After the Six Day War, upon the unification of the city of Jerusalem, preliminary discussions were held by the archaeological institutions in Israel concerning archaeological excavations in Jerusalem. Only at the start of 1968, however, and with the encouragement of the Mayor of Jerusalem, the Executive Committee of the Israel Exploration Society took the initiative and planned the present forward-looking, highly potential project. A committee was formed to prepare a masterplan, and comprised Professors N. Avigad, M. Avi-Yonah, Y. Yadin and B. Mazar (Chairman), Dr. A. Biran and Messrs. J. Aviram and T. Kollek. The author was requested to head the expedition which would carry out the first phase of the plan — systematic excavation in various locations outside the Southern and Western Walls of the Temple Mount — on behalf of the Israel Exploration Society and the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University, with the cooperation of the Israel Academy of Humanities and Sciences and the National Parks Authority. After Meir Ben-Dov, the late Immanuel Dunayevsky, and Joseph Aviram agreed to serve as Field Archaeologist, Field Architect and Administrative Organizer, respectively, the enlisting of the general staff commenced. On 28 February 1968 we began actual excavation; the first season lasted through mid-October 1968. The second season began after a short break. The archaeological staff included graduates and students of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University, including Ellen Lefrak, who oversaw the registration of finds, aided by Dalia Pakman and Irene Davis; Mr. Immanuel Gelbrun, Surveyor; and Messrs. Dan Bechar and Arthur Segal, as Assistants. The expedition photographers were Micha Pan and Zev Radovan. The drawings were made by Anat Merchav; the pottery restoration was done by Ruth Alon and Christine Kelmer; and the coins were treated by Riva Goldrosen. Esther Mazar served as the expedition’s secretary.¹

The workmen were mostly from Jerusalem, supplied by the Ministry of Labour, and we also were aided by Hebrew University students, volunteers from Israel and abroad, and high school students serving within the framework of their ‘National Service’. The foremen, who were of greatest assistance in assuring smooth and efficient progress, were

¹ At the start of excavations we were assisted by Ruth Sofer-Ovadia, Rivka Gönnen, Galila Aloni, Miriam Glaser, Sylvie Nisbett, Dorit Kafrit, M. Feist, M. Megiddon and I. Zinger. On various occasions we received the professional aid of Dr. M. Cohen, Dr. M. Sharon, Mrs Miriam Rosen-Ayalon, S. Levy, J. Meshorer, L. Y. Rahmani and the staff of the Israel Museum. My sincerest thanks are extended to all of them.
Messrs. Moshe Abadi, Yitzhak Abadi, Yermi Yermiyahu, Haim Mizrahi and Moshe Keren (office).

Because of the specific working conditions, the large extent of the project and the continuation of excavations without a seasonal break, the expedition required considerable assistance, both financial and technical. We are indeed thankful to the public institutions and the many private supporters of the project, both here and abroad, and especially to the Ambassador College of Pasadena, California, who came to our aid and encouraged us throughout all phases of work. Among the governmental institutions, we must foremost thank the Ministries of Housing, Labour, Tourism, and Education and Culture, which latter includes the Department of Antiquities and Museums. It is thanks to the devotion of the members of the expedition, the workers and volunteers, and thanks to the general interest shown by the public and by private bodies, that we have been able to proceed with our excavations and develop them in a satisfactory manner, preparing the ground for future expansion of the overall project.

Special thanks are extended to Mr. Joseph Aviram, who selflessly assisted me in laying the foundations for the excavations, in obtaining the financial support and in looking after our public relations, and to Meir Ben-Dov, who has served as my Chief Assistant throughout this year. Finally, I must bless the memory of my friend, the late Immanuel Dunayevsky, who joined me in archaeological research over the past thirty years, who contributed so very much to the solution of the stratigraphical problems of our excavations, and who up to his last days whole-heartedly followed the progress of our work.

II

In briefly reviewing the results of the first season of excavations we should first note that work was concentrated in the open area known as Ard el-Khatuniyye, bounded on the north by the western part of the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount, by the Turkish walls on the south and east, and on the west by a structure built several years ago by the Municipality of East Jerusalem. This latter building now houses the Rabbinical Courts of Appeal; one of its rooms is used by the expedition as its office.

A limited area at the southern end of the Western Wall was also cleared, from the northern end of 'Robinson's Arch' to the northern wall of the Rabbinical Courts (see Pl. IV). In the second season the area of excavation was extended northward, beyond 'Robinson's Arch', as well as to the southwest up to near the Dung Gate.

The major factor behind the selection of this area for systematic excavation was the desire to solve several basic topographical problems of ancient Jerusalem, and to trace the historical process of settlement in this important part of the city, through exacting stratigraphical analysis and dating.

The excavated area is on the northwestern part of the ridge stretching down from Mount Moriah southward: in other words, at the 'Ophel', on the western slope facing the Tyropoeon valley and in that valley itself (see Fig. 1). The drastic changes which have taken place in the topography of this area were mainly the result of the enormous con-
struction project initiated by Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.), which considerably extended the sanctified area of the Temple Mount through filling up the adjacent slopes and valleys, and levelling the resultant broad area, enclosing it within mighty supporting walls founded on the very bedrock. This extension of the Temple Mount on the south necessitated careful planning and exacting work: blocking the valley bed on the west where it was quite deep; filling in the slope falling off to the east towards the Kidron brook; and constructing a splendid wall — the Southern Wall — on foundations laid in the bedrock, some 280 m long. Moreover, along this Southern Wall but on the Temple Mount, running east and west, Herod built his ‘royal stoa’, of which Josephus relates that it ‘was a structure more noteworthy than any under the sun. For while the depth of the (Tyropoeon) valley was great . . . the height of the portico standing over it was so very great . . . ’ (Ant. XV, 412). Between this stoa and the palaces of the Upper City to the west, Herod built a bridge — of which only ‘Robinson’s Arch’ remains today, about 12 m north of the southwestern corner of the Temple Mount and slightly jutting out from the Western Wall. In the Southern Wall there were two of the major gates leading into the outer Temple courts; these led through tunnels under the royal stoa and were the ‘Huldah’ Gates of the Mishna: ‘There were five gates to the Temple Mount: the two Huldah Gates on the south, that served for coming in and for going out; the Kiponus Gate on the west, that served for coming in and for going out . . . ’ (Middoth 1: 3). There is no doubt that the Huldah Gates are the two closed gates on the Southern Wall — the ‘Double’ Gate and the ‘Triple’ Gate. The Kiponus Gate is apparently that known today as ‘Barclay’s’ Gate, directly beneath the modern ‘Moors’ Gate.

