ARTICLE VI.

FROM ANTIPATRIS TO EMMAUS.

By E. Robinson, D. D. of New York.

Saturday, April 25th, 1852. We had left Nâblus in the morning on the direct road for Lydda and Ramleh, and encamped in the afternoon near the village of Hableh, situated at the foot of the mountains on the border of the great western plain. Our tent was in a tract of low ground, between the village on the north, and a low rocky hill with a Wely on the south.

We were here surrounded by ancient cisterns dug out in the solid rocks, mostly with a round opening at top. Some were entirely open. One of them, seven feet long by five broad and three deep, was merely sunk in the rock, with two steps to descend into it. Another one, of similar dimensions, had but one step left. A large cistern was near the water-course; it was twelve feet long by nine broad, and about eight feet deep; two rude and very flat arches were thrown over it, and on these rested the covering of flat stones, some of which still remained. A cistern on the slope of the hill south was still in use, and females from the village filled their jars there, and bore them off on their heads. All these excavations were evidently ancient, and were thus numerous just here in the low ground, because of the greater abundance of water in the rainy season.

Another excavation near by was at first more puzzling. Its appearance was like a sarcophagus, regularly hewn on the outside. On going to it, the interior proved to be only five feet long by twenty inches broad; but this was merely the entrance to an arched vault beneath, all hewn in the solid rock. The interior was now filled with stones. It was doubtless a sepulchral excavation; it could not have been a cistern, for no water could have run into it. I afterwards found seven similar excavations on the hill south, all in one large flat rock. The entrances of these were level with the surface of the rock; and there were also traces of grooves for lids, though no lids are now to be found.

Still another excavation, close to our tent, which interested me, was an ancient wine-press, the first I had ever seen. Advantage had been taken of a ledge of rock; on the upper side, towards the south,

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a shallow vat had been dug out, eight feet square and fifteen inches deep, its bottom declining slightly towards the north. The thickness of rock left on the north was one foot; and two feet lower down, on that side, another smaller vat was excavated, four feet square by three feet deep. The grapes were trodden in the shallow upper vat, and the juice drawn off by a hole at the bottom (still remaining) into the lower vat. This ancient press would seem to prove that the adjacent hills were once covered with vineyards; and such is its state of preservation that, were there still grapes in the vicinity, it might at once be brought into use without repair. I would have given much to have been able to transport this ancient relic *in natura* to London or New York.

From the Wely there was an extensive view of the plain. Here I spent several hours, at various times, under the shade of a spreading tree. In the south, still on the edge of the hills, was Mejdel Yâba, S. 16 W. and in the plain, somewhat nearer, Râs el-'Ain, or Kŭl'at el-'Ain, the head of the river 'Aujeh. Far in the S. S. W. was seen the tower of Ramleh. Nearer at hand, about a mile distant, was Jiljûlieh, S. 76 W., said to be now almost a ruin, and having, in its southern part, a large Khân similar to that at Ramleh. Then followed Kefr Sâba, N. 53 W., distant from us about two miles, in full view;[1] and lastly Kilkîlieh, N. 16 W., also about two miles distant. The plain in the west and north-west is uneven, rising beyond Kefr Sâba and towards the coast into low hills or swells, some of which are wooded.

The chief interest in this prospect is connected with Kefr Sâba, as the representative of the *Antipatris* of the New Testament, whither the Apostle Paul was sent off from Jerusalem by night, on the way to Cesarea, in order to save him from a conspiracy of the Jews.[2] Josephus relates, that the first Herod built here a city, on a site formerly called *Capharsaba*, in a fertile spot, where a river encompassed the city, and there were also many trees.[3] He speaks of it also as near the mountains, and tells us that Alexander Jannæus drew a trench, with a wall and wooden towers, from Antipatris to the coasts of Joppa, one hundred and fifty stadia in length, in order to prevent

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[1] Yet v. Wildenbruch, when passing this way several years after the visit of Rev. Dr. Smith, could find no trace of the name Kefr Sâba! Monatsber. der Geogr. Ges. in Berlin, N. F. I. p. 233. Ritter, Erdk. XVI. p. 572.

[2] Acts 23: 31; comp. vs. 12, 23 seq.

[3] Gr. *Καφαρσαβά*, Joseph. Antt. 16. 5. 2; comp. 13. 15. 1, *Χαβαρσαβά . . . ἡ νῦν Ἀντιπατρὶς καλεῖται.*

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the passage of Antiochus.[1] Two military roads led from Jerusalem to Antipatris, and so to Cesarea; one by way of Gibeon and Beth-horon, the other by way of Gophna.[2] By which of these roads Paul was conducted, we have no means of determining. Antipatris is mentioned by Jerome and the Bourdeaux pilgrim;[3] a bishop of Antipatris was present at the council of Chalcedon held in A. D. 451; and it continued to be inhabited by Christians in the middle of the eighth century.[4] From that time onward, as in so many other instances, the later Greek name (Antipatris) has disappeared in history; while the earlier Kefr Sâba has retained its hold upon the lips of the common people even unto this day.

