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The book of God, therefore, is the supreme rule of faith and duty which his Spirit has prepared to guide men to redemption in Christ Jesus; and, before its high authority, all the powers which rule in the world, or which rule within man, should be brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ and the honor of his name.

ARTICLE II.

THE SITE OF CAPERNAUM.

By E. Robinson, Professor at New York.

On the morning of May 18th, 1852, we broke up from our encampment at the village of Lûbîeh; and, under the guidance of the Sheikh of the village, proceeded on our way toward the Lake of Tiberias. We visited first the *Hajar en-Nusrâny*, or Stone of the Christians, where a quite recent monkish tradition places the scene of the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand.¹ We next came to Irbid, the Arbela of Josephus and the Beth Arbel of Scripture.² Here are the distinct remains of a single edifice; in which we at once recognized the same type of Jewish architecture, which we had already seen at Kefr Bir'im and Meirôn. From this place we passed down through the wild gorge of Wady el-Hamâm, with the caverns in its almost inaccessible cliffs, known as the *Kûl'at Ibn Ma'an*. This brought us to the Round Fountain; where we struck our former path, and kept upon it till we reached *Khân Miyyeh*. Passing on, we dismounted at 10.25 on the green carpet around 'Ain et-Tîn.

The ruined *Khân* is situated close under the northern hill, just where the Damascus road ascends; some thirty or forty rods from the shore of the lake.³ The fountain, 'Ain et-Tîn, is a beautiful one; with an abundance of sweet and pleasant water, and

¹ See *Biblical Researches*, III. p. 240.

² *Ib.* p. 251, 279 seq.

³ This place is mentioned under the same name, *Miyyeh*, by Bohæddin in the eleventh century; p. 98 bis.

not warm.¹ The lake, when full, as now, sets up nearly or quite to the fountain. Around the latter and along the shore was a tract of luxuriant clover, of a freshness and verdure such as I saw nowhere else in Palestine. It was a luxury to rest in it. Burckhardt testifies to the same fertility: "Near by are several other springs, which occasion a very luxuriant herbage along the borders of the lake. The pastures of Minyeh are proverbial for their richness."²

We here took our lunch. Before leaving, I rode out upon the site of ruins lying south of the Khân, and extending down to the little bay along the shore. They were now covered with a field of wheat nearly ripe. The remains are strowed around in shapeless heaps; but are much more extensive and considerable than my former impression had led me to anticipate. Indeed, there are here remains enough not only to warrant, but to require the hypothesis of a large ancient place.³ That no definite traces of public edifices now appear, is readily accounted for by the neighborhood of Tiberias, whither the stones may easily have been carried off by water; and also by the fact, that for centuries the place has been subjected to the plough.⁴

On the question, whether this is the probable site of ancient Capernaum, I shall have something more to say in the sequel.

We now sent forward our muleteers to await us at the Khân Jubb Yâsuf; and, setting off at 10.55, we struck up over the rocky and precipitous point of the hill, above the fountain, toward the north-east. There is no passage along its base, which is washed by the waters of the lake; and, therefore, in our former journey, we had made a circuit on the Damascus road. A path

¹ A singular typographical error in relation to this fountain, occurs in the German translation of Burckhardt, published under the name of Gesenius, p. 558. It is there spoken of as "eine Quelle heissen Wasser." The English original has: "a rivulet of sweet water;" p. 319. The translator (Dr. Rienecke) doubtless wrote "süssen;" which in German chirography is not very unlike *heissen*. The error has never been corrected. Raumer makes it the basis of an argument; Pallast, p. 118, third edition.

² Travels in Syria, p. 319.

³ Quaresmius, in speaking of Khân Minyeh (which he writes *Menich*), says: "In illius situ multae ruinae cernuntur." Vol. II. p. 808. Lieut. Lynch, speaking of 'Ain et-Tîa, says: "Upon the cliff above, Dr. B. places the site of Capernaum!" He sought there for ruins, and of course found none. Narrative, p. 468.

⁴ For a fuller description of the plain, and the tract around Khân Minyeh, see Biblical Researches, III. pp. 282—288.

has been cut in ancient times along the rock, some twenty feet above the water; and we found no difficulty in passing. One feature of the excavation surprised us; namely, that for most of the way there is a channel cut in the rock, about three feet deep and as many wide, which seems evidently to have been an aqueduct once conveying water for irrigating the northern part of the plain el-Ghuweir. There was no mistaking the nature and object of this channel; and yet no waters were near which could be thus conveyed, except from the fountains of et-Tabighah. Descending and crossing the mouth of an open Wady, we reached the latter place at 11.10.

Here are the immense brackish fountains, and the mills, formerly described; as also the Tannûr Eyub.¹ The fountains issue from under the hill, just back of the village. We went thither, and found, built up solidly around the main fountain, an octagonal Roman reservoir, now in ruins. Like those at Râs el-'Ain near Tyre, it was obviously built in order to raise the water to a certain height for an aqueduct.² The head of water was sufficient to carry it to the channel around the point of the opposite hill, into the plain el-Ghuweir; but whether this was done by a canal around the sides of the valley, or by a temporary aqueduct direct, or whether even it was done at all, there are no further traces from which to form a judgment. The water has a saltish taste, but is not unpalatable.

Setting off again at 11.15, we soon had on our right an encampment of Arab tents upon the shore. The naked and half-naked children came out to gaze upon the Franks, and the women did the same from their doors. At 11.50 we came to Tell Hûm. At the time of our former visit, the site was comparatively clear from obstructions, and some excavations had been made; so that access was feasible to all parts of the ruins. Now, however, the heaps of desolation, and, indeed, the whole site, were overgrown with tall grass and a luxuriant crop of thistles; so that we made our way with difficulty to the principal ruin, which had puzzled us so much on our former visit, and which had never yet been explained.³

Indeed, it was mainly on account of this structure, that we

¹ Biblical Researches, III. p. 296 seq.