The ancient sources are unclear as to the nature of the area lying before the Southern Wall in the Second Temple period. Under the Herodian dynasty it was probably an integral part of the ‘Ophel’, i.e. the inner citadel at the heights of the City of David in the later days of the Judean Kingdom and the residential quarter of the Temple servants in the time of Nehemiah; as the name of this quarter, Ὀπελας, remained in use down to the end of the Second Temple period (War V, 254, etc.). For the period after the destruction of the Second Temple there are, similarly, no definite sources for this area; in the Byzantine Madaba mosaic map, for instance, our area is depicted in a manner which can be variously interpreted, thus leading scholars studying Jerusalem to be quite hesitant in interpreting it.

In approaching our excavations we were aided greatly by the amazing results of the work of Charles Warren in 1867–1870 on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund. He dug narrow shafts down to the natural bedrock at various points around the walls of the Temple Mount, and the detailed publication of his findings — based on his exact measurements and precise observations of the building remains and installations — provides us with accurate information on the lay of the bedrock, on the courses of the Herodian walls beneath the surface, on the remains of two bridges which had crossed from the Temple Mount to the Upper City (‘Robinson’s Arch’ and ‘Wilson’s Arch’), on cisterns and water channels, on pavements, etc. And all this in spite of the fact that in
Warren’s day the stratigraphic methodology of modern archaeology had not yet been evolved.2

A very few additional data on the area under question came to light during a trial dig carried out by the Jordanian Department of Antiquities in 1961, with the assistance of Miss Kathleen M. Kenyon, adjacent to the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount, some 60 m east of the southwestern corner (area G in her area designation). This latter uncovered a pavement fragment between the wall and a structure of considerable dimensions which lies along the wall; to the south was found a column in situ on its base. Miss Kenyon and Père de Vaux also started a trial dig at the southeastern part of Arḍ el-Khatuniyye, adjacent to the Turkish wall (area J), though they decided to discontinue their efforts due to pressure on the part of the Waqf authorities.3

III

We commenced by mapping the area intended for excavations, dividing it into large squares (100 x 100 m), each of which was subdivided into secondary squares (5 x 5 m) which were denoted by Latin characters (from west to east) and numbers (from south to north). We then began to excavate a narrow strip — at first only 5 m wide — along the Southern Wall, from the southwestern corner close to the buildings adjacent to the ‘Double’ Gate, a length of about 75 m. In this work were we considerably aided by the results from Warren’s shafts. In two such shafts, one near the southwestern corner and the other some 30 m eastwards, Warren had penetrated down to bedrock. Thus, we knew that 23 courses of the Herodian wall, with finely drafted stones having bosses, were preserved in the corner, in contrast to the spot where the Herodian masonry reaches its maximum height along the Western Wall, three courses higher. The upper courses of the Herodian wall are built of large, well drafted stones with flat bosses, and in the six lowermost courses the stones have crude, projecting bosses. The bottom course had been let into a channel cut into the bedrock (see Fig. 2). It has definitely been ascertained that the lower courses of the Western and Southern Walls — built, as stated, of stones with crude, projecting bosses — are actually the foundations of the wall, not being exposed to the eye after the structure was completed. They were at a level beneath the Herodian pavement of large flagstones, traces of which were found already by Warren. This fact aided us considerably in determining the level of the paved street running along the walls even in places where the pavement has been destroyed entirely (see Figs. 2 and 5).

In our excavations, we have uncovered illustrative data on the western portion of the Southern Wall, and on the preservation of the Herodian courses, especially in those trenches where the Herodian pavement was reached or even penetrated, close to the southwestern corner (squares E-K 6), and in the smaller trench at the eastern end of the


EXCAVATIONS IN JERUSALEM, 1968

strip excavated along the Southern Wall (square S 6). Without going into a general description, we shall here point out several matters which are especially noteworthy. Whereas the westernmost part of the Herodian Southern Wall, for a length of 26–27.5 m, has been preserved to the height of course 6 (in Warren’s numbering) — and in the southwestern corner and a small section to the east it even reaches the height of course 4 — in the continuation, the highest Herodian course is No. 13. At some time in the history of the walls, the Herodian masonry was destroyed down to the level of this latter course, the break later being mended with medium-sized ashlars lacking bosses. Various data (see below) indicate that the stones in this mend are contemporary with the street and large building discovered to the south of the wall, and which date from the Omayyad period. The courses of this mend have been preserved up to the present maximum height of the Herodian courses in the western section of the Southern Wall, i.e., course 4. Above this is later masonry of smaller ashlars (see Fig. 2).

While exposing the Herodian courses we examined the horizontal channel hewn into the bottom of course 12, tracing it along the Western Wall from ‘Wilson’s Arch’ on the north down to the southwestern corner (Pl. IX: 2), and from there along the Southern Wall, in the trench to the west of the mend and farther on to the east, after the mend, where the Herodian stones are preserved to the height of course 12. The channel, crudely hewn into the Herodian masonry, is 26–30 cm wide and about 26 cm deep (see Figs. 2–3). It had been plastered within and evidently also on the outside, and seems to have carried water from some source north of ‘Wilson’s Arch’ south and then east to the ‘Double’ Gate. As for its date — it was undoubtedly hewn before the mend was made in the Southern Wall in Omayyad times. But we should not assume that it was an integral part of the original Herodian building plan. Though the data concerning its origin and outlet, as well as its history, are still quite vague, we may suggest by way of hypothesis that it stems from the Byzantine period. It is evident, however, that in the Omayyad period it continued to be used, though in a somewhat modified manner, for in the Southern Wall, in course 13 of the Herodian masonry, in the last stone before the mend, there is a deep groove the entire height of the stone which had served as a pipe leading from the hewn channel in the wall to a channel built of roof tiles which crossed the Omayyad street and led into the large Omayyad building to the south through a slit in its northern wall (see Fig. 8 and Pl. V: 2).

IV

The excavation of the strip along the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount, and the deeper trenches in squares E-K 6 and S 6 down to the Herodian pavement, enabled us to determine the stratigraphy of four periods: the Arab period (marked A in the plans); the Byzantine period (B); the Roman period (R); and the period from Herod the Great to the destruction of the Second Temple (H).