The present Kefr Sâba is a village of some size; the houses are built of mud, as in most of the villages of the plain, and there are no relics of antiquity visible. A well just east of the houses is fifty-seven feet deep to the water, and is walled up with hewn stones. The village stands upon a low eminence near the western hills, but is separated from them by a smaller Wady and branch of the plain.[5] There seems to be no valid reason for questioning the identity of this spot with Antipatris. The ancient name itself is decisive; while, in the rainy season and spring, the Wady coming from the mountains, and flowing along on the east of the village to the 'Aujeh, would sufficiently correspond to the river described by Josephus. The distance from Lydda is also tolerably near to the ancient specification of ten Roman miles.[6]

The name Jiljûlieh seems to correspond to an ancient *Gilgal;* and Eusebius and Jerome mention a village *Galgulis*, situated in the sixth mile north of Antipatris.[7] As there is now no such village known

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[1] Jos. B. J. 1. 4. 7; comp. Antt. 13. 15. 1. The direct distance from Kefr Sâba to the coast is not over ten or twelve miles. There must therefore be some error in the number of 150 stadia (18¾ miles), unless the trench was drawn very obliquely, or perhaps along the river 'Aujeh.

[2] The road by Beth-horon was followed by Cestius in the flight of his army, Jos. B. J. 2. 19. 8, 9. That by Gophna was traced in 1843, by Dr. Smith, to the neighborhood of Mejdel Yâba, many portions of the road being still in good preservation; see Bibliotheca Sacra, 1843, p. 481 seq.

[3] Hieron. Epit. Paulae, p. 673, ed. Mart. Itin. Hieros. p. 600.

[4] Reland, Palaest. p. 568—570; Theophan. Chron. p. 358.

[5] See "Visit to Antipatris," by E. Smith, in 1843, in Bibliotheca Sacra, 1843, p. 492 seq.; Ritter, Erdk. XVI. p. 569 seq.

[6] Itin. Hieros. p. 600. The distance from Kefr Sâba to Lydda, according to our own observation, is about four hours; which, at our rate of travelling, would not vary much from twelve Roman miles; while, according to the usual rate with mules, it would not exceed ten miles.

[7] Onomast. art. *Gelgel.*

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in the north of Kefr Sâba,[1] and as Jiljûlieh lies short of that distance in the opposite direction, it may well be a question whether perhaps a slip of the pen may not have given rise to the reading *north* instead of *south*. Eusebius must have known the place, as he often travelled between Cesârea and Jerusalem. This Galgulis may or may not have been the same with the Gilgal mentioned once along with Dor in the book of Joshua.[2]

Monday, April 26th. Refreshed after the day of rest, we started from the Wely at 6.45, for Mejdel Yâba, without a guide, as the way was plain, and we were likely to fall in with persons of whom we could make inquiries. At 7.05 we crossed the deep and broad waterbed of Wady Kânah, coming from the E. S. E. It is here known as Wady Zâkûr, from a ruin of that name on its northern side; and also as Wady Khureish, from another ruin on its southern bank. It runs off just south of Jiljûlieh to the Wady which comes from Kefr Sâba, and thus goes to the 'Aujeh. We had seen this great valley, as Wady Kânah, in the mountains, where it was very deep and rugged, with water running in it. We were told that it comes from the plain el-Mŭkhna, near Nâblus, from a fountain of that name. Near Deir Estieh several fountains spring up in it, and the valley is there wide and cultivated. In this valley we have, without doubt, the the river (brook) *Kanah* of the book of Joshua, the boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh.[3]

At 7.35 we crossed a smaller Wady, with a river on its southern bank, called Kefr Hatta; consisting of a few walls partly standing, a reservoir, and a sarcophagus used as a drinking-trough. Our road led along the low rocky hills as they jut out into the plain, in some places just crossing their extremities. At 8.05 we came to the broad channel of Wady Ribâh, coming down from the east on the north of Mejdel. We were told, that it has its head near 'Akrabeh, and passes down near ez-Zâwieh. It runs north of Kŭl'at el-'Ain, and so to the 'Aujeh.

As we passed along our road, Kŭl'at el-'Ain lay below us on the right, in a depressed part of the plain. On a low mound is a structure in the form of a long parallelogram, said to have been once a fortress. At the foot of this mound, on the west, is the great fountain of the river 'Aujeh, one of the largest in Palestine. It forms a marshy tract, covered with reeds and rushes. This fountain, and

[1] The name *Kilkilieh* has no affinity with the name *Gilgal*, nor is that village in any sense in the sixth mile north of Kefr Sâba.

[2] Josh. 12: 23. [3] Heb. גדול קנה, lit. *Wady Kanah*, Josh. 16: 8. 17: 9.

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others below, furnish, at this season, the whole supply of water for the river, which is nearly as large as the Jordan near Jericho. The water has a bluish tinge, and the current is usually sluggish.[1] The river sweeps off about W. N. W. until it reaches the hills or higher plateau; and just here are mills, and a village, el-Mirr, about a mile from the source. The stream then passes on about W. by S. under steep banks or low cliffs.

We came at 8.30 to Mejdel Yâba, situated on a rather steep declivity on our left, with a Sheikh's house or palace overlooking the rest of the village. The place has an old look, but we saw few definite traces of antiquity. The Sheikh's palace is large and high; it had recently been built up, for when my companion passed this way in 1843, it was in ruins.[2] Its owner, Sheikh Sâdik el-Jema'iny, was now in banishment. In a field in the lower part of the village, we noticed two sarcophagi; the isolated rocks had been hewn away outside, perhaps with vaults below, like those at Hableh. We stopped here ten minutes.

