

The
BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGIST



Published by

THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

Jerusalem and Bagdad

Drawer 93-A, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.

VOL. XXVII

May, 1964

No. 2



Fig. 1. The area of ancient Jerusalem south of the Old City. At right, the eastern ridge, or Ophel, bounded by the Kidron; in center, the silted-up Tyropoeon; at left, the western ridge, Josephus' Mount Zion.

Contents

Excavations in Jerusalem, by Kathleen M. Kenyon	34
An Archaeological Study of Gibeah, by Lawrence A. Sinclair	52

The Biblical Archaeologist is published quarterly (February, May, September, December) by the American Schools of Oriental Research. Its purpose is to meet the need for a readable, non-technical, yet thoroughly reliable account of archaeological discoveries as they relate to the Bible.

Editor: Edward F. Campbell, Jr., with the assistance of Floyd V. Filson in New Testament matters. Editorial correspondence should be sent to the editor at 800 West Belden Avenue, Chicago 14, Illinois.

Editorial Board: W. F. Albright, Johns Hopkins University; G. Ernest Wright, Harvard University; Frank M. Cross, Jr., Harvard University.

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year, payable to **Stechert-Hafner Service Agency, 31 East 10th Street, New York 3, New York**. Associate members of the American Schools of Oriental Research receive the journal automatically. Ten or more subscriptions for group use, mailed and billed to the same address, \$1.50 per year for each. Subscriptions run for the calendar year. In England: fifteen shillings per year, payable to **B. H. Blackwell, Ltd., Broad Street, Oxford**. **Back Numbers:** Available at 60¢ each, or \$2.25 per volume, from the Stechert-Hafner Service Agency. No orders under \$1.00 accepted. When ordering one issue only, please remit with order.

The journal is indexed in *Art Index*, *Index to Religious Periodical Literature*, and at the end of every fifth volume of the journal itself.

Second-class postage **PAID** at New Haven, Connecticut and additional offices.

Copyright by American Schools of Oriental Research, 1964.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, BY TRANSCRIPT PRINTING COMPANY
PETERBOROUGH, N. H.

Excavations in Jerusalem 1961-1963

KATHLEEN M. KENYON

Director, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem

The problem facing present day excavators of Jerusalem is to apply modern archaeological methods and present knowledge of pottery chronology to the elucidation of the problems of the history and topography of the city. Many excavations have taken place in Jerusalem, from the pioneer enterprise of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1867 onwards, but all, even those in the 1920's, belong to the days before proper stratigraphical records were understood, and all the excavators, as the sequel will show, based their interpretation on historical probabilities rather than on archaeological facts. In 1961, therefore, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem decided that its next major project should be Jerusalem, and in this it was joined by the École Biblique et Archéologique de St. Étienne and, in 1962 and 1963, by the Royal Ontario Museum. Père R. de Vaux, O. P. of the École Biblique was the co-director of the excavations with the writer, and Dr. A. D. Tushingham, of the Royal Ontario Museum, the associate director.

It has long been recognized that the greater part of early Jerusalem lies to the south of the present Old City, in an area bounded on the east by the Kidron valley, on the west and south by the curve of the Hinnom valley, and divided into two ridges by the Tyropoeon valley, today much silted up (Fig. 1). It has also been generally accepted that the earliest settlement was on the eastern ridge, in spite of the fact that Josephus placed Mount Zion on the western ridge, for in the Kidron at the foot of the

