

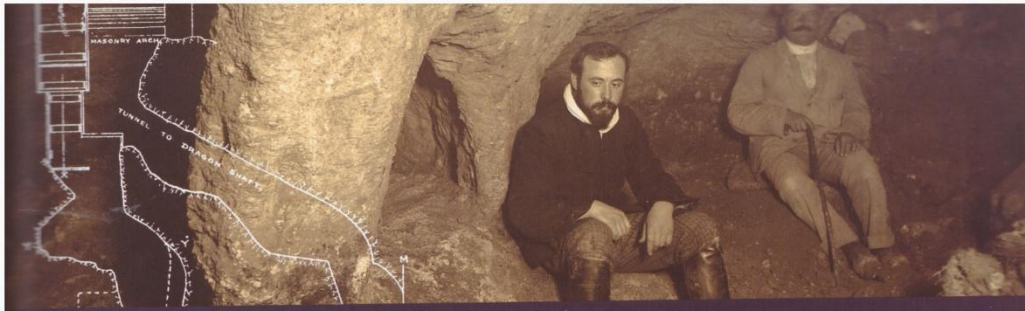
CITY OF DAVID STUDIES OF ANCIENT JERUSALEM

The 13th Conference | Editor: Eyal Meiron | Megalim Institute - City of David, Jerusalem | Elul 2012 | 7

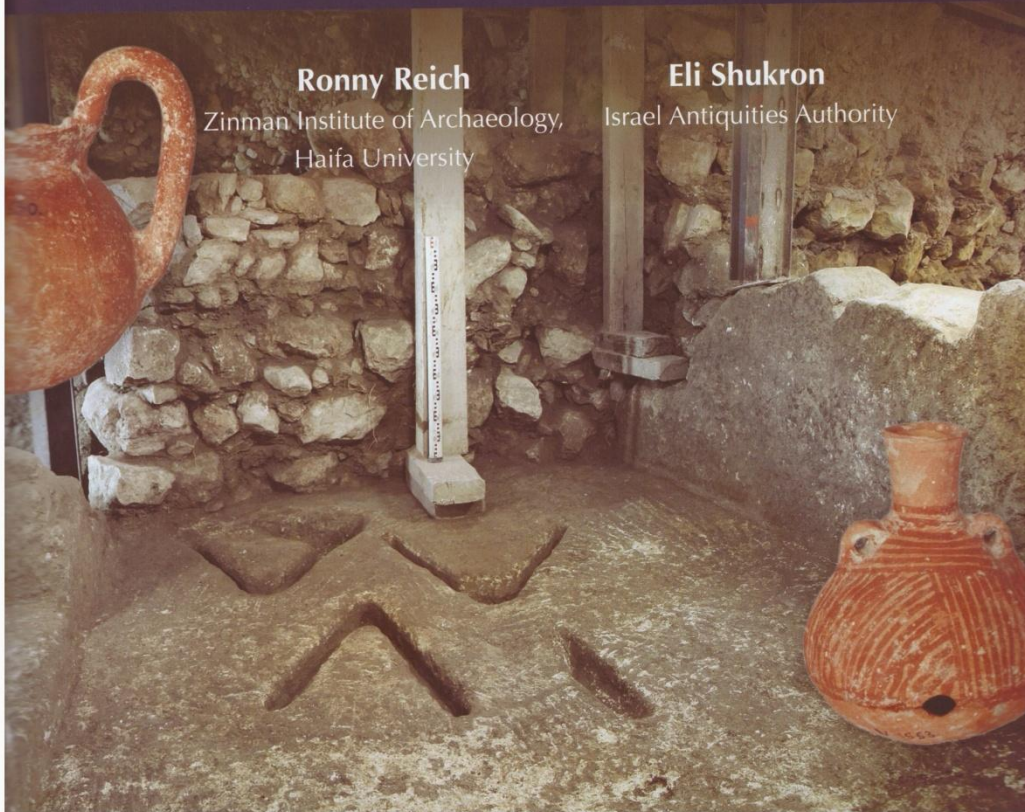


MEGALIM
CITY OF DAVID - ANCIENT JERUSALEM





Centennial of the Parker-Vincent Excavation in the City of David



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Introduction

At the beginning of the 20th century, Jerusalem and its antiquities had already undergone about 60 years of archaeological research. Although the archaeological study of the Land of Israel and of Jerusalem in general was just beginning, a few excavations had already begun to reveal the city's history. These included the uncovering of the Tombs of the Kings in the north of the city by Felicien de Saulcy; Charles Warren's excavations around the Temple Mount and the City of David; the excavations of F. J. Bliss and Archibald Dickey on Mount Zion, in the city of David and in the Tyropoeon Valley between them; Hermann Guthe's dig in the City of David; and the abundant documentary work of Conrad Schick and, separately, of Charles Clermont-Ganneau.

The Land of Israel and the holy city of Jerusalem had already become a lodestone for tourists during the 19th century and increasingly so from that time onward. Among those interested in the holy city were people who had deeply persuaded themselves that ancient treasures were buried there somewhere, particularly Temple treasures, including the Ark of the Covenant, the Menorah (seven-branched candelabrum), the ashes of the red heifer and the like. Among them was the Finnish explorer Walter Henrik Juvelius, who was sure that the hill near the spring concealed underground spaces in which the treasures of King Solomon's Temple had been hidden, especially the Ark of the Covenant. Juvelius managed to pique the interest of Montague Parker (1878–1962), a young, recently discharged British army officer who was seeking new challenges.

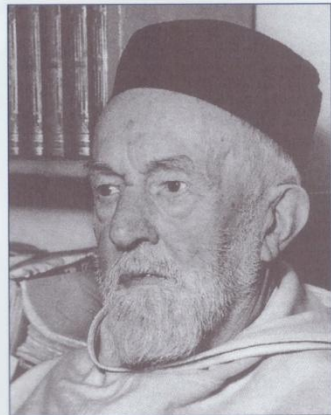


Fig. 1. Father Louis Hughes Vincent (1872–1960)

Persuaded of the merits of the project, Parker raised the money and organized an excavation expedition to discover the treasures. The expedition worked in Jerusalem from 1909 to 1911 (for details see Silberman 1982; Shalev-Kalifa 1998).

It should be noted that various “visionaries” continue to come to the city from time to time; these writers can attest from their personal experience over the years of their work in the city (see for example, Reich 2011:207, 209).

Parker brought in Father Louis-Hughes Vincent of the *École Biblique et Archéologique Française* in Jerusalem. Vincent was a biblical scholar and

an archaeologist, and certainly the most suitable person to serve as scientific fig leaf for the dubious activities of the expedition. Vincent published the finds of the expedition in two versions, French and English (Vincent 1911). In 2008, the Megalim Institute published a Hebrew version of Vincent's book, translated by Ronny Reich (Vincent 2008).

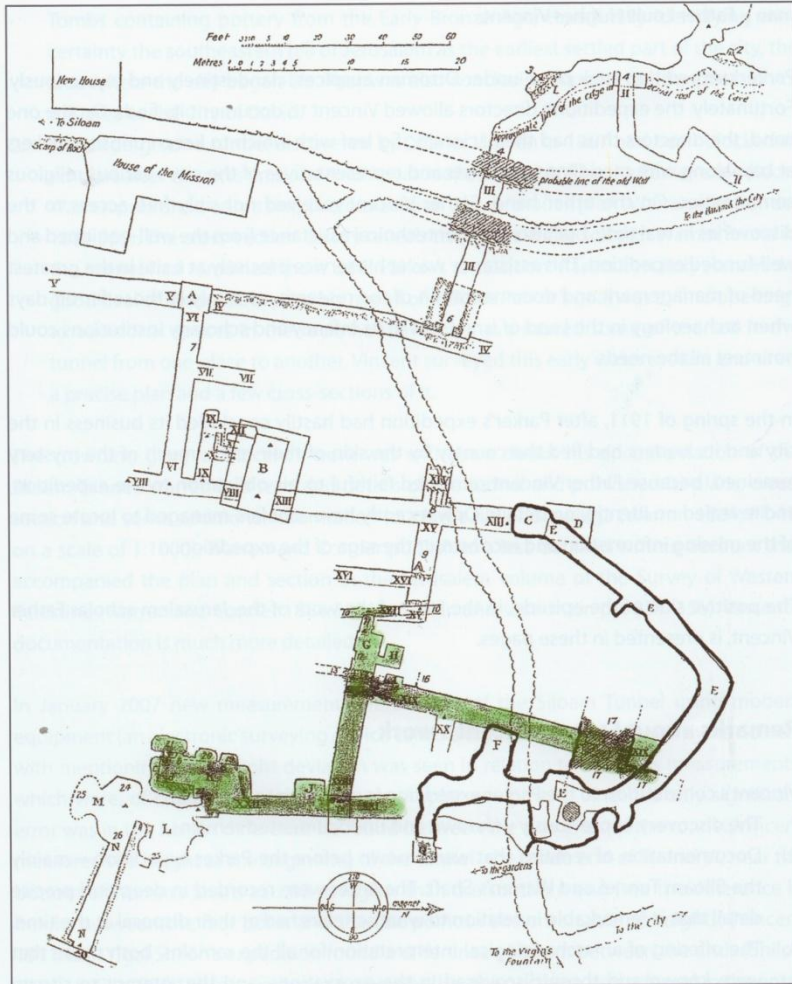


Fig. 2. Plan of the Parker expedition excavation (Vincent 1911, Pl. VI; 2008 Pl. VI, with markings of the areas rediscovered by the Reich-Shukron expedition).

The excavations of the 1909–1911 expedition headed by the retired British army officer Montague Parker is an episode in the history of Jerusalem's research that moves between extremes. From a scandal-plagued undertaking whose goal was to seek "the Temple treasures" and which ended in riots and incarcerations, came one of the most important contributions to the history of research in the city. The latter was thanks to the work of one man – Father Louis Hughes Vincent.

Parker's expedition took place under Ottoman auspices, clandestinely and mysteriously. Fortunately, the expedition's directors allowed Vincent to document its finds. On the one hand, the directors thus had their scientific fig leaf with which to keep curiosity-seekers at bay, along with meddling journalists and representatives of the city's various religious communities. On the other hand, Father Vincent received not only free access to the discoveries in real time, but also to major technical assistance from the well-equipped and well-funded expedition. This assistance was at his service precisely at a site in the greatest need of management and documentation of the research, certainly in those far-off days when archaeology in the Land of Israel was in its infancy and scholarly institutions could not meet all the needs.

32*

In the spring of 1911, after Parker's expedition had hastily concluded its business in the city and its leaders had fled the country by the skin of their teeth, much of the mystery remained, because Father Vincent remained faithful to his obligation to the expedition, and revealed no identifying details. Only recently have scholars managed to locate some of the missing information and reconstruct the saga of the expedition.

The positive side of the episode, in the form of the work of the Jerusalem scholar Father Vincent, is presented in these pages.

Remarks about Father Vincent's work

Vincent's contribution to the Parker expedition is divided into three parts:

1. The discovery of previously unknown and undocumented remains.
2. Documentation of remains that were known before the Parker expedition – mainly the Siloam Tunnel and Warren's Shaft. The latter were recorded in deep and precise detail that is remarkable in relation to what scholars had at their disposal at the time.
3. The offering of an archaeological interpretation for all the remains, both those that were known and those discovered in the excavations, and the attempt to situate them in Jerusalem's history as it emerges from the biblical account.

1. Among the main remains, the ones that were new to archaeology that were discovered were:
 - The northern part of Channel II, from the spring to a point about 60 m south of it.
 - The system of short tunnels near the spring (Tunnels III–VII).
 - The blocking walls (I and J) of the spring and the northernmost end of Channel I.
 - Tombs containing pottery from the Early Bronze Age, thus finally identifying with certainty the southeastern hill of Jerusalem as the earliest settled part of the city, the area where the city began life. That was also conclusive support for identification of this area as the City of David.
2. The underground tunnel discovered by Charles Warren in 1867 had been blocked to scholars after Warren's time and until it was reopened in 1909 by the Parker expedition. Warren published only a simple cross-section of it, without a plan (Warren and Conder 1884:369). The cross-section clearly reveals that most of the soil that Warren found in the tunnel had remained there until Parker's excavation. Parker certainly removed a good deal of the soil, but possibly not all of it. Since Parker's goal was to find openings to additional spaces in the rock, he may only have moved some of the soil in the tunnel from one place to another. Vincent surveyed this early water system and drew a precise plan and a few cross-sections of it.

The crowning glory of Vincent's work was without a doubt his documentation of the Siloam Tunnel. Warren had recorded details of the tunnel and published its plans, cross-section and some additional information in a large file of drawings (Warren 1884, Pl. 42, on a scale of 1:1000). Warren and Conder published a less detailed written account that accompanied the plan and section in the Jerusalem volume of the Survey of Western Palestine (Warren and Conder 1884:355–365, plan and section on pp. 354, 356). Vincent's documentation is much more detailed.

In January 2007 new measurements were made of the Siloam Tunnel using modern equipment (an electronic surveying device called a digital distomat). We will make do here with mentioning that a slight deviation was seen in relation to Vincent's measurements, which were, of course, made using much simpler equipment. Vincent's only significant error was in the height difference he found between the two ends of the tunnel. Vincent measured the height at the beginning of the tunnel (the inside end of Tunnel VI, near the bottom of Warren's Shaft) as 1.88 m higher than the southern end (see the difference in height between the first point and the last point in Vincent's table of heights, [Vincent 1911:42]). Yigal Shiloh's expedition found a difference of 30 cm between the ends (Shiloh 1984:18; Gill 1996:19), but we do not know whether the northern end referred to the entry point to the spring, or further inside, at the entry to the tunnel.

Our surveyors determined an absolute height identical to Shiloh's measurements (Gill 1996:19) for the southern end of the tunnel (634.94 m above sea level). With regard to the northern end, it seems that the floor of the tunnel at the starting point is slightly lower (634.90 m) but that it rises and for the next 30 m inward; its height ranges from 635.11–635.12 m. Our measurements reconfirmed the understandings of the Shiloh expedition. We can only conclude that Vincent was wrong about this point.

Remarks on the Remains Described in Plate VI

The Parker expedition concentrated its energies mainly on the eastern slope of the City of David, above the Gihon Spring. The plan the expedition published on Pl. VI of its report shows all of the excavations at the site. It can be seen that the entire dig took place underground. The excavators progressed through crawlways, known as galleries, which they dug in every possible direction with the intent of discovering hewn underground spaces in which the expedition's leaders hoped to find the long-lost treasures. Vincent used three series of figures in the plan on Pl. VI. The galleries were marked with Roman numerals from I to XXII. Various remains were marked with numbers from 1 at the top of the hill to 26 at the bottom. Other remnants were marked with letters, from A to Q. The report does not specify what differentiates the lettered remains from the numbered ones, and one can only guess. Since the letters C through F were given to various parts of Warren's Shaft, it may be assumed that letters were given to spaces while numbers were given to built remains or tombs.

The plan requires long perusal to separate the various components. For example, the path descending the eastern slope of the City of David to the spring is marked with broken lines. In principle, this path continues in use to this day, in the form of the built stone staircase along almost the same route.

Warren's Shaft appears in the lower right corner of the plan. The Parker expedition entered this system via the upper shaft (C on the plan). The expedition excavated another shaft (marked as Q on Pl. VI), which reached the large cave in the rock. At that point the dig did not penetrate deeply, as can be seen by the iron pails that we found at the maximum depth they reached (see below). The expedition also reached the Warren's Shaft system from the direction of the spring by means of Warren's Shaft itself.

Although the report is quite detailed, the greatest detail is reserved mainly for the Siloam Tunnel, Warren's Shaft and the system of tunnels near the spring. The description of the

remains exposed in various places in the system of excavated tunnels is very limited. Below are remarks about the various remains shown on Pl. VI, using Vincent's numbering.

A burial cave and chimney-like shaft. Vincent found no datable remains here and its chronology cannot be determined.

Burial cave in Gallery I. A detailed plan and cross-section can be seen in Figs. 30 and 31. Vincent dated it to the "Early Semitic" period. Based on his written description of the pottery, which mentions dark-red and some black sherds, remains of black and oily slip and coarse attempts at burnishing, based on the fact that the vessels themselves were handmade and in light of the contents of nearby Tomb 3 (next item) – it seems that Tomb 2 should also be dated to the Early Bronze Age I (Fig. 3).

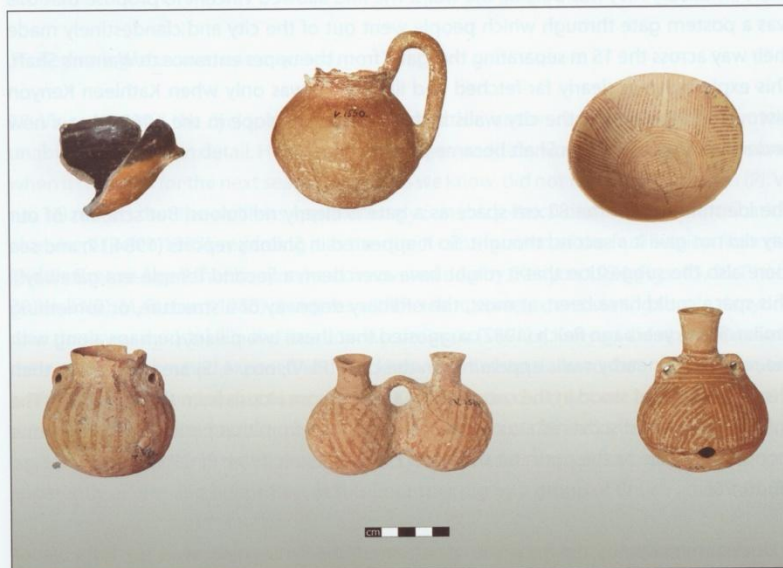


Fig. 3. Clay vessels from the Early Bronze Age I from Tomb 3 (on display at the Rockefeller Museum).

Another burial cave in Gallery I. The burial was exposed in a kind of shallow cave in the cliff. A fine assemblage of vessels was found inside, shown on Pls. IX–XII.

Artificial opening made by Parker's laborers in a built wall of the burial cave, from which they created an entrance to Gallery II.

4–5. Two fieldstone walls. The scale indicates that they were each about 1.70 m thick. Vincent posited that the western of the two (no. 4) was part of an early fortification. This wall is not thick enough for use as any sort of fortification. Although they are thicker than usual for walls of dwellings these walls still seem to be of dwellings. Vincent realized the potential of the finds in this area (p. 29) and had planned on waiting until the next excavation season to describe them, but unfortunately, that season never came.

6. At the eastern end of Gallery III the Parker expedition discovered two monolithic, square stone pillars 82 cm apart. Vincent was enthusiastic about this find. He identified the space as a “huge gateway,” and the fact that he used a picture of it on the cover of his book and called it “The most ancient gateway of the City of David discovered so far,” shows how significant he believed it to be. He needed this find because in his day it was thought that the city wall was at the top of the slope and therefore that the opening of Warren’s Shaft (in Gallery XIV) was outside the walls. The find allowed Vincent to propose that this was a postern gate through which people went out of the city and clandestinely made their way across the 15 m separating the “gate” from the upper entrance to Warren’s Shaft. This explanation is clearly far-fetched and illogical. It was only when Kathleen Kenyon discovered a portion of the city walls halfway down the slope in the 1960s that a new understanding of Warren’s Shaft became possible.

The identification of the 82 cm-space as a gate is clearly ridiculous. But scholars of our day did not give it a second thought. So it appeared in Shiloh’s reports (1984:17, and see there also the suggestion that it might have even been a Second Temple-era gateway!). This space could have been, at most, the ordinary doorway of a structure, or something similar. Some years ago Reich (1987) suggested that these two pillars, perhaps along with the remains of nearby walls appearing on the plan (Pl. VI, nos. 4, 5) are none other than elements that had stood in the courtyard of a Four-Room House from the Iron Age II. The Shiloh expedition discovered structures of this type and from that period, including stone monoliths, a little to the north (at the ‘Ahiel House’; Shiloh 1984: Pl. 27:1; 28:1; 30:1, Figs. 19, 20, 25).

7. Unclear remains.

8. Portion of a rock-hewn staircase descending from south to north, which had previously been discovered by Warren (1884: Pl. 43), at the extreme right of the cross-section); it seems to have been part of the upper entrance, in front of the city wall, to the Warren’s Shaft system.

9. Unidentified remains. Between the number noted on the plan and the rock step marked on the plan is a triangular notation of unknown significance.

10. Narrow rock-hewn channel.

11. Opening to the inner room of rock-cut Tomb G.

12. Door jamb of Tomb G.

13. Built wall blocking Tomb G from the east.

14. Round depression in the façade of hewn niche I.

15. Unidentified remains.

16. Beginning of a cave; unexcavated.

17. Vincent noted the cyclopean bloc of construction uncovered in Gallery XIX, but was unable to discuss it in detail. He did state that the expedition would come back to this area when it returned for the next season, which, as we know, did not take place. The plan (Pl. VI, no. 17) reveals that the wall was approximately 5 m thick. Reich discussed this fortification elsewhere (Reich 1987), regarding it as the direct continuation of the fortification from the Middle Bronze Age II that Kenyon had discovered nearby (Kenyon 1974: Figs. 15, 16, Photo 20, Wall NB). M. Steiner (1988) disagrees with Reich to some extent, stating that in Kenyon's plan there was a mistake in the location. According to Steiner, Kenyon did not re-excavate the wall that Parker had exposed without knowing she had done so, but rather excavated another wall. In retrospect, it turns out that Kenyon indeed did not excavate precisely the same wall that Parker had dug, but rather the northern continuation of that wall. In any case, Kenyon made no mention whatsoever of the Parker expedition's discoveries, thus apparently expressing her protest at this improper dig by a group of British adventurers.

Today, after we have discovered additional blocs of cyclopean construction near the spring, it is quite clear that the Parker expedition did uncover the first segments of this fortification without knowing what they were. Portions of these walls are located between segments of construction uncovered by Kenyon and the Pool Tower, which we uncovered. It is hoped that additional portions of this construction will be revealed someday.

The Re-exposure of Wall 17

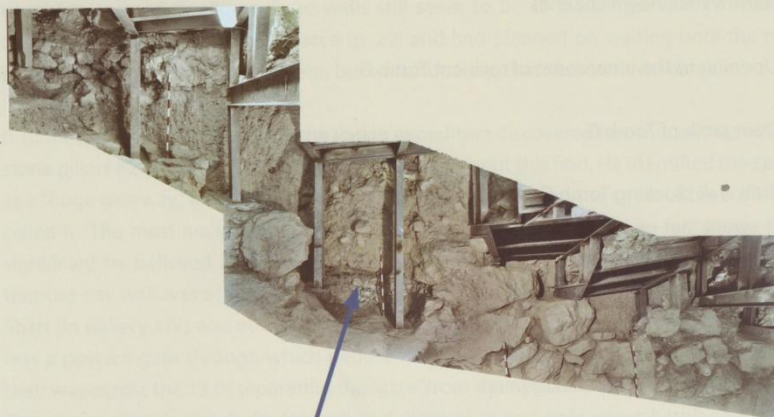


Fig. 4. The opening Parker made in Wall 17, as it now appears.

38*

West of the Gihon Spring we found two parallel, very massive walls (Wall 108 and Wall 109 to the south of it). These walls also penetrated the horizontal tunnel of the Warren's Shaft system and climb westward up the rock slope of the City of David hill.

It emerged that our expedition had re-discovered Parker's Wall 17 – part of the massive northern of the two walls (which we called Wall 108) (Fig. 4). Parker did not expose this wall, but rather, broke through it. Beyond it to the north he found a wall perpendicular to it. Our excavation at that point obviously showed that a southern portion of Kenyon's wall (Wall NB from the Middle Bronze Age II) had indeed been exposed by Parker. The result of the investigation revealed that Kenyon's Wall NB abutted Wall 108 or, at most, was incorporated in it. In any case it seemed secondary to it (Reich and Shukron 2011). The purpose of the 2010 excavation was to dig the southern part of Parker's Gallery XIX to find out whether Wall NB continued beyond Wall 109 and southward. We therefore re-excavated Parker's Gallery XIX southward as well. The southward continuation of Wall NB was not found. In fact, nothing of this part of Galley XIX was found. In light of these facts, the question arises as to whether Wall NB, which is dated to the Middle Bronze II, was a city wall at all, or perhaps merely a secondary wall in a complex of walls built only to protect the spring and its surroundings. It seems that the second possibility is the correct one (Reich and Shukron 2010, 2011).

However, we recall that Kenyon exposed another wall – Wall NA – parallel to Wall NB, some 3 m west of it up the slope (Kenyon 1974: Fig. 20, left side; Steiner 1986). She dated this wall to the late Iron Age II. From the southern continuation of Wall NA we found remains in this area of Gallery XIX.

18. Unidentified remains.

19–26. Various secondary spaces – K, L, M – hewn in within a large rock-cut system.

A. Unidentified element.

B. Unidentified element.

C. Entry shaft dug toward the upper opening of the Warren's Shaft system. Vincent noted that this was a stone vault; however it seems that D is the vault.

D. Stone vault above the upper opening of Warren's Shaft. The southern part is missing.

E. The rock-cut tunnel of the Warren's Shaft system. The upper part is straight and slants downward; the lower part is horizontal and winding.

F. A dead-end cutting into the lower part of the Warren's Shaft system.

G., H. Rock-cut tombs that were found completely empty. Vincent believed that they were never finished, and noted that the quality of their workmanship was superior, like the tombs cut into the slope of the village of Silwan on the other side of the valley.

I. A niche hewn into the entry façade of Tomb G.

Complex of Rock-Cut Rooms Dating from the Iron Age II

In 2009, we re-excavated the entire length of Parker's Galley XIX (Vincent 1911: Plan VI, 26; 2008: Plan VI, 54). We discovered the three rock-cut rooms that the Parker expedition had found (G, H, and I in Plan VI) and we went on to uncover three more rooms to the south.

All the rooms uncovered were cut into one level of the eastern slope of the City of David. The rooms were all cut into the melekeh rock, which is medium-hard and easy to quarry. The sides of the rock face were beautifully hewn with straight and vertical faces and 90-degree corners in the rooms; they still bore signs of chiseling. The following details are noteworthy:



Fig. 5. Rock-cut Room 2 in Gallery XIX, showing a round depression in the floor and a square niche in the rock wall.

Room 1

An elongated, rectangular, rock-cut room. On its floor, in the northwestern corner, a raised area was left, measuring 95 x 140 cm and averaging about 20 cm high. From the southeastern corner of this raised area a straight channel was hewn, in the center of the room, to the east, with a uniform depth of about 15 cm. The end of the channel slightly damaged the corner of the raised area.

Room 2

The floor of the room is level. A shallow, round depression was hewn into the center of the floor, measuring 64–67 cm in diameter and 5–6 cm deep. In the center of this depression a narrower round depression (30 cm) was hewn, with a depth of 25 cm. A square niche was cut into the wall of the room



Fig. 6. Rock-cut Room 4 in Gallery XIX, with a small stone marker on the bedrock floor, general view.



Fig. 7. Standing stone in Room 4, close-up.

opposite the round depression. These two rock-cut elements seem to have served a single purpose. If the square depression was a niche to anchor the wooden beam of an olive-oil press, that beam would have been directly over the round depression (Fig. 5).

Room 4

A rock-hewn room with a level floor. In the northwestern corner of the room is a thin, flat, standing stone, which is almost round at the top. (5 cm thick, 80 cm long, maximum height 40 cm above the base). The base is made of fieldstones, which abut the marker on the west and the east and somewhat on the south, to stabilize it (Figs. 6, 7, 8). It may be assumed that this marker stood on the rock-hewn floor.



Fig. 8. Standing stone in Room 4, view from the back.

Room 5

This room was entirely rock-hewn. It is 2.67 m wide, and its western wall was hewn diagonally and completed with fieldstones, like rooms 1, 2 and 4 to its north. On the bedrock floor of the rooms and its rock walls are various cuttings, of which two will be mentioned:

- A shallow, round depression with a deeper round pit within it. The diameter of the shallow depression is 75 cm and its depth is 2–3 cm. The deep depression is 33 cm in diameter and 45 cm deep. The two depressions, a deeper one within a shallow one, resemble those in the floor of Room 2, with small differences between the two pairs. In this room, the deeper depression is conical and concentric in relation to the shallower one. In Room 2, the pit is slightly off center relative to the surrounding depression. There is also no square niche in the wall of this room near the pits in the floor, as there is in Room 2.
- Three V-shaped cuttings in the floor of the room. The length of the arms is on average 75 cm and each cutting measures 8 cm across and is an average of 9–10 cm deep. The



Fig. 9. Rock-cut Room 5 in Gallery XIX, with V-shaped cuttings in the floor.

points are cut slightly wider and deeper (10–11 cm). Two of the V-shaped cuttings point westward and one points eastward (Fig. 9).

In the southwestern corner is a rectangular opening leading to a small chamber. The chamber was found full of soil containing a concentration of perforated loom weights made of mud, which disintegrated when removed.

This complex of rooms is outside the city in relation to Kenyon's Wall NA from the Iron Age II, whose southern continuation Shiloh had exposed. It should be noted that at the bottom of the slope is the eastern wall, which we discovered in our Area J (Reich 2011:177–184), which was east of these rooms. Thus, the rock-cut rooms were located within the fortified area of the city in the eighth century BCE.

It seems that the rock-cut rooms were not part of an ordinary dwelling. However, they may have been quarried into the western part of a space beneath a dwelling located to the east of them, in an area that has not been excavated. This may be akin to the situation Parker found on a lower terrace, which we re-excavated about two years ago.

These spaces are not rock-cut tombs – as such spaces might be considered – either from the Iron Age II or any other period. Parts of them show that this was an agricultural area, mainly for the production of olive oil. This is shown by the rock-cut depressions (one in Room 2 and one in Room 5). A hewn space with a round pit of similar dimensions was uncovered by Nahman Avigad in the Upper City (Avigad and Geva 2000:70–71, installation 1160).

This limited area contained a number of unusual phenomena for which we currently do not have a reasonable explanation. One of these is the V-shaped cuttings in the floor of Room no. 5, and a similar cutting that Parker found nearby (Pl. VI, Gallery XV, no. 9; 2008, Pl. VI, Gallery XV, no. 9). Some sort of installation, perhaps made out of wood, might have been inserted into the V-shaped cuttings. Since these cuttings were in the same room in which the round depression was found, it is almost certain that it belonged to another agricultural or industrial installation, but we do not know what the equipment was or how it was used. We might hazard a guess that the wooden frame of a loom was inserted into these cuttings, based on the group of perforated mud loom weights found in the nearby room cut into the western rock face.

The second phenomenon is the small marker. This is not a tomb over which a marker was placed. The marker was set on the rock floor and stabilized by two rows of stones, one row on each side. We cannot escape the explanation that this is a site that does not manifest some aspect of ordinary daily life in a dwelling or an industrial zone. Rather, the marker expresses quite simply in stone some spiritual aspect of life.

So far no other such marker has been found in the City of David. Even at other sites from the Bronze Age and the Iron Age where stone markers have been found, they are usually larger and heavy, and generally made for the people living in the place where they are found. However, here we have a small marker which, at most, might have served in a private household ritual of some sort. Since the nearby rooms revealed installations some of which were certainly involved agricultural activities, the marker may have been connected to these activities.

Artifacts

Among the finds discovered in the excavation, noteworthy are sherds from the Iron Age II (Room 5) and a group of small stone weights typical of the Iron Age II. In sifting the soil excavated in this complex a few fragments of Hebrew bullae were also found.

J. Rock-hewn niche. This niche was rediscovered by Reich and Shukron above the northwestern corner of the Rock-cut Pool.

K. Burial cave predating the sixth or seventh centuries BCE, which was turned into an anarcosolia cave at the end of the Second Temple period.

L. Burial cave turned into an underground dwelling.

M. Burial cave turned into an underground dwelling.

Galleries XXI, XXII and Cave K

We re-excavated Parker's Galleries XXI and XXII (Vincent 1911: Pl. VI) out of a desire to learn about the nature of the area south of the Rock-cut Pool and knowing Parker had already excavated most of this area. We re-discovered an underground dwelling cave hewn out of the bedrock (Shukron and Reich 2009:59–62) (Fig. 5).

44*

Cave K

A cave hewn out of the friable *melekeh* rock, measuring an average of 3.75 x 8.30 m. It seems that this was an interior cave relative to the slope, dug into the back of another cave (marked as L and M in Parker's report) and connected to it by a rather large opening. In the walls of the caves small niches were hewn (nos. 19 and 20) and an inner room (no. 21) was connected to the cave by a high, narrow opening (marked 'a') and a window (marked 'b'). One of Parker's team (very likely Juvelius) was photographed sitting near this window (Fig. 10). Between the opening leading to the inner room and the window is a small niche in the rock, apparently for an oil lamp. Low benches were hewn along the southern and the eastern walls of the cave. In the corner between the benches a square block was cut created (marked 'd'). At the top and at the bottom of the eastern rock wall are small depressions (marked 'e'). On top of the southern bench a stone manger (measuring 55 x 95 cm) was found detached from the rock.

This cave was apparently located in the back, western part of an undiscovered dwelling from the Iron Age. Such dwellings were certainly connected to a row of other dwellings from the same period, which had been excavated in the past on the eastern slope of the City of David by Kathleen Kenyon and by Yigal Shiloh.

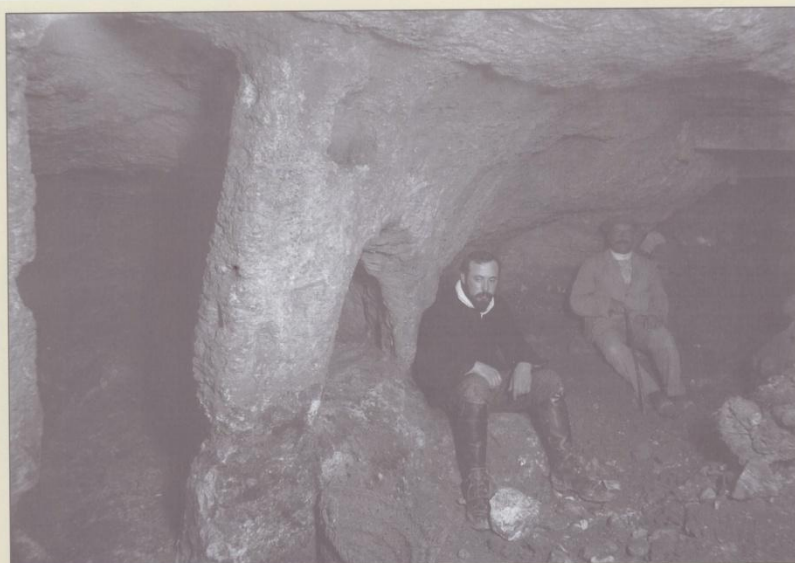


Fig. 10. Cave K in Gallery XXII. The man in the photo is apparently Juvelius.

Since the entire area had been excavated by the Parker expedition, no original layers of soil were in situ. And because the soil that was removed contained a mixture of sherds (from the Iron Age II and the Herodian period), there was no direct way of dating the cuttings and the cave.

N. A long (c. 12 m) narrow (c. 4 m in the east) corridor connecting the system of spaces marked K, L and M with Channel II. Vincent believed that this passage to the water was used from the beginning of the seventh–sixth centuries CE, and perhaps from the eighth century CE, until Second Temple times. It should be noted that in our excavation of Channel II in this area (c. 30 m south of the spring) we did not encounter this passageway. It seems that the diggers excavated the corridor from west to east and reached a point above Channel II.

O. It seems that the two parallel lines marked at the bottom left side of the plan are none other than a portion of Channel II.

P. Unidentified remains.

Q. Shaft dug to the large cave of the Warren's Shaft system. The outside entrance to it on the slope can be seen in Fig. 26. We exposed the bottom of this shaft, in which a number

of rusted iron pails were found that had been left behind by the Parker expedition. These are now on display at the site.

Artifacts

Vincent published 10 plates of drawings of pottery vessels (Plates VII–XVI). Additional information is given in the text regarding some of the sherds and pottery vessels (mainly their find-spot).

We include in this article photographs of a number of the vessels found in the tombs from the Early Bronze Age I at the top of the eastern slope of the City of David¹ (See above Fig. 3). These vessels, which Vincent correctly dated to the beginning of the third millennium BCE, led him to conclude that the hill where they were found held remains of very early settlement that were not found on the surrounding hills. Thus there was no escaping the conclusion that this hill was the biblical City of David.

Details Unnoticed by Vincent



Fig. 11. The 'Round Chamber' Tunnel III is partially visible in the background and the opening of Tunnel IV can be seen at left.

Vincent was a passive partner in the Parker expedition's dig. He had access to the entire excavation site, documenting and describing it as best he could. However, he did not have the authority to determine the dig strategy; that is, to decide what areas and directions would advance the excavation. For example, when the rock-cut 'Round Chamber' was discovered, which the excavators entered through Tunnel IV on the one hand, and through Tunnels II and III on the other, he could not be criticized for not expanding the excavation upward to find the Rock-cut Pool, which was found recently above the 'Round Chamber'. If Parker's laborers had dug a vertical shaft from the surface down to the 'Round Chamber,' as they did elsewhere, they would obviously have come upon this large rock-cut area, which we discovered in the

¹ It is unclear how these vessels came to be in the Rockefeller Museum collection, since they were discovered by the Parker expedition, which excavated from 1909 to 1911, while the Antiquities Department was founded by the British Mandate government, which began its activities in Jerusalem in 1920. Where were they kept in between? We know that there had been a small exhibit at the Tower of David, and they might have been on display there.

late 1990s (Reich and Shukron 2003a; 2003b; Reich, Shukron and Lerna 2007) (Fig. 11).

A similar issue involves the above-discussed thick wall marked '17' on the plan (Pl. VI). The Parker expedition encountered this wall when digging an earthen tunnel, and did not continue to follow it. It seems that this approach revealed the policy of the Parker expedition, which was to look for hewn underground spaces in the rock in the hope of finding treasure and not to excavate as far as possible walls that they might run into on the way.

Perhaps the only item that Vincent did not notice, although it was partially exposed from the bottom, was the small shaft in the bedrock right above the bottom of the rock-cut steps leading to spring (Fig. 12). This shaft does not appear in Vincent's published cross-section (Pl. I, section g-h). Because Vincent himself measured and drew every detail of the excavation, it is hard to understand how he did not notice this element. The first person to notice it was the geologist Dan Gill, while conducting geological research in the City of David (Gill 1996:18). Our excavations reached this shaft from the top; we found it blocked with a large stone, like a kind of 'cork.' This stone was covered with a thick layer of soil containing sherds from the first century CE, that is, from the late Second Temple period. We may conclude from this fact only that at that time the shaft was blocked and covered, apparently during construction of the stone vault over the spring, which is covered by the same layer of soil and sherds. Whether this shaft was ever used for drawing water directly from the spring, we can never know.



Fig. 12. The small natural shaft above the spring.

The Parker expedition also excavated under the Spring House, that is, under the staircase leading to the spring. The space was subsequently filled with soil and refuse. When we reached the site, we cleared away this soil and noticed that the eastern side of the small room under the staircase had not been cleared properly— a pillar of soil had been left behind that contained Roman sherds (Reich and Shukron 2002a:17–18). I hazard a guess that if Parker's laborers had cleared out this part completely at the beginning of the 20th century, they would have very clearly seen the inside of the chamber within the tower that we uncovered, inside and out, which we dubbed the 'Spring Tower' (Reich and Shukron 2002a; 2003). The interior is built of gigantic stones, and there is no doubt that Vincent would have noticed them and realized how important they were.

Another significant detail that Vincent did not notice was the remains of a staircase adjacent on the inside to the southern wall of the chamber under the staircase descending to the spring. This element may also have escaped his notice due to the incomplete clearing of the room by his laborers. If they had cleared it entirely, perhaps Vincent would have also discovered the opening built of dressed stone, which we found blocked by construction in the southern wall of the chamber. We discovered these elements because we penetrated the chamber from its southern side (Reich and Shukron 2002b:17, Fig. 1), while Vincent reached it from the west, that is, from the direction of the spring and Walls I and J.

With regard to the Siloam Tunnel, which Vincent surveyed and drew with admirable precision, it is not clear to us whether he took the trouble to go up the ladder to examine the upper parts of the southern section of the tunnel, and if he did so, whether it was only at the points where he drew his cross-sections (c and e, on the south, high side), or whether he took a good look at the highest parts of the rock face all along it on both sides of the tunnel. Our examination of the top of the tunnel allowed us to determine that its ceiling in that area was completely hewn out of the rock and not the result of karstic erosion (Reich and Shukron 2002c). This methodical examination of ours also led to the discovery of the hewn element some 15 m from the southern exit of the tunnel – a vertical recess in the eastern wall, some 55 cm wide, showing the change in the direction of the cutting of the rock. We believe this element, which was not reported by Vincent, strengthens our theory as to how the tunnel was cut southward (Reich and Shukron 2007). The fact that the recess is found only in the upper reaches of the tunnel shows that at first only this part was cut, at the place where the change of direction was made. Later, when it was decided to lower the level of the floor of the tunnel to its current level, the laborers did not bother to 'lower' this recess as well.

What Vincent Saw that We Did Not

When the Parker expedition left the City of David and its excavations, most of the entrances it had discovered to the rock-hewn system of tunnels near the spring were closed off. The expedition departed in a hurry, but before doing so the surface was restored as much as possible to its previous state. It may be assumed that this was required by the conditions of the firman (permit) that the Ottoman authorities had granted the expedition, as was usual in those days. The built walls at the entrances to Tunnel IV and Tunnel VII, the entrance to the bottom of Warren's Shaft and Walls I and J, which Parker's expedition was the first to discover, were rebuilt. The entrance to Channel II near the spring was blocked off once again by a wall (see below). The various vertical shafts that were dug from the surface downward through the thick layer of soil were also sealed, as was the entrance to the system of winding galleries dug through that soil. The system of galleries itself was left as it was, empty, as can be seen from the many remnants of wooden beams that we discovered in a few places (see below), which had been used for support during Parker's explorations. During our excavations we reached many parts of the sites that had been dug by the Parker expedition and documented by Vincent, but to date, we have not found all of them.

From the Warren's Shaft system, that is, from the rock-hewn tunnels, only the 'dead-end shaft,' cut from the top of the slanting shaft, remains sealed. Part of this shaft had been discovered by Warren, and the Parker expedition exposed the rest (Figs. 13, 14). Later, they returned and refilled the shaft with soil. This was apparently done partly by the Parker expedition so they could avoid removing the soil from other places in the system to the surface, which would have required major effort.

It may be assumed that after they cleared the 'dead-end shaft' and their hopes of finding 'treasures' were dashed, they filled it with the soil that had been excavated in the tunnel, as can be seen by modern items discovered in that soil. We hope that in the future we will complete the excavation of this shaft. While it leads nowhere, it will certainly reveal important information and contribute to answering the question of whether it is another karstic element (as Gill believes) or not (as Reich and Shukron contend).

The second element excavated by the Parker expedition, only small parts of which we re-exposed, is the winding system of galleries excavated in the layers of soil (Plate VI). The diggers of these tunnels came across various elements, including tombs, walls and various rock-cuttings, as Vincent describes. New interpretations have been proposed for some of these discoveries (Reich 1987), but based only on Vincent's book, that is, on the

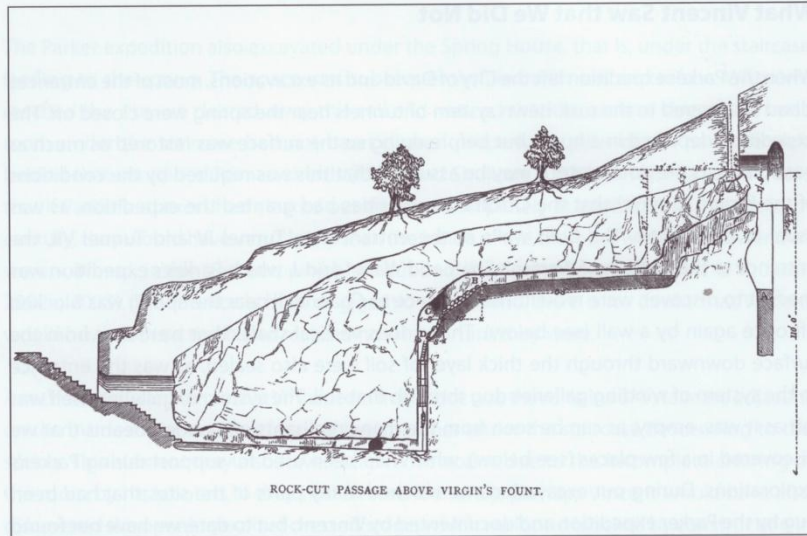


Fig. 13. The Warren's Shaft system, cross-section (after Warren and Conder 1884:369). Note the 'dead-end shaft' at right.

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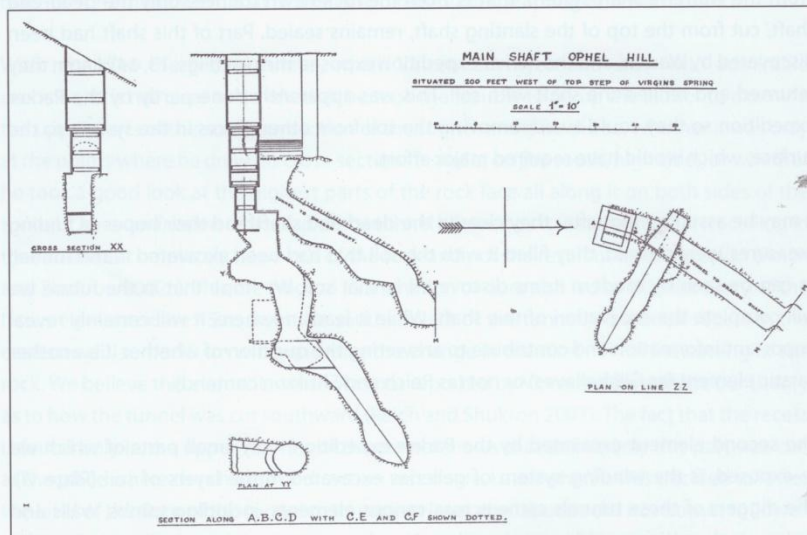


Fig. 14. The 'dead-end shaft,' plan and cross-section, 1911, Pl. IIIc.

written description, the plan and photographs (see above). That is the case for the thick wall (Plate VI, no. 17) as well as for the square monoliths (ibid. no. 6). These remains are still buried under the thick mantle of soil covering the southern and eastern slopes of the hill. Perhaps one day they will be turned over by the archaeologist's spade. Then more precise evidence will have to be found for the dating of these architectural elements and to support hypotheses that have been raised.

Discovery of Parker's Presence by the Reich and Shukron Expedition

The City of David hill is the most excavated site in Israel. The expedition we head, which began work at the site in 1995, is the 12th in number. Before us were Charles Warren, who excavated in 1867; Hermann Guthe (1881); Conrad Schick (1886, 1890); F. J. Bliss and Archibald Dickie (1894–1897); Montague Parker and L.H. Vincent (1909–1911); Raymond Weill (1913–1914, 1923–1924); R.A.S. Macalister and J.G. Duncan (1923–1924); J. W. Crowfoot and G. M. Fitzgerald (1927–1928); K. M. Kenyon (1961–1967); David Ussishkin (survey of the nearby Silwan tombs 1968–1979); and Yigal Shiloh (1978–1985).

Limited salvage digs, which revealed quite a few finds, were also carried out, including those led by David Adan-Bayewitz (1976); Alon de Groot (1993); Ya'akov Billig (1994); Dan Bahat (1998); Zvi Greenhut (2005); and David Amit (2006). Our excavation is not the last; excavations have begun at the site led by Eilat Mazar (from 2006) and Doron Ben-Ami and Yana Tchekhanvets (from 2007).

Archaeologists who comes to dig the hill today will have to take into consideration the sites dug by their predecessors; if not, they might re-excavate areas dug in the past and covered up – actions that reveal no new information and might be a waste of resources. Such things have already happened in the City of David. Nevertheless, the need sometimes arises to expose architectural remains that have been dug in the past and covered up, to re-examine them directly and to try to understand them better. And if original, undisturbed soil is discovered, it might be possible to correct the dating of these remains.

The most salient example of this is Warren's Shaft, which Warren first discovered and excavated in 1867, subsequently covering its upper entrance. The entrance to the system was re-excavated in 1909–1911 by the Parker expedition, and once again the entrance shafts to the underground system were covered at the end of the dig. During the British Mandate and under Jordanian rule no one saw fit to reopen the entrance to the system. Only in 1978, with the renewal of excavations in the City of David, did Yigal Shiloh re-enter

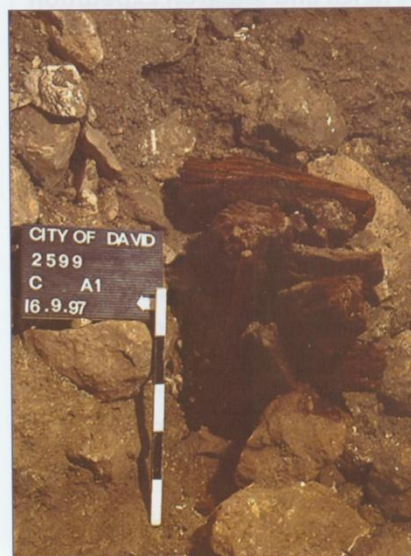


Fig. 15. Items discarded at the excavation site by the Parker expedition.

the Warren's Shaft system, followed which the site was transformed into a tourist attraction (Shiloh 1981). Our excavations also touched on a few places on the margins of Parker expedition's dig.

Traces of the Parker expedition were discovered for the first time when we dug a long, narrow rock-cut corridor connecting the Warren's Shaft system to the southwestern corner of the structure known as the 'visitors center.' This is the point where the Parker expedition had dug the vertical shaft marked on Plate VI with the letter Q, and subsequently sealed it off. Our expedition reached the bottom of the shaft from the side – from the direction of the Warren's Shaft system. Here we discovered a number of rusted iron buckets. The use of iron buckets was not known in earthworks, including archaeological excavations, at that time in Palestine (Fig. 15); straw baskets (qofa in Arabic, a form of the word in mishnaic Hebrew qupa) were usually used to remove soil. Two iron buckets were found in their original location; they mark the lowest point in the shaft that the Parker expedition reached in its excavation there.

In another place, we encountered the Parker expedition dig – in the 'Round Chamber,' – the deep area at the northeastern corner of the Rock-cut Pool. When we found the northeastern corner of that pool (until that time we had not imagined what this chamber involved, nor the gigantic proportions of this rock-hewn element) in our excavation in the visitors center, we noticed that if we connected our plan to Vincent's, that corner is directly over the 'Round Chamber.' Thus we noticed both Channel II and the 'Round Chamber,' which had been excavated by Parker, and we decided we wanted to enter those two

underground areas, which Parker had sealed at the end of his dig. The opening to Channel II had been sealed by construction from the direction of the staircase going down to the spring.

Parenthetically it should be noted here that in 1970, two young archaeology students broke through a small opening in the wall blocking the entrance to Channel II, to crawl into the channel and from there to the 'Round Chamber' and back, without excavation of any kind.² The breach was subsequently re-sealed. When the Shiloh expedition excavated in the City of David from 1978–1985, Shiloh's team reopened Channel II. They dug very little there, and once again resealed the entrance.

In the summer of 1997, the Reich and Shukron excavation was expanded into Channel II, once again breaking through the wall sealing the channel. The first meters into Channel II were traversed with relative ease; however, the entrance to Tunnel III and the 'Round Chamber' was blocked with soil. The soil could have been removed from Tunnel III, but it would have been dangerous to penetrate the rock-cut tunnel further from the side. In the end, we reached the 'Round Chamber' by excavating from above, down the northeastern corner of the Rock-cut Pool. The 'Round Chamber' was then dug part by part, overcoming major technical difficulties presented by the wet and unstable soil within and on top of it.

When we reached the bottom of the 'Round Chamber' we discovered why the soil had been wet and how dangerous that was. We found large quantities of broken wooden beams in various stages of decomposition. It turned out that the Parker expedition had entered the 'Round Chamber' through Tunnel III and excavated the space, using the wooden scaffolding for support. In this way the entire 'Round Chamber' was dug, but not from above. In so doing, the opening was discovered leading from the 'Round Chamber' to Tunnel IV (Fig. 11). When they were finished, the Parker expedition simply exited via the 'Round Chamber' and resealed the entrance to Channel II, without dismantling the wooden scaffolding. It seems that the scaffolding held out for many more years, and that it how Reich and Mazar were able to enter in 1970, and the members of the Shiloh expedition about a decade later. Since that time, the scaffolding, which continued to disintegrate over the years, collapsed under the weight of the 15 m or more of soil on top of them. These were the broken beams we found when we cleared out the 'Round Chamber.'

At another site we found quite a bit of refuse left behind by the Parker expedition – in

² The students were Ronny Reich (one of the authors of this article) and his colleague Amihai Mazar, who were at the time members of Nahman Avigad's excavation team in the Jewish Quarter.

the space under the lower, ancient stairs leading to the spring. The first people to enter this place were Masterman and Hornstein in 1901, and separately, Conrad Schick. They entered the space after removing paving slabs under the ancient vault over the spring, and excavated a narrow shaft descending vertically downward. That is how they discovered Channel I (Vincent 1911, section e-f on Pl. I). In 1909, the Parker expedition entered this space. They were able to do this during a time the spring waters had been diverted to the Kidron Valley. After they rebuilt Wall I (Vincent 1911, Pl. I, plan and section a-b), they filled the space with soil almost to the roof. The soil contained quite a bit of modern refuse, including fragments of glass bottles, the fragment of an eye-glass frame and a small battery (!), certainly one of the first ever used in Jerusalem.

Conclusion

The most significant outcome of Father Louis Hughes Vincent's work on the southeastern hill of Jerusalem was in finally proving that this was the site of the ancient city, because here, and only here, remains were found from the Early and the Middle Bronze Age, that is, from Canaanite Jerusalem. This was the final confirmation that the biblical City of David was on this spot.

Vincent's work is a clear example of a talented scholar who took advantage to the fullest of the extraordinary opportunity he was afforded. After all, the Siloam Tunnel and the Warren's Shaft system could have been documented and studied in detail even earlier, but in Jerusalem at the end of the 19th and the early 20th centuries, it was difficult to carry out such work, and perhaps even more difficult to assuage the suspicion of the authorities on the one hand, and the inhabitants on the other.

Vincent was certainly the first scholar who was both biblical researcher and archaeologist, and who knew how to compare the archaeological findings to the Bible while attempting to better understand each of those corpuses of knowledge. He was able to understand Scripture through archaeological remains and to understand the remains by studying the biblical text and the character of the ancient culture that emerges from it.

The publication of his book *Underground Jerusalem*, in 1911, a book in which Vincent describes the discoveries of the Parker expedition, is certainly a publishing achievement of the first order. The book, which was released immediately after the excavation ended, appeared, as noted, in two different editions, French and English. It contained some

color plates – a rare achievement in those days – showing painted clay vessels from the Early Bronze Age I. On some of the plans and cross-sections, elements were colored to differentiate among various phases of the remains. A unique aspect was the fact that the author is identified in the book only by his initials, H.V., and not by his full name! This apparently reveals Vincent's ambivalence over the scandalous and dramatic end of the expedition's work. Nevertheless, the book never defames Parker (who is not identified by name, but rather as the "leader." On the contrary, Vincent praises him highly. This might seem surprising, but it shows beyond a doubt that Vincent was not only a great scholar, but a true gentleman.

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Fig. 6: Gabi Laron, excavation team.

Fig. 8. Warren 1884: 369.

Fig. 9. Vincent 1911, Pl. IIIc.