From Mejdel we turned our course towards the plain, S. 67 W. in order to enter the great road from Damascus to Ramleh. Descending from the village, we struck at 8.50 the deep channel of Wady Kurâwa, the continuation of Wady Belât,[3] and followed down its right side for fifteen minutes, when we crossed it. We could see a bridge with three arches about a half a mile below, on the Damascus road. This Wady must drain a large region of country, though it was now dry. At 9.15 we struck the Damascus road, called es-Sultâna, at a Wely named Neby Thâry, situated on a low Tell, with a pond of clear water on the north of it. Here, too, we stopped ten minutes.

We now proceeded along the Sultâna towards Ludd and Ramleh. After five minutes the road crossed a Wady with dirty standing water, and then rose to a higher tract in the plain, with a more gravelly soil. At 9.45 we came to Renthieh, close upon our left hand, situated on a isolated ledge of rock, which here protrudes in the midst of the plain. It was once apparently a place of some size, but is now a miserable hamlet.

The name Renthieh (or Remthieh, as we sometimes heard it) is sufficiently near in form, to suggest an identity with the *Arimathea* of the New Testament.[4] I have elsewhere given reasons for regard-

[1] E. Smith in Bib. Sacra, 1843, p. 491. [2] Ib. p. 488 seq.

[3] See Bibl. Res. III. pp. 81, 82.

[4] There is, however, another *Remtheh*, east of the Jordan, on the Haj route

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ing Arimathea as having no connection with Ramleh, but as probably situated on some one of the hills in the east of Lydda.[1] The same general grounds hold good against the idea of seeking Arimathea at Renthieh; and I may here subjoin a few additional remarks.

Josephus mentions, in the north of Judaea, four toparchies, named after their chief towns, viz. Acrabatene, Gophna, Thamna, and Lydda. These towns are now all known; Thamna having been discovered in 1843, by Dr. Smith, under the present name of Tibneh, on the way from Gophna to Mejdel Yâba.[2] The nature of the country shows, that these toparchies probably formed long parallelograms, lying parallel to each other, extending in length from north to south. The first occupied the eastern part of the water-shed on the mountains, next the Jordan valley; the second, the western side of the same, still upon the mountains; the third, that of Thamna, lay along the western slope of the mountains; while the last, that of Lydda, comprised most of the plain. South of the Thamnitic toparchy was that of Emmaus, while Joppa and Jamnia had jurisdiction over the towns adjacent to them.[3] Now as Arimathea was situated in the Thamnitic district,[4] and this included the western declivity of the mountains and probably the adjacent hills, we certainly cannot well look for Arimathea either at Ramleh or at Renthieh, which are both in the middle of the plain, and naturally within the district of Lydda.

The same result seems to follow from a notice of Jerome. That father, in describing the journey of Paula, represents her as passing from Antipatris to Lydda; thence, not far from that city, to Arimathea and Nobe; to Joppa also; and then, turning back, to Emmaus or Nicopolis; whence she took the route by the two Beth-horons to Jerusalem.[5] All this serves to show, first, that Arimathea was not at Renthieh, which lies directly on the road between Antipatris and Lydda; and, secondly, that it probably did lie somewhere between Lydda and Nobe, now Beit Nûba, a mile north-east of Yâlo. Per-

south of Eshmiskîn. This would seem to show, that the name can have no necessary connection with the form *Arimathea*.

[1] Bibl. Res. III. pp. 40, 44. [2] E. Smith in Bib. Sacra, 1843, p. 484.

[3] Jos. B. J. 3. 3. 5. Antt. 14. 11. 2. Plin. H. N. 5. 15.

[4] Onomast. "*Armatha Sophim* . . . in regione Tamnitica juxta Diospolim, unde fuit Joseph, qui in Evangeliis ab Arimathia esse scribitur."

[5] Hieron. in Ep. 86 ad Eustoch. Epit. Paulae, p. 673, "et Lyddam versam in Diospolim (vidit) . . . haud procul ab ea Arimathiam viculum Joseph, qui Dominum sepelivit; et Nobe urbem sacerdotum . . . Joppen quoque . . . *repetitoque itinere* Nicopolim, quae prius Emmaus vocabatur. . . . Atque inde proficiscens ascendit Bethoron inferiorem," etc.

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haps it is not too much to hope, that the ancient site of Arimathea may hereafter be discovered somewhere in that region, which, as yet, has not been fully explored.

Leaving Renthieh at 10 o'clock, we proceeded towards Ludd. The ground soon sinks again to the lower plain, level and rich, extending far towards Yâfa, back of a line of hills. In that direction several villages came in sight as we passed along. At 10.25 we had a distant view of Yâfa, bearing N. 78 W. We crossed a Wady soon after, having a bridge with two arches, and a pool of water under them. At 11 o'clock there was a ruin on the right, apparently once a Khân. We came at 11.30 to a noble bridge of three or more arches, spanning the great Wady, which encircles Ludd and passes off north-west to the 'Aujeh. This bridge is one of the best in the country, well built, of twice the usual width, and still tolerably paved. All these bridges and Khâns along the Sultâna show how important this road once was, as the great line of communication and commerce between Egypt and Damascus.