The stratigraphic analysis revealed that in the earliest Arab stratum (A 1) in this strip there was a cobbled street which gently ascended from the valley on the west, between the
Southern Wall on the north and the wall of the Omayyad building on the south, towards the 'Double' Gate (see Fig. 2; Pls. II: 5 and III).

The ascription of this street to the Omayyad period is based on the finds found on its pavement, on the finds in the stratum beneath (late Byzantine), and especially on the fact that it is contemporary with the large Omayyad building to the south. The gateway of this latter building, with its sill in situ, is most indicative in this matter. This gate at the middle of the northern wall of the building leads from the paved street into the building. To its left, on the pavement of the street, there was a rectangular foundation which apparently served as the gatekeeper's cell (see Fig. 8; Pl. II).

At the eastern end of the excavated strip (square S 6) another important particular was discovered (see Fig. 2). At this spot the level of the street leading up to the 'Double' Gate corresponds to course 12 of the Herodian masonry, i.e. the highest Herodian course preserved to the east of the mend in the wall. It is now evident that at the time of the destruction of the wall a large stone of the Herodian masonry was removed from course 12, and during the mending the gap of the missing stone was filled with two stones of the plainer type, one of which juts out from the surface of the wall (see Fig. 2). It is also evident that when the stone was removed a horizontal water pipe made of pottery, from the latest Byzantine stratum (B 4; 6th century A.D.), which ran along the Southern Wall at the level of course 12, was then destroyed. Our stratigraphic analysis here, together with other considerations, led us to assume that the wall was destroyed towards the end of the Byzantine period, as the result of some military activity, apparently during the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians and their Jewish allies in A.D. 614. The mending of the wall, the paving of the street and the erection of the large building to the south were all part of an overall plan carried out under the Caliph 'Abd el-Malik (A.D. 685–705) or one of his successors.

As we shall see below (p. 20), stratum A 1 came to an end with the destruction of the large Omayyad building, apparently during the earthquake of A.D. 748; there were partial repairs during the Abbasid period (second half of the 8th century A.D.). The paved street and the gateway of the building continued to be used in stratum A 2, and the water system was modified drastically: The earlier water channel, made of roof tiles, was no longer used and was replaced by a stone-built channel, plastered and covered with stone slabs. This latter carried water from an unknown source on the west and continued on the stone pavement along the northern wall of the Omayyad building. Its first section was laid on a stone foundation and further it rests directly on the stones of the pavement (see Pls. II: 7 and VII: 1), till it reaches the slit penetrating the Omayyad wall. The water flowed through the wall into a plastered channel within the building, at a level higher than stratum A 1 (see Pl. V: 2).

Stratum A 2 came to an end with the disuse of this channel and upon the accumulation of considerable heaps of debris overlying the western part of the paved street. In stratum

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A 3 we found a levelled, beaten-earth street leading up between the Southern Wall and the northern wall of the Omayyad building. There were no further indications of building activity in this period. In contrast, there is a striking difference between strata A 3 and A 4 (see Fig. 4). Stratum A 4 is indicated by, among other things, a beaten-earth pavement about 20 cm thick leading up to the 'Double' Gate, as well as considerable use of the northern wall of the large Omayyad building, which was raised by several courses of small stones. At two spots in its western part the fine, larger ashlars were removed; i.e. some 6.5 m from the northwestern corner of the building a stone was removed to facilitate a small gate here (Pl. VII: 1); and some 10 m farther east, a stone was removed to make a window. The above small gate — which led from the street to the stone pavement within the building, and which was some three metres above the level of the Omayyad pavement (see Pl V: 3) — seems to have replaced the larger gate to the east, which went out of use in the period of stratum A 3. As for the dating of stratum A 4, as well as the two strata above it (A 5 and A 6), the stratigraphic analysis pointed to the Fatimid period. The beaten-earth street and the changes in the northern wall of the Omayyad building were most likely the work of the Fatimid Caliph edh-Dhahir, who in A.D. 1033 began extensive work on the walls of Jerusalem and the Haram esh-Sherif. These activities, which reused the stones of ruined Christian churches, was brought to an end by an earthquake and were continued only by his successor, el-Mustanṣir.

It is to this same period that we are to ascribe a hoard of eight gold coins (A.D. 985–1056 — see Pl. XV: 34–36) found within the Omayyad building. A small stone construction adjacent to the Southern Wall, which belongs to stratum A 5 (K-L 6; see Pl. II: 4), left only a narrow passage in the street. This structure included two square chambers containing large accumulations of animal bones, mostly of sheep. The discovery appears to be connected with what is related by Nasir-i-Khusrau (who visited Jerusalem in A.D. 1047) concerning the mass pilgrimages to the Haram during holidays, and the ceremonies accompanied by festive sacrifices, as well as the mass pilgrimages of Jews and Christians to Jerusalem from the Byzantine empire and other countries.5

Stratum A 6 brought to a close the lifespan of the street running between the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount and the northern wall of the large building complex, and leading up to the 'Double' Gate. Life seems also to have come to a standstill in the area actually within the building complex, where considerable rubbish began to accumulate; its large ashlars seem partly to have been robbed at this time for constructions in the Haram above. The source of this desolation appears to have been the Seljuk conquest of Jerusalem in A.D. 1071, the year in which the Early Arab period is considered to come to an end in Palestine. In the period of stratum A 7, it is interesting to note, a large and deep pit was excavated at the western end of the street, enclosed by stone masonry on the west and east (see Fig. 3). This pit was used for storing gravel (see Pl. II: 2), i.e. for the needs

of the construction work in the Haram. This seems also to be so of a lime-pit found south of the above, within the building complex and higher than the level of the destruction of the Fatimid strata (see Pl. V: 1). At a still higher level (stratum A 8), in the strip along the Southern Wall, nothing was found except an installation of unclear nature (see Pl. II: 3). Judging on the basis of the finds, these meagre constructions should be related to the Crusader and Mameluke periods. This picture, as revealed by the archaeological excavations, is confirmed by the literary sources which witness that the area south of the western part of the Southern Wall, between the western corner and the structures adjoining the ‘Double’ Gate, was uninhabited for many generations — and, indeed, up to the present time.

