very poor impression of Galilee from the allusions made to it in commentaries and sermons. The province is spoken of as having been, in the time of our Lord, one of the most "obscure" and "despised" of the Roman empire; and Nazareth has the misfortune of being represented as then an "insignificant village," whose inhabitants were "ignorant," and even "immoral." Such is, perhaps, the general impression of Galilee; but it is far enough from the truth. The writers of the Gospels invariably speak of Nazareth as a "city" (πόλις), and in no case do they call it a "village" (κώμη); and it is quite probable that its population amounted to fifteen or twenty thousand

souls. As to the province itself, it was in Christ's time one of the gardens of the world — well watered, exceedingly fertile, thoroughly cultivated, and covered with a dense population.

The object of this paper is sufficiently indicated by its title. It may be said, however, that the subject could hardly be confined to the dates which bound the life of Christ. We must be allowed to illustrate our subject, to some extent, at least, both by what preceded this period, — say, during the life of Herod the Great, — and by what followed it, even to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Still, our sole object is to set forth Galilee as it was during the life of our Lord.

The work now proposed has never, so far as we are aware, been thoroughly done; and almost the only attempts in this field are those of Hausrath and Keim. But the former is very brief (hardly ten pages); and the latter, although a little fuller (about sixteen pages) does not pretend to exhaust the subject. We have patiently searched in every direction for facts which might illustrate this country at the time when "Jesus went everywhere among its cities and villages, teaching and preaching the gospel of the kingdom." But it will be seen that, instead of putting the statements of the Gospels foremost, we have kept them in reserve, and have sought to gather from all external sources those facts by which to light up the background against which the statements of the Gospels rest. We give below a brief notice of the principal books which have served us in our labors :

Keim, "Geschichte Jesu von Nazara," 3 vols. Zürich, 1867-1872. Hausrath, "Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte," vol. i. Heidelberg, 1868; vol. ii. *ibid.* 1872. Neubauer, "La Géographie du Talmud," 1 vol. Paris, 1868. Ritter, "Geography of Palestine," Trans. by W. L. Gage, N. Y., 1870, in 4 vols. Graetz, the 3d vol. of his "Geschichte der Juden," edition of Leipzig, 1856. Lewin, "Fasti Sacri," 1 vol. London, 1865. Schneckengerber, "Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte," 1 vol. Frankfort am Main, 1862. Lutterbeck, "Die neutestamentlichen Lehrbegriffe," 2 vols. Mainz, 1852. Gfrörer, the 1st vol. of his "Das Jahrhundert des Heils, Stuttgart,"

1838. Renan, "Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques," 1 vol. Paris, 1863. Arnaud, "La Palestine ancienne et moderne," 1 vol. Paris, 1868. Munk, "Palestine," 1 vol. Paris, 1863. Tobler, "Nazareth," 1 vol. Berlin, 1868. Fürst, "Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte der Juden in Asien," 1 vol. Leipzig, 1849. Lightfoot, "Horae Hebraicae," edit. Robert Gandell, Oxford, 1859, in 4 vols. Thomson, "The Land and the Book," 1 vol. London, 1869. Porter, "Hand-book for Syria and Palestine"; also his "Giant Cities of Bashan," 1 vol. New York, 1867. Stanley, "Sinai and Palestine," 1 vol. New York, 1870; also his "Jewish Church," 2 vols. New York, 1863 and 1866. Robinson, "Biblical Researches," 2d edit., 3 vols. Boston, 1860. Tristram, "Natural History of the Bible," 1 vol. London, 1868; also his "The Land of Israel; a Journal, etc.," 1 vol. London, 1866. Furrer, "Wanderungen durch Palästina," 1 vol. Zürich, 1865. Smith, "Dictionary of the Bible," Amer. edition. Kitto, "Cyclop. Bib. Lit.," edit. by W. L. Alexander, 3d edition, 3 vols., 1866. Milman, "History of the Jews," 3 vols. London, 1866. Weber and Holtzmann, "Geschichte des Volkes Israel," 2 vols. Leipzig, 1867. Herzfeld, "Geschichte des Volkes Israel," 3 vols. Braunschweig, 1847 sq. Jost, "Gesch. des Judenthums und seiner Secten," 3 vols. Leipzig, 1857 sq.; also the 2d vol. of his "Gesch. der Israeliten," edit. Berlin, 1821. Ewald, "History of Israel," Eng. trans., London, 1869 sq. Madden, "Jewish Coinage," 1 vol. London, 1864. Derenbourg, "Histoire de la Palestine, d'après des Thalmuds et les autres sources Rabbiniques," 1 vol. Paris, 1867. Schwarz, "Das heilige Land," 1 vol. Frankfurt am Main, 1852. Delitzsch, "Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu," Erlangen, 1868; also his "Jesus und Hillel," *ibid.* 1867. Conybeare and Howson, "Life and Epistles of St. Paul," 2 vols. in 1, New York, 1869. Palestine Exploration Fund, "The Recovery of Jerusalem," 1 vol. New York, 1871, also by the same, "Our Work in Palestine," 1 vol. New York, 1873. Geiger, "Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel," 1 vol. Breslau, 1857. von Raumer, "Palästina," 1 vol. Leipzig, 1835. Graetz, "Sinai et Golgotha ou les origines du Judaïsme et du Christianisme," 1 vol. Paris, 1867. Rawlinson, "Ancient Monarchies," 3 vols. New York, 1871. Josephus, edit. Dindorf, pub. Didot, 2 vols. Paris, 1845, 1847; Trans. of "Antiquities" by Whiston; Trans. of the "Wars" by Traill, edited by Isaac Taylor, 2 vols. London, 1851. Buxtorf, "Lex. Chald. Tal. et Rab.," new edit. by Fischer. Chiarini, "Le Talmud," etc., 2 vols. Leipzig, 1831. Merivale, "History of the Romans under the Empire," 7 vols. New York, 1871. Renan, "Life of Jesus," Eng. trans., 1 vol. New York, 1871. Jahn, "Bib. Archaeology," 3d edit., 1 vol. Andover, 1832. Kenrick, "Phoenicia," 1 vol. London, 1835. Capts. Burton and Drake, "Unexplored Syria," 2 vols. London, 1872. Van de Velde, "Syria and Palestine," 2 vols. London, 1854. Williams, "Holy City," 2 vols. London, 1849. Wilson, "Lands of the Bible," 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1847.

Several other important works have been used, which will be referred to in the proper place. We would refer to the notes of Isaac Taylor, in his edition of Traill's Josephus's "Wars," as very valuable. The little work of Schneckenburger is very comprehensive and clear. Lewin's work is of great value. Neubauer's "Géographie" has been of great service to us. Dr. J. Morgenstern published, in 1870 (two pamphlets, Berlin, 1870), a severe review of it,¹ which review we have used in connection with Neubauer's work. On the other hand, Dr. M. A. Levy, in the "Zeitschrift der D. M. Gesellschaft," 1869, p. 699, and Dr. Geiger, in the "Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben, 1869, p. 62 sq., both praise Neubauer's "Géographie," as a work of great merit. Hausrath is always fresh and suggestive. We can, with much justice, call him the German Stanley. Keim's is a vast work; it is characterized by fullness and richness. We feel that both Keim and Delitzsch come to their conclusions, in some cases, without having examined thoroughly the evidence. But in regard to one-sided statements and hasty conclusions, Graetz is unsurpassed. His "Geschichte" is a work of great value; but he often becomes the ill-tempered partisan, rather than remains always the impartial historian. His conclusions have in many cases to be re-examined as to their evidence before they can be received as fact.

II. HOW THE COUNTRY WAS GOVERNED FROM B.C. 47 TO A.D. 66.

A brief outline is needed of the manner in which Palestine was governed during our period. In B.C. 47 Herod was appointed by his father, Antipater, military governor of Galilee, and his brother Phasaëlus military governor of Judea. In B.C. 41, Phasaëlus and Herod are appointed by Antony tetrarchs of Judea (i.e. of the whole province). In B.C. 40, Phasaëlus is taken prisoner by the Parthians, and kills himself. The same year Herod is declared king of Judea by the Roman senate. In B.C. 37 he becomes master of his kingdom, and enters upon his reign. He died in Jericho, April 1, in B.C. 4, at the age of seventy. The same year Archelaus, Herod's son, is appointed by Augustus ethnarch of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea. At the same time Augustus appoints Herod Antipas, Archelaus's brother, tetrarch of Peraea and Galilee, and Herod Philip, half-brother of Archelaus and Antipas, tetrarch of Batanaea,

¹ Die französische Academie und die "Géographie des Talmuds."

Trachonitis, Auranitis, Paneas, and Gaulanitis.¹ In A.D. 6, Archelaus is banished by Augustus, and Judea comes directly under the Romans. In A.D. 33, Herod Philip dies, and is buried in the eastern Bethsaida. In A.D. 39, Herod Antipas is banished, his wife Herodias going with him into exile. In A.D. 37, Herod Agrippa I., grandson of Herod the Great, is by Caligula made "king" of Trachonitis, i.e. of the region which had been Herod Philip's tetrarchy.² In A.D. 41, Claudius added to his dominions Judea and Samaria, with Abilene, i.e. the tetrarchy of Lysanius, and the parts about Libanus. In A.D. 44, King Agrippa persecutes the Christians, and beheads James the brother of John, and arrests Peter. The same year Agrippa dies in a strange manner at Caesarea; has been king of Judea from A.D. 41-44. Judea comes again directly under the Romans. In A.D. 53, Agrippa II., son of the former, is by Claudius made "king" of Herod Philip's tetrarchy (Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulanitis, Batanaea, and Abilene).³ In A.D. 55, Agrippa II. receives from Nero, in addition to his present dominions, the cities of Tiberias and Tarichaea in Galilee, and Julias and fourteen villages about the latter, and Abila in Peraea.⁴ In A.D. 60, he hears Paul's defence at Caesarea. He helps Vespasian in the Jewish war. *Points of importance are:* 1. That Herod Antipas was the only civil ruler to whom Christ was subject. 2. The very long reign of Herod Antipas. 3. The long reign of the mild and prosperous ruler, Herod Philip. 4. That Judea from A.D. 6 to A.D. 66, the time of the revolution, was governed by Roman officials, with the exception of from A.D. 41 to A.D. 44, when Herod Agrippa I. was king. The fact that Judea was thus governed will hereafter be seen to be of great importance in estimating the contrast of affairs there and in Galilee.

¹ Lewin, p. 130, No. 950.

² Ibid. p. 261, No. 1561.

³ Ibid. p. 299, No. 1788.

⁴ Wars, 2. 13. 2; Ant. 20. 8. 4.

NOTE. — "Ant.," "Wars," "Life," or simply "L.," signify in the following notes respectively Josephus's "Antiquities of the Jews," "Jewish Wars," and his own "Life."

III. ON THE NAMES "GALILEE," AND "GALILEE OF THE GENTILES."

It does not belong to the limits of the present Article to show how this province came to be called *Galilee*. The origin of the word is obscure. The meaning of the phrase in Isa. ix. 1, "Galilee of the nations, or Gentiles," is by no means a settled question. Jahn is quite wrong in identifying "Galilee of the Gentiles" with "upper Galilee."¹ The location of the twenty cities given by Solomon to Hiram is also unknown. Ewald calls these cities "small,"² and Ritter "small and unimportant places probably,"³ whereas the Hebrew gives no hint of that kind whatever. In our opinion they were heathen cities subject to Solomon; for Solomon would hardly have given away twenty cities occupied by Jewish people, unless he had been brought into great financial straits, which was not the case. We also claim that the cities of both upper and lower Galilee, with a very few exceptions, were occupied by a Jewish population.

IV. EXTENT OF GALILEE, AND THE NUMBER OF INHABITANTS TO A SQUARE MILE.

Galilee embraced the northern portion of the country west of the Jordan, covering in the main the territory of the four tribes, Asher, Naphtali, Zebulun, and Issachar. The boundaries of these tribes are given definitely enough in Josh. xix., but it is impossible to trace them now, because the places mentioned as marking the boundaries have not, with very few exceptions, been identified. For the same reason the boundary line of this province so explicitly laid down by

¹ Bib. Arch. § 25. p. 31.