We reached Ludd at 11.45, and stopped for lunch on the north-east corner of the town, outside. The Ramleh road goes on a little further west, and our mules and muleteers (*par nobile*) took it into their heads to keep on towards that place. We had nothing left, but to send after them and bring them back, and this detained us here for nearly two hours. There was a large muster of camels in the open ground near us, many of them young. Among the houses in this quarter were several large buildings, said to be in use as soap-factories. The houses of Ludd, though numerous, are in general small and mean. Here our eyes were again greeted with the pleasant sight of a number of palm-trees.

We engaged a guide for Yâlo; and before leaving, he took us to the ruins of the old church, in the south-west quarter of the town. Instead of passing through the streets, he led us around on the outside, towards the south, where we entered by another gate not much frequented. These are noble ruins; but were now, by daylight, less majestic and imposing than, as we saw them formerly, by moonlight. The historical notices of the church and of Lydda I have given elsewhere.[1]

Leaving the gate at 1.55, we took the road for Yâlo by way of el-Kûbâb, at first S. 26 E. After fifteen minutes we crossed obliquely Wady Harîr, coming from the S. S. W. and uniting a little further north with Wady 'Atallah, to form the great water-course on the north of

[1] Bibl. Res. in Palest. III. p. 49—55.

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Ludd. Here were pools of stagnant water, which women were carrying away in jars on their heads. The ground now became higher, and then there was a swell affording an extensive view. After another reach of the plain, we came at 2.45 to the water-bed of Wady 'Atallah, coming down by Kŭbâb from the Merj Ibn 'Omeir. We followed up this valley, and ten minutes later Kŭbâb came in sight, S. 35 E. We afterwards rose upon the western side of the valley, and keeping along the edge of the plain, climbed at length the steep hill of Kŭbâb, and reached that village at 3.55.

This hill may be regarded as one of the northern extremities of the range running out N. N. W. from Zorah; or rather, perhaps, as a north-eastern spur of the same. The village is of considerable size, but has no marks of antiquity, nor any historical importance. As we passed up along its south-western side, we had some difficulty to pick our way among the numerous openings, like small wells, leading to subterranean magazines for grain. The people were quite civil. We found that we had come out of our way in ascending to the village, inasmuch as our proper road lay along the bottom of the valley on the north, and we now had some difficulty in descending the very steep declivity on that side to regain it. Here Wady 'Aly, coming from Sârîs and Lâtrôn, unites with Wady 'Atallah, coming from the Merj.

The large village 'Annâbeh lies directly north of el-Kŭbâb, on the hills beyond the valley. This name suggests the *Bethoannaba* or *Bethannaba* of Jerome, which according to him was in the fourth mile from Lydda, though many said it was in the eighth mile.[1] This seems to imply, that, even thus early, the names of 'Annâbeh and Beit Nûba were sometimes confounded; the specifications of four miles and eight miles from Lydda being still applicable to these villages respectively.

Leaving Kŭbâb at 4.15, we descended towards the north-east, crossed Wady 'Aly, and proceeded up Wady 'Atallah towards Yâlo. The position of this place was pointed out to us on the north side of a spur or ridge running out west from the mountains, on the south of the Merj; but it was not visible from Kŭbâb. Our road led along the broad open valley, about S. 70 E. At 5 o'clock we came to the western extremity of the spur, and soon turned up along the hillside. After a while we crossed a small Wady running down north, with a

[1] Onomast. art. *Anob* . . . "Est usque hodie villa juxta Diospolim quasi quarto milliario ad orientalem plagam, quae vocatur Bethoannaba. Plerique autem affirmant, in octavo ab ea milliario sitam, et appellari Bethannabam."

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little fountain on its further side by the path, and reached Yâlo at 5.40.

This village is situated midway up this northern declivity, between two ravines running down to the plain below; it thus overlooks the beautiful meadow-like tract of the Merj Ibn 'Omeir. There is a fountain in the western ravine, which supplies the village. The place has an old appearance, and in a cliff beyond the eastern ravine are several large caverns in the rocks, which may be natural, but have probably been enlarged. The village belongs to the family of the Sheikhs Abu Ghaush, who reside at Kuriet el-'Enab. One of the younger of them was now here, and paid us a visit in our tent. The heads of this lawless and rapacious house have been severely punished by the Turkish government. One had died in banishment; another was still in exile in Bosnia; and a third, after a banishment of five years spent at Widdin, had returned home the last year. The people of Yâlo were well disposed, and treated us respectfully.

The fine plain or basin, Merj Ibn 'Omeir, which now lay spread out before us, stretches in among the hills quite to the base of the steep wall of the mountains, on the top of which are situated Upper Beth-horon and Sârîs. South of it is the ridge of Yâlo, and on the north and north-west lower hills. The name Ibn 'Omeir belongs to a district, and not specially to the plain. In our former journey, we had looked down upon this fine tract from the high point of Upper Beth-horon, and the description then given we now found to be correct, with the single exception, that, as seen from so high a point, the basin seemed to be drained off more in the south-west towards Ekron; whereas, as now appears, it is drained by Wady 'Atallah to the 'Aujeh.[1] In and around the plain are several villages.