² Our attention had been drawn to this reservoir by the Rev. W. M. Thomson, who had visited it.

³ Biblical Researches, III. pp. 298-300.

had again come to Tell Hâm. Ever since we had seen the Jewish remains at Kefr Bir'im and Meirôn, and now again at Irbid, the idea had arisen in our minds, that very probably we had found the key to the structure at Tell Hâm. And so it proved. It needed but a glance to show us, that we had before us here a building of the same kind, though of far greater dimensions; exhibiting the same profusion of like sculptured ornaments; the same double columns on a single block; and, indeed, the same general architectural features throughout. The portal and some of the friezes were entirely covered with such sculptures. The edifice, therefore, was once a Jewish synagogue, apparently of unusual size and magnificence; surpassing everything of the kind which we saw elsewhere; though some of the structures at Kedes equalled it, perhaps, in splendor.

Our Sheikh had told us last evening of a site of ruins not far from Tell Hâm, called Kerâzeh; and a main object of his accompanying us to-day was to conduct us to that place. Accordingly, we now turned our horses' heads that way; and at 11.55 began to follow up a shallow Wady, which comes down from the north-west just beyond the ruins. A path scarcely perceptible led up the valley, crossing and recrossing the water-bed, and often lost among the large volcanic stones and rank grass. As we were slowly picking our way, the guide being in advance, a man met us, and began to demand *bakhshish*. No notice being taken of him, he suddenly seized hold of the bridle of Dr. Smith's horse. This drew down upon him the wrath of Rashid; under which he slunk away.

After about forty minutes the valley bent more to the left; and we ascended obliquely the northern slope on the same course as before. Here was no path; and our progress among the volcanic stones was more difficult than ever. On the hills around were seen clusters of larger black volcanic rocks; which, at a distance, bore a striking resemblance to sites of ruined towns. We reached at length the top of the ascent, and looked down before us into a shallow side valley descending south-west to the main Wady. In this side valley, in a little basin, we came, at one o'clock, to a small fountain of bad water, called Btr Kerâzeh. The ruins we had been told of, lie on the west side of this same valley, a quarter of a mile south-west, near its entrance into the main Wady. They consist simply of a few foundations of black stones, the remains, evidently, of a poor and

inconsiderable village. They are known as Khirbet Kerāzeh. We did not go to them, as there was no path; and because they were in full view. Their distance from Tell Hûm must be reckoned at about three miles.

We had come to this spot, because the name Kerāzeh bears a degree of resemblance to the *Chorazin* of the New Testament; and we hoped to find in the ruins, or the situation, something which might determine the position of that ancient place. In this we felt ourselves disappointed. The remains are too trivial ever to have belonged to a place of any importance. *Chorazin*, too, according to Jerome, lay upon the shore of the lake;¹ but this site is an hour distant, shut in among the hills, without any view of the lake, and remote from any public road, whether ancient or modern.²

Here we parted from our Sheikh, who returned to his home, while we proceeded on our way.

Having thus completed our re-examination of the western shore of the lake, let us pause, for a few moments, to consider how far the facts and circumstances, as also the historical notices, aid us in determining the position of Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin. Of these Capernaum was the most important, and demands our chief attention.

It is worthy of remark, how rarely the Evangelists connect the narrative of our Lord's life and actions with the mention of any definite place; except generally Galilee and Jerusalem. In the interior of Galilee, only Nazareth, Cana, and Nain, are named; the former as the place where Jesus was brought up, and the two latter as scenes of special miracles. On the shore of the lake, we hear only of Capernaum, where Jesus dwelt; of Bethsaida and Chorazin, where many of his mighty works were done; of Magdala, as the residence of Mary Magdalene; and incidentally of Tiberias, which only just then had been built up by Herod Antipas, and was beginning to rise into importance and notice.³ It was doubtless for this reason that other towns along

¹ Hieron. Comm. in Esa. ix. 1. p. 83. ed. Mart. "Lacum Genesareth, in cujus hore Capernaum et Tiberias et Bethsaida et Chorazin sitae sint."

² Pococke, inquiring for Chorazin, seems to have heard the name Kerāzeh, which he writes *Gerasi*; Vol. II. i. p. 72. The place was visited in 1843 by the Rev. Mr. Keyes, then one of the American missionaries at Beirut.

³ Biblical Researches, III. p. 266.

the lake became more conspicuous than Tiberias, for the frequent presence, the teaching, and the miracles of our Lord.

CAPERNAUM. In a former volume, after an attentive consideration of the subject, I expressed the opinion that the site of Capernaum was most probably near to Khân Minyeh.¹ This opinion has been controverted by Dr. Wilson, who fixes Capernaum at Tell Hâm.² In this he has been followed by Ritter.³ In reviewing the subject, I have endeavored for years to hold my mind open to conviction; whatever might seem to be the balance of evidence. But, after a further examination of the ground, and a careful weighing of historical notices, I see no valid reason for recalling my former judgment. On the contrary, that judgment appears to me to be strengthened by several considerations not formerly taken into the account. Let me be permitted to give here a brief statement of the evidence, in the form of a few propositions.