² 3. 292.

³ 4. 334. The "Cabul" of Hiram, as to the use he makes of it, has never been satisfactorily explained. 1 Kings ix. 13: Explanations may be found in the lexicons of Gesenius and Fürst, also in Joseph. Ant. 8. 5. 3, and in Ewald, 3. 292; Ewald rejects altogether that of Josephus. For a reason why Solomon gave these cities to Hiram, see Ewald, 3. 292. In connection with Isa. ix. 1, the passage in 1 Mac. v. 15 seq., should be compared. On the name "Galilee," see Keim, 1. 308.

Josephus¹ is lost to us, as well as the line dividing between what in his day were known as "Upper" and "Lower" Galilee. At the division of the country among the four tribes just mentioned there were in all sixty-nine cities mentioned by name.² For the most part their sites are unknown. In Josephus's time this province numbered two hundred and four cities and villages.³ Of these Josephus mentions about forty by name. Of this forty not more than ten can be located with any great degree of certainty; perhaps as many more could be located approximately; the rest remain unidentified.⁴ The very best maps of Galilee err in trying to tell more than is absolutely known of that country. The general outline of the province may be indicated; but who at the present stage of research in regard to that country is able to locate the sixty-nine cities of Joshua, or the forty cities and villages of Josephus? This whole province awaits a careful exploration, and the field is beyond doubt a rich one for research. For instance, in Upper Galilee sixteen of the nineteen cities of Naphtali were "fortified."⁵ What relics, in the way of foundation stones, are still waiting to be brought to light on the hill-summits of Naphtali! Ritter calls this region "a true *terra incognita*."⁶ Fortunately the object we now have in view can be accomplished without knowing definitely the sites of those cities and towns which once made this province a centre of life and prosperity.

During the period under consideration the limits of Galilee may have varied somewhat with the changes in its own and neighboring rulers. Carmel once belonged to Galilee, but in Josephus's time it was under the control of the Tyrians.⁷ The Lake and the river Jordan may at one time have formed the eastern boundary,⁸ but the Talmud reckons Gamala and Cesarea Philippi, and also the region above Gadara as belonging to Galilee;⁹ and Graetz finds a passage which makes

¹ Wars, 3. 3. 1.

² Even more than 69 are mentioned; see careful account in Arnaud, 178-183.

³ Life, 45.

⁴ Traill's Jos. 2. p. cxvii.

⁵ עָרֵי מִצְדָּוֹת Josh. xix. 35.

⁶ 4. 385, 377.

⁷ Wars, 3. 3. 1; Ritter, 4. 341.

⁸ Reland, 1. 181.

⁹ Neubauer, 178, 236, 242.

Jotapata and Gischala mark the northern boundary;¹ and Lightfoot gives some very good reasons why Peraea, or a portion of it, might in Christ's time have been included under the general name of "Galilee."² The Talmud divides Galilee into upper and lower; but has also a division peculiar to itself, namely, the highland or mountainous region, where the sycamore did not grow; the plain country (Lower Galilee), where the sycamore flourished, and the valley, or the region of Tiberias.³

Where the boundaries remain so indefinite it is impossible, of course, to give the exact extent of its territory. The whole territory of Palestine, including that of the trans-Jordanic tribes is estimated at about 11,000 square miles.⁴ Of the territory west of the Jordan it is safe to say that Galilee occupied about one third — perhaps a small third. Mr. Phillott's estimate is without doubt altogether too low, who allows only 930 square miles to Galilee. On the other hand Keim's estimate may be too high, who allows to it about 2000 square miles. Grove makes about 6600 square miles west of the Jordan,⁵ while Stanley makes of the same territory about 9000 square miles.⁶ If Stanley is right, Galilee can easily have had 2000 square miles, and even more. But how to crowd three million people or more into such a space, and have them supported? It may not have been such a difficult problem; we judge perhaps too much according to our modern ideas of *room* and *expensive living*. For instance, about the sea of Galilee, thirteen miles by seven being the size of the sea, there was a complete nest of cities, ten and perhaps twelve flourishing cities. In 1849 Malta had a population of 1182 to the square mile. The

¹ S. 393; Tal. Gittin, 7. b.

² 1. 295 et seq.

³ Neubauer, 59, 62, 63, 178, and his references to Talmud; Lightfoot, 1. 336.

⁴ Smith's Bib. Dict. 1. 405, col. 1. Art. "Census"; see Keim, 1. 311.

⁵ Smith's Bib. Dict. 3. 2286, col. 2.

⁶ S. and P. 114. Grove, 140 miles from Dan to Beersheba, and 40 miles average width from the Jordan to the Mediterranean. Stanley, 180 miles by 50 miles. Stanley, however, does not make the *average* breadth 50 miles, but "its breadth is rarely more than 50 miles."

county of Lancashire, England, had 1064, and that of Middlesex 6683 inhabitants to the square mile. The island of Barbadoes, with an area of about 166 square miles, without any large towns, without manufactures of any description, a purely agricultural colony, supports a population of 180,000 souls, or over 1084 to the square mile. Considering the many large cities of Galilee, its 3,000,000 inhabitants may easily have been supported on its 2000 square miles.¹

V. GALILEE A REGION OF GREAT NATURAL FERTILITY AND RICHNESS.

The province to which our attention is now called, was by no means the least favored, nor the least important portion of the Holy Land. On account of its astonishing fruitfulness, its many resources, and its hardy population, it ranked next to Jerusalem in importance; "it was the bulwark of Jerusalem."² The Gospels, in those portions of them which relate to Galilee, place us in an exceedingly fertile region, whose surface was covered with "cities and villages," which were crowded with a dense population, and full of energy and life.³ Most travellers in that country, and those writers who have studied its physical characteristics, represent it as being of great natural fertility and beauty, remarkably diversified by mountain and hill, valley and plain, springs, rivers, and lakes, while its climate is "the nearest possible approach to a perpetual spring."⁴ Josephus, Tacitus, the Babylonian Talmud (A.D. 500), Antoninus Martyr (A.D. 600), and almost any number since the time of the latter, have been unanimous in praising the natural beauties and resources of Galilee. Here is "the most fertile soil in all Palestine."⁵ To one its beautiful Lake is "the eye of Galilee."⁶ The Rabbis compared the Lake to "gliding waters."⁷ "The shores of Tiberias formed one of the gardens of the world."⁸ To one

¹ Graetz, 3. 391, allows about 1800 square miles; Kitto's Cyclop. Bib. Lit. 2. 56, about 1250; Jahn, Bib. Arch. p. 25, § 22, about 1200.

² Graetz, 3. 391.

³ Hausrath, 1. 8.

⁴ Ritter, 2. 240.

⁵ Jost, Gesch. der Israel. 1. 34 (Berlin ed. 1820).

⁶ Hausrath, 1. 4.

⁷ Lighfoot, 1. 143.

⁸ Ritter, 2. 240.

the plain of Gennesareth is "the unparalleled garden of God."¹ "The land of Naphtali is everywhere covered with fruitful fields and vines; and the fruits of this region are renowned for their wonderful sweetness."² "If nature could influence mind, if it could create genius, Naphtali would be the land of poets."³ The Rabbis testify that the shores of the Lake were "covered with cities, villages, and market-places."⁴ "For sixteen miles about Sepphoris the region was fertile, flowing with milk and honey."⁵ "Galilee is a land of water-brooks, abounding in timber, fertile, and beautiful."⁶ The words of the dying lawgiver in regard to the four tribes which settled in this section lead us to expect that they were to occupy a region of great richness and beauty, or, in other words, applying to the territory what was said of the people, "a land full of the blessing of Jehovah."⁷ All that we know of the country since confirms the impression given by Moses. Renan with glowing language, speaks of this region as "a country very green, and full of shade and pleasantness, the true country of the Canticle of Canticles and of the songs of the well-beloved."⁸ We must make room for the statement of Josephus who, as military governor of the province, knew thoroughly its characteristics and resources. Of the country in general: "It is throughout rich in soil and pasturage, producing every variety of tree, and inviting by its productiveness even those who have the least inclination for agriculture; it is everywhere tilled, no part allowed to lie idle, and is everywhere productive."⁹ And of the plain of Gennesareth he speaks as "admirable both for its natural properties and its beauty."¹⁰ "Such is the fertility of the soil that it rejects no plant, and accordingly all are here cultivated by the husbandman; for so genial is

¹ Keim, i. 311.

² Neubauer, 180, and refs. to Talmud.

³ Porter, Cities of Bashan, 263.

⁴ Neubauer, 185, and refs. to Talmud; Plin. Hist. Nat. v. 15, "Amoenis circumseptum oppidis."

⁵ Neubauer, 192, and refs. to Talmud.

⁶ Rawlinson, Monarchies (ed. in 3 vols.), 2. 448.

⁷ Deut. xxxiii. 23.

⁸ Life of Jesus, 96 (Eng. tr.).

⁹ Wars, 3. 3. 2, 3.

¹⁰ Ibid. 3. 10. 8.

the air that it suits every variety. The walnut, which delights beyond other trees in a wintry climate, grows here luxuriantly, together with the palm-tree which is nourished by heat; and near to these are figs and olives, to which a milder atmosphere has been assigned. One might style this an ambitious effort of Nature, doing violence to herself in bringing together plants of discordant habits, and an admirable rivalry of the seasons, each, as it were, asserting her right to the soil; for it not only possesses the extraordinary virtue of nourishing fruits of opposite climes, but also maintains a continual supply of them. Thus it produces those most royal of all, the grape and the fig, during ten months, without intermission, while the other varieties ripen the year round." Then he goes on to speak of "the genial temperature of the air," the plain being "irrigated by a highly fertilizing spring," and of the fish similar to those found in the lake of Alexandria.¹

There can be no doubt that this land had been infinitely favored by nature. The Hebrew phrase, "a land flowing with milk and honey," might best express the exceeding fertility and richness of Galilee at the time of Christ. The capabilities of the soil were perhaps fully developed by skilful labor.² The industrious farmers devoted their chief attention to the crops best adapted to their soil, and which at the same time found the readiest market; hence, in many cases, meadow and pasture-land were turned into tillage, because the cultivation of grain and fruits was found to be more profitable than the raising of cattle.³ The rich fields were sometimes so parcelled out that the plow could no longer be used, and the soil must be turned up with the spade. Yet in the open fields where the plow was used, the workmen prided themselves on being able to turn and lay a furrow with skill,⁴ which would never have been attempted in the stony fields of Judea. With such a soil, and under such a cultivation it is not surprising that the country became a

¹ Wars, 3. 10. 8.

² Graetz, 3. 391.

³ Hausrath, 1. 8.

⁴ Hausrath, 1. 352; Luke ix. 62; see Luke xvi. 3.

paradise in beauty.¹ All the trees and fruits of Palestine flourished here to perfection. It was even asked why the fruits of Gennesareth were not found in Jerusalem at the time of the feasts? and reply was made, "so that no one may be tempted to come to the feasts merely for the sake of enjoying those fruits."² Here were found all the productions which made Italy rich and beautiful, with the additional advantage that here also "the palm and the balm tree flourished in great luxuriance;" in the eyes of the Romans "these palm groves were beautiful and lofty."³ In a word, forests in many cases covered its mountains and hills,⁴ while its uplands, gentle slopes, and broader valleys were rich in pastures, meadows, cultivated fields, vineyards, olive-groves, and fruit trees of every kind. Here in this "garden that has no end," flourished the vine, the olive, and the fig, the oak, the hardy walnut, the terebinth, and the hot-blooded palm, the cedar, cypress, and balsam, the fir-tree, the pine, and sycamore, the bay-tree, the myrtle, the almond, the pomegranate, the citron, and the beautiful oleander. These, with still many other forest, fruit, and flowering trees, and shrubs, and aromatic plants, together with grains and fruits, to which should be added an infinite profusion of flowers, made up that wonderful variety of natural productions which adorned and enriched the region where was the home of Jesus.⁵

¹ Graetz, 3. 391; Tobler, Nazareth, 19.