The whole of the Merj, and indeed very much of the great plain through which we had passed to-day, was now covered with heavy crops of wheat and barley. The Merj, especially, reminded me in this respect of the rich harvest I had seen a year before in Lincolnshire, in passing from London to Scotland. The barley was now in the ear, and would soon be ready for harvesting. Many tares were mingled with the grain. The dry season, too, had already commenced; the grass in many places was beginning to lose its green, and in two or three weeks the present verdure of the fields would be no more.

The *tares* here spoken of are doubtless those of the New Testament.[2] As described to me, they are not to be distinguished from the wheat, until the ear appears. The seed resembles wheat in form,

[1] Bibl. Res. in Palest. III. p. 63.

[2] Matt. 13: 25 seq.

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but is smaller and black. In Beirût poultry are fed upon this seed, and it is kept for sale for that purpose. When not separated from the wheat, bread made from the flour often causes dizziness to those who eat of it. All this well corresponds with the *Lolium temulentum* or bearded darnel.[1]

In my former work, I have stated the reasons for regarding Yâlo as the ancient *Aijalon*, and the fine basin below as the *Valley of Aijalon*, over which Joshua commanded the moon to stand still.[2] The place had always interested us, and we were gratified in being able to spend a night in it. So far as I know, it had as yet been visited by no modern traveller.[3]

Beit Nûba, which lay below us in the plain, N. 41 E. about a mile distant, with a large olive-grove beyond it, we may regard as the representative of the *Nobe* of Jerome, and was also in his day regarded as a *Bethannaba*.[4] The historical notices I have given elsewhere.[5] This plain was selected by Richard of England as the place of his long encampment, doubtless on account of its convenience and fertility.

At Yâlo we were told of a ruin in the mountains on the east, said not to be far off, called Keflr. It was, however, now too late for us to visit it from Yâlo; nor were we afterwards able to make an excursion to it from Jerusalem. But in the name Keflr, it is impossible not to recognize the ancient *Chephirah*, a city of the Gibeonites, afterwards assigned to Benjamin; and, after the captivity, again inhabited by the returning exiles.[6] From that day to this, it has remained unknown. When ascertained, it will complete our knowledge of the four cities of the Gibeonites; the other three, Gibeon, Beeroth, and Kirjath Jearim, having already been recognized in el-Jib, el-Bîreh and Kuriet el-'Enab.

Tuesday, April 27th. The morning opened with an appearance of rain, and a slight shower fell; but the clouds soon broke away, and the day became fine. We broke up from Yâlo at 6.55, with a guide for Zorah. At first we returned on our road of yesterday for ten minutes, and then kept on still high along the declivity, about N.

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[1] "Infelix Lolium," Virg. Geor. 1. 154. Gr. ζιζάνια. Ar. Zawân.

[2] Josh. 10: 12. See Bibl. Res. III. p. 63.

[3] Dr. Wilson speaks of having *seen* the three villages, 'Amwâs, Beit Nûba and Yâlo, from the Jerusalem road near Lâtrôn. This would not be possible, I think, as to Beit Nûba, and certainly not as to Yâlo. Lands of the Bible, II. p. 266.

[4] Hieron. in Epit. Paulae, p. 673; see above, p. 533, n. 5. Onomast. art. *Anob*; see above, p. 535, note.

[5] Bibl. Res. III. p. 64. [6] Josh. 9: 17. 18: 26. Ezra 2: 25. Neh. 7: 29.

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65 W. At 7.25 we turned to the left around the shoulder of the ridge, and had 'Amwâs and Lâtrôn before us in a line, S. 47 W.

Descending gradually we came at 7.40 to the village of 'Amwâs, lying on the gradual declivity of a rocky hill, sufficiently high to have an extensive view of the western plain. It is now a poor hamlet, consisting of a few mean houses. There are two fountains or wells of living water; one just by the village, and the other a little down the shallow valley west. The former is probably the one mentioned by Sozomen in the fifth century, by Theophanes in the sixth, and again by Willibald in the eighth, as situated in a spot where three ways met (*in trivio*), and as possessing healing qualities.[1]

We noticed, also, fragments of two marble columns, and were told of sarcophagi near by, which had recently been opened. But the chief relic of antiquity consists in the remains of an ancient church, just south of the village, originally a fine structure built of large hewn stones. The circular eastern end is still standing, as also the two western corners, but the intervening parts lie in ruins. Such is the present state of the ancient Nicopolis!

That 'Amwâs represents the ancient *Emmaus* or *Nicopolis*, situated at the foot of the mountains, and according to the *Itin. Hieros.* twenty-two Roman miles distant from Jerusalem and ten from Lydda, I believe no one doubts.[2] The name does not occur in the Old Testament, but from the first book of Maccabees and from Josephus we learn, that here Judas Maccabæus defeated the Syrian general Gorgias;[3] that Emmaus, having been dismantled, was afterwards fortified by the Syrian Bacchides;[4] that under the Romans it became the head of a toparchy; was afterwards reduced to slavery by Cassius; and at last was burned by order of Varus, just after the death of Herod the Great.[5] The place appears not to have received the name *Nicopolis* until the third century after Christ, when it was again rebuilt by the exertions of the writer Julius Africanus, who flourished about A. D. 220.[6] This name, along with Emmaus, it continued to bear

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[1] Sozom. H. E. 5. 21. Theophan. p. 41. Vita S. Willibaldi ab anon. § 13. The fame of this fountain seems to have been spread abroad, as healing both man and beast; see Reland, Pal. p. 759 seq.

[2] Hieron. ad Dan. c. 8 et 12: "Emaus, quae nunc Nicopolis, . . . ubi incipiunt montana Judææ consurgere." Itin. Hieros. p. 600.

[3] 1 Macc. 3: 40, 57. 4: 3, 14, 15. Hieron. ad Dan. c. 8.

[4] 1 Macc. 9: 50. Jos. Antt. 13. 1. 3.

[5] Jos. B. J. 3. 3. 5. Antt. 14. 11. 2. Ib. 17. 10. 9.

[6] Hieron. in Catal. Scriptor. Eccles.: "Julius Africanus, cujus quinque de temporibus extant volumina, sub Imperatore M. Aurelio Antonino, . . . legatio-

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during the centuries of the crusades.[1] Yet the writers of that epoch, and later travellers, who speak of a *Castellum Emmaus* (from the Vulgate), evidently had in view, as we shall see further on, the fortress at el-Lâtrôn, a mile distant, on the Jerusalem road.[2] The village 'Amwâs, though in sight from that road, would seem hitherto to have been actually visited by no traveller.

A question of a good deal of historical interest connects itself with this place, viz. Whether it stands in any relation to the Emmaus of the New Testament, whither the two disciples were going from Jerusalem, as Jesus drew near and went with them, on the day of his resurrection?[3] As the text of the New Testament now stands, the distance of that place from Jerusalem is said to have been about sixty stadia; which, if correct, of course excludes all idea of any connection with the present 'Amwâs, the latter being at least one hundred and sixty stadia distant from the Holy City.[4]

Yet there can be no doubt, that in the earliest period of which we have any record, after the apostolic age, the opinion prevailed in the church, that Nicopolis (as it was then called) was the scene of that narrative. Both Eusebius and Jerome, in the fourth century, are explicit on this point; the one a leading bishop and historian, the other a scholar and translator of the Scriptures.[5] Indeed, they seem to have known of no other interpretation, nor is there a trace of any other in any ancient writer. The same opinion continued general down through succeeding ages until the commencement of the fourteenth century,[6] when slight traces begin to appear of the later idea, which fixed an Emmaus at Kubeibeh, a transfer of which there is no

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nem pro instauratione urbis Emmaus suscepit, quae postea Nicopolis appellata est." Chron. Paschal. ad A. D. 223. See Reland, Pal. p. 759.

[1] Will. Tyr. 7. 24. Ib. 8. 1. Brocardus, c. 10.

[2] Here the first host of crusaders encamped for the last time before reaching Jerusalem; Will. Tyr. 7. 24; comp. Bibl. Res. III. p. 66.

[3] Luke 24: 13—35.

[4] The *Itin. Hieros.* gives the distance of Nicopolis from Jerusalem at twenty-two Roman miles. But the specifications of that Itinerary as to distance are only general, and can never be taken as exact. The traveller now occupies from *six* to *six and a half* hours between 'Amwâs and Jerusalem, over a very bad road.

[5] Onomast. art. *Emaus;* here Jerome, translating Eusebius, writes: "*Emaus,* de quo loco fuit Cleophas, cujus Lucas meminit Evangelista. Haec est nunc Nicopolis insignis civitas Palæstinæ."

[6] So Sozomen H. E. 5. 21. Theophan, p. 41. Vita St. Willibaldi ab anon. § 13. Will. Tyr. 7. 24. Jac. de Vitr. 63. p. 1081. Brocardus, c. 10.

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earlier vestige, and for which there was no possible ground, except to find an Emmaus at about sixty stadia from the Holy City.[1]

Thus for thirteen centuries did the interpretation current in the whole church regard the Emmaus of the New Testament as identical with Nicopolis. This was not the voice of mere tradition, but the well-considered judgment of men of learning and critical skill, resident in the country, acquainted with the place in question, and occupied in investigating and describing the Scriptural topography of the Holy Land.—The objections which lie against this view have been well presented by Reland and others, and are the four following:[2]

First. The express statement of Luke, that Emmaus was distant from Jerusalem about sixty stadia.[3] Such is, indeed, the present reading, as found in all the editions and in most of the manuscripts of the New Testament, that have come down to us. But it is no less true, that several manuscripts, and some of them of high authority, read here *one hundred and sixty;* and thus point to Nicopolis.[4] This *may* then have been the current reading in the days of Eusebius and Jerome. There seems, indeed, to be a strong probability that it actually was so; since, otherwise, those fathers, in searching for the Emmaus of Luke, had only to seek at the distance of sixty stadia from Jerusalem, in order to find it. We therefore may draw, at least, this definite conclusion, viz. that in their day such an Emmaus was unknown; and, also, that probably their copies read one hundred and sixty stadia.—It may have been, that the word or numeral letter signifying a hundred had early begun to be dropped from the text by a lapse of transcribers; and that this was increased as copies were multiplied in other lands, by copyists who knew nothing of Palestine; until at length, by degrees, the omission became current in the manuscripts. Indeed, few if any of the manuscripts now extant were written in Palestine. There exist likewise, in the New Testament, other examples of erroneous readings, which have, doubtless, in like manner crept in through the error of transcribers.[5]

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[1] Sir J. Maundeville, Voiage, p. 94. Ludolf de Suchem, § 43; in Reissb. p. 850. See more in Bibl. Res. III. p. 66.—Mr. Williams supposes Kuriet el-'Enab to have been earlier regarded as Emmaus, of which there is not the slightest vestige in history or tradition. Churches in Palestine, No. 1, p. 7.

