VOICES FROM UNDERGROUND JERUSALEM.¹

By REV. J. L. LEEPER, D.D.,
Chicago, Ill.

The church of Notre Dame in Paris at the time of its erection in the twelfth century was approached by an ascent of six or eight steps; it is now entered upon a level. Between the first and second visits of the writer to Corinth and Ephesus a page had been turned in the volume of time which revealed wonders: at Corinth twenty feet beneath the surface the Forum and the Fountain of Pireni with its sculptured marbles had been brought to light; and at Ephesus the seats, stage, and arena of the theater, as well as the grand avenue in front flanked with splendid colonnades and paved with polygonal blocks bearing the marks of the chariot wheels, had been uncovered.

This burying of the past by the present seems at first thought impossible. In the mound of Lachish, however, Flinders Petrie discovered that the depth of the débris increased five feet in each century. The natural accumulation might easily be from one-sixteenth to one-quarter of an inch a year; this in eighteen hundred years would be from nine and one-half to thirty-seven and one-half feet. All this natural deposit is often accelerated by earthquakes, by the deposit of streams, and especially by corrosion from the hillsides if the buried object is situated in low ground.

These illustrations of time-buried ruins are insignificant when compared with those furnished by the city of Jerusalem. Jerusalem is a graveyard. Buried beneath the streets we tread are the relics of its past grandeur, the cities of David, Solomon, Nehemiah, Herod, Omar, Godfrey de Bouillon, and Saladin. This is explained by the deposit of detritus having been greatly augmented by the desolations of siege after siege, as well as by the accumulation from the refuse of the city which is thrown

¹ Illustrated with photographs by the author.

167
THE SITE OF THE CITY OF DAVID.

(An explanation of the figures in this photograph is contained in the article on pp. 167-79.)
into the streets to be devoured by hungry dogs or to rot. The waste and garbage, not a basketful of which has been carried out of the city in many centuries, has buried to the depth of from thirty to one hundred feet streets which echoed to the footfall of apostles and prophets, and the tramp of Roman legions.

The ordinary tourist, with limited historical and topographical information, is likely to miss much of what is of the greatest value and interest in the environs of the Holy City. It is only by patiently penetrating beneath the modern crust of rubbish which shrouds the sacred places from view that the traveler will at length realize to himself a picture of the Jerusalem of antiquity. Many "witnesses of the dust" have never as yet contributed their testimony, for excavation has proceeded slowly and is still very incomplete. Voices, however, have been heard which confirm and illustrate past records and speak of the things which are of real interest in the glorious past.

More rapid progress would have been made in bringing to light the buried mysteries of bygone centuries, were it not for the obstacles placed in the way of willing investigators by the Turkish government. Firmans have generally been difficult to obtain, and when issued the prejudice of the local population has often barred the way. It is always necessary to use the greatest tact and frequently to resort to stratagem. Moslem graves, such as those contiguous to the east wall of the Haram area, present an insuperable obstacle.

Another thing which has made the truth difficult to ascertain is that the environs of the Holy City, and of Palestine as well, are wrapped in a web of worthless traditions as well as buried beneath the débris of ages. Instead of acting as an aid to the discovery of the truth, tradition has often been misleading, or has presented a tissue of monkish fables so interwoven as to defy disentanglement. This characteristic of Palestinian tradition is due to the fact that for three centuries succeeding the time of Christ no value was placed upon the holy sites. It was not thought desirable by the early Christians to know Christ after the flesh (2 Cor. 5:16). Their gaze was fixed upon the New Jerusalem.
So oblivious were they to associations of apostles and prophets that Christianity's most sacred shrine, the sepulcher of Christ, had at last to be sought by the aid of divine inspiration, and its so-called discovery was pronounced a miracle. When meritorious pilgrimages began to be made to sacred places, the demand became so urgent that the monks were compelled to find out the precise spot of everything imaginable, and what the monks failed to do, St. Helena, the mother of church traditions and superstition, completed by a comprehensive tour of the Holy Land. The utter unreliability of this method is illustrated by the thirty-two shrines located within the walls of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Here we have the so-called assemblage of the sites of all the events connected with the last days of our Lord upon earth, and all the biblical events that could with any probability be located in Jerusalem. Each and all these sites are attired as a characteristic Holy Place, the receipt for making which would seem to be, first, to locate at the most convenient
place, then to shut out the light, then to vitiate the air with smoking tallow lamps, then to accumulate lace and tinsel and tawdry finery, and then open the show at a bishlik a head. Before these shrines dirty priests in semi-female attire are marching and counter-marching, kneeling and kissing and making the gloomy caverns and arches resound with their vain repetitions, as if they thought they would be heard for their much speaking. Into the hands of such monkery the sacred trust of holy sites has been committed for ages, the last invention of which was a new site for the Caenaculum on the plot of ground on Zion which was presented by the German emperor to the German Catholics.

The placidity of monkish tradition was first disturbed in a serious way by Professor Robinson, of New York, in 1838. He did not depend upon monkish hospitality or monkish guides. In company with Dr. Eli Smith, a missionary at Beirūt and a finished Arabic scholar, he forsook beaten paths and mingled with the people. Among the fellahin he found valuable traditions still surviving, especially in the names of places; but he discarded all tradition, monkish and otherwise, which was not consistent with the Scriptures. From that day tradition has had a hard road to travel, being confronted by the investigations of Tobler, Wilson, Van de Velde, Conder, Schumacher, Warren, Bliss, Schick, and others.

As to Jerusalem, the first task for scientific investigation was to discover the site of the ancient city. This, strange to say, is not as yet fully determined. The mountains of Olivet, Moriah, and Ophel, the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom, and the Pool of Siloam are all identified; but aside from these there is hardly a question upon which all are found to agree.

There is no doubt that the ancient city occupied a part of the plateau upon which the present Jerusalem stands, and the slopes south of the southern wall. This tongue of land rises more or less abruptly between the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom, which form a junction near the Pool of Siloam. A comprehensive view of this landscape is given in the frontispiece, "The Site of the City of David," to which the figures herewith refer.
This photograph was taken from the Mount of Olives looking westward. In the immediate foreground we see the valley of Jehoshaphat (Fig. 4), down which the brook Kidron courses; beyond, on the left of the picture, the valley of Hinnom (Fig. 5), is seen indistinctly, running diagonally toward the northwest. The hills to the south of Hinnom, and the path along its southern bank, are more distinctly seen than the valley itself. The Pool of Siloam (Fig. 3) is situated amid the olive trees at the junction of the two valleys. This tongue of land is cut lengthwise by the valley of the Tyropœan which divides the west and east hills about midway between Figs. 2 and 6; this valley, however, is now so filled in as to be scarcely recognizable as such. The plateau on the west of the Tyropœan (Fig. 2), seen in the background, rises 105 feet higher than the hill upon the east side which appears in the foreground of the picture. The south wall of the city is seen running westward crossing the valley of the Tyropœan and rising higher as it ascends the west hill. The summit of the east hill is indisputably the site of the temple. It occupied the present Haram area, the inclosing southeast corner wall (Fig. 1) of which is shown in the foreground. In the Scriptures it is called Moriah (Gen. 22:2; 2 Chron. 3:1). Though Zion has been understood as applying to the west hill, that shown in the background, topographers are gravitating to the belief that the name “Zion” should rather be understood as applying to the east hill; that Moriah and Zion referred to one and the same hill. Certain it is that the word “Zion” is used to include the east or temple hill. This accounts for the frequent mention of the “glory of Zion” in the poetical books. Zion, too, is frequently used as synonymous with the City of David (2 Sam. 5:7; 1 Kings 8:1.) The identification of Zion and Moriah would locate the City of David on the east hill. Tradition places it on the west hill. But tradition has been thought to be incorrect, for the phrase “going up” to the temple from the City of David is commonly used (2 Sam. 24:18, 19; 1 Kings 8:1); whereas if the City of David was situated on the west hill, it is

*See Benzinger, in Hilprecht's Excavations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century.
thought that the proper phrase would be "going down." We must look, then, for the City of David on the south slope of the
east hill or Ophel, which runs from the southeast corner wall of the Haram area to the Pool of Siloam, or from Figs. 1 to 3. There are those, however, who think tradition may be correct;
that, the Tyropoean valley being originally 100 feet deeper than at present, the phrase "going up" would apply properly to the passage from the west hill to the temple, which was situated on the summit of Moriah, not shown in the frontispiece; that, therefore, the City of David may have been situated on the west hill.

The truth probably is, that the ancient city was situated on the west hill and the south slope of the east hill; that portion upon the west being occupied for the most part by the Jebusites whom the Israelites did not drive out. In their time there was an upper and lower city. Concerning David's capture of the Jebusites' stronghold Josephus says: 3 "And when they had taken the lower city . . . . they slew all the inhabitants; but the upper city was not to be taken without difficulty through the strength of its walls and the nature of the place." This upper and lower city of the Jebusites was probably situated upon the western hill and its southern slope. They could not have occupied the summit of the eastern hill, for this has been found to be the site of the temple; and before that it was the threshing-floor of Araunah, the Jebusite, unoccupied by buildings (2 Sam. 24:18-25).

In the picture "The Pool of Siloam" the wall of the city is seen in the distance on the height which is considerable. It might be urged that the "lower city" of the Jebusites was in the region of Siloam and the "upper city" higher up on Ophel, but this would not satisfy the tradition, which identifies Zion with the west hill. It might be urged, too, that the Jebusites would certainly build near the only living fountain which is Gihon (near Fig. 4), but the site would not have been so easy of defense. The city on the west hill may have relied on cisterns or carried water from Gihon.