² Lightfoot, 1. 155; Neubauer, 45, and refs. to Talmud. In Solomon's time this region supplied many of the luxuries for the table and palace of the king, 1 Kings iv. 12; Ritter, 4. 339. See Ewald, 3. 295.

³ Tac. Hist. v. 6.

⁴ See hills about Jotapata, Wars, 3. 7. 8. At the time of the invasion under Joshua "the mountains of Gilboa and the country adjacent were covered with dense forests," Ritter, 2. 328; Van de Velde, 1. 293.

⁵ Tobler, Nazareth, 34; von Raumer, 105; Stanley, S. and P. 357; Hausrath, 1. 4, 5; Tristram, Nat. Hist. Bib. 10, and elsewhere; Tobler, Nazareth, 14 et seq. for present productions: indigo, rice, and sugar-cane, Ritter, 2. 241; barley, millet, pulse, oranges, and even that civilizing weed — tobacco! Keim, 1. 601. See the excellent and careful account of the shrubs, grains, and fruits, etc., in Arnaud, 341-362: pear, apricot, cherry, mulberry, etc. Tristram, Nat. Hist. Bib. 335.

NOTE. — In connection with the physical features of Galilee we might men-

VI. THE WATERS OF GALILEE.

Galilee was a well-watered country. The words of promise spoken to the Hebrews in regard to the land which they were to enter, "a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths springing from valleys and hills,"¹ would be truer of Galilee than of any other section. The lakes of this province, with their blue transparent waters, contribute not a little to the charming beauty of the landscapes.² The water of lake Merom is sweet,³ as is also that of lake Tiberias, and crystal clear.⁴ The Rabbis find it difficult to praise enough their beautiful lake, which was justly the pride of their whole land. They speak of its "gracefully flowing" or "gliding waters."⁵ Jehovah, they said, had created seven seas, and of these he had chosen the sea of Gennesareth as his special delight.⁶ The Jordan, the only stream in Palestine deserving the name of "river," with its "sources," its "floods," and its remarkably winding course, belonged, at least in its upper and finer half, to Galilee. Perhaps the Litany, where it bends from a southerly to a westerly course, touched upon the northern frontier of this province. Here belonged the Kishon, the famous "river of battle," called in the song of Deborah and Barak "that ancient river."⁷ It took its rise near the foot of Tabor, went a winding course across the

tion the plains and marshes above and around Lake Merom, where wild animals abounded, and which formed perhaps, the best hunting ground in the country. Herod the Great was celebrated as a hunter. Hausrath, 1. 4, 351. Herod hunting, Ant. 15. 7. 7; 16. 8. 4; 16. 10. 3. See 16. 11. 8. Wars, 1. 26. 2. On the *game* of Palestine and Herod's skill as a hunter, see especially Wars, 1. 21. 13.

¹ Dent. viii. 7.

² Ritter, 3. 200.

³ Gractz, 3. 391.

⁴ Keim, 1. 600; Wars, 3. 10. 7.

⁵ Lightfoot, 1. 143.

⁶ On the seven seas of Palestine, see Neubauer, 24, who gives names, demer... and references. Lightfoot, 1. 12. In the view of the Christian, in a far higher sense than was thought of by the Rabbis, God has indeed chosen the sea of Galilee, and blessed it beyond all other seas of the earth, Hausrath, 1. 350. On the depth of the lake, see Ritter, 2. 237: "one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty-six feet."

⁷ Judg. v. 21.

plain of Esdraelon, and entered the bay of Acre near the foot of Carmel. A principal feeder of this stream came from Gilboa and Engannim. It received "the waters of Megiddo" not far from the town of the same name. When the Kishon was at its height, it would be, partly on account of its quicksands, as impassable as the ocean itself to a retreating army.¹ The river Belus should also be mentioned, which entered the sea near Acre, and from the fine sand of whose bed the Phoenicians, according to tradition, first made glass.² "No less than four springs pour forth their almost full-grown rivers through the plain" of Gennesareth.³ "Beautiful springs, characteristic of the whole valley of the Jordan, are unusually numerous and copious along the western shore of the lake."⁴ Half an hour north of the town of Tiberias are five or six profuse springs lying near together and called the "cool fountains," to distinguish them from the hot ones south of the city.⁵ Ritter speaks of "the hundred brooks" that distribute their waters through the neighborhood of Banias "carrying fertility everywhere."⁶ Thomson speaks of "the ample supply of water" about Ayun.⁷ Six streams have been counted flowing into lake Huleh from the mountains lying west of it, — the largest of which is from forty to fifty feet wide.⁸ Then the abundance of dew which falls about Tabor, remarked by Burckhardt, Robinson, and others, was of the utmost importance to vegetation in that immediate neighborhood.⁹ The "dew of Hermon" was long ago praised,¹⁰ and the rich vegetation of the surrounding region is due to this fructifying influence.¹¹ The perpetual snow on Hermon proved no doubt an infinite blessing to the people of this province, freshening the atmosphere by day, and

¹ Van de Velde, 1. 289.

² In Josh. xix. 26, appears the name *לְבָנוֹן לְבָנוֹן* which has often been identified with the river Belus, Arnaud, 251, 252, and references. Fürst's Lexicon under these words. Mr. Grove in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, 4. 2996, col. 2, doubts the identity, and doubts even if "Shichor Libnath," refers to any river at all.

³ Stanley, S. and P. 366.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ritter, 2. 262.

⁶ 2. 192.

⁷ Heb. Ijon ? 225.

⁸ Ritter, 2. 210.

⁹ Ibid. 2. 318.

¹⁰ Ps. cxxxiii. 3.

¹¹ See a glowing description of this in Van de Velde, 1.127.

cooling it by night.¹ The snow was even carried to Tyre, Sidon, and Damascus as a luxury, and laborers sweltering in the hot harvest fields used it to cool the water which they drank.² No doubt Herod Antipas at his feasts in Tiberias enjoyed also from this very source the modern luxury of ice-water! The warm springs of this province are also to be noticed: at Biram, Gadara, and Tiberias, of which those at the latter place were most renowned. "These three springs" the Rabbis say, "remained after the deluge."³ There is a large cluster of these springs near Tiberias. Some of them are hot, and are called by the Rabbis "the boiling waters."⁴ The supply of water in the largest is sufficient to turn the wheels of mills.⁵ Pliny speaks of the "healthfulness"⁶ of these springs, and so does Josephus.⁷ These springs were the "watering places" of that age and country, the delightful resort of people of means, and were visited also with great benefit by the feeble or sick of the land, on account of the healing properties of the waters. People were attracted hither from Jerusalem and all other parts of the land, and no doubt the city of Tiberias was increased greatly both in size and importance by this means.⁸ In the glens of the north, Porter speaks of "tiny streams murmuring among rocks."⁹ If we think of the numberless brooks and mountain torrents, the springs, besides the warm ones already mentioned, the reservoirs, the aqueducts and watercourses,¹⁰ the fountains, the cisterns, and the wells, we have a land in which there

¹ Tacitus's History, 5. 6; Ritter, 2. 18; see p. 181.

² Prov. xxv. 13; Robinson, 2. 440; Ritter, 2. 188.

³ Neubauer, 34, 35. Perhaps Biram should be put down by the Dead Sea, Neubauer, 36, 37; Graetz, 3. 392; Arnaud, 258; Stanley, S. and P. 366; Ritter, 2. 246 sq.

⁴ Neubauer, as above.

⁵ Ritter, 2. 246, from Burckhardt. On the temperature of these springs, see Ritter, 2. 247, 248.

⁶ Hist. Nat. 5. 15.

⁷ L. 16. On the Warm Springs, see chapter in Lightfoot, 1. 150, 151.

⁸ Neubauer, 212.

⁹ Beshan, 262.

¹⁰ Remains of watercourses or aqueducts about the plain of Gennesareth, Our Work in Palestine, 207; Recovery of Jerusalem, 272.

was no lack of water, and one infinitely blessed in this respect above Judea.¹

VII. THE PLAIN OF GENNESARETH.

Some special notice ought to be taken of the plain of Gennesareth, perhaps in fertility and beauty the gem of the East, as it certainly was the gem of Palestine.² We have already quoted Josephus's glowing description of it.³ It must not be thought of as of great extent. Two miles and a half long by one broad is all that is allowed to it by the latest explorers.⁴ Here nature had lavished her tropical profusion and glory.⁵ Trees retained their foliage throughout the whole year, and during ten months of the year grapes and figs ripened. Here, in this rank soil, grew the finest wheat of the land.⁶ Its superior and delicious fruits were not found at Jerusalem at the feasts, lest, as we have seen, some persons might attend them for the sake of enjoying these fruits alone.⁷ Its climate was a "harmonious mingling of the seasons,"⁸ and the Rabbis looked upon this plain as an earthly paradise.⁹ And to make the name "Genesareth"

¹ Arnaud, chap. ii., "Eaux de la Palestine," 233-268.

NOTE 1. — Capt. Wilson, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 264, gives the size of the Sea of Galilee as twelve and one-fourth miles long, by six and three-fourths "greatest width."

NOTE 2. — For details in regard to these Warm Springs at Tiberias, temperature, etc., see *Recovery of Jerusalem*, 282.

² Keim, 1. 598.

³ Wars, 3. 10. 8.

⁴ Capt. Wilson, in "Recovery of Jerusalem," 264. Josephus makes it thirty stadia long by twenty broad, Wars, 3. 10. 8; Porter, *Hand-book*, "three miles long by one mile broad;" Stanley, S. and P. 366, "five miles wide by six or seven long."

⁵ Ritter, 2. 241. "The complete glory of southern clime," Hausarath, 1. 4.

⁶ Graetz, 3. 392.

⁷ Neubauer, 45, and references.

⁸ Ritter, 2. 240, a phrase borrowed from Hippocrates.

⁹ Hausarath, 1. 4; Graetz, 3. 392; Arnaud, 241. "The soil consists of a black loam formed by the mingling of decomposed basalt with the alluvium of the Lake," Ritter, 2. 268. "The beach is pearly white with myriads of minute shells," — *Our Work in Palestine*, 184. Keim 1. 311, calls this the "unparalleled garden of God." The name "Gennesareth" has been referred to גֶּנְזַרְתַּי,

suggestive of the richness of the soil, or of the sweetness of its fruits, several fanciful interpretations were adopted.

VIII. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIONS AND MANUFACTURES.

1. Oil.

Of the productions of this province, fish, wine, wheat, and oil occupy a foremost place. On account of the fine quality and great abundance of the latter, as well as because it was an important article of commerce with other nations, this product deserves special notice. The dying lawgiver said of Asher: "He shall dip his foot in oil."¹ In allusion to this phrase the Rabbis said: "In Asher oil flows like a river."² "It is easier," they said, "to raise a legion (i.e. a forest) of olive-trees in Galilee, than to raise one child in Judea."³ Gischala was renowned for the abundance of its oil. Once, when oil was wanted at Laodicea, men were sent to Jerusalem and to Tyre to purchase; but the quantity desired could be found only in Gischala in Galilee.⁴ While Asher produced the most oil, Tekoa produced the best. Tekoa was called the *alpha* for oil, while Gischala occupied the third place in the country in regard to the quantity and quality of oil produced.⁵ Both Syrians and Phoenicians drew their supplies from this province, and the traffic in this commodity alone proved a source of wealth to the Galileans.⁶ Attention is called to a certain period when oil was ten times as dear at Cesarea as at Gischala.⁷ Josephus shows

a harp, "its fruit is sweet as the sound of a harp." Others refer it to גן garden, and עץ prince, "garden of princes." Others to גן garden and עושר riches, "a garden rich in fertility and productions." "This last explanation is very forced," Neubauer, 215; Stanley, S. and P. 366 note. See Keim, 1. 598 note, where is given Titus's very high estimation of this lake and region. Attention need hardly be called to the infinite contrast between this region in Christ's time and now; but see Ritter, 2. 253. See Hausrath, 1. 350, 351.