[2] Reland, Palæst. p. 426 seq. v. Raumer, Palæst. p. 169. Edit. 3.

[3] Luke 24: 13.

[4] Two uncial manuscripts have this reading, viz. K, or *Cod. Cyprius*, and N, or *Cod. Vindobonensis;* besides several cursive manuscripts. See the critical editions of Wetstein, Griesbach, Tischendorf, etc.

[5] Thus in John 19: 14 it is said, that Jesus was sentenced by Pilate at the

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Second. Josephus relates, that Vespasian (or Titus) assigned in Palestine a place of habitation for eight hundred men, whom he had dismissed from his army; it was called Emmaus, and was distant from Jerusalem sixty stadia.[1] This, it is said, confirms the present reading of the New Testament. But since, as is well known, the works of Josephus were copied in a later age almost exclusively by Christian transcribers, this passage would very naturally be conformed to the current reading in Luke; while it is also true, that several manuscripts of Josephus still read here *thirty* stadia.[2] This at least shows the reading to be variable, and therefore doubtful; so that it can have no weight in determining the text of the New Testament. Indeed, the original reading may just as well have been one hundred and sixty.

Third. The Emmaus of Luke and Josephus, it is said, is called a *village*;[3] while Nicopolis was a city. But the word employed by Luke signifies strictly *a town without walls*, a country-town, as distinguished from a fortified city; and that used by Josephus denotes *a place*, and is also put for a fortified post or town. Emmaus had been laid in ashes by Varus shortly after the death of Herod, and would seem not to have been fully rebuilt until the third century, when it received the name of Nicopolis. When Luke wrote, therefore, it was probably still a place partially in ruins and without walls, a fitting post for a colony of disbanded soldiers.

Fourth. The distance of Nicopolis from Jerusalem is too great, it is said, to admit of the return of the two disciples the same evening, so as to meet the assembled apostles. This, however, would depend, not so much upon the distance, as upon the time when they set off. They "rose up the same hour,"[4] and naturally returned in haste, to make known their glad tidings; although, with all their

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sixth hour; while, according to Mark 15: 25, he was crucified at the *third* hour; which last alone accords with the circumstances of the crucifixion. A transcriber probably mistook γ' for ϛ'. See the author's Greek Harmony, p. 226. Another instance is Acts 7: 15, where *Abraham* is put for Jacob; comp. Gen. 33: 18, 19. A third is the insertion of the name *Jeremiah*, Matt. 27: 9; comp. Zech. 11: 12, 13.

[1] Jos. B. J. 7. 6. 6.—Both De Wette and Meyer, on Luke 24: 13, refer to Josephus as placing this Emmaus on the *north* of Jerusalem. But neither Josephus, nor any other writer, says one word as to its direction from the Holy City.

[2] See note on Joseph. l. c. ed. Havercamp. Roediger in Allg. Lit. Zeit. Apr. 1842, No. 72, p. 576.

[3] Luke 24: 13, κώμη. Jos. B. J. 7. 6. 6, χωρίον. See the Lexicons.

[4] Luke 24: 33.

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haste, they could not well have traversed the distance in less than five hours. It was not yet evening when they arrived at Emmaus,[1] and if they set off to return even as late as six o'clock, which at that season would be about sunset, they might reach the city by eleven o'clock. The apostles were assembled "for fear of the Jews,"[2] not for an evening meal; or, if so, this had already been long ended, for Jesus afterwards inquires, if they have there any food.[3] It was evidently late. There is, therefore, nothing impossible or improbable in the supposition, that the two had hastened back a long distance late at night, perhaps with much bodily effort, to declare to their brethren the wonderful things of which they had been witnesses. A like amount of travel, on an extraordinary occasion, would be nothing strange even at the present day.

The case then may be thus presented. On the one hand, the reading of good manuscripts gives the distance of Emmaus from Jerusalem at one hundred and sixty stadia, at which point there was a place called Emmaus, which still exists as the village 'Amwâs; and all this is further supported by the critical judgment of learned men residing in the country near the time; as also by the unbroken tradition of the first thirteen centuries. On the other hand, there is the current reading of sixty stadia in most of the present manuscripts, written out of Palestine, supported only by a doubtful reading of Josephus, but with no place existing, now or at the end of the third century, to which this specification can be referred. So far as it regards the New Testament, it is a question between two various readings; one, now the current one, but with no other valid support; the other, supported likewise by manuscripts, by facts, by the judgment of early scholars, and by early and unbroken tradition. After long and repeated consideration, I am disposed to acquiesce in the judgment of Eusebius and Jerome.[4]

Leaving 'Amwâs, and proceeding along the declivity, which here falls off gradually towards the west, we came in twenty minutes to the Jerusalem road, and to el-Lâtrôn situated close upon its southern side. This is a conical Tell, commanding a wide prospect, and

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[1] Luke 24: 28, 29. [2] John 20: 19. [3] Luke 24: 41.