The course of the ancient wall for the most part has been established. David seems not to have been a wall-builder. Solomon added much. "He built Millo and repaired the breaches of the City of David" and the wall "round about." The walls as Solomon left them are those which were repaired by Nehemiah (Neh., chap. 3). Keeping in mind that walls were built along

3 Antiquities, V, v, 2.
the brow of hills following close to the most precipitous descents, together with the information obtained from excavations, we are able to trace with considerable accuracy the course of the wall inclosing the ancient city on all but the north side.

Starting from the west wall of the temple area, the city wall crossed the Tyropoean valley to the tower of Hippicus, which was close to the present David tower. It then followed the course of the present wall along the western brow of traditional Zion (see illustration, "Jerusalem from the West"\(^4\)), but continued farther south. Here on the cut scarp of rock the remainder of the ancient wall was found. The eastern end of this wall was found by Warren on the hill Ophel, where it abutted upon the south wall of the temple area (see frontispiece, Fig. 1). It was 15 feet in width at the base and 12 feet at the top; Warren followed it for 776 feet.

\(^4\) Fig. 1 is the southwest corner of city wall near the rock scarp; Fig. 2, Tower of Hippicus; Fig. 3, Jaffa Gate.
More important was the discovery of the connection between these points which was made by Dr. Frederick J. Bliss, who for three years conducted the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Commencing at the scarp rock of traditional Zion, he demonstrated that the course of the wall was eastward along the declivity overlooking the north side of Hinnom to and encompassing the Pool of Siloam (from Figs. 2 to 3), and thence northward along the east side of Ophel to the wall found by Warren (from Figs. 3 to 1).

Beneath this slope of Ophel is the underground channel cut by Hezekiah from the fountain Gihon (south of Fig. 4) to the Pool of Siloam (Fig. 3). Siloam was thus an artificial fountain within the walls of this ancient city, whose water was supplied from Gihon, which was in the valley outside the wall. In this underground channel was found the famous Siloam inscription. Side tunnels indicate that the workmen at times lost their bearings; but one arm leading toward the surface, together with a water jar found in it, indicate that there was an artificial well midway between the fountains. The approach to Gihon, then and now the only fountain in Jerusalem, was cut off by Hezekiah (2 Chron. 32:3), that the invading army might suffer from want of water.

In the side excavations which were made while the south wall was being followed by Dr. Bliss, ruins of houses, pools, drains, and stairways cut into the rock were unearthed.

The picture "Plowed as a Field" was taken on the southern slope. In the background the Mount of Olives is seen (Fig. 1). Nearer, and in the center of the picture, the mosque El Aksa with its majestic dome surmounts the southern wall of the temple precincts. A considerable portion of the southern wall of the city is visible, showing the angle (Fig. 2) formed as it approaches from the west the temple area, the south wall of which is seen upon a higher level (Fig. 3). That the site of the ancient city is correctly located is put beyond all doubt by the accompanying illustration, "A Witness from the Dust." This picture was taken underground on this southern slope, as was also the underground conduit. Entering openings made by the Palestine
"PLOWED AS A FIELD,"
Exploration Fund, the writer took these and other pictures, one being a corner wall showing a niche made by the hub of a chariot wheel when passing around the corner. Along the street here shown David rode and Solomon drove his chariot. Here, too, the Savior walked. At the base of the stone pillar shown in the picture is a socket (\(\times\)) in which a gate turned. These witnesses from the dust attest the fulfilment of the prediction written twenty-five centuries ago, "Zion shall be plowed as a field and Jerusalem shall become heaps" (Jer. 26:18), for this area is now a vegetable garden. They echo, too, the truth of the Savior's words when, standing on Olivet and looking down upon the city of ten thousand sacred memories, he said: "The days shall come upon thee, when thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall dash thee to the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another."

The second wall was built by Hezekiah to inclose the suburbs which had sprung up outside the north wall, and to make the defense more effective by means of a double wall. From Josephus we learn that it ran from the gate of Gennath near the Jaffa gate on the west side to the tower of Antonio on the east side of the city. Upon its course between these points depends the genuineness of the claims of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. The Scriptures expressly state that Golgotha was outside the city wall, and if it were found that the site of the church is within this wall, all its claims to genuineness would be at an end. The ancient stone work at the Damascus gate is accepted as a part of the second wall. As we pass outward through that gate, we can see a little above the ground, and beneath the present gate, the top of the arch of the ancient gate. Magnificent mural remains have also been found under the New Hotel and also under Frere's College. These two fragments are identical in style with the ancient stone work at the Damascus gate and are in line with it. By many these fragments are accepted as sufficient to establish the course of the second wall, which would coincide closely with the present north wall of the city. The
mural remains to the contrary, discovered by the Russian Palestine Society east of the Sepulcher, are not convincing. This throws the Church of the Sepulcher inside the second wall, and bars all its claims to genuineness.

The third wall was built by Herod Agrippa about twelve years after the crucifixion. It is described by Josephus, but, though remains have been found, its course cannot be exactly followed. It included a part of the present city without the wall upon the north.

Thus it would appear that Jerusalem at the time of our Savior probably covered the entire plateau on the south and extended as far north as the present city, and perhaps much farther outside the walls.

5 Wars, V, iv, 2.