After having descended beneath the paved Omayyad street in two trenches along the Southern Wall — in the large trench in the west (E-K 6; see Pl. VII: 1) and in the smaller one in the east (S 6; see Pl. VII: 3) — we were able to ascertain fairly definitely the occupational stratigraphy in the Roman and Byzantine periods. The tracing of the various levels, examining the remains of the water systems and analysis of the finds revealed six successive strata. The lower two (R 1–2) are of the Roman period and the remaining four (B 1–5) are Byzantine (see Figs. 4–5). The precise dating of these various strata will remain somewhat vague until the cleaning and examination of all the coins and the more detailed analysis of the other finds, especially the pottery. The earliest stratum of the Roman period (R 1) lies over the debris of the destruction of the Second Temple, which in turn lies on the Herodian pavement. Beneath this level there were remains of a Roman channel built of small stones on a foundation of debris from the destruction of the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount (see Fig. 4). One side of the channel rests against course 17 of the Southern Wall, whereas the other is about 60 cm to the south.

The finds in the two Roman strata indicate that they are to be ascribed to the period between the foundation of Aelia Capitolina by Hadrian and the end of the 3rd century A.D. This dating is based on the coins so far cleaned, on the pottery, and especially on the bricks bearing the stamp of the Legio X Fretensis, the latter of the types common under Hadrian and down to the period in which this legion left Jerusalem, under Diocletian. To date, however, only few finds have been made (such as a silver coin of Vespasian dated A.D. 73; see Pl. XV: 14) which can be ascribed with certainty to the period between the destruction of the Second Temple and the end of the Second, Bar Kokhba Revolt.

In these two trenches, as well as in squares M-N 4–5 where we also penetrated down to the Herodian pavement (see Pl. VII: 4), no building remains or installations from the Roman period were encountered, except for the one underground channel mentioned above. Thus, we are faced with the problem of the large quantities of bricks and tiles which had been burnt in a conflagration, found scattered in the two Roman levels — some

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of them bearing the stamp of the Tenth Legion — which do, after all, indicate that in the extensive period of the stay of this legion in Jerusalem it was involved in building activities in the area adjacent to the Southern Wall. It should be noted that till now stone foundations of buildings of the period of Aelia Capitolina have been found only in the areas opened to the west of the Western Wall, near ‘Robinson’s Arch’ (see Pl. IX: 1), and in the southeastern part of our excavations, not far from the eastern Turkish city wall (see Pl. VI: 2).

In the latter area we discovered a stone slab (1.075 x 0.97 x 0.25–0.36 m) reused within the pavement of the Omayyad building and bearing large Latin characters (see Pl. XII: 6). It is evident that this slab had a variegated past, for its size and form indicate that it was originally part of the Herodian pavement; it was later used for the inscription (see below, p. 22), as proven by M. Avi-Yonah, in the time of Septimius Severus. This inscription, which was erected on behalf of the metropolis of Aelia Capitolina Commodiana in connection with a public construction project, dates from A.D. 202–205. We may assume that the stone was not brought to this location from afar; it may have been that the monumental inscription was intended to record the completion of some public structure or water installation in the general region of our excavations, south of the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount.

In the four Byzantine strata, too, in the two trenches adjacent to the Southern Wall (B 1–4), no building remains were found. With the aid of the small finds, however, especially the coins and pottery, it is possible to determine generally the dates of the various levels. The lowest Byzantine stratum is to be dated to the days of Constantine the Great and his successors. A unique find here was a lamp of the type common in the 4th century A.D., with a nine-branched menorah in relief between the hole and the spout. To the right of the menorah is a shofar and to the left an unclear object, possibly a goblet (see Pl. XIII: B1). The lamp was found facing the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount and actually resting against it. It may very well have been that this lamp was placed here by a Jewish pilgrim, for during the entire Byzantine period Jews were wont to come in pilgrimage to the Temple Mount and to the Western Wall, especially in the days of Julian (A.D. 362/63), who gave the Jews permission to rebuild the ruins of the Temple, though the plan was never realized.

In the light of the finds, especially the coins already cleaned, stratum B 2 may be ascribed to the period from Theodosius I (A.D. 379–395) to Theodosius II (A.D. 408–450) and stratum B 3 to the period between the building activities of the empress Eudocia in Jerusalem during the later reign of Theodosius II and the days of Justinian I (A.D. 527–565). Justinian’s building activities in Jerusalem are reflected in stratum B 4, to which belongs the pottery pipe coming from the area of the ‘Double’ Gate and running along the Southern Wall to square K 6, where it turns southward. To this stratum also belongs the subterranean channel found in ruins in the western trench. This latter, let into the

7 See Professor Avi-Yonah’s paper appended hereto, pp. 22–24.
ground to the depth of the walls of the Roman channel, runs between the Southern Wall (courses 15–16 and the top of No. 17) and the high, narrow stone wall to the south (see Fig. 4). South of the northern wall of the Omayyad building, beneath its stone pavement, there were remains of a third channel, also built of stone. This latter, running west to east, contained many finds of the 6th century A.D. These three channels, and apparently also the water channel hewn into the stones of the wall of the Temple Mount (see above, p. 5), indicate that the area adjacent to the Southern Wall was the site of building activity from the days of Justinian down to the time of the Persian conquest (A.D. 614). Recently we have come across remains of walls beneath the northeastern foundations of the Omayyad building, but only with the extension of our excavations will we be able to obtain a clearer picture of the nature of our site in the various phases of the Roman and Byzantine periods, and of the significance of the various channel systems in the pre-Arab strata.
EXCAVATIONS IN JERUSALEM, 1968

the time of the construction of the subterranean water channel ascribed to Aelia Capitolina. The stone pavement slabs, and the debris overlying them, undoubtedly served as a source of stone for the construction of the Roman city. The large slabs appear in secondary and tertiary use all through the subsequent periods, as do the large ashlars and architectural members which undoubtedly fell from the top of the Southern Wall.