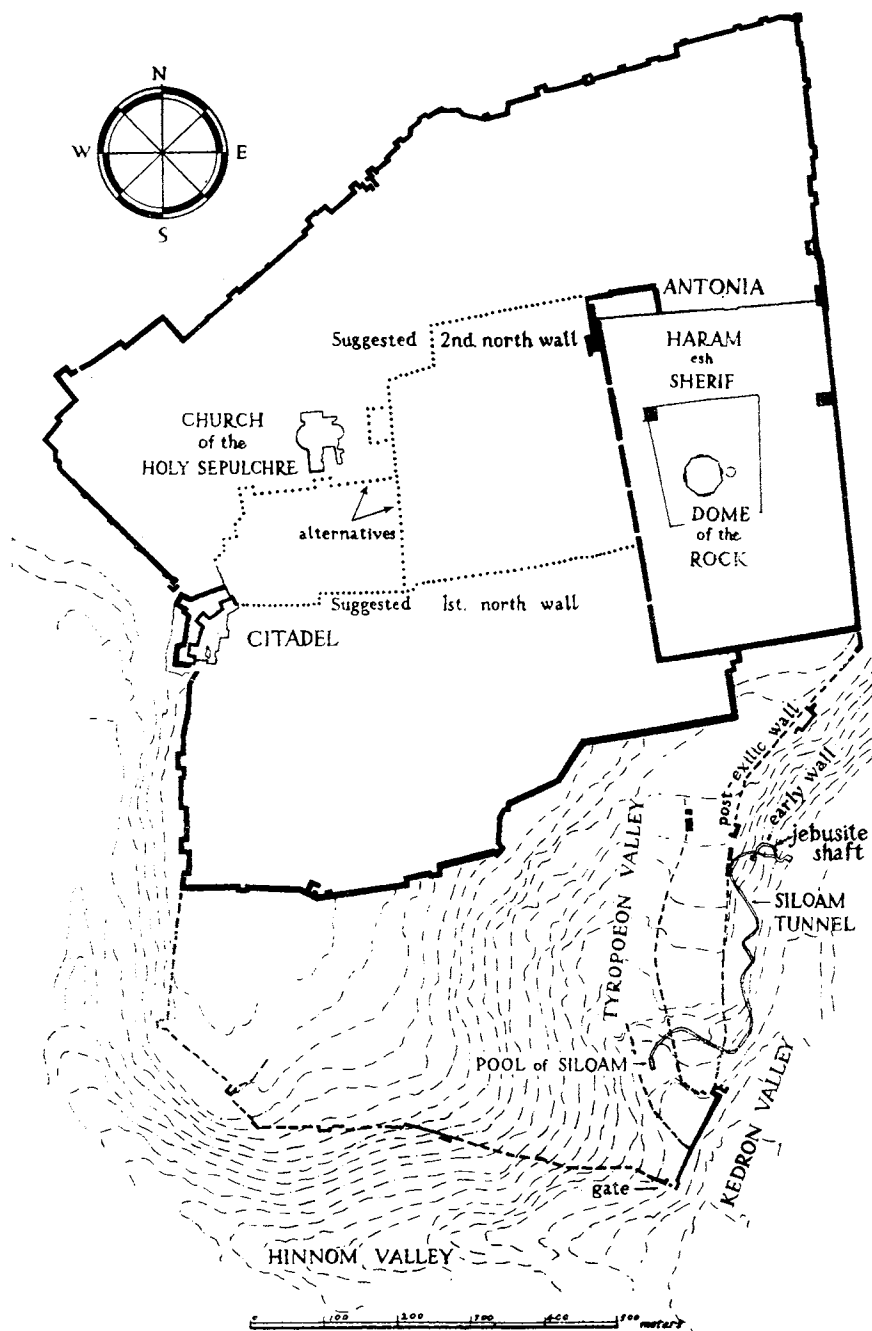


Fig. 2: Map of Jerusalem locating the features described in this article. From *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly*, XCIV (1962), p. 73.

eastern ridge is the only perennial source of water, the spring Gihon or Virgin's Fountain. At some stage, variously placed within the period of the Israelite monarchy, there was an expansion to include the western ridge, and a wall enclosing this whole area was traced by Bliss and Dickie in 1894-97.

It was to the problems of the eastern ridge, therefore, that attention was first directed. A line of wall on the eastern crest of this ridge, high above the Kidron Valley, had first been identified by Warren in 1867, and this line has appeared on maps as the eastern wall of Jerusalem ever since. In excavations between 1923 and 1926, Professor R. A. S. Macalister uncovered a portion of this wall with two towers projecting from it, and also a curious curved structure built on a pronounced batter. The larger of the towers was ascribed to the work of David, repaired by Solomon, and considered to be an addition to the Jebusite wall, the curved structure being called a Jebusite bastion. On the western side of the ridge, the only portion of wall found was the gate discovered by J. W. Crowfoot in 1927, shown by a hoard of coins to have been in use down to the Maccabean period, but considered by Crowfoot to have been Bronze age in origin on account of the size and roughness of the masonry.

The site thus delimited formed a narrow tongue, only 100 yards across between Macalister's tower and Crowfoot's gate. This was not the only reason that it seemed to be unsatisfactory as the strong Jebusite site that successfully defied the first infiltration of the Israelites (Josh. 15:63) and whose inhabitants jeered at David's forces before the final attacks (II Sam. 5:6). The strength of the site must have been dependent not only on its wall, but also on its water supply. Until water was brought in from the west by aqueduct, and until lime mortar made the storage of rainwater efficient in the Iron age, this could only have come from the spring Gihon in the valley below, 110 yards outside the eastern wall and 95 yards lower (Fig. 3). From the spring, Hezekiah led the water inside the walls by the Siloam tunnel, cutting right through the ridge to the western side of the tip. That this tunnel was the latest of a series of channels and shafts connected with the spring was established by Père L. H. Vincent in his observations of the 1911 excavations.¹ The earliest of the series was a tunnel leading west from the spring, into which opened a shaft sunk on the slope. But even the head of this shaft was at a distance of some eighty feet outside the walls on the crest. It could have provided therefore neither an efficient means of access to the water for defenders within those walls, nor a means whereby Joab penetrated within the defences and enabled David to capture the town (II Sam. 5:8).