¹ Dent. xxxiii. 24.

² Neubauer, 180, and refs. to authorities.

³ Neubauer, 180.

⁴ Neubauer, 230, and refs. to authorities.

⁵ Neubauer, 129, and refs.; 131, and refs.

⁶ Wars, 2. 21. 2; Keim, 1. 312; Graetz, 3. 392.

⁷ L. 13; Traill's Joseph. 2. p. cxxxvii; Wars, 2. 21. 2 (does Josephus mean Cesarea Philippi?).

that both demand and supply were great, the selling price high, and the revenue large. Of the business at Gischala, John, the rival of Josephus, once had a monopoly.¹ In the villages and towns of Upper Galilee great quantities of oil were stored.² It was so abundant in Jotapata that it was used freely as a means of defence when that place was besieged. Large quantities of it were heated and poured down on all sides upon the Romans, which soon scattered their ranks. Their troops, scalded, rolled headlong from the ramparts in excruciating agony.³ By looking back to the days of Solomon, we may get a hint as to the productiveness of this country in the amount of agricultural products which this king furnished to Hiram as a yearly tribute. This fact shows what Solomon's country was rich in, and what Hiram needed. Besides immense quantities of wine, wheat, and barley, about two hundred thousand gallons of the best oil were sent to Hiram every year.⁴ In Christ's time oil was a common article in the treatment of the sick. Herod the Great, in his last sickness, was almost killed by being plunged into a vessel of oil.⁵

¹ Wars, 2. 21. 2.

² Life, 13.

³ Wars, 3. 7. 28, where further particulars are given, showing that this was a terrible, as well as effective, means of defence.

⁴ 1 Kings v. 11 [Hcb. vs. 25]; perhaps 2 Chron. ii. 10 [Hcb. vs. 9] should be taken as the correct statement. See Thenius's Comment.; Ewald's Hist. Israel, 3. 292.

⁵ Wars, 1. 33. 5; Mark vi. 13, which applies to Galilee; see Luke x. 34; Herod, Ant. 17. 6. 5.

NOTE 1.—In the affair of John's monopolizing the oil trade of Gischala which Josephus condemns, Graetz takes decidedly the part of the former against the latter. Indeed Graetz is throughout a bitter opponent of Josephus; see Graetz 3. 397. On p. 392, Graetz says that the Galileans sold to the Phoenicians and Syrians their surplus oil, and received therefrom a large revenue. On p. 394 he says that the Galileans *did not* sell their surplus oil to their heathen neighbors, because it was forbidden to transport the means of life — oil and wine — out of the Jewish country.

NOTE 2.—The theory has been put forth by some and stoutly maintained that Christ was an Essene. But Christ commended the use of oil in sickness, in anointing the body, and in every way according to the customs of the time; while the Essenes renounced the use of oil altogether. "They consider oil defiling; and should any one accidentally come into contact with it, he wipes his

2. *Certain Places noted for Particular Productions or Manufactured Articles.*

Our limits do not allow us to speak of the grain production and other industries of this province in detail. We can only pass hastily in review the different places, and speak of the manufactured articles or agricultural and other productions for which each was celebrated. If the evidence on these points which we derive from the Talmud does not all refer to the time of Christ, or the first century (which cannot easily be decided), it shows, at least, that in contrast with Judea, Galilee had infinitely the advantage in regard to agricultural products and industries of all kinds. The figs and grapes and other fruits of the plain of Gennesareth had a national reputation for their superior quality.¹ The very name Gischala (*gush chaleb*, "fat soil") suggested the richness of that region.² The people living there were mostly farmers.³ The region about Safed was noted for its fertility,⁴ as was also that about Banias.⁵ A portion of this northern district is still celebrated for its excellent wheat.⁶ Notice is taken of the fact that in this province but few small cattle were raised (i.e. sheep and goats), because the rich land could be put to a more profitable use. These, however, were raised in abundance in the waste regions of Judea and Syria.⁷ The heavy soil of the plain of Jezreel produced superior grain, which was fully equalled by that which grew in the fertile fields of Gennesareth.⁸ The wheat of Chorazin and Capernaum was widely celebrated.⁹ Bethshean, on account of its fertility, was called the gate of Paradise.¹⁰ The Rabbis boast of the olives of this place, and also of the body," Wars, 2. 8. 3. Such a fact goes far towards settling the question that Christ was not an Essene.

¹ Wars, 3. 10. 8.

² Keim, 1. 312.

³ Graetz, 3. 418; Wars, 4. 2. 1, 2.

⁴ Ritter, 2. 220, 221.

⁵ Ritter, 2. 192.

⁶ Ritter, 2. 213.

⁷ Hausrath, 1. 8; Lightfoot, 1. 212.

⁸ Graetz, 3. 392; Hausrath, 1. 8.

⁹ Graetz, 3. 392; Hausrath, 1. 352; Neubauer, 220.

¹⁰ Gennesareth was Paradise itself. Smith's Bible Dict., 2. 1180, col. 1. Art. "Issachar"; Lightfoot, 1. 127; Neubauer, 175.

fine and coarse linen garments which were there manufactured.¹ Safed was celebrated for its honey;² Shikmonah for its pomegranates;³ Achabara for the raising of pheasants.⁴ Sigona furnished the best wine.⁵ The region about Sepphoris was noted for the production of grain and fruit.⁶ Rabbi Jose, who lived in Galilee, said: "For sixteen miles on either side of Sepphoris there flows milk and honey."⁷ Large quantities of grain were stored in the towns of Upper Galilee, probably the tribute which belonged to the Roman emperor.⁸ The same was true of other places.⁹ Grain merchants congregated at Arabah.¹⁰ In the siege of Jotapata there was no lack "of all kinds of provisions, except salt and water."¹¹ Magdala boasted of three hundred shops where pigeons for the sacrifices were sold.¹² About this place the indigo plant flourished then, as now, and the Talmud calls it "the city of color."¹³ More literally, one portion of the city was called "the tower of dyers," and here were eighty shops where fine woollen cloth was made.¹⁴ Arbela, also, was celebrated for the manufacture of cloth.¹⁵ Abundance of flax was raised in Galilee, and the linen fabrics made here by the women were of unusual fineness and beauty.¹⁶ A peculiar kind of vessel was necessary for preserving oil, and of the manufacture of this, Galilee seems to have had a monopoly.¹⁷ Kefer Chananyah and Sichin (Asochis?) were the most noted places for earthen vessels and pots. "The pots made at

¹ Neubauer, 175; Lightfoot, 1. 127. ² Neubauer, 227.

³ Neubauer, 197, שִׁקְמוֹנָה.

⁴ Neubauer, 226; L. 37.

⁵ Graetz, 3. 392.

⁶ Graetz, 3. 392.

⁷ Lightfoot, 1. 162; Neubauer, 192.

⁸ Life, 13.

⁹ Life, 24.

¹⁰ Neubauer, 204, note.

¹¹ Wars, 3. 7. 12.

¹² Neubauer, 218.

¹³ Hausrath, 1. 8.

¹⁴ Neubauer, 218; מַגְדָּלָה צְבִיָּה.

¹⁵ Neubauer, 219.

¹⁶ Neubauer, 181, and refs. to Talmud.

¹⁷ Neubauer, 180. As to these pots made from black clay, it is possible that certain fragments of ancient pottery recently dug up at Jerusalem have some connection with them, at least as to the *kind of ware* alluded to. In the Birket Israil certain curious vases were found, "all of an extremely hard, massive, black ware, coated in three instances with a dark crimson glaze, perhaps produced by cinnabar." — Recovery of Jerusalem, 374.

other varieties were peculiar to this lake alone.¹ Tarichaea,² both the eastern and western Bethsaida ("house of fish"), and possibly Chorazin,³ derived their names from this business of fishing; and all the cities about the lake sent forth their fishermen by hundreds over its surface.⁴ Tarichaea was noted for its extensive "fish-factories."⁵ Here fish were prepared and packed, and, it has been inferred with some reason, shipped to all parts of the world.⁶ They were sought for as luxuries in the market-places of Jerusalem.⁷ This trade in fish had enriched the citizens of Tarichaea; and people came even from Jerusalem, especially just before the great feasts, to fish in these waters, and thus provide means of support for the millions who on those occasions flocked to the Temple.⁸ This fishing-ground was free to all, so long as one by his nets or hooks or weels did not interfere with the passage of boats. By a common law of the land, dating, as was supposed, from the time of Joshua, this ground could not be monopolized.⁹ In Christ's time the Jews distinguished sharply between clean and unclean fish.¹⁰ This is, no doubt, alluded to in the phrase, "They gather the good into vessels, but cast the bad away."¹¹ Or, without

¹ Wars, 3. 10. 8; Ritter, 2. 250; fish not elsewhere met with, Wars, 3. 10. 7; Tristram, Nat. Hist. Bib. 285.

² Ritter, 2. 250; Classical Dict. Art. "Tarichæa"; Plin. Hist. Nat. 5. 17.

³ Keim, 1. 603.

⁴ Stanley, S. and P. 367.

⁵ Strabo, xvi. 2., Edit. Leipzig, 1829, vol. 3. 379, near the end: "ἡ λίμνη μὲν ταριχέαις ἰχθύων ἀστέλας παράχει"; see Liddell and Scott's Gr. Lex. (6th ed., 1871), under ταριχέαις, "factories for salting fish."

⁶ Hausrath, 1. 5; Graetz, 3. 393.

⁷ Delitzsch, Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu, 55; Delitzsch, *ibid.* p. 43, is certainly wrong in his statement that "wealth was not to be obtained in this business."

⁸ Bab. Bava Kama, 80. b.; see the point discussed and the facts stated in Dr. Karl Zimmermann's Theologisches Literaturblatt, No. 43, for June 1, 1869, p. 231, in an able review of Caspari's Chronologisch-geographische Einleitung in das Leben Jesu Christi, Hamburg, 1869.

⁹ Delitzsch, as above, p. 43; Neubauer, 25.

¹⁰ See Lightfoot, 1. 144.

¹¹ Matt. xiii. 48: τὰ καλὰ in this passage means those that are good and of choice quality; τὰ σκωπὰ must mean the opposite, or those of inferior or poor quality.

violence to the passage, we may say that this phrase indicates that the fish merchants about the lake and in the distant markets where these fish were sent demanded the choicest kinds. And the Gospels themselves furnish evidence enough to show that this business in Christ's time was extensive and profitable.¹

IX. THE SEA OF GALILEE A FOCUS OF LIFE AND ACTIVITY.

A mere glance at the life of the Lake is all that we can devote to that topic, before we pass on to consider the cities lying about it and those that were scattered throughout the province. In those days the sea was covered with ships and boats, engaged either in fishing or traffic, or carrying travellers or parties of pleasure from shore to shore. "Merchants come and go from Hippos to Tiberias."² Once when Josephus planned a certain movement against Tiberias, which was to start by water from Tarichaea, he collected for the purpose at that point, apparently in a short time, two hundred and thirty ships from the vicinity of Tarichaea alone.³ Later, when this city expected an attack from the Romans, the citizens got ready a great number of vessels, to which they might flee in case of a repulse. The day went against them, and they fled to their ships; in these they made a bold resistance, and cost the Romans a fierce and bloody struggle before they could be overcome. That is a bloody sea-fight in which from four to six thousand are slaughtered on one

¹ Matt. iv. 18, 21; Luke v. 2-10; John xxi. 1-11, and elsewhere. See Wars, 3. 10. 8; Stanley, S. and P. 366, 367; Graetz, 3. 392; Hausrath, 1. 5.