I. The land of Gennesaret,⁴ so called, was, in the days of our Lord and Josephus, a definite and well-known district.

From the New Testament we learn only that this tract was on the west side of the lake.⁵ Josephus describes it as extending along the lake; and as being of wonderful fertility. It had all kinds of trees; as walnuts, fig-trees, olives, and also palm-trees. It likewise produced the principal fruits all the year round; and grapes and figs during ten months of the year.⁶

Making all due allowance for a touch of exaggeration in this description, no one has ever questioned the identity of this Gennesaret with the present plain el-Ghuweir. According to the latest observations, the level of the lake is at least six or seven hundred feet below that of the Mediterranean;⁷ and the climate, therefore, like that of the Ghôr, is somewhat Egyptian. Even now, the little plain "has every appearance of fertility; and, when kept in order and properly laid out, would be truly beautiful and delightful. At present, it has some rich pasturage, and cultivated fields, bearing luxuriant crops of corn [grain], rice and vegetables. Wild figs and quantities of the Nûbk tree are still found growing in it in several places. Various lines of oleanders, particularly along the streams, which run through it, add to

¹ Biblical Researches, III. p. 288 seq.

² Lands of the Bible, II. p. 143 seq.

³ Erdk. XV. p. 379 seq.

⁴ Gr. ἡ γῆ Γεννησαρέτ, Matt. 14: 34. Mark 6: 53.

⁵ Matt. 1. c. Mark 1. c. comp. John 6: 24.

⁶ Jos. B. J. 3. 10. 8.

⁷ Lynch, Official Report, Section opp. p. 48.

its beauty. The soil is much of a dark alluvial loam; and contains the debris of the basaltic rock in the neighborhood."¹

This tract is definitely bounded by the hills which run down to the lake on the south and north of it, at Mejdél and at Khân Minyeh. Josephus says: "The length of this tract extends along the shore of the lake for thirty stadia; and its breadth is twenty;"² that is, three Roman miles and three-quarters in length, by two and a half in breadth. Travellers of the present century give the length of el-Ghuweir at one hour with horses, or about three English geographical miles; a very exact coincidence.³ Dr. Wilson remarks: "It struck us, that the account which Josephus gives of the dimensions of the valley [plain], is tolerably correct."⁴

II. The cities of Capernaum and Bethsaida were situated in, or adjacent to, the tract of Gennesaret.

The truth of this proposition appears clearly from incidental notices in the Gospels. After the violent death of John the Baptist, our Lord withdrew with his disciples by water to a solitary place on the north-east part of the lake of Tiberias; in the region of Julias, the northern Bethsaida.⁵ Hither the people followed them; and here our Lord miraculously fed the five thousand, in the afternoon.⁶ Towards evening, Jesus directed the disciples to enter the boat, and pass over the lake before him to Bethsaida, as Mark says; but to Capernaum, according to John.⁷ The wind was high and contrary; they toiled in rowing; and the boat labored.⁸ During the whole night they made but little progress; until, in the fourth watch (after daybreak), Jesus came to them walking on the water. They took him into the boat; and immediately, John says, "the boat was at the land whither they went;" while, according to Matthew and Mark, "they came into the land of Gennesaret."⁹ The next day, the people whom they had left

¹ Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 137. — The Talmudists, likewise, speak of the great fertility of Gennesaret; and place it near Tiberias. See Lightfoot, *Opp. ed. Leusd.* II. p. 227.

² Jos. B. J. 3. 10. 8. fin.

³ Burckhardt, p. 290. Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 138.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Matt. 14: 13. Mark 6: 32. John 6: 1. For the neighborhood of Bethsaida, see Luke 9: 10.

⁶ Matt. 14: 15 seq. Mark 6: 35 seq. Luke 9: 12 seq. John 6: 5 seq.

⁷ Mark 6: 45. John 6: 16, 17. Comp. Matt. 14: 22.

⁸ John 6: 18. Mark 6: 48. Matt. 14: 24.

⁹ John 6: 21. Matt. 14: 34. Mark 6: 53.

behind "took other boats, and came to *Capernaum*, seeking for Jesus." They find him at Capernaum; where he immediately teaches in the synagogue.¹

This testimony shows, that the disciples left the north-east quarter of the lake to go to Bethsaida or Capernaum; that, by the violence of the winds and waves, they were driven out of their course, and landed next morning in the tract of Gennesaret, or, as John says, "the land whither they went;" and that during the day Jesus repaired to Capernaum, where the people who had followed, found him.² It follows, as a necessary conclusion, that Capernaum and Bethsaida were situated near to each other, on the shore of the lake, and in or adjacent to the plain of Gennesaret. It follows, also, from the circumstances, almost as conclusively, that they were on the northern border of this tract.

This conclusion I hold to be incontrovertible. It is likewise urged with brevity and force by Lightfoot.³ Dr. Wilson, also, gives his assent to the conclusion;⁴ though with a reservation, which I shall notice further on. Singularly enough, Ritter makes no allusion whatever to this whole argument.

III. The fountain *Capharnaum* of Josephus, in the tract Gennesaret, was probably the 'Ain et-Tin; and the village *Kepharnome*, mentioned by him, was apparently at the site of ruins near by.

Josephus, after describing the fertility of Gennesaret, as above, goes on to say: "It is also watered by a most potable [or fertilizing] fountain, which the people of the region call Capharnaum. This some have thought to be a vein of the Nile; because it produces fish similar to the *Coracinus* of the lake near Alexandria."⁵

There are in the Ghuweir, as we have seen, two large fountains, 'Ain et-Tin, and the Round Fountain. In a former volume,

¹ John 6: 22-25, 59.

² During the early part of the day, Jesus healed many, apparently before reaching Capernaum; Matt. 14: 35 seq. Mark 6: 54 seq. The people from the other side would hardly reach Capernaum before afternoon; as the boats came first from Tiberias, John 6: 23.

³ Opp. ed. Leusd. II. p. 227: "Nam urbem hanc in Gennesaritime sitam fuisse clarum faciunt Evangelistae collati.

⁴ Vol. II. p. 145.