[4] See also Roediger in Allg. Lit. Zeit. l. c. Ritter, Erdk. XVI. p. 545 seq. —It may be said, and has been said, that the Mss. which read "one hundred and sixty," were merely conformed to the prevailing tradition; Kuinoel, Comm. ad Luc. l. c. But, in this case, there was and is an Emmaus actually existing at the distance specified; in the other, at sixty stadia, there has been no trace of an Emmaus since the doubtful reading of Josephus.

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crowned with the ruins of a large and strong fortress. We rode to the summit, from which we could see Tell es-Sâfieh in the southwest, and also Yâfa and the Mediterranean. The ruins consist of walls of large stones well hewn, with numerous interior divisions, and many vaults. The remains are chiefly from the middle ages, and pointed arches are everywhere found in the best preserved portions.[1] But the substructions are older, and apparently Roman, especially on the west. Here the lower portion of the wall is built up for some distance with *sloping* work, though the slope is less than at Jerusalem or Kûl'at esh-Shŭkîf. Towards the south, the Tell looks down into Wady 'Aly, which, descending from Sâris, here sweeps around the Tell, and passes off on the north of Kûbâb. The Jerusalem road ascends the mountain along this Wady.

This place is very obviously the *Castellum Emmaus* of the crusaders and later travellers, which they speak of as identical with Nicopolis.[2] The fortress was evidently erected to command the approach to Jerusalem, and, in consequence of its nearness to Emmaus or Nicopolis, it may have served also as a bulwark of that city. In this way the Roman substructions may be accounted for; as also, perhaps, Jerome's rendering, *Castellum Emmaus*, in the Vulgate.[3] But when the tradition had gradually changed, and Emmaus was transferred to Kubeibeh, we find this ruin, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, known as *Castrum v. Castellum boni Latronis;* this name, as was held, being derived from the legend, which made this the birthplace of the penitent thief.[4] This seems to have been the probable origin of the present Arabic name.

But in whatever relation this fortress may later have stood to Emmaus, it seems not improbable, that this spot was the site of the ancient *Modin*, the residence of the Maccabees; at least, its position and elevation correspond, better than any other place, with the cir-

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[1] Quaresmius and others mention among these remains, in their day, the ruins of a large church; Quaresm. II. p. 12. F. Fabri in Reyssb. p. 241. Cotovicus, p. 143.

[2] Fulcher Carnot. 18. p. 396. Will. Tyr. 7. 24. Ib. 8. 1. Jac. de Vitr. 63. p. 1081. Tucher in Reyssb. p. 658. Breydenbach, ib. p. 105. Some quite recent travellers still speak of this place as 'Amwâs or Emmaus, e. g. Prokesch, p. 39. Barth in Ritters's Erdk. XVI. p. 546.

[3] Luke 24: 13.—The earlier *Itala* reads here *municipium;* Blanchini Quat. Evang. II. p. 298. Comp. also Reland, Palæst. p. 429.

[4] So Zuallart, Fr. ed. l. 3. p. 16. Cotovicus, p. 143. Quaresm. II. p. 12. This last writer has a strong array of authority, to show that the thief in question was not born here, but in Egypt!

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cumstances narrated of Modin. In that town, the Maccabees lived and were buried, and there Simon erected a lofty monument, with pyramids, to their memory.[1] Modin lay adjacent to the great plain, and the monument was visible to all who sailed along the sea.[2] Eusebius and Jerome likewise testify, that Modin was not far from Lydda, and that the sepulchres remained in their day.[3] The writers of the times of the crusades speak indefinitely of Modin, as somewhere in this vicinity,[4] while Brocardus already seems to fix it at Sôba.[5] To all the circumstances thus enumerated, the elevated and isolated Tell of el-Lâtrôn well corresponds.[6]

ARTICLE VII.

THE LAW OF REMORSE AND THE LAW OF REPENTANCE: OR THE PASSAGE FROM NATURAL TO REVEALED RELIGION.

By George B. Cheever, D. D., New York.

In previous Numbers of this Journal, we have devoted several Articles (the last being on the Law of Conscience) to the constitution of the human mind with reference to the judgment. We now resume the subject. The examination of the human constitution under the law of right and wrong, and the expectation of an eternal retribution, throws an indescribable weight and solemnity of meaning on that word *fearfully*, in the exclamation: "I am fearfully and wonderfully made."

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[1] 1 Macc. 2: 1, 15. 13: 25–30. Jos. Antt. 13. 6. 5. [2] 1 Macc. 16: 4, 5. 13: 29.

[3] Onomast. art. *Modim*: "Vicus juxta Diospolin, unde fuerunt Machabæi, quorum hodieque ibidem sepulchra monstrantur."

[4] Will. Tyr. 8. 1. Jac. de Vitr. 63. p. 1081.

[5] Brocardus, c. 10. p. 186. On the absurdity of connecting Modin with Sôba, see Bibl. Res. II. p. 328 seq.—Quaresmius and some earlier travellers speak of the remains of a church once dedicated to the Maccabees, a stone's throw from Lâtrôn, on the north of the road; Quaresm. II. p. 12. Zuallart, l. c. p. 16. Cotovicus, p. 143. We noticed nothing of the kind, nor do I find it mentioned in later travellers.

[6] See also Ritter, Erdk. XVI. p. 546.

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