NOTE. — Probably it is next to impossible for us at the present day to appreciate the extent of the fish business of the Sea of Galilee in Christ's time. The same may be said of this business in Egypt in ancient times. The following facts are interesting, and in a sense illustrative of our subject. Wilkinson, partly on the statements of Herodotus and Diodorus, reports the annual income of the fisheries of Lake Moeris and its sluices which led to the Nile as £70,700, while at present the annual revenue from the fish of Lake Moeris is only about £210. — Ancient Egyptians (2d ed., London, 1842), Vol. iii. p. 64.

² Neubauer, 238, 239, and refs.

³ Wars, 2. 21. 8; Life, 32: "The sight of the lake covered with these vessels struck the Tiberians with terror," Life, 33. See note in Whiston's Josephus on Life, 32.

side alone, as was the case here, and not a "sharp skirmish," as one has termed this event. As all could hardly have been killed, the number of Jews killed is a hint, at least, that the number of ships on the side of the Tarichaeans was very large.¹ We are speaking of Tarichaea alone; but when we think of all the cities and towns by which the lake was surrounded, we can easily understand that in Christ's time it was covered with ships and boats.² And as to the appearance of the lake then, "when we add to the fishermen the crowd of ship-builders, the many boats of traffic, pleasure, and passage, we see that the whole basin must have been a focus of life and energy; the surface of the lake constantly dotted with the white sails of vessels flying before the mountain gusts, as the beach sparkled with the houses and palaces, the synagogues and the temples of the Jewish or Roman inhabitants."³

X. THE NOTED CITIES AND TOWNS OF GALILEE.

If we turn now to the cities and inhabitants of this province, we shall find a country whose surface was dotted with flourishing towns, and covered with a dense population. From the Gospels themselves, we should expect to find here numerous "cities and villages," swarms of people, activity and energy, much wealth, and in some cases even luxury.⁴

Beginning with the Sea of Galilee, we find upon its shores no less than nine cities, while numerous large villages dotted the plains and hill-sides around.⁵ Not far from Tiberias

¹ In the land and sea fight together six thousand five hundred were killed; Wars, 3. 10. 1; Gractz, 3. 392; Hausrath, 1. 5; Weber und Holtzmann, 2. 480; Josephus describes this sea fight as terrible; see all of chapter 10, Wars, 3. We make the statement in the text, notwithstanding Josephus says, Wars, 3. 10. 9, that "not one escaped." For "sharp fight on the plain outside" the city, "and a day or two afterwards a sea-fight," see Recovery of Jerusalem, 283.

² The difference between ships and the small boats which are always attached to them is clearly brought out in the Greek of John xxi. 3, 6, 8. — The phrase in Josephus, Wars, 3. 10. 5, "climbing up into their ships," is a significant hint as to the size of some of their vessels.

³ Stanley, S. and P. 367.

⁴ Hausrath, 1. 8, gives some refs.

⁵ Porter's Hand-book, 424.

lay Bethmaus, where was a synagogue.¹ "About an hour's walk"² below the baths of Tiberias lay Tarichaea, where the fish business was, as we have seen, extensively carried on. The lake reached to the walls on two of its sides. Of the sea-fight there we have already spoken. At that time many thousand of the inhabitants were slain; six thousand robust young men were sent to Corinth to work on the canal through the Isthmus there, and thirty thousand more were sold as slaves.³ This place had had a hard fortune; for in 51 B. C. Cassius took it, and carried into slavery thirty thousand of its inhabitants.⁴ It was called a larger place than Tiberias.⁵ Josephus was brought there by sea (probably because the distance was considerable, and because Tiberias was unfriendly to him) the night after he was wounded near Capernaum. From a passage in Josephus we gather that ship-building was one of the important industries of the place.⁶ About an hour's ride from the Jordan, after crossing it, was situated Hippos, the capital of the district ruled by Herod Agrippa II., and his usual residence. This place was one of importance in the Jewish war.⁷ A little further north was Gamala ("camel," from its peculiar shape), nearly opposite Tarichaea. It was "the strongest city in that part."⁸ The Talmud reckons it as a city of Galilee.⁹ It was noted for the bravery of its inhabitants, who vigorously repulsed the three legions which Vespasian led against them, wounding the general himself; but it was subsequently overcome, and terribly punished.¹⁰ Perhaps about three miles further

¹ Neubauer, 218; Life, 12; compare Neubauer, 121; see Schwarz, *Das heilige Land*, p. 140.

² Wilson, *Lands, etc.*, 2. 124.

³ Merivale, *Romans, etc.*, 6. 437; Wars, 3. 10. 10.

⁴ Ant. 14. 7. 3; Wars, 1. 8. 9.

⁵ Hansrath, 1. 5.

⁶ "Materials abundant" for rafts, and "workmen numerous," Wars, 3. 10. 6.

⁷ Wars, 2. 18. 1, 5; Neubauer, 238; Traill's Josephus, 1. p. 25, in *Essay*, "Designation of the Persons mentioned in the Life of Josephus."

⁸ Wars, 2. 20. 4.

⁹ Neubauer, 240.

¹⁰ Recovery of Jerusalem, 288; Natural Defences of, Wars, 4. 1. 1; its citadel, Wars, 4. 1. 10; the legions were the 5th, 10th, and 15th, Wars, 4. 1. 3; places east of the lake reckoned to Galilee, Hansrath, 1. 6; Neubauer, 236, 239, 240, 242.

north, "on the left bank of Wady Semakh," was situated Gergesa, near which was the scene of the demoniacs and the herd of swine.¹ Passing up the eastern side of the lake, till about two miles above where the Jordan enters it, one would reach the eastern Bethsaida ("house of fish," taking its name from the business of the people living there). Herod Philip, the tetrarch, had transformed this place from a fisherman's village into a beautiful and flourishing city, and given it a royal name, Julias, in honor of Julia the daughter of Augustus; and here, in a magnificent and costly tomb, Philip himself was buried in A.D. 33. It was near this city that Christ fed the five thousand with the five loaves and two fishes, and then, after sending the multitudes away, retired to the neighboring hill to pray.² From this place, after crossing the Jordan, to Tiberias, our starting-point, the distance is only four, or perhaps six, hours ride; yet, within this limited space, along the northwestern and western shore of the lake, were situated in the time of Christ no less than five flourishing cities or towns, namely: Chorazin, the western Bethsaida, Capernaum, Magdala, and Beth-Arbel. From this western Bethsaida, which was a beautiful "city" by the sea, three disciples were called, — Philip, Andrew, and Peter, and this may also have been the home of Zebedee and his two sons, the apostles James and John.³ John calls it Bethsaida in Galilee, to distinguish it from the other.⁴ It was intimately connected with many events in the life of Christ. The fine wheat-fields about Chorazin and Capernaum we have already noticed. Beth-Arbel,⁵ distant about one hour from Tiberias, had been celebrated as a stronghold from the

¹ Matt. viii. 28-34; Recovery of Jerusalem, 286, 287. See addition to Article "Gadara," in Smith's Bib. Dict. (Am. Ed.), Vol. 1. p. 853.

² Luke ix. 10-17; Ritter, 2. 233, 234.

³ Α πάλις, John i. 45; Ritter, 2. 233, 270; Article "Zebedee," Smith's Bible Dict. (Am. ed.).

⁴ John xii. 21; Graetz, 3. 393, makes only one Bethsaida, omitting the one in Galilee; Thomson, Land, etc., p. 374 (Eng. ed.), discards the notion of two Bethsaidas.

⁵ Called also "Arbela," and "Irbid."

days of Hosea.¹ Josephus speaks of its fortified caves, which in the early days of Herod the Great were the hiding-places of robbers. Its situation was important, as it commanded the road from Galilee to Damascus.² In B.C. 39, after Herod was made king, he crushed these robbers by a bold and thorough stroke, perfectly characteristic of the man. Magdala was also, as we have already seen, a flourishing city of this densely populated region; the name has been immortalized in every language of Christendom as denoting the birth place of Mary Magdalene, or better, Mary of Magdala. Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum were those in which "most" of the Master's "mighty works were done," and which, for some reason, he felt it necessary to "upbraid" and denounce. Capernaum was for nearly three years the home of Jesus. Here all the elements of Christ's character were exhibited, as in no other place. And his own words throw much light on the character of the city at that time. It was one of the chief points on the great caravan route between Egypt and Damascus. It had its custom-house, its numerous tax-gatherers, its Roman garrison, its schools, and its costly synagogue.³ Besides the places already mentioned as lying on or near the shore of the lake, we have yet to speak of Tiberias on the west side, and which, probably, surpassed any one of the others, both in political and social importance, as well as in the richness and splendor of its buildings.⁴ With a decided Roman taste, Antipas⁵ had lavished here vast sums of money to make this a perfect city. Here, close by the warm springs and bathed by the blue

¹ Hosea, x. 14.

² Ant. 14. 15. 4-6; Wars, 1. 16. 3; Ritter, 2. 266.

³ Luke iv. 31; Von Raumer, 104; Hausrath, 1. 348; "is two short days journey from Nazareth," or "about ten hours," Hausrath, 1. 395; "Capernaum, Baniyas, Dan, the noble city of Tiberias, and a hundred others, have little or nothing to exhibit of their former splendor," Ritter, 2. 234; the contrast between the present and former condition of this region is finely presented in Recovery of Jerusalem, p. 264.

⁴ Both Capernaum and Tarichaea may have surpassed Tiberias in *commercial* importance.

⁵ 4 B.C. — 39 A.D.

waters of the lake, this luxurious and worldly Herod, the murderer of John the Baptist, had built magnificent Grecian colonnades, and Roman gates, and splendid public buildings, including his palace, and adorned the city with marble statues, and sought to appease the Jewish portion of the citizens, to whom these things were, no doubt, very distasteful, by building for them, perhaps, the finest synagogue in all the north, "in whose colossal basilica during the period of the revolution the assemblies of the people were held."¹

But from the Jordan to the sea-coast, scattered everywhere among the hills, were numerous towns and cities, many of which were of great importance; we may mention Gischala, Kadesh, Safed, Cesarea Philippi (Paneas), Cana, Ramah, Gabara, Jotapata, Japha, Gabatha, Zabulon, Hazor, Rimmon, Nazareth, Tabor, Sepphoris, and in the south Betshean (Scythopolis) and Gadara. It must not be supposed that this list embraces all of even the important places of Galilee, for Josephus states that it had two hundred and four cities and villages, the smallest of which numbered above fifteen thousand inhabitants. Tarichaea had forty thousand, and Scythopolis about the same number. Japha was the largest

¹ Life, 54; Hausrath, 1. 5. The *βουλή* or council of nobles of Tiberias numbered in the time of the Jewish war, six hundred members, Wars, 2. 21. 9. Previous to the building of Tiberias, Sepphoris had been the chief city of Galilee. Lewin thinks that Antipas built Tiberias a few years before Christ began his public ministry, about A.D. 27, p. 173, No. 1163. There had been either a battle here, or else an old burying ground, for the workmen came upon quantities of human bones, which made the place unclean to the stricter Jews. It is supposed that Christ never visited the place; for which two reasons are suggested: 1. he may have shared in the feeling of the orthodox Jews; or, 2. he may have wished to avoid Antipas. See Neubauer, 211 note; Thomson, Land, etc. 398; Ritter, 2. 257, 258; Ant. 18. 2. 3, for Jewish law violated in connection with these bones; for the supposition of a battle there, Graetz, 3. 256; for Roman style of building, Keim, 1. 315. In time of Agrippa II. Tiberias is degraded below Sepphoris, Life, 9; Ritter, 2. 258; there must on this account have been some feeling between the citizens of the two places. Vespasian does not dare to approach Tiberias with less than three legions of his best troops, Wars, 3. 9. 7; Josephus fortifies it, Wars, 2. 20. 6; the old prejudice on account of the bones at last died out. The Rabbis have a tradition as to how the city was made pure, Neubauer, 211. Sailors formed quite a class among its inhabitants, Life, 12. This place was the scene of many important events in the Jewish war.

“village” in Galilee, and strongly fortified. Zabulon was one of the largest cities in the north, and built in elegant style. It was “a town of admirable beauty,” and “its houses were built on the model of those of Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus.” Jotapata was “the strongest of the cities fortified by Josephus.” Mount Tabor was a stronghold. There was a fortress there from 218 B.C. to A.D. 70. Safed, from its lofty situation, was visible from the shores of the Sea of Galilee. Later, Safed and Tiberias formed two of the sacred cities of the Jews; the two others were Hebron and Jerusalem. Sepphoris was of great importance. It was called “the security of all Galilee.” Here were the public archives of the province, after they were removed from Tiberias (in the time of Agrippa II.), and here also was a royal magazine of arms. Cesarea Philippi deserves special notice. Herod the Great built here a temple to Augustus, of pure white marble. From early times it had been a place of note on account of its beautiful scenery. “It was the famous seat of idol worship for many ages.” Its locality has been spoken of as “the finest spot in the Holy Land”; far up among the hills, beneath Hermon’s “eternal tent of snow,” with its castles and palaces, its grotto-sanctuary of Pan, and its marble gods, with scenery both picturesque and grand, — it might well be esteemed as “beautiful for situation.” A thousand feet above the city rose that primeval citadel, “the tower of Lebanon, which looks towards Damascus.” Some of these cities were built on the summits of hills, or, in other cases, on the brows of the mountains, and, when seen from afar, were compared to “birds resting upon lofty nests.” And many of those places that were strongly fortified were celebrated for severe and bloody struggles during the Jewish war, and for the bravery of their inhabitants — fighting to the death for their country and homes.

NOTE. — List of places, Hausrath, 1. 6. Japha, Life, 45. Zabulon, Keim, 1. 310; Hausrath, 1. 10; Wars, 2. 18. 9. Jotapata, Wars, 3. 6. 1; the terrible energy with which the Galileans defended it in the Jewish war cannot here be described, Wars, 3. 7. 33, 34; Vespasian tries to starve it out, but cannot, Wars, 3. 7. 11, 13; valley about it so deep that the sight failed on looking down into

XI. JOSEPHUS'S STATEMENT AS TO THE NUMBER OF TOWNS AND INHABITANTS PROBABLY CORRECT.

We are fully justified in saying that the country at that time was dotted with flourishing cities and villages, and densely settled with an industrious and enterprising people. Josephus's statement that Galilee contained two hundred and four cities and villages, the smallest of which numbered above fifteen thousand inhabitants,¹ which would raise the

it, Wars, 3. 7. 7; how built, *ibid.* Gadara, six or more miles from the shore of the lake, was taken, burned, and people massacred by Vespasian, Wars, 3. 7. 1; "its ruins testify to its ancient splendor;" see Smith's Bib. Dict. (Am. ed.), Art. "Gadara"; its citizens fight at Tarichaea, Wars, 3. 10. 10; Life, 10. Cana, perhaps "Cana of Galilee," where Josephus once was when summoned to Tiberias, Life, 16. 17. Tabor, Wars, 4. 1. 8; see note on this passage in Whiston's Josephus; fortress, see Ritter, 2. 311, 313, 317; size and height of, *ibid.* In 55 b.c. Alexander, son of Aristobulus and rival of Antipater, the father of Herod the Great, rallies at Mount Tabor, and is defeated by Gabinius, and ten thousand of his men (Jews) slain, Ant. 14. 6. 3. Mount Tabor with its walls and towers and roofs may well have been the "city set upon a hill," Hausrath, 1. 397. Safed, Tristram, Land of Israel, 581. Kadesh, *ibid.* 581, 582; Sacred cities of Jews, Ritter, 2. 260. Sepphoris, Life, 9; Ant. 18. 2. 1. Seat of one of the five councils which Gabinius established to govern the nation, Ant. 14. 5. 4; Wars, 1. 8. 5; arsenal, Wars, 2. 4. 1; its strength, Wars, 2. 18. 11. The Talmud mentions an "upper," and a "lower" town, Neubauer, 193; Bab. Erubin, 54. b. Cesarea Philippi: Temple of Herod the Great, Hausrath, 1. 421; scenery, Ritter, 2. 195, 197; Wars, 1. 21. 3; "idol worship," Neubauer, 237; the Talmud reckons it to Galilee, *ibid.* See Ant. 18. 2. 1; Wars, 2. 9. 1; "the snow-fields of Hermon gleaming in the sun above the dark, giant masses of Lebanon," Hausrath, 1. 421; Ps. xlii. 7, 8, is located here by some, Hausrath, 1. 421; "tower of Lebanon," Song Sol. vii. 5; "birds on lofty nests;" see Graetz, 3. 393, Neubauer, 192; notice position of Safed, Sepphoris, Tabor, and other cities. Scythopolis, Arnaud, 216; after Jotapata surrendered, Scythopolis wintered the 15th legion, Wars, 3. 9. 1; Josephus makes it belong to Decapolis of which "it was the largest city," Wars, 3. 9. 7; but commercially, and in some other regards, it belonged to the region of the Sea of Galilee; both the Talmud and Josephus agree in this, Neubauer, 175, Life, 65; see Lightfoot, 1. 126. Scythopolis, and certain places east of the Sea of Galilee, which one usually reckoned to Peraea, the Talmud counts to Galilee. But even if we had not this authority, the fact that they lay on or near the shore of the lake, and would therefore add very much to its life and business, is sufficient reason for mentioning them in our estimate of Galilee.

¹ Life, 45. Dr. Schaff in note to Lange on Luke, p. 49, col. 1, says, "four hundred and four cities and villages;" McClintock and Strong, Cyclopaedia, vol. iii. 717, col. 2. Art. "Galilee," say, "two hundred and forty cities and

population to upwards of three million, has been often quoted; but the truth of it has been almost universally denied, or at least doubted. We propose to give several reasons, never before presented, why the statement of Josephus should be regarded as probably correct.

1. Josephus, as the military governor of Galilee, was intelligent, shrewd, and capable; and he would be likely to know thoroughly the resources of his own province.

2. This statement of his was made in a letter which he wrote to his enemies or rivals, who had been sent from Jerusalem to supersede him in his command, and who would have detected him in any misstatement of that kind.¹

3. Josephus raised, without difficulty, an army "of above a hundred thousand young men." It appears, from the same passage that, in addition to these troops, there were garrisons in the various fortresses which the general had repaired and strengthened. Then he is particular to say "young men," showing that the supply of men was so great as to make it unnecessary, even in this extreme national emergency, to call upon boys or old men, or others still, who were unfit for military duty. Without doing any violence to the language of Josephus, we might conclude from it that, in addition to the men under arms, there was another body equal in number to these, who were "detained at home to provide supplies" for those in the field.²

villages"; Graetz, 3. 392, says, "smallest *city* has fifteen thousand inhabitants," which Josephus does not say; Hausrath, 1. 7, says, "two hundred and four cities and villages, and fifteen fortresses," which is not what Josephus says; "according to Josephus's incredible statement," Keim, 1. 311. How does Jahn, *Bib. Arch.* p. 25 (Eng. trans.), read "two hundred and four cities and towns, the largest of which had one hundred and fifty thousand and the smallest fifteen thousand inhabitants," as if from Josephus? which is not in Josephus at all. See Wars, 3. 3. 2, 4; Tac. Hist. 5. 8; Plin. Hist. Nat. 5. 15.

¹ This fact is of great importance, and we may quote here Josephus's own words used on another occasion, — "to publish a falsehood among such as could at once detect it, would be to insure disgrace." — Preface to Jewish Wars, vs. 5.

² Wars, 2. 20. 6–8; Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, 2. 73 (Berlin ed., 1821), makes the number of men enrolled to be 200,000, which the language of Josephus seems to justify, and which certainly cannot be disproved; nineteen places

4. In the affair of the robbery of the steward of Agrippa and Berenice, when the people of the towns near Tarichaea were greatly incensed against Josephus for his part in the matter, "one hundred thousand assembled in a single night to oppose him."¹

5. When, after the conquest under Joshua, the four tribes settled in that country which afterwards became Galilee, they numbered within their limits sixty-nine cities, "with their villages." Many of these cities were at that time fortified.

6. By a census of that date, the tribes occupying this territory mustered 223,600 fighting men.²

7. The slabs from Nineveh say that in the days of Hezekiah, king of Judah, Sennacherib "took from him forty-six strong fenced cities, and of smaller towns a countless number," besides carrying off "more than two hundred thousand captives."³

8. In the year A.D. 39, when Herod Antipas was on trial at Rome, charged with preparing to levy war against the Romans, it was developed in the evidence that in a single armory he had armor collected for seventy thousand men. This was in a time of comparative peace. What might have been its resources in this respect when the whole province was rallying to defend the common country?⁴

9. If we look forward a few years, we shall find a very significant hint. One would suppose that the Jewish nation in the terrible war of 66-70 A.D., so far as Palestine was concerned, had become almost entirely extinct, the towns destroyed, and the people slaughtered. Yet only sixty-three years later, an army of two hundred thousand men rallied are mentioned as having been fortified by Josephus, or by his orders, Wars, 2. 20. 6; Life, 37.

¹ Wars, 2. 21. 3.

² Josh. xix. 10-40; Ritter, 4. 334 et seq.; Arnaud, 178-183, where the number of cities is shown to be larger than we have given in our text; it should be noticed that the cities of Naphtali were נָפְתָלִי, i.e. *fortresses*, or cities with *high strong walls*, Josh. xix. 35.

³ Rawlinson, Monarchies, 2.161; Smith's Bib. Dict., Art. "Sennacherib."

⁴ Ant. 18. 7. 2; Keim, 1. 205; Hausrath, 1. 295.

under the banner of Bar Chochab in rebellion against Rome. Julius Severus, the best general of the empire, was sent to crush this rebellion. He reported back to the emperor that the rebels were in possession of fifty of the strongest castles and nine hundred and eighty-five villages. This struggle, which lasted probably three years, cost the Jews upwards of five hundred and eighty thousand lives. The loss on the part of the Romans was also terrible, insomuch that Hadrian, in his despatches to the Senate announcing the conclusion of the war, refrained from the usual congratulatory phrases. If the rebels had fifty strongholds and nine hundred and eighty-five villages in their possession in all Judea, Galilee, in the prosperous years before 66 A.D., may well have had two hundred and four cities and villages.¹

10. Captain Burton, in his "Unexplored Syria," — a country which was full of life in Christ's time, but of which very little is known from history, — speaking of the abundance of ruins with which the region just north of Galilee is covered, says, that to one standing on a certain Lebanon peak which overlooks that section, "the land must in many places have appeared to be one continuous town."²

11. Still further north in the 'Alah, i.e. the "highland," of Syria, northeast and southeast of Hamah, there are three hundred and sixty-five ruined towns. The Arabs declare "that a man might formerly have travelled for a year in this district, and never have slept twice in the same village."³

12. A remark similar to that of Captain Burton just quoted, has been made in regard to the Phœnician coast, which lay west of Galilee, and with which Galilee was in such close connection, namely: "It was so thickly covered with towns

¹ Milman, *Jews*, 2. 431-438; length of the war, *ibid.* 433, note; terrible losses of the Romans, *ibid.* 432, 433 note; Jost, *Judenthum*, 2. 79; Madden, *Jewish Coinage*, 201; Dion Cassius, 69. 15 "Hadrian"; Smith's *Bib. Dict. Art. "Census."*

² 1. 79; fine description of the view from this peak, 76-79.

³ *Ibid.* 2. 160; Capt. Drake, judging from the ruins which he saw, does not believe the report to be exaggerated.

and villages that it must have given the appearance of being one unbroken city."¹

13. It should also be remembered that in those times the *cities* were usually *packed* with people. In our day we are hardly able to appreciate this fact, and certainly we do not make allowance enough for it in judging of the number of inhabitants of any given Eastern city or country as reported in the old histories. For instance, no modern city of the size of ancient Jerusalem would have held, much less accommodated, the number of people which often flocked there to attend the feasts. A few years before the siege under Titus, an estimate was made, and the official return was 2,565,000 persons present at the passover. Josephus says 2,700,000, which did not include many sick and defiled persons, and many foreigners who had come for religious worship.²

14. Perhaps a hint may be obtained by noticing the number killed in the various battles and sieges of Galilee, so far as these were reported. We have made a careful estimate, and find the whole number to be about 155,630. This includes the prisoners, which, however, except in the case of Tarichaea, were a mere fraction. Several fights are reported where the number of killed is not given. Further, a large number of people would be destroyed in various ways in such a terrible war and never reported. If we put the whole number killed at one hundred and seventy-five or two hundred thousand, the statement cannot be regarded as an exaggeration.

In the face of such illustrative facts, the statement of Josephus in regard to the cities and villages of Galilee can no longer seem improbable.

XII. CHARACTER OF THE GALILEANS.

1. *Thoroughly a Jewish People.*

It is by no means an easy task to describe minutely the

¹ Dr. Schröder, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, 1869, Einleitung, p. 3.

² Wars, 6. 9. 3; Williams, *Holy City*, 1. 481; Besant and Palmer, *Jerusalem, the City of Herod and Saladin*, note on pp. 23, 24. The "2,700,000" of Josephus will be seen to be probably correct by referring to the passage cited.

character of this people, numbering perhaps three million, made up as it was of many peculiar original or internal elements, and wrought upon by so many peculiar influences that were foreign or external to it. On the west were the Phoenicians, on the north the Syrians, on the south the Samaritans, and in some of the principal cities of the province were strongly-marked features of Greco-Roman civilization.¹ Yet this remark in regard to the existence here of Greco-Roman civilization must not be made to mean too much; for when all the evidence on this point is collected, the real extent of such foreign civilization is seen to have been very limited. The people preserved, as a body, their thoroughly Jewish character, in spite of any foreign influences tending to the contrary.² It is as a Jewish people that the Galileans are to be judged. The fact just mentioned is very significant. Those elements of national character by which a people is preserved from blending with those with whom it comes in contact form an interesting topic for study. Perhaps the tenacity with which the Jew held to his religious ideas might tend to exclusiveness and bigotry. Yet while he would not allow interference in the affairs of his religion, he prided himself upon his noble treatment of strangers; and, as he allowed foreigners to settle upon Jewish soil, so

¹ Gadara and Hippos are spoken of as Greek cities. Wars, 2. 6. 3; Ant. 17. 11. 4. The Syrians in Scythopolis seem to have been a majority, Life, 6. The "Strangers" in Tarichaea were not necessarily foreigners, but new comers in distinction from old settlers, Wars, 3. 10. 4, 10; Life, 29. The Greeks in Tiberias were a small fraction of the whole population, Life, 12; compare Life, 65. In Judea also, Gaza was a Greek city, Wars, 2. 6. 3; Ant. 17. 11. 4; and in Cesarea both Syrians and Greeks were numerous, Life, 11; Wars, 2. 13. 7; Ant. 20. 8. 7, 9; Wars, 2. 14. 4; 3. 9. 1. On Syrian and Phoenician cities, see Ant. 13. 15. 4; Syrians hated the Jews, Wars, 1. 4. 3.

² Wars, 3. 3. 2. Greek influence in Palestine in Christ's time can be reduced, we think, to a very small amount. The decided contempt of the Jews, as a nation, for all foreign languages, learning, science, history, etc., would tend to preserve their Jewish character, their religion and peculiar customs intact. That they preserved their national character free from foreign influences to a far greater degree than many are disposed to admit is clearly shown by Gfrörer, 1. 114-118, and also p. 119. For the efforts of the Jews in the first century after Christ to maintain among themselves a thorough knowledge of the Biblical Hebrew, see Fürst, Kultur- und Literatur-geschichte der Juden in Asien. 1. 26, 27.

he claimed the corresponding right, namely, to be allowed to go and settle wherever men were. In Christ's time one might have spoken with truth of the omnipresent Jew. "The Jews had made themselves homes in every country, from the Tiber to the Euphrates, from the pines of the Caucasus to the spice-groves of happy Arabia."¹ A mere catalogue of the cities where they had settled at that time—in the far East, in Egypt, in Syria, in Greece and her islands—is astonishing.² With but few exceptions, they seem to have been everywhere a wealthy, and, in general, an influential, class. The decrees issued, from time to time, by the Roman senate favoring or honoring the Jews in the different cities of the empire were very numerous, and throw much light upon their numbers, character, prosperity, and their civil and social relations and standing.³ If one should say that the Jews were bigoted in regard to religion, he should remember, at the same time, that, in regard to social, commercial, and political relations none were more cosmopolitan in either sentiment or practice than they. And if the Jewish people deserve any credit for this cosmopolitan spirit, perhaps the praise should be given to the Galileans, who, on account of their peculiar surroundings, must have led the way in this friendly intercourse with other nations. It will be important to remember this point when we come to consider the religious character of this people.

2. *Chiefly an Agricultural People.*

Further, it is chiefly as an agricultural people that we must regard them. There was, indeed, in that period, a vast amount of public building going on (under Herod, Antipas, and Philip), which would require and occupy many men; secondly, we must reckon the lake commerce, which was considerable; thirdly, the fisheries (important; as we

¹ Merivale, 3. 287.

² Merivale, 3. 287; Milman, 2. 20; Lutterbeck, 1. 128; Wars, 7. 3. 3; Conybeare and Howson, St. Paul, 1. 16 et seq.

³ Ant. 14. chapters 8, 10, and 12; 16. 2. 3; 16. 6. 2; 19. 5. 3; 19. 6. 3; wealth and influence, Ant. 14. 7. 2.

have seen); fourthly, the carrying trade — transporting the productions of the country to foreign markets, and also merchandise between Egypt and Damascus.¹ Add to these, dyeing, weaving, stone-cutting, ship-building, pottery manufacture, and a few other industries; but when we have made a sufficient deduction for all these methods of employment, we shall have left still the bulk of the population, whose business was agriculture.²

Then the wealth and prosperity of this province, together with the good order, both civil and social, which prevailed there, would seem to indicate industry, enterprise, and intelligence on the part of the people.

3. *Eminent for Patriotism and Courage.*

Among the prominent virtues of the Galileans we mention here their patriotism. If the influence of surrounding nations had been so marked upon their character as is sometimes claimed,³ it would have resulted in weakening the ties which bound them to their country and national institutions and ideas; but from the time of Herod's first connection with this province in B.C. 47, to the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, the Galileans were among the noblest patriots of which the nation could boast. Had this patriotism been wanting to them, even in the least degree, the fact would have been developed greatly to their prejudice in the Jewish war; but in that struggle the Galileans made a noble record. Their intense devotion to "the national idea" has been spoken of as "hot-blooded."⁴ Also their loyalty and devotion to their rulers, and their bravery, for which they were justly celebrated, may properly be considered in connection with

¹ Whatever landed at Ptolemais for Damascus, and whatever came from Egypt bound for Damascus or the far East, and whatever came from the far East and Damascus, bound for Egypt or Rome, would all pass through Galilee, — an important fact.

² Keim, 1. 312; Wars, 3. 3. 2.

³ Graetz, 3. 395, exaggerates beyond all reason the influence of surrounding people upon the character of the Galileans.

⁴ Keim, 1. 314.

the topic just mentioned. To the young governor, Herod, they were warmly attached. When he was appointed king this province declared almost unanimously in his favor.¹ Then, the fact that Antipas held the government forty-three years without special complaint from his subjects shows a people well-disposed towards a ruler who, whatever may be said of his morals was, *as a ruler*, liberal, energetic, and capable in every sense. Then, still later, the devotion of the Galileans to Josephus was made by him a matter of special praise. Their interest in him, and their anxiety for his welfare, outweighed all considerations of peril, or loss of property, to themselves. The instances illustrating this statement are numerous.² In praising their bravery, Josephus says that "cowardice was never a characteristic of the Galileans."³ Aristobulus II. and Herod the Great found here some of their most valiant soldiers;⁴ and the deeds of the patriot army under Josephus exhibited a marvellous contempt of danger and death. A bold, hardy, industrious race always does heroic deeds when fully roused and struggling for its fatherland and freedom. This was pre-eminently the case with the Galileans. Their character as developed in that struggle may be taken as a hint as to what for three, or perhaps many more, generations had been the character of their ancestors. In judging the Galileans in that war, we must not use the same standards that we judge the Romans by. Difference of race, of civilization, and of national purpose must all be considered. It was an agricultural people matched against the finest military people of the world. Among the Galileans the discipline was poor. They fought, as Orientals have always done, with courage enough, and individual valor enough, but with a painful lack of system. Still, taken at this great disadvantage, they command our highest admiration. Josephus is aware that his force is not sufficient to cope with the Romans, and he calls upon Jeru-

¹ Wars, 1. 15. 3; for the only exceptions, see Wars, 1. 16. 1, 2.

² Life, 16, 21, 39, 45, 47-51, 59.

³ Wars, 3. 3. 2.

⁴ Ant. 13. 16. 5; Keim, 1. 313.

salem for re-inforcements, but none are sent.¹ Galilee must alone and unaided bear the brunt of the war during the first year of its progress. It must be remembered that this period is that of Rome's greatest power. Yet the emperor Nero, is "seized with consternation and alarm" at the magnitude of the revolt.² The feeling at Rome is expressed by the fact that Vespasian, the best general of the empire, is chosen to deal with this rebellion, and, secondly, by the fact that such a splendid army of veterans is thought necessary to be massed at Ptolemais before operations can begin.³ The sight of these sixty thousand veterans, among whom there is the perfection of discipline, and who are backed by the moral power of almost uninterrupted victory, must send dismay to the hearts of those Galilean youth.⁴ This splendid army that has been victorious over every nation, and whose engines have levelled the foremost structures in the world, has come hither to try its strength and skill upon the people and fortresses of Galilee. The abandonment with which the Galileans plunge into this struggle admits of no retreat. To restore their country's ancient liberty is the wild dream of these brave misguided men.⁵ The tough work before them seems to serve as a stimulus to greater boldness.⁶ At Jotapata they fight with desperate energy. The one hundred and

¹ Wars, 3. 7. 2.

² Wars, 3. 1. 1.

³ Wars, 3. 4. 2.

⁴ Wars, 3. 6. 3; 3. 7. 3. Discipline of the Roman army, see Wars 3. 5 (all the chapter); a very minute and vivid account of its organization and discipline. Size of the army here spoken of, Tac. Hist. v. 1; Wars, 3. 4. 2; 4. 10. 3; Weber and Holtzmann, 2. 473; Graetz, 3. 437, army about Jerusalem 80,000; see Graetz, 3. 412; Weber and Holtzmann the same, 2. 488; Schneckenburger, 228; power and character of the enemy, Wars, 2. 20. 7; Weber and Holtzmann, 2. 474, quote Hausrath's brilliant description of the character of the two armies and the contrast between them; also *ibid.* 475, Gfrörer's to the same effect from his Preface to the Jewish War of Josephus; fear of Josephus's troops, Wars, 3. 6. 3; lack discipline, Wars, 3. 10. 2.

⁵ Weber and Holtzmann, 2. 463, where the motives are spoken of which could arouse a small people of three or four million against the world-empire and power of Rome.