1. *Jerusalem sous terre* (London, 1911).

The first aim of the new excavations was thus to see what archaeological evidence there was for the date of the known structures, and to establish whether there were any other walls on the slope. The 1923-26 excavations had cleared a horizontal space in front of the wall and tower, and had also trenched along the face of the tower, a procedure which



Fig. 3. The eastern slope of the eastern ridge. The lower of the two buildings in the center is over the spring. On the crest is the line of town walls known now to be post-exilic.

would now be recognized as the worst kind of archaeological sin. This trench cut the stratification running up to the tower, and meant that its date could not be established by the usual archaeological means. It soon became clear, however, that immediately below the surface left by the previous excavators, the so-called tower of David rested on a tumble of ruins, which, as will be described below, belonged to the 7th century B.C. (Fig.

4). The only level at the height necessary to cover the ruins contained coins and pottery of the 2nd century B.C. Further clearance in subsequent years has exposed more of this surface sloping down slightly to the east, which must have been the level belonging to the tower, for it is cut by an addition against the south face of the tower. The tower, therefore, was no earlier than the Maccabean period.



Fig. 4. The larger tower on the wall on the eastern crest, built over ruins of 7th century houses.

Beneath the tower were the ruins of houses. It was thus clear that an earlier town wall lay further down the slope. A trench eleven meters wide, stretching down the slope for a distance of forty-nine meters from the face of the tower, was laid out to investigate the problem. The length of the trench was quite arbitrarily determined (in fact by the number of site supervisors available), but the outcome would suggest that there was some inspiration behind it. For the greater part of the 1961 season, it was a matter of plowing on through layer after layer of tumbled stones, on an angle approaching 45° (Fig. 5). The solid structures reached at the bases of the debris layers one after another proved not to be town walls. It was only at the very end of the excavations, and within a foot of the eastern limit of the trench that a wall appeared of a clearly different character.

The most striking point was that though everything else uncovered appeared to belong to a late stage in the Iron age, this wall was certainly

built in Middle Bronze II, perhaps as early as 1800 B.C. For the full elucidation of its problems it was necessary in 1962 to extend the trench yet further down the slope. The extension showed that the wall was massive in character, about nine feet wide, with a re-entrant angle that disappeared beneath a later wall to the west (Fig. 6). Outside the wall there were no houses, and it was clear that first impressions were correct, and that this was indeed the town wall.



Fig. 5. The tumble of debris on the eastern slope.

This further excavation confirmed the first evidence that the wall was early Middle Bronze age in origin, for the material in its foundation trench was entirely of that period. But it also showed that it continued in use down to the 7th century B.C., for the deposits down to rock on the outer side were of this date. Examination of its structure showed that it had been repaired on a number of occasions, and it is comprehensible that on a slope like this successive destructions would have a devastating effect on a wall

that was inevitably a retaining wall as well as a defensive wall. The inner face and core of the wall therefore remained in existence throughout, but repairs of its outer face extended even to its base. Of this the drain in the angle is evidence; the rock at its base is polished to a silky finish by water, except in the channel cut in continuation of the drain, so one can conclude that rain wash had been a source of danger to the previous stage and probably brought about its collapse, and that the inserted drain was so ineffective that its construction was rapidly followed by the final collapse of the wall.

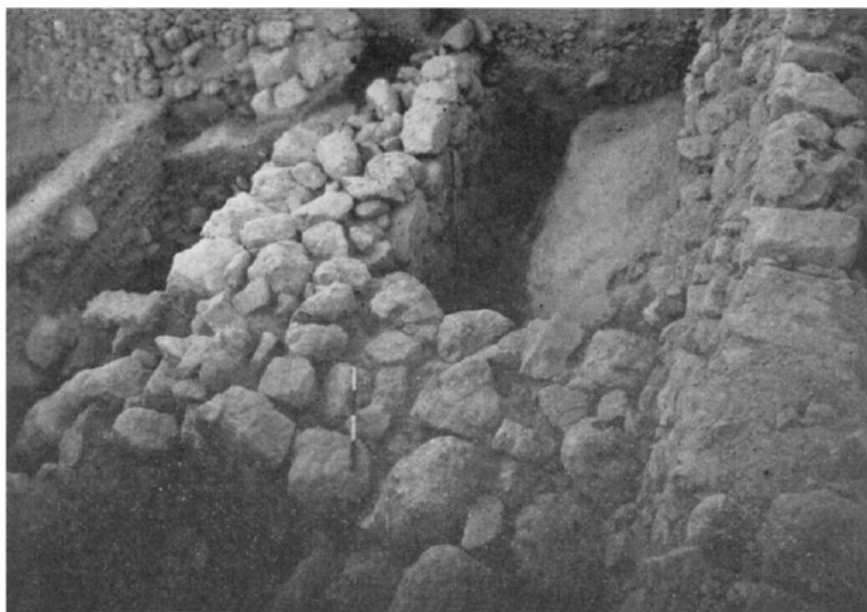


Fig. 6. The original town wall on the eastern side, which lasted from the 19th to the 7th century B.C. At right, the wall which took its place in the 7th century.

This wall was succeeded by another slightly further to the west, beneath which the re-entrant of the earlier wall disappears (Fig. 6). The date of this wall was also certainly within the 7th century B.C. It would seem that there was yet a third, for on top of this wall was a house wall, of which the floor runs out to the east and is cut by an erosion level which must have removed completely the contemporary town wall. It would seem, therefore, that following the life of a town wall belonging to the Jebusite period and to the city of David there was in the last century of Judah's existence a rapid succession of rebuildings of the eastern wall of the town.

An immediate problem is to trace this line of walls. To the south there are difficulties in the form of houses and orchards. A beginning has been

made to the north. An extension of the wall overlying the earliest has already been traced, but is not yet fully cleared, and the level of the lower has not yet been reached.

In earlier excavations, no satisfactory evidence has been produced as to the original north wall of Jerusalem. The remains suggested by Professor R. A. S. Macalister as constituting part of this line are unconvincing,² and there was no stratigraphical evidence as to their date. In 1962, an area immediately north of that cleared by Macalister and a little north of the walls on the crest now known to be post-exilic, was excavated. At this point, a succession of massive walls crossed the summit from east to west. They were in fact so massive that in the very limited area available it was extremely difficult to disentangle them and to obtain stratigraphic evidence concerning them. It was however clear that to the north the earliest occupation belonged to Iron I, perhaps 10th century B.C. It would seem, therefore, that the Bronze age Jebusite town, and perhaps the earliest Israelite town, did not extend north of this point. Another element revealed, which it is hoped that further examination will relate to the transverse wall, was a very much denuded portion of a casemate wall running along the eastern crest. The use of casemate defensive walls is a characteristic of the early Israelite period (for example, at Tell Beit Mirsim and Samaria). Since the evidence is clear that the town wall at this period was much further out, it could be that this wall represents the boundary of an acropolis or royal quarter as at Samaria (see *BA* XXII (1959), figs. 11 and 12). This suggestion is supported by the find, in debris at the foot of the summit scarp, of many finely dressed ashlar blocks and the fragments of a proto-Ionic capital. At Samaria and at Megiddo such Phoenician style masonry belongs to the time of Omri and Ahab, but at Jerusalem it is likely to belong to the time when Solomon likewise was using Phoenician masons. Solomon added to David's Jerusalem a temple on the site of the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite, presumably outside the area of the previous town. Since it is generally accepted that Herod's temple was built on the site of the post-exilic temple, and that this was on the site of Solomon's temple, this would mean that the northern limit of the earlier town lay south of the present Haram esh-Sherif, of which the Herodian origins are clear. It could be that the grandiose plans of Solomon involved the creation of a royal quarter on the summit to link up with his temple.

In the examination of the line of the eastern wall an interesting structure has been revealed on its outer, eastern, side. It is certainly ceremonial, but whether it has funerary associations, or whether it is a shrine is still

2. *Excavations on the Hill of Ophel, Jerusalem, 1923-1925. Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, IV (1926).

uncertain. The part first revealed consisted of a shallow cave in the rock scarp below the line of the wall, of which the lower side was enclosed by walls (Fig. 7). In it was a fine collection of pottery vessels dating to about 800 B.C. This suggested that the cave would prove to be a tomb, but it contained no burials. An extension of the area in 1963 revealed a small room in which were two monolithic pillars, a room so small that the monoliths cannot have served a structural purpose; the presumption is that they were ceremonial and were *maṣṣebot*. The wall to the west of the monoliths had in it a blocked doorway. When the stone blocking was removed the

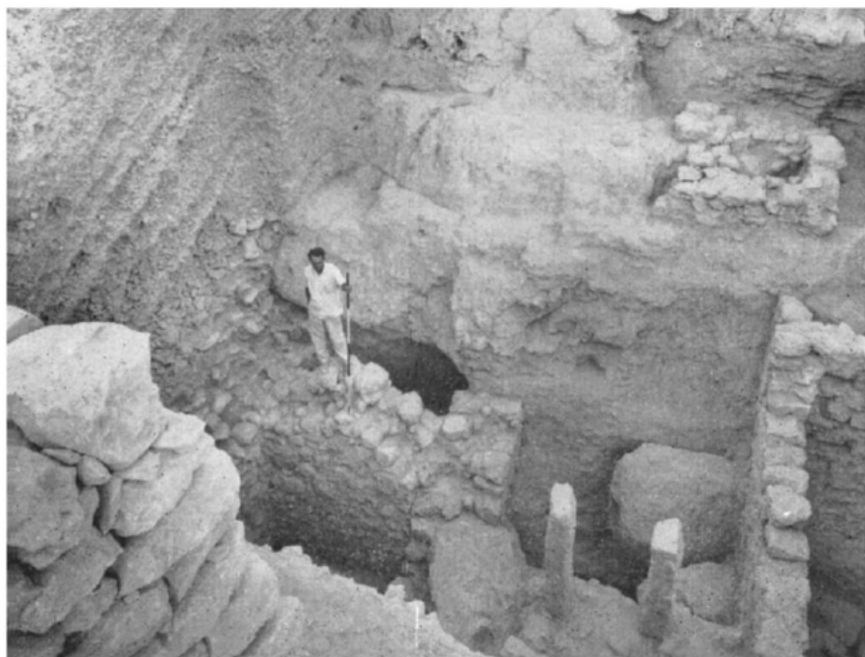


Fig. 7. The ceremonial complex outside the eastern wall. At left is the cave, in the center the monoliths, and on top of the rock scarp the square structure with central depression.

tumble of stones behind was such that a still further extension of the excavation was required. This showed that the wall with the doorway was only about a foot in front of a rock scarp, while on top of the scarp was a rectangular structure with a central hollow, which could be interpreted as an altar, or as a setting for an upright. The small slit to which the doorway led, narrowing at the base to only a matter of inches, was enigmatical. When the wall was removed, it was found to rest on an enormous boulder placed against the rock scarp. Whether this blocks an opening, access to which for the purpose of libations was provided by the doorway, must await further

excavation. Pending this, the immediate conclusion is that we have here a shrine, outside the city wall, associated with one of the unorthodox cults current during the period of the monarchy.

The town wall of the Jebusite period and the time of the Israelite monarchy is thus well outside of the line hitherto accepted. The additional area enclosed, however, is on such a slope as to be very inconvenient for habitation. The Middle Bronze age levels of which the surviving structural remains were slight, followed the angle of the slope. But in the Late Bronze age, perhaps in the 13th century B.C. a complicated system of terraces was built up, consisting, in a considerable area exposed near the summit, of retaining walls parallel to the slope of the hill, with behind them a fill, mainly of stones, divided into compartments by stabilizing walls at right angles to the retaining walls, one stone thick only, built on a batter leaning back towards a central core. Both retaining walls and stabilizing walls were of rough drystone masonry, which once disturbed would collapse rapidly. The walls in fact showed a number of stages of collapse and rebuild, and though the platforms were certainly Late Bronze age in origin, the only surviving houses on them belonged to the 7th century B.C. The platforms are, however, evidence of a major town planning development of the Jebusite period, which must have aimed at extending the area suitable for buildings very considerably by adding to the narrow flat area of the summit a series of terraces covering the upper part of the slope.

To this system of terraces considerable additions were made in the Israelite period. Against the outer side of a Late Bronze retaining wall, and overlying other parts of the system, a very much more massive succession of terraces was built (Fig. 8). The original date may be 10th century B.C. though it is difficult to be precise until the pottery has been studied further. It is tempting to see in this the *millō* which David built and which was repaired by Solomon and Hezekiah (II Sam. 5:9; II Kings 9:15; II Chron. 32:5), for the literal translation of *millō* is "filling." Again, the steep angle of the underlying slope made the structures very liable to collapse, and nothing of the superstructure survives except the base of a cistern.

Against the foot of these substructures, between them and the town wall, were some massively built rooms, which did not look like house rooms, and may have been storerooms or stables in the basement of houses with living rooms on the upper floors. Apart from these structures, the only surviving houses were in the area just below the walls on the crest, where houses belonging to a late stage in Iron II are all that survived on the Late Bronze terraces (Fig. 9). The surviving rooms were mostly small with drystone walls of roughly trimmed stones, probably originally covered by mud plaster. In one room a staircase had been inserted in a secondary pe-



Fig. 8. The massive platforms added in the 10th century B.C. to the earlier Late Bronze platforms.

riod, presumably leading to a higher terrace. A portion only of one larger room was uncovered. This was of the common Iron II form, a large hall with a tripartite division formed by monolithic piers standing on stylobates. Two monoliths of one row were exposed. At the point where the other line should have stood, the floor was cut by the line of erosion that followed the collapse of a retaining wall further down the slope.

Preceding the erosion, there had been a great collapse of the superstructure, and the floors were found covered by piles of fallen stones. The pottery belonging to this final use was late 7th century to early 6th. There can be no doubt that the ruins represent the Babylonian destruction, presumably the final one in 587 B.C.



Fig. 9. Iron II houses just below the crest of the eastern slope, destroyed in 587 B.C.

The destruction marks the end of occupation on the eastern slope. It must have been these ruins that Nehemiah reported in his night survey of the walls (Neh. 2:12-15). It has hitherto been taken that Nehemiah restored *in toto* the pre-exilic circuit. But if the account of the rebuilding is examined, it will be seen that it is on the north and west sides that the sections divided to the different gangs are located by references to existing gates, while on the east side they are located by reference to private houses. Not only was the portion of the pre-exilic town on the eastern slope an impenetrable tangle of ruins, but the returned exiles were a poor remnant of those taken away into captivity, and a much reduced town would suffice. It was in the time of Nehemiah, therefore, that the line of walls on the crest was established. A trench against the wall in fact showed that the wall stood upon a high scarp (Fig. 10), and piled against the scarp, tailing up against the foot of the wall were levels of the 5th-4th centuries B.C. This then was the wall of Nehemiah, to which the large tower was added in the Maccabean period.



Fig. 10. Wall of the period of Nehemiah, resting on the rock scarp of the eastern crest.

Post-exilic Jerusalem, therefore, occupied a narrow strip on the summit of the eastern ridge. Presumably to it belongs the gate excavated by Crowfoot on the western side of the ridge.³ Crowfoot's suggestion that it must be considerably earlier in origin owing to the roughness of the masonry is now shown to be unnecessary, since the post-exilic walls on the eastern side are equally rough and heavy. The examination of further areas to investigate the course and dating of Crowfoot's wall, and of any other lines of walls that may exist, has just begun, but no results have so far been reached. This examination is being made in two areas, one just north of Crowfoot's gate, one half-way between that point and the southern tip of the ridge. In the former, it was found that extensive quarrying had taken place in the area immediately west of the present summit of the ridge. Since there were no traces at all of Iron age, post-exilic or Roman levels, the quarrying presumably took place in the Roman or early Byzantine period. Above the quarrying were two successive levels of Byzantine buildings, of substantial character. Above them were slighter buildings of medieval date, and then successive layers of fill as the valley gradually became silted up. At the

3. J. W. Crowfoot, *Excavations in the Tyropoeon Valley, Jerusalem, 1927. Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, V (1929).

western end of the area excavated, rock was not reached, and excavation will be continued here in the hope that the line of the town wall will be found at a lower level. In the second area, further south, so far only Herodian levels have been reached, which will be described below.

The most difficult problem is the course of the western wall at the southern end of the ridge, where from about 700 B.C. it must have enclosed the pool of Siloam, lying in the valley between the eastern and western ridge, for Hezekiah engineered the cutting of the tunnel which carried into this pool the waters of the spring Gihon in order to bring them within the city walls (II Chron. 32:4-5, 30). A series of excavations at the southern end of the western ridge and along its eastern flanks produced no evidence of occupation earlier than the 1st century A.D. and during the period of the monarchy the southern end seems to have been used as a quarry. A very massive wall crossing the narrow mouth of the central valley was the earliest structure found. In function, this was a dam wall for the Birket el-Hamra, but if this pool was the old pool in relation to the pool of Siloam, the wall cannot have been its original boundary, for it appeared to be no earlier than the 1st century A.D. It was however cut into a thick Iron II deposit, from which it can probably be inferred that there was a retaining wall of that period further to the south, now inaccessible owing to the modern road. Built on top of the dam wall and against the quarry scarp that forms the eastern face of the western ridge at this point was a wall of heavily bossed masonry. This was also 1st century A.D. and it was moreover a wall facing east and enclosing the tip of the western ridge; therefore it had nothing to do with a wall enclosing the pool of Siloam. The problem requires further investigation.

To the defenses of the post-exilic city the repairs and additions of the Maccabean period (of which there is literary evidence) were made, and the present excavations show that these included the tower on the eastern crest excavated in 1923-26. It is not as yet clear at what stage any extension to the western ridge took place. As already mentioned, it was only in the 1st century A.D. that the southern part of the ridge was occupied. The northern end must however, have been occupied earlier, for beneath the present citadel can be recognized the towers of Herod the Great's Citadel. The excavations carried out by the Department of Antiquities⁴ here showed that there were earlier remains beneath the Herodian walls. The evidence suggested that these may belong to the Maccabean period. Excavation is now in progress in the area to the south of the Citadel, in the southwest corner of the present Old City, and it is hoped that these will establish the date of the earliest occupation of the northern end of the western ridge.

4. C. N. Johns, *The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, XIV (1950), 121-90.

The extant structures belonging to the great building operations of Herod the Great in the last third of the 1st century B.C. are these towers at the Citadel and the substructure walls of the present Haram esh-Sherif, belonging to Herod's grandiose rebuilding of the post-exilic temple. Between the temple and the western ridge was a viaduct, of which the eastern spring can be recognised in Robinson's Arch. To the north of this point must have run the north wall of the period, presumably running east from the Citadel to the Haram approximately on the line of David Street, but no certainly authentic traces have been found.



Fig. 11. Ruins of a public building of the Herodian period in the central valley.

Herod's building operations in Jerusalem are described by Josephus. They included a number of public buildings which Herod, with his great admiration of things Roman, considered to be necessary adornments of a civilized city. One of these buildings has been located by the present excavations. This was in the southernmost of the excavations attempting to locate the line of the western wall of the eastern ridge, described above. Beneath Arab and Byzantine levels, the ruins of a building were reached which had been constructed of fine ashlar blocks of typical Herodian masonry. The only extant portion consisted of a corridor floored with enormous stone slabs, and the jambs of a doorway opening off it (Fig. 11).

Included in the tumbled masonry were three other enormous slabs, up to 6 ft. by 3 ft. in dimensions (Fig. 12); they were clearly roofing slabs, for they showed no signs of wear, and they had fallen from some upper part of the building. The building was firmly dated to the Herodian period by the style of the masonry, and its destruction was fixed to the time of the sack of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70 by the discovery in the ruins of a hoard of twenty-three coins of the first revolt. The area excavated was too limited to give any indication of the plan of the building. It is however, tempting to hope that it will prove to be the amphitheater mentioned by Josephus, for which the shape of the valley at this point would make a very suitable site, but only further excavation can show if this is so.



Fig. 12. Fallen slabs in the Herodian building in the central valley.

The Jerusalem of Herod the Great is that of the time of the New Testament. The great problem of the topography of New Testament Jerusalem is the position of the north wall at the time of the crucifixion. Today, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, built over the traditional sites of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, stands in the heart of the Old City. But the Old City represents a much later town, one which traces its origins to Aelia Capitolina of the 2nd century A.D. The only literary evidence for the position of the north wall is in Josephus' account of the capture of Jerusalem by Titus. Titus had to storm three north walls. The third, or outermost, was built by Herod Agrippa in A.D. 40-44, and therefore was not in existence at the time of the crucifixion; its line may be connected with that

of the present north wall, or may be the line excavated by Sukenik considerably further north⁵. The first or "old" wall may be the line running from the Citadel to the Haram, already mentioned. The second wall must be that in existence at the time of the crucifixion, and outside which Calvary should lie. According to Josephus, this ran from the fortress Antonia, at the north-west corner of the temple enclosure to the gate Gennath on the first wall. The position of the gate Gennath is unknown. One hypothesis places it in the neighborhood of the Citadel. If the wall followed a normal line from there to the Antonia, it would include the Church of the Holy Sepulchre within it. An alternative line, taking as evidence a number of fragmentary finds of wall, and following an angular line, has been very generally supported, for it leaves the Church outside the wall. Another hypothesis as to the position of the gate Gennath places it further east along the first wall, so that the second wall would keep entirely to the east of the Church.

The only area available for excavation in the neighborhood of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was in the Muristan, some 165 yds. south of the Church and some forty-five yards north of the presumed line of the first wall. The area was very constricted, and the demands of space for dumping and the need to leave stairways for access made the area excavated even more restricted. Rock was eventually reached at a depth of fifty feet. The medieval and Byzantine layers were comparatively shallow, and of the total depth, thirty-four feet consisted of a tipped fill. This contained much 7th century B.C. and late 1st century A.D. pottery, and a little that is probably 2nd century A.D. This would mean that the fill was inserted at the time of the lay-out of Aelia Capitolina about A.D. 135, and this interpretation is supported by the fact that it incorporates a well-made drain which is likely to be part of the Roman town planning scheme.

Rock when reached was found to be a quarry. This was sealed by a level of the 7th century B.C. Immediately overlying this level was the great tipped fill. The conclusion therefore is perfectly clear. The area was outside the town in the 7th century B.C. and the absence of all intervening occupation levels shows that it remained so until the insertion of the fill. Since the site excavated lies between the line of the first wall and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, this site also must have been outside the walls. The only possible line for the second wall of those hitherto suggested is that running north from a gate Gennath in the center of the first wall. This very limited excavation has therefore shown that the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre may be based on an authentic tradition surviving to the time of Queen Helena, though it does not prove the site authentic.

5. E. L. Sukenik and L. A. Mayer. *The Third Wall of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1930).

The next event in the history of Jerusalem was the expansion of the town under Herod Agrippa, about A.D. 40-44. Excavations at the southern end of the western ridge showed that it was at this period that the wall was built which runs from the southwest corner of the present Old City and follows the curve of the Hinnom around to join the Kidron and the tip of the eastern ridge. To this period also belongs the earliest occupation found in a number of soundings along the eastern flank of the western ridge. The equivalent expansion to the north was the third wall described by Josephus. The most probable line of this is related to that of the present north wall of the Old City. It must be noted, however, that the excavations in the Muristan have a bearing also on this subject. If the interpretation of the fill as belonging to the time of Aelia Capitolina is correct, this area was still outside the city in the time of Herod Agrippa's third wall. This would mean that Herod Agrippa's extension to the north was only from a point about the position of the Damascus Gate eastward. This would fit in with the evidence concerning portions of walling of the period found. The whole question however, requires further investigation.

The Jerusalem of Herod Agrippa was destroyed by Titus in A.D. 70, at the end of the terrible struggle that resulted from the first Jewish revolt. The evidence from all excavated sites is clear that the occupation of the area south of the present Old City on both the eastern and western ridges ceases at this time, only to be resumed in the flourishing period of Christian Byzantine Jerusalem. Reference has already been made to the hoard of coins of the first revolt in the ruins of the Herodian building in the central valley. East and a little south of that point the evidence was similar and equally dramatic. Immediately beneath the surface was a substantial building. In it was a drain, probably belonging to Herod the Great's town planning operations. The fill in the silting-up of the drain belonged to the second half of the 1st century A.D. and would fit a date of A.D. 70. Mixed with the silt were human bones and skulls, relics either of Titus's slaughter or of the internecine struggles of the defenders. After that, occupation ceases.

Titus established in Jerusalem the Xth Legion Fretensis to keep control of the ruins and prevent the restoration of Jewish nationalism. The site of the legionary headquarters was to the south of the Citadel, and excavations are in progress here to uncover its remains. Work has so far been confined to the medieval buildings, consisting of great vaulted bazaars. An indication of what lies beneath has been given by a small pavement of a most attractive Byzantine mosaic, and the find of some score of fragments bearing the well-known legionary stamp.

In spite of the presence of the Legion, Jewish nationalism survived and grew, culminating in the second revolt in A.D. 132. Hadrian's con-

struction of Aelia Capitolina had the object of crushing this nationalism by obliterating Jewish Jerusalem for ever. The walls of the present Old City probably indicate its area. Of this period of Aelia Capitolina so far no evidence has been recovered except the deep fill in the area south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Of the period of Christian Byzantine Jerusalem, when the city once more began to expand, evidence has been found in substantial buildings in most sites excavated. The most impressive are in the area between the southwest corner of the temple enclosure and the present city walls. They consist of two buildings, obviously on a large scale although only a small area has been excavated, surrounded by a colonnaded portico. They may plausibly be identified as the two hospices erected for pilgrims and the indigent sick described by Procopius (*De Aedificiis* V. 6) as having been erected by Justinian, in the 6th century A.D.

A beginning has thus been made in exploring the topography of Jerusalem over the whole long period of its existence. It is clear that several more years' work will be required.

An Archaeological Study of Gibeah (Tell el-Fûl)*

LAWRENCE A. SINCLAIR

Carroll College

Tell el-Fûl, the "Mound of Horse Beans," is located about three miles north of the Damascus gate of Jerusalem along the Nablus Road. The mound is a prominent, rather isolated hill, rising in terraces. Its pleasant location has recommended it to the modern king of Jordan; his plans to build a palace there have occasioned an attempt at further archaeological exploration which will begin just as this article goes to press.

Gross¹ was the first to identify Tell el-Fûl as the site of the Biblical city of Gibeah of Benjamin. Edward Robinson at first identified Gibeah with modern Geba, but seeing the value of Gross' suggestion, adopted it and later incorporated it into his second edition of *Biblical Researches*. The city has several appellations in the Bible, most frequently Gibeah, but also Gibeah of Benjamin and Gibeah of Saul. In some cases, the names Geba and Gibeah are confused.²

Our site has the distinction of being one of the first excavated in Palestine. In May of 1868 Warren sent a group of laborers to dig on the

*The author wishes to express his thanks to W. F. Albright, G. E. Wright, and E. F. Campbell, Jr., for reading the manuscript and offering suggestions, most of which have been incorporated.

1. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (1843), p. 1082.

2. Albright, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (AASOR), IV (1924), 34-35, and J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* (London, 1959), para. 893, 1583-84, 630, 669-70, 637. The Gibeah of Josh. 15:57 has no positive location.