The uncovering of the section of the street in square K 6, where Warren had descended in his narrow shaft down to course 34 on the bedrock at the bottom of the valley, was most illuminating. In this shaft, Warren discovered the eastern face of a wall built of small ashlars, descending down to the bedrock and entirely beneath the Herodian pavement. It was evident to him that along the course of the valley-bed, sloping down to the south, there ran a drainage channel exiting from the Temple Mount. In our deep trench here, we found that 3.30 m to the west of this wall there was another, similar wall. We were able to trace the resulting shaft to a depth of some four metres, i.e. to the top of course 22 (see Fig. 2). There is little doubt that this masonry 'shaft' is of some special significance within the plan of this area. It should further be noted that most of the finds from within this 'shaft' are from the period of Herod and some from the Hasmonean period, and include an abundance of fragments of cooking-pots and store-jars, lamps and other vessels of daily ware.

A similar construction was found in the eastern trench of the Herodian street, i.e. in square S 6 (see Pl. VII: 3). It became evident that here, too, there was a 'shaft' enclosed on the east and west by masonry and adjoining the wall of the Temple Mount. The space between was almost as large as in square K 6, though at the bottom of this 'shaft', as far as we excavated it (down to course 20), there was a chamber with openings in its east and south walls. The latter openings apparently led to additional chambers, outside the western of the two Huldah gates, on the one hand, and in the direction south of the paved street, on the other. So long as additional areas remain unexcavated, we are prevented from reaching definite conclusions concerning these 'shafts' and their passages. The finds from the 'shaft' in square S 6 are no different in character from those found in that in square K 6 and, again, are mainly from the Herodian period (the latest coins are from the fourth year of the First Revolt); they include pottery sherds, especially from lamps, fragments of stoneware, and stone weights — two of which are marked 'year 5' (of Herod the Great?), one of a mina (Pl. XI: B14) and the other a quarter of a mina (Pl. XI: B13).

Special mention must be made here of a fragment of a stone vessel, actually part of the vessel's leg, on which there is carved in Hebrew letters the word קרבן, i.e. 'sacrifice'. Upside-down from the inscription, two figures of birds are scratched (Pl. X: 5). The inscription recalls a passage from the Mishna: 'If a man found a vessel and on it was written קרבן, R. Judah says: If it was of earthenware the vessel is to be deemed unconsecrated... They said to him: It is not the way of men to put what is unconsecrated into what is קרבן' (Maaser Sheni 4: 10). As for the depiction of the two birds — it is possible that they are connected with the offering of the 'woman in confinement' (Lev.
12: 8) or that of ‘he that hath an issue’ (Lev. 15: 13). With this in mind we should take note of the sources mentioning young birds in the Temple ritual (see e.g., Kerithoth 1: 7), though this is not the proper occasion to delve deeper into this matter.\footnote{And this is also so for the word יְבִרֵי in an inscription on the lid of an ossuary; see J. A. Fitzmyer: 
\textit{JBL} 78 (1959), pp. 60 ff.}

In discussing the Herodian street, we should point out that in the fill beneath the flagging, in square K 6, there was a considerable quantity of sherds from the end of the First Temple period (7th century and start of 6th century B.C.), including a handle bearing a \textit{lmik} stamp (see Pl. XI: A2), fragments of bowls with wheel burnishing and fragments of decanters, hole-mouth jars, pots, lamps, etc. Persian period sherds were also found, including a handle bearing a \textit{yhd} stamp (Pl. XI: A3), as were Hellenistic sherds (Pl. XI: A4–5).

In attempting to analyse the plan of the area south of the Temple Mount in the Herodian period, special attention should be paid to the small area within our squares M-N 4–5. Here, on a level some 1.30 m lower than the Herodian pavement to the north, we discovered a pavement of large stone slabs of the Herodian type, repaired at some time, possibly at the end of the Second Temple period (see Pl. VII: 4). This pavement is separated from the paved street to the north by a stone wall preserved to no great height. This fact does not aid us much in the understanding of the overall picture, though we can possibly assume that this latter pavement is part of an open square, separated from the street (which was thus about 7 m wide) running along the Southern Wall by a stone wall. The wall, the exact form of which is still unclear to us, may have had openings through which it had been possible to descend from the street to the square. On the pavement, in squares M-N 4–5, there were found various objects of the Herodian period, such as coins, lamps and fragments of stoneware. These included a stone object of as yet undetermined use (see Pl. X: 4), the front of which is ornamented in a manner typical of the Herodian period and painted red; there is a depression on the top, in one corner of which there is what seems to be a drain-hole.

In the area at the southern end of the Western Wall, near ‘Robinson’s Arch’, several most instructive points concerning this period were clarified. We have penetrated down to near the slab pavement discerned already by Warren, have cleared ‘Robinson’s Arch’ for its entire length (see Pls. IV and IX: 2), and have uncovered remains of the first pier to the west of the Western Wall (see Pl. IX: 1). Our excavations in this area are continuing, the area being extended to the north and west; the results of this work will appear in the next report.

VII

Above, we have mentioned several times the large Omayyad building south of the paved street. This structure, stretching over an extensive area (some 80 × 95 m), has been cleared to date only in part (see Fig. 8; Pls. IV; V: 1; VI: 1), and thus it is still difficult to come to
definite conclusions concerning its nature and the purpose for which it was built south of the Southern Wall, at the same time as the paving of the street leading up to the 'Double' Gate. This is a solid structure with thick walls (2.20–2.50 m) preserved in part to a considerable height. The foundations are massive, made of stones of various sizes and boulders set in mortar at a fair depth (see Fig. 5); the foundations often penetrate into the older strata, down to those of the Herodian period. The use of much earlier building stones is typical of the entire structure: In the foundations and walls, the stones with finely-worked bosses, capitals, fragments of columns, lintels, etc., are quite evident, having been taken from the ruins of buildings from the period of the Second Temple down through the Roman-Byzantine period. Moreover, the western part of the northern wall of the Omayyad building, from its northwestern corner to the gate at its middle, is built to the height of 2–3 courses with large ashlars having flat, finely-wrought bosses (see Pl. V: 2–3), and it would seem that some nearby ruined building from the end of the Second Temple period had been dismantled for this purpose. It is evident also that the fallen columns found near their bases in the northern rooms (see Pl. IV) were taken from earlier structures. One of these latter, the westernmost column, bears an inscription in Greek letters: CA. Several fragments of marble slabs were also found bearing Greek inscriptions. In contrast, the inner facing of the outer northern wall, which has been well preserved from the gate eastward — as has been the eastern wall below the courses of the Turkish wall — consists in the main of medium-sized ashlars similar to those in the Omayyad courses of the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount (see Pl. V: 1).