⁶ Wars, 3. 7. 4.

sixty projectile engines of the Romans fill the air with murderous stones, and other implements of death.¹ Even after forty days of almost super-human valor, but which is seen to be unavailing, these patriots still prefer "to die for liberty" and "their country's glory" rather than surrender.² For six terrible hours the "fighting men" of Japha — the largest "village" of Galilee — beat back the Roman soldiers, till the former, "twelve thousand" of them, were all consumed.³ The struggle at Gamala is one of the most heroic of the war.⁴ Tiberias, Tarichaea, Mount Tabor, Gischala, fall in succession. The fate of Jotapata sealed, it was said, the fate of the whole of Judea.⁵ The backbone of the rebellion was broken when Galilee was subdued. The hardest fighting of the war was done by those brave people of the north. That for her may well be called a bloody year, in which one hundred and fifty thousand or more of her people perished. The flower of her youth had fallen.⁶ The conduct of the Galileans calls forth generous criticisms even from their victorious enemies. Vespasian notices their fidelity to each other and their contempt of suffering, and Titus admits that "they are fighting for freedom and country," and that "they bear up bravely in disaster."⁷ He even appeals to their example as a means of stimulating his own veteran troops. The Romans had reason to be proud of the conquest of Galilee.⁸ But their army was weary, and its ranks thinned from the bloody work of this campaign, and Vespasian was obliged to order time for rest and recruiting.⁹

¹ Wars, 3. 7. 9.

² Wars, 3. 8. 4.

³ Wars, 3. 7. 31.

⁴ Wars, 4. 1. 3; Graetz, 3. 393, 417.

⁶ Wars, 3. 7. 3.

⁶ Life, 65.

⁷ Wars, 3. 7. 33; 3. 10. 2.

⁸ Wars, 4. 4. 3.

⁹ Wars, 4. 2. 1; Graetz, 3. 419.

NOTE. — Tac. Hist. v. 1, gives the forces of the Romans as follows: 5th, 10th, 15th, and 3d, 12th, 22d, legions; 20 cohorts of allies; 8 squadrons of horse; also two kings, Agrippa and Sohemus; Antiochus sent the forces of his Kingdom; also "a formidable body of Arabs with embittered feelings" took part; and "a considerable number of volunteers went from Rome and Italy."

4. *Their Ancestors Eminent for Bravery.*

The bravery of which we have seen such wonderful exhibitions seems to have been a characteristic of the people of this region from remote times. Their position made them the first to suffer in case of those great invasions from the East, a circumstance which would naturally have a tendency to foster bravery in them.¹ "The people of Zebulon and Naphtali jeoparded their lives unto the death in the high places of the field."² Within the limits of this province were embraced some of the most memorable battle-fields of the nation. A people among whom national and traditional customs were cherished as dearer than life,³ would not be indifferent to old memories and historical associations; and hence the Galileans could not but be stimulated by the noble deeds that had been wrought by their ancestors upon their own soil. The plain of Jezreel was a famous field of strife. Kishon was a river of battle. Deborah and Barak led down from Tabor ten thousand heroes against the king of Hazor, and routed his general, Sisera, and his army. Zebulon, Naphtali, and Asher followed Gideon in the storm against Midian. Soon after the division of the kingdom of Solomon, the princes of Zebulon and Naphtali, in common with those of Benjamin and Judah, led their heroes against Moab.⁴ And in the final struggle with Rome, these bold and independent sons of the North rallied, as we have seen, first and foremost to oppose the invincible legions, and battled with desperate energy from mountain-pass to mountain-pass, from city to city, from fortress to fortress, till one after another, the cities and fortresses of this province were beaten into ruins; and then, as the nation rallied for a death-grapple with the enemy, the remnants of the Galilean band joined their countrymen behind the walls of Jerusalem, and resisted

¹ For brilliant description of their position, and statement of the fact we have mentioned, see Hausrath, 1. 343.

² Judg. v. 18.

³ Ant. 16. 2. 3.

⁴ Hitzig on Ps. lxxviii.; Delitzsch on the same; Keim, 1. 313.

with superhuman might that all-conquering power, as it slowly, but surely, beat down the walls, and even overturned "the foundations of Zion," burying city and Temple and their heroic defenders in a common ruin.¹

5. *Their Great Respect for Law and Order.*

Again, the Galileans are to be thought of as peaceable and law-abiding citizens. The impression is sometimes given that the very opposite of this was the case. Thus Ritter speaks of the people of Tiberias "as always in quarrels with the parent city of Jerusalem,"² for which no authority is given, and which is contrary to fact. And Hausrath, usually correct, states that Josephus calls the Galileans "the common peace-disturbers of the land,"³ whereas Josephus is referring directly to the robbers in certain caves which Herod had subdued.⁴ Josephus does not state, nor say anything from which we might infer, that the Galileans were "turbulent" and "rebellious," or that they delighted in "warfare"; he says nothing of the kind; and the impression left after several careful readings of Josephus is as we have stated — that they were peaceable and law-abiding citizens. Indeed, Josephus makes a careful distinction between the inhabitants on the border and the robbers, and shows that the former were not in sympathy with the latter, but were greatly harassed by them.⁵ After Herod had crushed them,

¹ Hausrath, 1. 11; Graetz, 3. 420; Keim, 1. 315; Haussath, 1. 7, counts "fifteen fortresses" in Galilee.

² 2. 258.

³ 1. 10.

⁴ Wars, 1. 16. 5. Because Galilee was the home of Judas, the Zealot, Graetz states that "the land was full of hot-heads," thus giving a decidedly wrong impression, 3. 395. Similarly McClintock and Strong, Cyclopaedia, 3. 717, col. 1. Art. "Galilee," state, "the Galileans are mentioned by Josephus as a turbulent and rebellious people," and they refer to Ant. 17. 10. 2; Wars, 2. 10. 6; 3. 3. 2; of these, the second reference is wrong; the first is an isolated case, and happened in Jerusalem, and does not represent the character of the Galileans at all; in the last Josephus simply says "trained to war from their infancy," — meaning that the Galileans, although chiefly an agricultural people, were obliged, on account of their surroundings, to be acquainted to some extent with military affairs. The impression given by McClintock and Strong is contrary to fact.

⁵ Wars, 1. 16. 2, 3.

"Galilee was delivered from its apprehensions,"¹ which statement of Josephus confirms what we have said. The Syrians even (Galilee's neighbors on the north) sung songs in honor of Herod on this occasion, showing that they, as well as the Galileans, were not in sympathy with the robbers.² Those robber bands on the border, secreted in caves — "dens of thieves" — the guerillas or Ku-Klux of that age, — we hear almost nothing of after Herod made such thorough work in subduing them.³

Again, about the year A.D. 51, certain commotions arose in various parts of the land, to which Josephus alludes; and in the same connection he speaks of one occasion when the Galileans on their way to a feast at Jerusalem were assaulted near Ginaea by some Samaritans, and one or more of the former were killed. On account of the negligence of Cumanus, the Roman governor, very serious trouble grew out of this affair. But the affair itself has been greatly exaggerated. For instance, Keim says: "The Galileans were often obliged to open by force a way through the Samaritan district, when they would go to the feasts at Jerusalem."⁴ And Hausrath gives the impression that such events were of frequent occurrence. But this event appears to have been an isolated instance; at least, there is no evidence to the contrary, while considerable evidence could be produced to show some intercourse and many friendly acts between the Galileans and the Jews of Judea on one side, and the Samaritans on the other. Then it is wholly wrong to say that "the Sicarii committed more crimes in Galilee than in

¹ Wars, 1. 16. 3.

² Ant. 14. 9. 2, "sung songs in his commendation, in their cities and villages, as having procured them peace, and the secure enjoyment of their possessions."

³ The Galileans are peaceable citizens; see Life, 41. It is wrong to infer from Luke xiii. 1, "that even at Jerusalem, they took the lead in revolts," Hausrath, 1. 11, because we know absolutely nothing of the circumstances connected with the simple fact there mentioned. Milman, 2. 221, calls the Galileans a "warlike" people, which, if he uses the word warlike in a bad sense, is incorrect.

⁴ 1. 313; Hausrath, 1. 21; Ant. 20. 6. 1, "many killed"; Wars, 2. 12. 3, "one assassinated."

Judea.”¹ The very opposite was true. The facts are these: During the long reign of Herod the Great, Galilee enjoyed prosperity and quiet. The same was true of it, with perhaps one exception, — Antipas’s war with Aretas, — during the longer reign of Herod Antipas. During this latter period, the country east of the Jordan, which was ruled by the mild and honorable Herod Philip, also enjoyed peace and prosperity. But Judea, from the death of Herod the Great, in 4 B.C., to the outbreak of the war, in A.D. 66, was full of commotion. The great contrast between affairs in the north, and in the south is strikingly apparent in Josephus’s account of these times, although the contrast itself is never alluded to by him. From A.D. 7 to the time of the war, Judea was ruled by Roman governors (except the short period covered by the reign of Agrippa I. — 41–44), who, for the most part, were unprincipled and cruel men. They hated, oppressed, insulted, and wronged the Jews in many ways. They countenanced robbery, when they could receive a share of the plunder. They encouraged the system of bribery. Under them the priests became corrupt. Murder, violence, lawlessness of all kinds prevailed more and more. The conduct of these governors was very exasperating to the Jews; and, at last, however little disposed for war they were at first, they were driven to take up arms, considering an honorable death better than a miserable life. But such long continued misrule could hardly fail of generating misery and corruption. And in our estimate of Galilee, it is never to be forgotten that, while up to A.D. 51, or perhaps 55, this province was in a state of peace and prosperity, the province of Judea, on the other hand, had, for half a century, lacked both law and order, and there had come to prevail there a terrible state of license and anarchy.² The statements

¹ Neubauer, 183 (his authority is Graetz, 3. 2d ed. 323, 334). See next note; they originated in Jerusalem; such desperate characters always spring up in large cities.

² Judea overrun by robbers, Wars, 4. 7. 2; 2. 13. 6; Jews oppressed by Romans, Wars, 2. 14. 1; wronged by Felix, who takes Drusilla from her husband for his own wife, Ant. 20. 7. 2; lawlessness, corruption, Jews driven to madness,

here made will be found to be fully justified, if one is disposed to follow out the notes given below.

Wars, 7. 8. 1; country suffers much, Hausrath, 1. 344; robbers encouraged, Ant. 20. 8. 5; country full of robbers, etc. Josephus, Ant. 20. 9. 4, 5; 20. 6. 1; Wars, 2. 8. 1; see Wars, 1. 8. 8; Romans hate the Jews, Wars, 3. 7. 1; 2. 9. 1-4; Romans insult the Jews, Wars, 2. 12. 2; Florus's conduct, Ant. 20. 11. 1; taxing the Jews, Weber and Holtzmann, 2. 247; increase of robbers, Traill's Joseph. 2. cxli, cxlii; Patronius, Ant. 18. 8. 2; Sabinus, Ant. 17. 10. 1, 2; Pilate, Ant. 18. 3. 1; taxing terrible, Hausrath, 1. 169, 170; the great financial crisis in Rome in A.D. 83 affecting Palestine; see Hausrath, 1. 170, note; priests became corrupt, Ant. 20. 9. 2; poorer priests left to suffer and die, Ant. 20. 8. 8; see Tac. Hist. v. 9, 10; Annals, 12. 54; Jews forced by violence of Florus, to leave the country, Wars, 2. 14. 2; yet Cumanus does Jews a favor, Wars, 2. 12. 2 (he could hardly have refused to interfere in this case); Vitellius also does them favors, Ant. 18. 4. 2; 18. 5. 3; Sikars, originated in Jerusalem, Wars, 2. 13. 3; (Sikars were assassins with concealed weapons, *Sica*, hence *Sicarii*); names and dates of procurators, see Schneckenburger, 207, 216. The revolt of Judas, son of Hezekias, on the death of Herod the Great, has sometimes been referred to, as showing the turbulent spirit of the Galileans. But the commotions at the time were wide spread, and by no means confined to one section; Judas in Galilee gets possession of Sepphoris; Simon makes an insurrection in Peraea, crosses the Jordan, and burns the palace in Jericho; two thousand of Herod's old soldiers make an insurrection in Idumaea; Athronges in Judea sets himself up as king; four parties in four different sections of the country keep the nation in tumult; all these in addition to the fierce outbreak at the Feast of Pentecost that year (May 31); Ant. 17. chap. 10; Wars, 2. chaps. 3 and 4; Lewin, B.C. 4, Nos. 931-935, pp. 128, 129.

(To be continued.)