⁵ Jos. B. J. 3. 10. 8. — Both Pliny and Strabo speak of the *Coracinus* as found in the Nile. Plin. H. N. 32. 19. Strabo, 17. 2. 4. p. 828.

I have related with what eagerness I sought, on the hill adjacent to the latter, for traces of ruins; in the vain hope that it might turn out to be the site of Capernaum.¹ Besides these fountains, the plain is also watered by streams from the Wadys el-Hamâm, er-Rübüdiyeh, and at some seasons el-'Amûd; the stream from er-Rübüdiyeh being much the largest.² Josephus, therefore, in mentioning the fountain Capharnaum, could hardly refer to it as the main source of fertility to the plain; for this is true only of the streams from the Wadys. More probably he intended to speak of it as a source of sweet and potable water, as contrasted with the other warm and brackish fountains along the shore.³ This consideration removes the objection raised against 'Ain et-Tn as not irrigating the plain. It does, however, occasion a luxuriant verdure in its vicinity and along the shore;⁴ while the northern part of the plain, further back, was apparently fertilized by the aqueduct around the point of the northern hill.

More decisive, however, is the circumstance, that the fountain Capharnaum was held to be a vein of the Nile; because it produced a fish like the *Coracinus* of that river. This might well be the popular belief as to a large fountain on the very shore; to which the lake in some seasons sets quite up, so that fish could pass and repass without difficulty. Not so, however, with the Round Fountain; which is a mile and a half from the shore; and which could neither itself have in it fish fit for use, nor could fish of any size pass between it and the lake. — These considerations seem to me to establish the identity of the fountain Capharnaum and 'Ain et-Tn.

Josephus further speaks of a village *Kepharnome*⁵ in this

¹ Biblical Researches, III. p. 284. — Yet, notwithstanding my vain search, and the absence of all traces of a site, M. De Saulcy, without any personal examination, authoritatively pronounces that spot to have been the site of Capernaum. *Credat Judæus*. Narrat. Vol. II. p. 471. — M. De Saulcy also finds ruins all the way from the Round Fountain to Abu Shûsheh. There are, indeed, many large volcanic stones, but no ruins.

² Dr. Wilson says the stream from Wady el-Hamâm is the most important; II. p. 138. As we saw them, that from Wady er-Rübüdiyeh was at least ten times larger than the other.

³ Hence in Jos. B. J. 3. 10. 8, the reading *ποταμῶν* is to be preferred, and is given in the earlier editions.

⁴ See above, p. 264. Dr. Wilson also says: "'Ain et-Tn . . . which, with several attendant rills, rising from less copious sources in the neighborhood, supports a profuse herbage, especially near the shore;" II. p. 138.

⁵ Gr. *Κεφαρνομή*, Jos. Vit. § 72. Here Josephus gives the name a Greek

vicinity; which, in all probability, and according to all analogy, must have been adjacent to the fountain.¹ This at least is the *prima facie* view, and seems to me the correct one. During a skirmish near the Jordan, at the north end of the lake, the horse of Josephus had sunk in a marsh; by which he was injured in the wrist, and was therefore conveyed to the village Kepharnome. There he remained the next day in a feverish state; and at night, with the consent of the physicians,² was conveyed to Tarichæa, at the southern extremity of the lake.

Josephus at this time was the leader of the Galilæans, who were in a state of revolt against king Agrippa and the Romans. His head-quarters would seem to have been at Tarichæa; at least he was frequently there, and once escaped thither by water as to a place of security.³ Tiberias vibrated between the two parties.⁴ A detachment of the king's troops, under Sylla, had pitched five miles from Julias, the northern Bethsaida. Against these Josephus had sent two thousand of his followers, who entrenched themselves near the Jordan, a furlong distant from Julias. These were joined by Josephus himself with three thousand troops; and the next day the skirmish took place, during which occurred the accident to their leader, as above related.⁵ Subsequently other troops were sent by water from Tarichæa to Julias.⁶

The troops of Josephus, hearing of his accident, turned back from the pursuit. It would seem that both he and they feared, that his injury was much greater than was actually the case. It was not unnatural, therefore, that he should desire to be conveyed, probably by water, to his quarters at Tarichæa; nor that, wearied and feverish, he should stop for the day at Kepharnome; whence, after consulting the physicians, he proceeded the next

form; but in *Καφαρναούμ* he merely writes the Hebrew form in Greek letters; B. J. 3. 10. 8.

¹ The language of Ritter implies too much, when he says: "The name of the fountain Capharnaum is not necessarily connected with the name of the city, which might lie in a wholly different place; since such appellative names are often repeated in Palestine;" Erdk. XV. p. 339. It would be difficult, I think, to find in Palestine a town and fountain both bearing the same name, which are not connected, and adjacent to each other; and especially so, as would be the case here (if the city were at Tell Hâm), to find them an hour apart, and with other fountains and a town between.

² Vita, § 72, *δύσαν τε τοῖς ἰατροῖς.*

³ Vita, § 54 bis; § 59.

⁴ Ib. §§ 62, 68, 69.

⁵ Ib. §§ 71, 72.

⁶ Ib. § 73.

night.¹ I have said he was probably conveyed by water; since, as we have seen, boats were frequently passing upon the lake, and would be at his command. But even if we suppose him to have been carried by land, we can conceive of many reasons, why he might prefer to proceed to Kepharnome at two hours' distance, rather than stop, an hour short, at the place now known as Tell Hâm. At the former he may have had warmer adherents, more friends and acquaintances, better physicians, greater security from an attack of the enemy, or other like reasons. If the object in conveying him, after his injury, to Kepharnome was merely to bring him to the nearest place of covert, why was he not rather carried to Julias, which was but a furlong distant? The circumstances seem to show that he was on his way to Tarichæa.²

I see no difficulty, therefore, in regarding Kepharnome as adjacent to the fountain Capharnaum in the plain of Gennesaret.

IV. The circumstances which fix the site of Capernaum within the tract of Gennesaret, show conclusively that it could not have been situated at Tell Hâm.

The limits of Gennesaret, as we have seen, are definitely assigned by Josephus, and assented to by Dr. Wilson as "tolerably correct."³ Its northern border is at Khân Minyeh; while Tell Hâm is situated an hour distant north-east. Remarking upon my former conclusion, drawn from a comparison of the Evangelists, "that Capernaum lay on that part of the western shore, known as the region of Gennesaret,"⁴ the same writer says: "With this inference I agree; though I beg to remark, that it throws no light on the extent of the region of Gennesaret, or the exact situation within it of the town of Capernaum."⁵ This is, indeed, true in the literal sense of the words; but when the extent of the region is definitely settled by other testimony, and assented to by the objector himself, I submit, whether it is anything more than an evasion of the argument, to suggest

¹ The opinion of the physicians referred, of course, not to the place whither he should be conveyed, but to the propriety of removing him at all.

² "The object of carrying Josephus to Capernaum was not . . . to carry him a stage on his way to Tarichæa, but to convey him, after his injury, to a place of covert;" Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 146. This is the main argument to those who find Capernaum at Tell Hâm.

³ See the first proposition above, p. 268.

⁴ See the second proposition above, p. 269.

⁵ *Lands of the Bible*, II. p. 145.

(without venturing to affirm) a wider extension of the region. Yet such is all the notice, and all the reply, which that main argument has ever received.¹

Again, there is at or near Tell Hâm no fountain whatever; the ancient town upon that spot having had its supply of water solely from the lake. This, too, is incompatible with the testimony of Josephus.²

An argument in favor of Tell Hâm has been drawn from the language of Mark, when narrating that Jesus and his disciples departed in a boat to the desert place where he fed the five thousand: "And the people saw them departing, and many knew him, and ran afoot thither out of all cities, and outwent them, and came together unto him."³ Here, it is said, "it is much more difficult to see how they could get on foot to the east of the lake, before the arrival, by ship, of Christ and his apostles, after a passage of which no adverse circumstance is related, if we suppose them to start from the Khân Minyeh, than it is if we suppose them to start from Tell Hâm."⁴ This again is true in the letter; but I must confess myself unable to see its bearing upon the present question. It *assumes*, that our Lord and his disciples set off from Capernaum; which is neither said nor intimated by any Evangelist. The circumstances make it more probable, that Jesus and the twelve were on the north-western part of the lake; and that, wishing to retire to a solitary place on the north-eastern shore, where there would be no boat,⁵ they preferred to take with them a boat, in which they might afterwards pass over directly to Capernaum. They naturally rowed along near the northern shore; and the people were able to keep pace with them, and even to outgo them.⁶

¹ Ritter, as we have seen, passes it over entirely; see above, p. 270.

² See above, p. 270 seq. and note 1, p. 272.

³ Mark 6: 33. Comp. Matt. 14: 13. Luke 9: 11. John 6: 2.

⁴ Lands of the Bible, II. p. 145. Ritter, Erdk. XV. p. 341.

⁵ John 6: 22.

⁶ Another supposed coincidence urged in favor of Tell Hâm, I cannot but regard as fanciful, viz. that in the name Tell Hâm we have a trace of the ancient name *Capfar Nahum*, i. e. Nahum's village; so Böldger in *Allgem. Lit. Zeit.* Apr. 1842, p. 581. Ritter, XV. p. 341. The first syllable of *Nahum* might, indeed, possibly be dropped; although there is no analogy for it. We might also admit the substitution of Tell for Caphar, if there were any probable grounds for it; just as in the case of 'Ain Shems for the Egyptian Bethshemes, where the fountain remains, though the city is destroyed. *Biblical Researches*, I. p. 37. But here at Tell Hâm there is nothing to lead to such a change. The place, indeed,

V. A train of historical notices, extending down to the seventeenth century, seems to fix continuously the site of Capernaum at Khân Minyeh.

The earliest mention is by Eusebius and Jerome; from which we only learn, that Capernaum in their day was still a town on the lake of Gennesaret.¹ In another place Jerome says, that "Capernaum, Tiberias, Bethsaida, and Chorazin, were situated on the shore of the lake."² Of course he does not here name the towns in their order; for Tiberias was the southernmost of all.—The church mentioned by Epiphanius must have existed at that time.³

Antoninus Martyr visited Capernaum about A. D. 600. His mention of it is very brief. From Tabor he goes to Tiberias; then to Capernaum, where was a *Basilica*, including the house of Peter; and from thence through encampments, or villages, or cities, to the two sources of the Jordan.⁴ All this is of little importance for determining the specific site of Capernaum; but it shows that the town, as mentioned by Jerome, and probably the church spoken of by Epiphanius, still existed some two centuries later.

The next notice is more important. Arculfus, the French bishop, visited Palestine towards the close of the seventh century, and related his observations to Adamnanus. In connection with the lake of Galilee, he speaks of "the level and grassy plot, where the Saviour fed the five thousand; where was also a *fonticulus*, or small fountain; the place was on this side of the lake, looking towards the city of Tiberias, which was in the south."⁵ He then goes on to say, that "those coming from Jeru-

is in ruins; but there is no trace of a Tell. The name, too, is first heard of in the seventeenth century.

¹ Onomast. art. *Capharnaum*. Eusebius calls it a *village*, *κωμη*; Jerome, *oppidum*.

² "Lacum Genesareth, in cujus litoribus Capernaum et Tiberias et Bethsaida et Chorazin sitæ sunt;" Hieron. in *Esai.* ix. 1, p. 83, ed. Mart.