The plan of the building is generally similar to the square 'palaces' of the Omayyad period discovered in this and in the neighbouring countries, such as at Khirbet el-Mefjer and el-Minyeh,¹² i.e. large, two-storied structures built around a central, open courtyard and consisting of a cloister and a series of rooms, and with an ornamental gate on the eastern side. In the present case, however, there are several important differences: The round towers in the corners and the semi-circular towers at the middle of the walls are lacking entirely; besides the gate at the middle of the eastern wall, there is another gate at the middle of the northern wall, on the side of the paved street. From the northern gate the entrance descended through a stairway to the ground floor (see Fig. 8). We shall not go here into the details of the building or into the finds from the floors and water channels, which undoubtedly date from the Omayyad period; we can only note that we have a great deal of evidence concerning it. Thus, we have been able to distinguish two types of chambers: narrow, with vaults supported on pilasters; and wider, necessitating columns in the centre for supporting the vaulting (see Pl. V: 1). The floors had been paved with stone flagging laid on a foundation of crushed loam (see Pl. VI: 1). We also learned much on the details of the water and drainage systems (see Pls. V: 1–2 and VI: 1), as well as the ornamentation in the various chambers (see Pl. V: 3). We have arrived at an illustrative

Fig. 8. Plan of the large Omayyad building-complex (in initial stage of excavation).
EXCAVATIONS IN JERUSALEM, 1968

picture of a series of rooms west of the building, which may include a bath-house decorated with frescoes of geometric patterns in the Omayyad style.

The finds from the original building make a rich corpus including mainly vessels of the various types of 'Khirket Mefjer ware', with the addition of some rare types. Included are various lamps (see Pl. XIV: A6-8), glazed ware (see Pl. XIV: A5), wares with ornamentation in moulded relief, sometimes with Arabic inscriptions, etc.

We can further note a building fragment uncovered to the west of the Omayyad building, at its northwestern corner, and stemming from the same period (see Pl. II: 8). The roof of this latter had been supported on columns. At the centre, on the flagstone paving which sloped down towards a small pool in the south, stood a vat hewn from a single piece of rock and plastered on the outside. The vat consisted of two basins, with a connecting pipe near the bottom. In the pavement to the east of the vat, near the wall of the Omayyad building, there was a plastered water channel leading down to the south, towards a large cistern, also plastered. It can be assumed that this installation was part of a dyeing plant which remained in use for a considerable period, as is indicated by the fact that it had been refitted at least once.

As for the basic problems connected with the beginnings of the Omayyad building, its purpose and its fate, we may point out that, as we have stated above, it was constructed together with the mending of the Southern Wall and the laying of the paved street leading up to the 'Double' Gate. It is thus reasonable to assume that it was part of a greater overall plan, as were the remains discovered to the west of the southern part of the Western Wall (see Fig. 8). For the time being, we must leave unanswered the question whether it was constructed prior to the extensive repairs carried out by el-Walid I (A.D. 709-715) in the el-Aqsa mosque (Aqsa I) or at this very time. We can only surmise that the date of these buildings is hinted at in a nine-line Kufic inscription cut into an ashlar in secondary use in a later building near the Western Wall, adjacent to the southwestern corner. The inscription, which is in part quite vague, is at present being studied by Dr. M. Sharon of the Hebrew University; at the end, it may mention the year A.H. 82 (i.e. A.D. 701), that is, after 'Abd el-Malik had completed the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount (A.H. 72) and before el-Walid had begun construction of the el-Aqsa mosque.

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13 Pl. XII: 1-2; 1. — 

14 We should note that dyeing as a craft in the Orient was a Jewish trade for many generations. Incidentally, one of the documents from the Cairo Genizah, of the 9th century A.D., mentions a certain Abu el-Faraj, a Jerusalem dyer, as one of the persons receiving support from the Jewish community of Fostat. See J. Braslavi: Tarbiz 13 (1941), p. 51 (Hebrew). Interestingly enough, the Jewish quarter in Jerusalem in the Early Arab period was in this region; thus, according to one source from the Cairo Genizah it was 'on the south of the city, and this is the Jewish market; (the intent of) their desire was proximity to the Temple and its gates, as well as the spring of Siloam for immersion' (Sefer Hayeshuv I, Jerusalem, 1938, p. 18 [Hebrew]). And see J. Prawer: Zion 12 (1947), pp. 136 ff. (Hebrew).

No less difficult is the question of the purpose and use of this building. One theory holds that it is the Dar Imarah, the 'government house', or possibly a building which stood adjacent to it, such as the guest house for noble pilgrims visiting the holy sites. However, Mrs. Miriam Rosen-Ayalon tends to consider the building as the palace mentioned in the Aphrodito papyri from Egypt. These papyri, from the time of el-Walid I, mention workmen and craftsmen in Jerusalem who worked on the construction of a palace and a mosque. Meir Ben-Dov has raised the suggestion that the building is connected with the Dar el-Akhmas — the 'court of Bath[-sheba]' — mentioned in the 'Guide to Jerusalem' for Jewish pilgrims found in the Cairo Genizah and written in Arabic. The intent, apparently, was to the building of the Haram servants. For the present, no definite solution to the problem has been found.

As for the destruction of the building, it appears fairly certain that it met its end during a strong earthquake which collapsed its walls and columns, bringing about the considerable rubble — about a generation or two after its construction. The earthquake was probably that of A.H. 130 (A.D. 747/48), the same that badly damaged el-Aqsa and levelled the splendid structure at Khirbet el-Mefjer; it has been suggested that this is the 'quake in the sabbatical year' of the Hebrew sources.

From the Abbasid and Fatimid periods there are relatively few remains preserved within the area of the Omayyad building. In the former period (stratum A 2; and see above, p. 6) various attempts were made to restore the building in part, through clearing away the rubble and through further building, restoration and installation of channels, reusing the debris as building materials. It was at this point that the stone facing of the interior of the northern wall began to be stripped away with the intention of reusing the Omayyad ashlars.

