

SECOND QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF THE EASTERN HILL OF JERUSALEM.

By PROF. R. A. S. MACALISTER, LITT.D., F.S.A.

§ I. *Progress of the Work.*

WITH the exception of Sundays and days of rain the work of excavation has proceeded uninterruptedly. The greater part of the field in which we began work, as recorded in the previous report, has now been dug over, and a beginning has been made with the examination of the next field to the south.

Remains have been found of all periods from Jebusite to Crusader, including some important rock cuttings and buildings. A considerable quantity of pottery has been unearthed; but the number of metal and other antiquities has been small as compared with other sites, and there is a disappointing absence of inscribed material.

In my previous report, written only three or four weeks after the work had begun, I said, "No earlier remains [than Maccabean] were found in our field; the rock is reached immediately. There are no traces, therefore, of the Hebrew or Jebusite fortress so far north on the Eastern Hill." Long before the report in question was published this statement was found to be too absolute. But readers of reports sent during the progress of excavation work will understand that all assertions made are subject to revision as fresh facts are revealed with the further progress of the work.

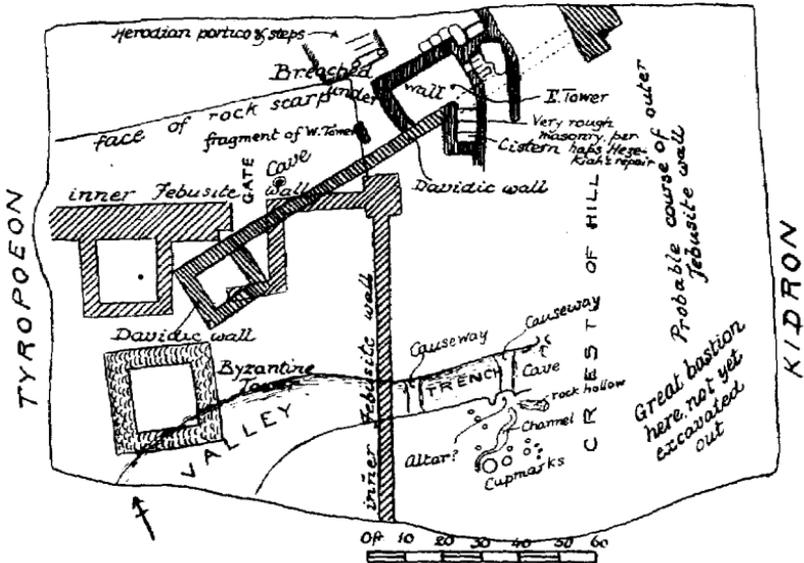
§ II. *The Jebusite Period.*

By good fortune, the field proved to contain what there is every reason to regard as the original northern boundary of the Jebusite (or perhaps pre-Jebusite) city. It may be said once for all that we found no materials for any certain discrimination between Jebusite and pre-Jebusite work, and we therefore shall use the word "Jebusite" as a general term to denote the inhabitants of the city previous to its capture by David.

The rock level ranges from 7 feet below the surface of the ground at the north side of the field to about 26 feet at the south side. It is especially deep at the south-west corner, where the work is at present being carried on; indeed we have not yet found

the rock in some parts of this pit. The reason for this increased depth is the fact that here there lies a small valley tributary to the Tyropoeon, the discovery of which is one of the new additions to knowledge that the excavation has made. Another new fact is the position of the crest of the hill, which is much further to the east than the present contour would suggest. The Kedron valley, indeed, must have presented an almost vertical wall, before it became covered with the cast debris that now lies over it. The Tyropoeon slope was considerably less steep.

This little valley, if we may dignify it by such a term, ran eastward to a point south of the centre of the field. It was



Sketch Plan showing position of principal discoveries in Field 5.

artificially continued by cutting a prolongation through the crest of the hill. The site of the city was thus severed from the platform to the north by a ditch, which prevented the stronghold from being captured by a rush. The inhabitants saw that their chief protection lay in the two great valleys, one on each side of their hill; and to the north, their only vulnerable side, they endeavoured to imitate them by constructing an artificial valley.

The trench thus made is about 10 feet wide and 8 feet deep. It runs in a straight course east and west from the head of the small valley just mentioned. Such a valley would, of course,

interfere with legitimate traffic as well as with the advance of enemies. To avoid this inconvenience two causeways were left uncut across the bottom of the trench about the middle of its course. These were about 2 feet wide and 2 feet high. It is possible that one causeway was intended for foot passengers going out and the other for coming in; they are hardly wide enough to allow of comfortable traffic in both directions at once. Approach was made to these causeways by extremely roughly cut flights of steps.

The steps on the city (southern) side of the causeways were destroyed—probably in some time of military stress. As I said in my report to the *Daily Telegraph*, in which the discovery of this trench was first announced, those broken steps are a record, almost as definite as a cuneiform tablet would have been, of some siege of Jerusalem long antedating any of the series of twenty sieges of which we read in history.



FIG 1.—Impression of Cylinder (exact size of the original).

A minor limit is given us for the date of the trench by the fact that the earth with which it was filled contained an enormous mass of potsherds, uniformly dateable to the middle of the Age of Bronze, say about 1600 B.C. Most of these were the drab ware of familiar types; but among them were found some specimens of Cypriote ware with the well-known ladder pattern painted ornament. These potsherds were only part of a large rubbish heap, containing sherds and animals' bones, which was here spread over the rock. One of the sherds bore the impression of a cylinder-seal, the device of which is here illustrated. (Fig. 1.)

Beside the southern staircase of the eastern causeway there was a block of rock (Fig. 2), not rising above the surrounding surface, but isolated by the cutting back of the staircase beside it, and by the fact that the natural surface of the rock sloped back to a hollow. This block of rock I am inclined to take for an altar. Three pigeon-holes in its vertical surface, facing the causeway, might well be intended for the reception of votive offerings. The

tutulary deity of the city demanded propitiation at the hands of any who would enter the city; and it is not irrelevant to recall that Abraham, when he paid his visit to Melchizedek, king of Salem and priest of El-Elyon, "paid tithes" without any reason that is obvious in the story as we have it in Genesis xiv.

Immediately behind (south of) the supposed altar there is a surface of rock bearing an interesting series of cup-marks. In all probability this is a high place, connected with the ancient entrance to the city. There are two large central cups side by side, which recall the interesting theory of Joseph Déchelette, published in *L'Anthropologie* some years ago—that pairs of cup-marks and similar circular symbols represent two eyes, all that is left of a figure of a divinity. It is perhaps slightly more likely, in the present case, that one of these basins represents a mouth, the other, which is a little smaller, the two eyes run into one; for a channel connects the basin with the hollow under the rock altar. The fall in this channel, however, is not uniformly towards the basin into which it was, and we cannot be absolutely certain that it was intended for carrying a fluid offering (oil, blood, or the like) from the altar to the basin.

Beside the large basins there are a number of smaller cups, including some of remarkable depth as compared with their diameter. These would be well adapted for receiving wooden posts of the nature of an *asherah*; but we cannot venture further in the field of conjecture. All that we can claim is that we have unearthed what in all probability is the oldest sanctuary in the Holy City.

The writing of the foregoing paragraphs was interrupted by a messenger to report the discovery of a cave-mouth in the side of the trench. Examination showed that this was a natural fissure between two strata of the limestone, which while extending a considerable distance is too narrow from floor to ceiling to be penetrated to more than about its middle point. Through the floor there winds a deeply furrowed stream bed. In fact this cave is the source of the Tertiary Stream by which the newly found valley was scooped out of the rock. The cave was utilised as a burial place in very early times, and Neolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery in small quantity but good quality, as well as fragments of a much disintegrated skull and bones, have been recovered from it already.

This is the second cave that has been found in the field. The

first was in the north-western quarter. Its entrance was a hole in the rock-floor, which was found stopped with three large stones. The total depth of the cave was 20 feet 3 inches, divided into two stages by a floor in the middle with two holes through it. The lower stage contained nothing but fat red silt; an opening in its north-west corner, also full of silt, had probably once been the exit of a spring that filled the cave. The upper stage was full of black earth, containing many sherds of very ancient pottery; these showed that at some time not later than about 2000 B.C., the cave was resorted to, probably for water. Beside the entrance to the cave was a well made cup mark, which probably had a ritual purpose; a cave in which a spring of water rose would necessarily be a sacred place.

The trench-fortification, as we have already seen, went out of use about 1600 B.C., or rather before that date. It was superseded by the building of a wall that crossed it, extending the limits of the city northward. This wall is built in very rude polygonal masonry; about four courses remain. Two sections were uncovered, the one running from south to north, the other from east to west. There had been a corner tower at the junction of the sections, but this was ruined to its foundations and despoiled by subsequent builders seeking stones.

A second tower, on the inner side of the wall, contained a gate; and this was further protected by a third tower, also on the inner side of the wall. After this the wall ran outside the limits of our concession; but it presumably bends southward again before long and skirts the eastern side of the Tyropoeon valley.

Inside this wall, the newly acquired section of the city was prepared for building by filling up the valley with great stones. The shifting of these boulders (which *might* conceal the mouth of a valuable cave) has been one of the most troublesome excavation problems that I have ever encountered. In fact, "Field No. 5" (which is the official designation of our area of operations), what with complex stratification, readaptation of old buildings, unmanageably large stones, and unsympathetic proprietors (to use an adjective of a mildness bordering on the grotesque), has presented more problems of administration and interpretation than any other field of its size that I ever came across!

This inner wall was, however, afterwards superseded by another, further to the north, of much greater strength. Just at the end of the previous report, the discovery of a great rock-scarp was

announced. This is about 3 ft. 6 ins. in average height, but it has two towers in its course about 7 ft. high. Owing to the existence of important buildings over it, which I did not feel justified in destroying, I could not follow out its entire length. It runs first from west to east for about 70 feet, and then turns southwards, gradually becoming reduced in height until it meets the corner tower of the old wall, where it disappears.

A city wall must have been constructed on this scarp, to judge from the enormous stones that lay upon it. These were for the greater part reduced to incoherence; but there was one great mass in which we see the memorial of an important historical event.

This is the capture of the city by David, which we claim to associate intimately with the structures at the north side of the field, over the scarp. It has already been widely announced that we claim to have discovered the structure called Millo—or rather what little subsequent builders have left of it.

The relevant Biblical references to Millo are as follows:—

2 Sam., v., 9. David built round about from Millo and inward.

1 Kings, xi, 15. This is the reason of the levy which king Solomon raised: for to build . . . Millo.

1 Kings, ix, 24. Pharaoh's daughter came up out of the City of David unto her house which Solomon had built for her: then did he build Millo.

1 Kings, ix, 27. Solomon built Millo and repaired the breaches of the City of David his father.

2 Chron., xxxii, 5. [Hezekiah] repaired Millo in the City of David.

The only other reference to Millo is in connexion with the assassination of Joash (2 Kings, xii, 20).

The structures which we connect with this series of passages we describe in the following section.

§ III. *The Hebrew Period.*

“David built from Millo and inward” [*i.e.* in toward the interior of the city] does not imply that Millo existed in David's time. In the face of the thrice repeated statement that Solomon built Millo, the passage must mean “David built from where Millo stands now, as I, the historian, write.” “Solomon built Millo and repaired the breaches of the City of David”—breaches, doubtless, which had been made at the time of the capture of the city. The association



FIG. 2.—Supposed rock altar from the north.



FIG. 3.—The breach in the Jebusite city wall.



FIG. 4.—The Davidic wall.

of the two statements seems to imply a connexion between them: the repair of the breaches involved the building of Millo.

Therefore we ought to find—

- (1) A breached city wall.
- (2) A structure of some kind built inward therefrom.
- (3) A tower or other structure filling the breach.

All these things are just what we have found. The outer wall on the scarp was practically thrown flat. The stones were cast down inward toward the city in wild confusion—but not so completely confused but that they preserved some relics of their original courses in their fall (Fig. 3). These large stones were difficult to move, and were allowed to lie where they fell, by the ancient inhabitants—and as we considered that anything that could be identified with a breach made by David was an important national monument, we did not disturb them either, except so far as it was absolutely necessary to settle one or two points about the underlying scarp. We exposed ourselves to no little odium by following this obvious course, for our worthy landlords had been hoping to realise a fortune by the sale to builders of every stone uncovered by the excavation, and were furiously indignant when they saw us filling them in.

Inward from this breach and closing it, there was a long straight wall running almost entirely across the field from east to west. It was about 3 ft. 6 in. thick, and some 80 ft. of it remained standing (Fig. 4). At its present eastern end it had been destroyed by the intrusion of later structures. This wall showed a peculiarity of construction not noticed elsewhere in the walls uncovered. It consists of alternate courses of large stones and of small spalls. This is just what we should naturally expect in the circumstances. The builders of this wall had the great breach in the Jebusite rampart to draw upon as a quarry. But the large stones of the rampart were unwieldy to manipulate: the builders therefore trimmed them down to a more manageable size. They then found themselves with a large number of spalls on their hands, which they worked into the wall in the way described. At each end of the wall there is a strong tower. This wall we connected with the work attributed to David.

The wall was probably intended as a temporary expedient, filling the breach for the time being, until opportunity should arise for repairing the original rampart. But it proved more permanent than the wall which it was intended to repair. The great extension

of the city northward, under Solomon, made a fortification in this particular place less important than it would otherwise have been. The Jebusite rampart was gradually taken away by builders, except at the breach itself; the Davidic wall remained standing till Roman times, and was adapted as the outer wall of the Roman house which was described in the last report.



FIG. 5.—Staircase in the Millo Tower.

The reason why the pile of stones in the breach did not share the fate of the rest of the rampart was that it was made the foundation for an important building. A rectangular tower was erected upon it; and a small fragment of wall remained to suggest that it was one of two towers with a passage-way between them. This

structure, *filling* the breach [*Millo* = "a filling"], we venture to identify with the long-lost *Millo*.

The surviving tower measures 36 ft. east to west by 12 ft. north to south. There seems to have been an extension to the north, as a wall ran from it out of the limit of our concession. A staircase (Fig. 5) made by projecting stones from the north face of the northern wall, shows that there was an upper storey in the tower. It is conceivable that these are the "steps that lead up to the armoury" of Nehemiah iii, 19; the upper storey of such a tower would be a very likely place for a barracks with store of military equipment.

The existing tower covers only the eastern half of the breach. The missing tower, of which 4 feet of one wall remained, covered the western half. The Davidic wall was adapted as the south wall of both towers.

On a stone built into the outer face of the western wall, just at its junction with the Davidic wall, Mr. Duncan noted a painted mark resembling a broad arrow. When we came to make a drawing of this figure, we were surprised to find that it was only part of a much larger whole. It was very faint, and, indeed, it is only right to say that some of our visitors confessed that they were unable to see it. Others, however, have confirmed our examination exactly. It represents a figure of Ashtoreth, resembling the figure of the goddess so frequently found stamped upon clay plaques. It is certainly the oldest known painting in Palestine. Two photographs are sent herewith, made with the aid of a light filter by Mr. Chalil Raad of Jerusalem. The one (Fig. 6A) is untouched, in the other (Fig. 6B), which is here reproduced, the details on which after protracted and frequent examinations and discussions we are agreed are blackened in. The figure appears to have horns, but this is a little doubtful. It measures 1 foot 4 inches in length.

§IV. *The Herodian Stratum.*

The first interference with "Millo" lay in the erection, in Herodian times, of a distyle portico, not, apparently the entrance to a building, but rather a gateway over a stepped street. It would almost appear that an attempt had been made to perpetuate the memory of the Solomonic gateway by erecting this structure. The staircase at the bottom of which it stands runs into the field to the north of our concession, and therefore could not be followed up. The bottom step—the stylobate of the portico—and the third step,

a great slab nearly 5 feet long, 3 feet broad, and 1 foot thick, remain. The second step had disappeared, but we found one stone of it, built into the wall of a Byzantine house that had been erected over the eastern tower of "Millo," seriously to its detriment.

The bases of the portico are the simplest possible: they are 6 feet 8 inches apart. No column drums or capitals were found which could be associated with them.



FIG. 6B.—The painted Ashtoreth Figure.

The "steps" proved on examination to have been respectively the lintel and the threshold of a monumental doorway: in all probability a gate which we suspect to have been here in the breached part of the city wall. The lintel was the third step of the staircase: the threshold-stone had been the second, and was taken



FIG. 6A.—The Painted Figure.

Plate IV.

Palestine Exploration Fund.

[To face p. 67.]

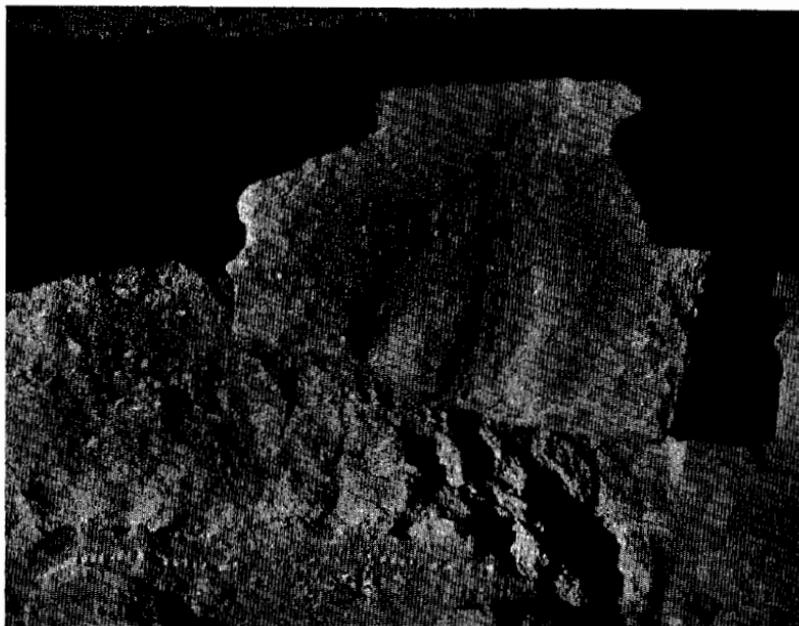


FIG. 7.—Grooves on threshold stone.

and probably cut in two by the builders of the Byzantine house. It was deeply grooved with footwear. An interesting point was noticed about these grooves, namely, that the groove made by the right foot in exit, and by the left foot in entrance, was prolonged further toward the edge of the threshold than the other (Fig. 7). This suggested the existence of a superstition, of placing the left foot first over the threshold-edge either in entrance or in exit. Analogous superstitions, dictating the foot which is first set on the ground in rising from bed, are known to survive even yet.

A few fragments of house walls and rooms which we assign generally to the Herodian period are dotted about the field. These are fully described in the complete Memoir on the Excavation in Field 5, which is almost ready for press, but they need not be specially described here.

§ V. *The Roman Period.*

Nor will it be necessary to describe the buildings of the Roman period at any length in the present report. The house which was described in our first report has been completely excavated. No light has been thrown upon its owner; we have named the house "The Eusebius House" for purposes of reference, on account of the stamp of a potter, one Eusebius, found upon a drain tile underneath the floor of one of the rooms. The mosaic pavements have all been drawn, and their patterns will be published in due time. A photograph of the most perfect one is sent herewith.¹

§ VI. *The Byzantine Period.*

Only two buildings of this period need be referred to. A Byzantine street was unearthed, with a housefront (the house itself had disappeared) containing the base of a door with well cut and moulded stones.¹ In the south-west corner of the pit was found the base of a large square tower, with walls 28 feet long and 5 feet thick).¹ This tower had been ruined to its foundations, and nothing survived to show the purpose for which this enigmatical building had been constructed.

Small objects have been comparatively few in this field. A fragment of a limestone plaque, with the upper part of a local

¹ This photograph may be seen at the Office of the Fund, and reproductions will appear in the Memoir to be published this year.

imitation of a figure of Hathor,¹ and a pretty little late Roman terracotta head,¹ may deserve passing mention.

To sum up: although at the beginning the excavation of Field No. 5 seemed to be disappointing, and although the peculiarities of the site and of its owners put exceptional difficulties in our way, we have good reason to be satisfied with the results. We have added a new valley to the knowledge of the contour of the hill, and found the sites of two ancient springs, one of which was in use in the period of human occupation. We have determined the position and the nature of the northern fortification of the earliest city. We claim to have found the remains of Millo, and submit that claim to the criticism that it will no doubt receive. We have found one early bronze age burial. We have found some interesting domestic buildings, and at the moment of writing I can say nothing of an enormous bastion that has been unearthed, part of another great city wall not yet fully identified, which the local archaeologists who have seen it are all saying, independently, is "the best thing yet." Probably before this report can reach the *Quarterly Statement*, something definite will have been said about it in the *Daily Telegraph* reports. For the present I must withhold comment, because, frankly, I have not yet the least idea what to make of it.

DAMASCUS.

NOTES ON CHANGES MADE IN THE CITY DURING THE GREAT WAR.

By THE REV. CANON J. E. HANAUER.

IN the following I am sending a few notes on the German survey of Damascus. The copy I am sending, from which the accompanying plan is taken, was torn down, on the last day of the German occupation, from the wall of a German official's room, and with his permission.

Those who knew Damascus before the war will recognise that great alterations have taken place, more especially in the region west of the Sûk el Hamidiyeh and the Citadel. In my description I shall begin at the south-west corner of the Tekiyeh of Sultan Selim (marked "1"), and proceed eastwards.

At the point "1" there stood, till the commencement of the Great War, "a huge old plane-tree," which, according to Murray's Guide for 1868,

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