³ See *Biblical Researches*, III. pp. 270, 292.

⁴ "Deinde venimus in civitatem Tiberiadem. . . Deinde venimus in Capharnaum, in domum beati Petri, quæ est in Basilica. Inde venientes per castra, vel rivos, vel civitates, ad duos fontes venimus, scilicet Jor et Dan." Anton. Mart. 7.

⁵ At that time, as now, the popular belief held the miracle to have been wrought on the west of the lake. "Qui locus citra mare Galilææ est, respiciens civitatem Tiberiadem ab australi plaga sibi occurrentem;" Adamnan. 2. 24. The site of the miracle was later changed to the Hajar en-Nusrâny.

salem, who desire to go to Capernaum, proceed by the direct way through Tiberias; then along the lake of Galilee, and through the place of benediction before described; from whence, along the margin of the same lake, by not a long circuit, they arrive at Capernaum upon the shore."¹ Here "the place of benediction" can only be the place of feeding the five thousand just before mentioned; which is thus definitely fixed, as we have seen above, upon the shore of the lake. The term *fonticulus* could hardly be applied, in strictness, either to 'Ain el-Bârîdeh or to the Round Fountain; and might seem rather to refer to some small source on the shore, not far, perhaps, from Mejdêl. Yet no such fountain is reported by modern travellers; and so far as we now know, the plot around 'Ain el-Bârîdeh best corresponds with the circumstances described. From that plot, wherever it was, a short circuit along the lake brought the traveller to Capernaum; obviously the first town upon the shore, and, therefore, answering to Khân Minyeh.

Arculfus did not himself visit Capernaum; but he describes the place as he saw it from a neighboring hill: "It had no wall; and, being confined to a narrow space between the mountain and lake, it extended a long way upon the shore from west to east, having the mountain on the north, and the lake on the south."² The hill or mountain, from which Arculfus had this prospect, is unknown. It was, however, not the mount of the Beatitudes, so called, nor the Hajar en-Nusrâny; for he nowhere makes the slightest allusion to either of these.³ But as he actually visited the place on the shore north of Tiberias, where the five thousand were supposed to have been fed, the probability is, that he ascended an adjacent hill near the lake, for the very purpose of gaining a better view of Capernaum. From that quarter the view would be as he describes it; embracing

¹ "Qui ab Hierosolymis descendentes Capharnaum adire cupiunt, per Tiberiadem via vadunt recta: deinde secus lacum Galilæe, locumque superius memoratæ benedictionis pervium habent: a quo per marginem ejusdem stagui non longo circuitu Capharnaum perveniunt maritimam." Adamnan. 2. 25.

² "Quæ, ut Arculfus refert qui eam de monte vicino prospexit, murum non habens, angusto inter montem et stagnum coartata spatio, per illam maritimam oram longo tramite protenditur, montem ab aequilonali plaga, lacum vero ab australi habens, ab occasu in ortum extensa dirigitur." Adamnan. 2. 25.

³ The Sermon on the Mount had not yet been connected with the Kûrân Hattî; see Biblical Researches, III. p. 240 seq.

the mountain behind the town, and the little bay on the south of the promontory; by reason of which, and of the general curve by which the shore here trends north-east, the lake appears to lie on the south, and actually does lie on the south of the promontory. The correctness of these remarks will be apparent, on consulting not only Kiepert's map, but more especially those of Lient. Lynch, and of M. Isambert.¹ — All these considerations seem to me to render it more than probable, that the Capernaum of Arculfus was at Khân Minyeh.

This, again, is strongly confirmed by the narrative of St. Willibald, who visited the Holy Land about the middle of the eighth century, some fifty or sixty years after Arculfus. From Tiberias he proceeded along the lake by Magdala to Capernaum, where was a house and a great wall. Thence he went on to Bethsaida, where was a church; and remaining there one night, he came in the morning to Chorazin, where also was a church. His next stage was the sources of the Jordan.² This narrative gives us distinctly the order of the towns along the lake, and thus fills out and confirms the accounts of Jerome, Antoninus, and Arculfus. The Capernaum of them all was obviously at Khân Minyeh.

No further notice of Capernaum occurs until late in the times of the Crusades; when the Kûrûn Hattin had now become the Mount of the Beatitudes, and is usually mentioned in connection with Capernaum. Thus Eugesippus, who wrote not earlier than the latter part of the twelfth century, says that "the descent of that mountain, where our Lord preached to the multitudes, was two miles from Capernaum."³ Here he understates the distance between Khân Minyeh and the mouth of Wady el-Hamâm;

¹ The latter in the Bulletin de la Soc. de Géogr. Janv. 1854. — It is true, that Tell Hûm, as seen from a distance, seems to have a mountain behind it; but it is only a very gradual acclivity, which reaches its elevation a mile or two beyond. At Khân Minyeh, the steep wall rises immediately, and leaves but a narrow space between it and the bay.

² "Et inde (sc. Tiberiade) ibant circa mare, et pergebant secus vicum Magdalense. Et veniebant ad illum vicum Capharnaum . . . ibi fuit domus et murus magnus. . . Et inde pergebant ad Bethsaidam . . . ibi est nunc ecclesia. Et illic manentes unam noctem, mane pergebant ad Corzaum, . . . ibi fuit ecclesia Christianorum, etc." Vita St. Willibaldi, §§ 16, 17. See also in Wright's Early Travels in Palestine, p. 16 seq.

³ "Secundo milliario a Capharnaum, descensus illius montis est, in quo sermocinatus est ad turbas;" Engesipp. in L. Allatii Symmicta, p. 109.

yet in so doing he leaves no doubt, that he regarded Capernaum as situated at the former spot.

Of the like tenor is the language of Brocardus near the end of the thirteenth century. Having spoken of the Mount of the Beatitudes, he goes on to say, that "at its foot rises a fountain, which some dream to be a vein of the Nile." He regards it as the source mentioned by Josephus; but whether he has in view the Round Fountain or 'Ain el-Bârideh, it is difficult to say; for he immediately adds, that at twenty paces from the fountain, and by the lake, is the place where Jesus appeared to his disciples after his resurrection. "From that place easterly after one league (hour), is the city of Capernaum, formerly glorious; but now a humble village, containing scarcely seven fishermen's huts."¹ This, again, is decisive as to the position of the Capernaum of that day at Khân Minyeh.

Nearly forty years after Brocardus thus wrote, Marinus Sanutus (A. D. 1321) presented to the pope his plan for the recovery of the Holy Land, including a description of the country. He copies almost literally what Brocardus says of the mount where our Lord preached; and of the fountain at its foot, which he says was thirty paces from the lake.² Then, referring to his map, he proceeds: "in no. xxi. is Capernaum, near the northern side of the lake of Galilee, at two leagues (hours) distance;" meaning, obviously, two hours from the northern end.³ This, again, fixes the Capernaum of his day at Khân Minyeh.

The testimony of Quaresmius, about A. D. 1620, is brief, but decisive; since he names the place. On the site of Capernaum, he says, are many ruins, and a miserable *diversorium* (Khân)

¹ "Ab hoc fonte si ieris per viginti passus supra mare Galilææ, est locus ubi Christus, etc. . . . Ab eo loco orientem versus per unam leucam est Capernaum, civitas quondam gloriosa, sed nunc vicus humilis, vix septem habens casas piscatorum;" Brocardus, c. 4. p. 173.

² "Ad pedem ejus oritur fons, juxta mare Galilææ ad xxx passus, quam dicunt venam Nili." Marin. Sannt. 3. 14. 3. p. 247.

³ "In xxi. est Capharnaum, prope latus aquilonare maris Galilææ, ad duas leucas;" Ib. 3. 4. 7. p. 247. The phrase "ad duas leucas," here refers to *prope*; just as in the preceding note, "ad xxx passus" refers to *juxta*. It is against the laws of language, to place the *terminus à quo* at the base of the mountain, or near it; if so meant, the clause would have been preceded by *inde* or the like, as elsewhere. Dr. Wilson appeals to the map of M. Sanutus. This is rather unsafe ground; since on this map he puts the Mount of Beatitudes at quite a distance north of the lake. It seems very doubtful, whether he ever saw the lake.

called in Arabic *Minyeh*, six miles distant from the place where the Jordan enters the lake.¹ This explains, also, the "two leagues" of Marinus Sanutus.

It is not necessary to proceed further. The amount of all this series of testimony, fairly considered, is to show, that, from the time of Eusebius and Jerome down to Quaresmius, the site of Capernaum was regarded as known; and, by the better class of pilgrims at least, was held to be in the northern end of the plain el-Ghuweir.

In conclusion, let me recapitulate the points which I have endeavored to maintain, viz.

That Gennesaret was a known and limited tract.

That, according to the Evangelists, Capernaum was situated in or near that tract

That the circumstances mentioned by Josephus go to fix it near 'Ain et-Tin.

That down to the seventeenth century, it was recognized there by all the more intelligent travellers.

It was apparently during the same seventeenth century, that the tradition began to waver, and to transfer the site of Capernaum to Tell Hâm. The latter is first mentioned by Nau, about A. D. 1674.²

BETHSAIDA. Besides the general inference from the name and other circumstances, that Bethsaida was on the shore of the lake, not far from Capernaum, we have, I think, already discovered some *data*, by which to assign for it a more specific position.

When our Lord sent away the disciples from the place where he had fed the five thousand on the north-east quarter of the lake, Mark relates that they entered into a boat in order to cross the lake to Bethsaida; while John says, they departed for Capernaum. Being driven out of their course by the wind and waves, after daybreak Jesus comes to them walking on the water, and they land in the tract Gennesaret, and repair to Capernaum.³

Here the apparent discrepancy between Mark and John disappears at once, if Bethsaida lay near to Capernaum, and if the

¹ "In praesentia in illius (sc. Capharnaum) situ multae ruinae cernuntur, et miserabile diversorium: . . . a loco unde Jordanis influit in mare Galilæe distat ad sex milliaria. Arabice *Menich* nuncupatur." Quaresm. II. p. 868.

² Nau. Voyage, p. 572. See Biblical Researches, III. p. 300.

³ Mark 6: 45. John 6: 17. — Mark 6: 53. Matt. 14: 34. John 6: 24, 25.

disciples perhaps intended first to touch at the former place, before landing at the latter. As they were driven out of their course towards the south, and came to Capernaum from that quarter, it would seem most probable that Bethsaida lay north of Capernaum.

This view is strengthened by the language of Jerome, where he says that "Capernaum, Tiberias, Bethsaida, and Chorazin were situated on the shore of the lake."¹ He probably here names Capernaum first, as the most important; and then Tiberias, the southernmost, as more important in his day than the two remaining places; one of which, at least, was then deserted. As neither of these two towns are ever spoken of, in Scripture or elsewhere, as in any connection with the tract of Gennesaret, they are more probably to be sought, as before, on the north of Capernaum.

To all this comes the direct testimony of St. Willibald, already quoted.² He passed from Tiberias along the lake by Magdala to Capernaum, and thence to Bethsaida, where he remained over night. This accords with and confirms the inference above, drawn from Scripture, and the language of Jerome.

We have found Capernaum at Khân Minyeh; and the problem now is to find a place corresponding to Bethsaida, on the shore north of the Khân, and not far distant from it. Such a place is et-Tâbighah, situated on the shore about two thirds of a mile north of the Khân, and presenting the evidence of its antiquity in the massive Roman reservoir above described, and in other less important remains.³

There seems good reason, therefore, for fixing upon et-Tâbighah as the site of the ancient Bethsaida of Galilee.⁴

¹ See above, p. 275, note 2. Onomast. art. *Bethsaida*: "Civitas est Galilææ . . . prope stagnum Genesareth." Eusebius says: *πρὸς τῇ Γεννησαρίτῃ λίμνῃ.*

² See above, p. 277.

³ See above, p. 265.

⁴ Ritter places Bethsaida at Khân Minyeh; chiefly on the authority of Seetzen, who is supposed to have heard there the name Bât Szaida from his guides; Erdk. XV. pp. 333—335. Biblical Researches, III. p. 296. n. — The suggestion, that the testimony of those guides, who came from the eastern side of the lake, might rest on ancient tradition, which had been for centuries lost among the people on the west side of the lake, is too fanciful to be of any weight. And further, it does not appear from Seetzen's narrative, that he learned the name from his guides at all. More probably he obtained it from the Greek bishop of Tyre and Sidon, with whom he lodged at Hasbeiya; from whom, too, doubtless, he learned that Tell Hûm was Capernaum; and that Chorazin was east of the lake. Reisen, Berl. 1854, Bd. I. pp. 344, 345; comp. pp. 323, 327.

CHORAZIN. I have already related the circumstances, which forbid me to regard the trivial remains at Kerâzeh as representing the site of the ancient Chorazin.¹

On the other hand, both Bethsaida and Chorazin appear to have been places of importance. Bethsaida is expressly called a city.² Chorazin is mentioned but twice in the New Testament; and, on the first occasion, it is said that our Lord "began to upbraid the cities wherein most of his mighty works had been done."³ These cities, both there and in the other passage, were Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum. In the same connection, Chorazin and Bethsaida are contrasted with Tyre and Sidon; showing, not indeed that they were large cities like those, but that at any rate they were not merely inconsiderable villages. It would seem that the three, Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin, were, at that epoch, and before the building up of Tiberias, the chief towns along the lake; and our Lord, residing in Capernaum, showed forth his mighty works chiefly in those three places, lying in the neighborhood of each other.

Eusebius and Jerome merely speak of Chorazin in their day as deserted; it lay two Roman miles from Capernaum, but the direction is not given.⁴ Yet Jerome elsewhere says expressly, that all these towns lay upon the shore of the lake; and he apparently names Chorazin as the northernmost.⁵ To the same purpose is the testimony of St. Willibald already quoted above.⁶ He passed from Tiberias by Magdala to Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin, in succession; and thence to the sources of the Jordan. The slight mention of Chorazin by Brocardus likewise places it on the north-east of Capernaum, towards the entrance of the Jordan into the lake.⁷

In view of all the preceding considerations, and regarding the site of Capernaum as at Khân Minyeh, I am unable to resist the conclusion, that the site of Chorazin is to be sought at Tell Hâm.

¹ See above, pp. 266, 267. ² John 1: 45. ³ Matt. 11: 21; comp. Luke 10: 13.

⁴ Onomast. art. *Chorazin*. As in the case of Capernaum, Eusebius here calls Chorazin a village, *κωμη*; Jerome, *oppidum*. — The reading of the Greek is erroneously twelve (12) miles; while that of Jerome, on any of the various theories, can only be regarded as an approximation to the truth.

⁵ Hieron. Comm. in Esa. ix. i. p. 83, ed. Mart. "Lacum Genesareth, in cuius litore Capernaum et Tiberias et Bethsaida et Chorazaim sitae sint."

⁶ See above, p. 277.

⁷ "Proinde à civitate Corazaim et ostio fluvii Jordanis contra aquilonem," etc. Brocardus, c. 4, p. 173.

It was a Jewish city; and the remains of its splendid synagogue testify to its ancient importance, even as contrasting with Tyre and Sidon.

Thus with the remains of the three ancient sites still seen along the shore, Khân Minyeh, et-Tâbighah, and Tell Hâm, we are able, on something more than probable grounds, to connect the names of the three lost ancient cities, Capernaum, Bethsaida, and Chorazin.¹

Should any one be still disposed to lay weight upon the name Kerâzeh, as having some possible connection with the ancient Chorazin, let him consider, whether, after the destruction of the town upon the shore, a portion of the inhabitants may not have retired to that spot, and there built up a village bearing the same name. A complete analogy for such an hypothesis exists in the case of the ancient Zarephath or Sarepta, on the shore between Tyre and Sidon. The remains of the ancient site are still seen on the plain near the sea; while its modern representative, the village Sûrafend, lies at a distance upon the hills back of the plain.²

¹ M. De Sauley assumes, that Tell Hâm was the site of Julias, the northern Bethsaida; Narrat. II. p. 489 seq. But Josephus places Julias in lower Gaulonitis, which is not Galilee, but was beyond Jordan; B. J. 2. 9. 1. In like manner, Pliny and Jerome both speak of Julias as east of the Jordan, e. g. Plin. H. N. 5. 15: "Jordanes in lacum se fundit; . . . amoenis circumseptum oppidis, ab oriente Juliade et Hippo." Hieron. Comm. in Matt. xvi. 13: "Philippus . . . ex nomine filiae ejus (Augusti) Juliadem trans Jordanem extruxit." But M. De Sauley, in a slashing style of criticism, extends Gaulonitis to the west of the lake; thinks Pliny was mistaken; and refers the Julias of Jerome to Herod's Julias in Perea; although Jerome is expressly speaking of that built by Philip. See more in Biblical Researches, III. p. 308, n. 3.

² See Biblical Researches, III. pp. 412, 413.