In the Fatimid period a drastic change took place in the general plan of the area: In the northwestern part of the building a pavement of stone slabs was laid some 3 m and more above the former floor level, over the debris which had accumulated near the new gate piercing the northern wall, in place of the gate on the eastern wall, now entirely disused.
EXCAVATIONS IN JERUSALEM, 1968

We do not yet possess sufficient data to ascertain the character of the site in this period. We may ascribe to the Fatimid period, besides the hoard of eight gold coins found in squares K-L 5 (see above, p. 7), a large hoard of some 80 gold coins (dinars and quarter dinars) from the 10th-11th centuries A.D. — i.e. from the days of el-Mu'iz down to the time of the Caliph el-Mustansir — recently found in squares K-L 1. This 'treasure-trove' is probably from the time of el-Mustansir, who continued the building projects of his father edh-Dhahir — according to his inscription on the facade of el-Aqsa mosque (A.D. 1065).

At the end of the Fatimid period, more specifically at the time of the Seljuk conquest (A.D. 1071), settlement in this area ceased. Except for the lime-kiln built over the Fatimid building remains (see above, p. 8), and the two stone-built channels in the eastern part of the area, which apparently ran from the 'Double' Gate southward, we may ascribe to the period following the First Crusade only very meagre remains and various chance finds. The latter include a hoard of 77 coins, all — except one Arab coin — silver minted at Chartres in France (ca. A.D. 1200), and hidden for some unknown reason just west of the Templar buildings adjacent to the 'Double' Gate. It has also become evident that the eastern wall of the Omayyad building, which apparently remained in use until the Fatimid period, became disused in this later period. Only in the days of Suleiman the Magnificent (second quarter of the 16th century A.D.) was it reused, as the foundation for a new section of the city wall, the gate now being blocked (it had apparently remained open for many generations). For the time, we have not ascertained what brought the Turkish authorities to include this open area to the south of the Temple Mount within the new walled area of Jerusalem.

We should add that in the limited area adjacent to the eastern wall of the Omayyad building, south of the blocked gate, we have begun to penetrate deeper with the intention of tracing the earlier strata here. Thus, we have already discovered building remains from the Byzantine period, quite well preserved, and beneath them stone foundations evidently dating to a pre-Byzantine period (see Pl. VI: 2). We may note that the orientation of these latter buildings is southeast-northwest, whereas that of the Omayyad building is exactly according to the points of the compass. This phenomenon, which was also evident in some structures at the ‘Ophel’, is noteworthy for it indicates that the Omayyad builders generally ignored the building foundations from the earlier periods, and constructed their buildings here according to an entirely new plan.

Finally, it must be stated that this preliminary review was written during the course of excavations, and every new day sees advances and developments, the recovery of additional remains and the discovery of new data on the history of the site.


22 The plans in this report were drawn by I. Gel-brun; most of the photographs were taken by M.
During the excavations currently being conducted at the Southern Wall of the Temple Mount, under the direction of Professor B. Mazar, there came to light a limestone slab on which is engraved part of a monumental inscription. The slab measures 0.97 x 1.075 m; its material, shape and size indicate that it was originally part of the Herodian pavement running along the wall of the Temple Mount. In secondary use, it formed part of a long Latin inscription, and it was found in tertiary use as part of the paving in the large Omayyad structure uncovered by Professor Mazar.

On the present fragment (see Pl. XII: 6), the following letters are visible:

ADIAB · PARTH
CAES · M · AVR.
VTILLAE · AVG
IA KAP COMMO
I /// SVMPTV
PR · CVRANTE

The letters are in a monumental script; there are serifs, especially on the top and at the left of the letters. The letter G is ornamental, as usual at the end of the second century and the beginning of the third century A.D. The double MM in line 4 and the NT at the end of line 6 are ligatured.

Line 1 indicates that the inscription relates to an emperor whose titles included ADIAB(enicus) and PARTH(icus). The two titles were borne by the emperors from Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211) on. The second line, however, mentions a joint ruler named M(arcus) AVR(elius) [Antoninus], which can point only to Septimius Severus and his son Septimius Bassianus (Caracalla), who officially assumed the name Marcus Aurelius Antoninus in A.D. 196. This name was in honour of the philosopher-emperor who was regarded as the founder of the Severan dynasty, as father by adoption of Severus. Caracalla was therefore considered the grandson of Marcus Aurelius.**

In the third line it is possible to read traces of the name [Fulviae Pla]VTILLAE, Caracalla’s wife. The dative form would indicate that the whole text is a dedication

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1 I have to thank Professor Mazar for permitting me to publish this inscription.
2 For the period of this shape, see R. Cagnat: *Cours d’épigraphie latine*, Paris, 1914, p. 16.
4 Cf., e.g., the inscription: ‘L. Septimius Severus... divi Marci filio divi Commodi fratri’ (H. Dessau: *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, 1916, No. 940); J. Hasebroek: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus*, Heidelberg, 1921, p. 92.
to Septimius Severus and his family. Plautilla was the daughter of C. Fulvius Plautianus who was Prefect of the Praetorian Guard under Severus and for a while the chief minister of the emperor.\(^5\) In order to consolidate his position and to enter the imperial family, Plautianus offered his daughter Plautilla in marriage to the emperor's eldest son and co-ruler, Caracalla. Despite Caracalla's deep hatred of his bride, the wedding took place prior to 17 September 202.\(^6\) It was short-lived, for in January 205 Plautianus was suddenly executed by imperial order. Plautilla was exiled to the Isle of Lipari near Sicily, where she was murdered upon Caracalla's succession as sole ruler in A.D. 211. Even before this, however, she was condemned to a *damnatio memoriae*.\(^7\) The fact that the present text still includes Plautilla within the imperial family shows that it is to be dated between September 202 and January 205.

In line 4, the name of the dedicatory city is mentioned: [Colonia Ael]IA KAP(itolina) COMMO(diana). Two points should be noted on this form of the name:

a) The spelling 'Kapitolina', with a K instead of the usual C, was common from the very foundation of this Roman colony under Hadrian, and indeed such is found even on the coins struck to commemorate that event.\(^8\) This form appears on 37 of the coin types minted by the city from Hadrian to Macrinus (A.D. 217/18).\(^9\) An inscription discovered at 'Arab in Galilee gives the name of a deceased woman in the form 'Kapitolina'.\(^10\)

b) This is the first occurrence in an inscription of the title 'Commodiana' as one of the names of Jerusalem. This title had been known only from city coins, and its date has been a point of controversy among numismatists.\(^11\) It could be assumed *prima facie* that this title was conferred under Commodus (A.D. 180–192), the son of Marcus Aurelius, though there is no coin of his reign known to bear the title.\(^12\) On the coins from the time of Septimius Severus on, however, Jerusalem is called 'Commodiana'. Kadman was of the opinion that Severus conferred the title between A.D. 201 and 209, for this emperor regarded himself the 'brother' of Commodus, who was the son of Marcus Aurelius — according to the retrospective system of adoption mentioned above.\(^13\) This inscription indicates that the title was granted no later than A.D. 205; the question remains, what made Severus (possibly during his visit in A.D. 201) grant Jerusalem a title in honour of a long-dead emperor instead of one honouring a member of his own family? The lack of the title on coins of Commodus is a mere *argumentum ex silentio*.

Line 5 proves that the structure was erected at the expense (*suo sumptu*) of the

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\(^{5}\) E. Stein, in Pauly-Wissowa: *Realencyclopädie XII*, cols. 270–278.

\(^{6}\) CIL VI, 226.

\(^{7}\) Cagnat, *op. cit.* (above, n. 2), p. 174. The broken condition of the stone on the left side makes it difficult to say whether or not the name of Plautilla has been erased. In any event, the poor condition of the empress's name should be noted along-side the clear reading of her title, AVG(ustae).

\(^{8}\) L. Kadman: *The Coins of Aelia Capitolina* (Corpus Nummorum Palaestinianorum I), Jerusalem, 1956, p. 80, No. 1.

\(^{9}\) Ibid., pp. 32, 35, 142–143.

\(^{10}\) M. Avi-Yonah: *QDAP* 12 (1946), pp. 87 f.


\(^{12}\) Kadman, *op. cit.* (above, n. 8), pp. 94–96.

\(^{13}\) See above, n. 4.
municipality or one of its citizens, and thus the last line is to be restored [X. decem] PR(imo) CVRANTE,¹⁴ i.e. one of the decemprimi who was in charge of the execution of this monument dedicated to the rulers. The nature of the dedication cannot be ascertained on the basis of the extant fragment.

From the ending in line 6 we learn that the fragment includes the end of the inscription. If we restore the text on the basis of other similar texts, limiting the imperial titles to a minimum, each line would contain some 40 letters. As the present fragment contains about 10 letters in each line, it can be assumed that the inscription ran across three further such slabs. It is hoped that these latter will be found, in whole or in part, with the continuation of the excavations.

The restored text is as follows:

[Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) L(uicio) Septimio Severo Aug(usto) Arab(ico)] ADIAB(enico) PARTH(ico)
[Max(imo) Pio P(atri) P(atriae) Juliae Domnae Aug(ustae) Imp(eratori)] CAES(ari) M(arco) AVR(elio)
[diana ] I [suo] SVMPTV
[ ... decem] PR(imo) CVRANTE

¹⁴ If not, we would restore the last line: [Leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o)] PR(aetore). For other dedications to emperors found in Jerusalem, see P. Thomsen: ZDPV 44 (1921), Nos. 1-4. For dedications in the name of the city, see ibid., No. 4; see also R. W. Hamilton: QDAP 10 (1944), p. 23, n. 1 and Fig. 12.
General view of the 'Ophel' area of Jerusalem, with excavations at left centre.
1. The southwestern corner of the Temple Mount prior to excavation.
2. The gravel pit near the corner (stratum A 7).
3. An installation near the Southern Wall (stratum A 8).
4. A small structure near the Southern Wall (stratum A 5).
5. The paved street and the all of the Omayyad building (stratum A 1).
6. The foundation of the pavement to the left of the gate of the Omayyad building (stratum A 1).
7. The pavement and the plastered water channel (stratum A 1).
8. The large installation to the west of the Omayyad building.
The paved Omayyad street leading up to the 'Double' Gate, and the start of the excavations in the area of the Omayyad building; left — 'Robinson's Arch' after being cleared.
The area of the excavations to the south and west of the Temple Mount, at the end of the first season.
1. The northwestern part of the Omayyad building; looking east.

2. A section of the northern wall of the Omayyad building, showing the slit through which the water channels of strata A 1-2 led from the street into the Omayyad building; looking north.

3. A section of the Omayyad building; note the architectural fragments from the Omayyad period (A 1). At the top, on the debris, a pavement from the Fatimid period in front of the small gate leading to the street along the Southern Wall (A 4); looking north.
1. The southeastern area of the Omayyad building, next to the Turkish city wall; looking south.

2. Structures beneath the Omayyad building level in the southeastern section of the excavations; looking eastward.
1. The western trench in squares E-K 6 along the Southern Wall; in the foreground, the Herodian steps; looking east.

2. The southwestern corner of the Temple Mount; looking east.

3. The eastern trench in square S 6, showing the built 'shaft' from the Herodian period; looking east.

4. The paving with the Herodian wall behind in squares M-N 4-5; looking north.
The Herodian pavement and stairs, with the debris from the destruction of the Second Temple; looking northwest.
1. The first pier of the bridge of the Herodian period, found to the west of 'Robinson's Arch'. To the left, Roman-Byzantine structures; looking northwest.

2. The southwestern corner of the Temple Mount and 'Robinson's Arch'.
1. Ornamented architectural fragment.

2. Fragment of Corinthian capital.

3. Fragment of sun-dial.

4. Ornamented stone vessel.

5. Fragment of stone vessel bearing incised inscription: הָרָק
A. Finds from the fill beneath the Herodian pavement:
1. Lamp; 2. Store-jar handle with *Innāk zyp* stamp (end First Temple period); 3. Handle with *vhd* stamp (Persian period); 4. Juglet with upper part painted black over yellow slip; 5. Fragment of black burnished bowl.

B. Finds from the Herodian period:
Stamp-impressions of the *Legio X Fretensis*.

1-3. Impressions from the second century A.D.

4. Impression from the end of the second century or the start of the third century A.D.

5. Impression from the third century A.D.

6. Stone slab bearing the final part of a monumental inscription dedicated to Septimius Severus and his family (start of the third century A.D.).
A. Finds from the Roman period:

B. Finds from the Byzantine period:
1. Jewish oil lamp (fourth century A.D.); 2. Lamp (fifth century A.D.); 3-4. Lamps (sixth century A.D.); 5. Fragment of krater ornamented with rosettes; 6. Jug with incised Greek inscription; 7. Lamp bowl (sixth century A.D.).
A. Finds from the Omayyad building:

B. Finds from the Mameluke period: