



“The Second Hill, which Bore the Name of Acra, and Supported the Lower City...”

A New Look at the Lower City of Jerusalem in the end of the Second Temple Period

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The ancient core of the city of Jerusalem developed during early antiquity, as well as during the first generations of the Second Temple period, in the area of the southeastern hill bound between central streambeds – the Kidron Valley in the east and the Tyropoeon in the west. Only in the Late Hellenistic period, and more so in the Early Roman period, did the city expand westward toward the southwestern hill, and later still to the northern hill.

Josephus’ description of Jerusalem on the eve of its destruction is the most detailed ancient source we have, and serves as a basis for every discussion about the city’s plan.

“It was built, in portions facing each other, on two hills separated by a central valley in which the tiers of houses ended. Of these hills that on which the upper city lay was far higher and had a straighter ridge than the other...the second hill, which bore the name of Acra and supported the Lower City, was a hog’s back.” (*War* V, 136–137, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray).

Zilberstein (2016: 100–101) has recently been discussed about the lack of the dichotomic boundaries between the two neighborhoods, which conventional research had reconstructed boundaries, that as though, having perpetuated socioeconomic gaps. However, a significant scholarly debate on the question of the Lower City’s physical boundaries, the definition of which could assist us in understanding archaeological and historical findings, has yet to take place. Josephus paints a densely populated urban picture, divided by the natural geographical line of the Tyropoeon Valley. This description apparently stemmed more from the desire to depict Jerusalem simply and concisely for Roman readers who did not know the city than to present a precise and detailed division of the city into various quarters.

Various reconstructions of the city’s appearance from the Early Roman period have already proposed that the boundaries of the Lower City included the eastern slope of the western hill (Avi-Yonah 1968; Avi-Yonah and Safrai 1966: 86; Geva 1993: 718; Levine 2002: 319, no. 22). At the basis of topographical and historical considerations Avi-Yonah has suggested that since the upper city had withstood for a long time the Roman assault there must have been an inner wall at the top of the western hill (Avi-Yonah 1968: 20–21).²

1 Josephus, *War*, V, 136–137 (trans. H. St. J. Thackeray).

2 For an extensive review of the “missing wall” see: Zilberstein 2016: 82.

The Tyropoeon is described in the sources on the one hand as a valley that “divides the hill of the upper city from that of the lower...” (*War* V, 140), and on the other hand as a valley that linked the terraced structures on the slopes that flanked it (*War* V, 136). The archaeological excavations carried out on the eastern slope of the City of David hill, which showed that the line of the wall was moved to the top of the eastern slope during the second Temple period, have revealed that no space remained for real estate on the City of David hill. Moreover, based on the historical and epigraphical sources at our disposal attesting to monumental structures, among them the royal palaces of the kings of Adiabene, a synagogue, pilgrims’ hostel and water installations such as the Pool of Siloam (Levine 2002: 319–326), these complexes would not have left enough room for a significant neighborhood of dwellings in this limited area.³

It therefore seems that with the development of the Lower City, particularly the construction of a central paved street during the first century CE, the center of gravity in the Lower City moved into the area of the Tyropoeon and its slopes. The eastern hill was the historical nucleus of the Jerusalem in general and of the Lower City neighborhood in particular. But the neighborhood built there also expanded to the western slopes of the Tyropoeon – that is, the eastern slopes of the western hill. Hence, the urban picture that emerges is one in which the tiers of houses – mentioned by Josephus and now increasingly coming to light on both sides of the central road – were the heart of the Lower City in the first century CE.⁴ With the realization that there was no artificial boundary between the two neighborhoods, it seems that in keeping with earlier theories, the area of the cliffs at the top of the eastern slope of the western hill should be regarded as the seam zone between the centers of the two neighborhoods.

Significantly in this context, as Bliss and Dickie showed at the time, a secondary street (3 m wide) branched off from the wide main street and ascended up the western slope of Mount Zion (Bliss and Dickey 1898: 143–146). Bliss and Dickie did not document the length of that secondary street for more than c. 24 m (*ibid.*) because at that point it was cut off by later construction. Nevertheless, the location of the ancient junction, which is situated near the location of a present-day junction in this area, allows us to

3 Cf. Geva 2002: 71.

4 Evidence has recently been discovered of a number of structures flanking the street. On the findings from Szanton’s excavation see: Szanton and Uziel 2015a. For a survey of additional finds discovered on either side of the street in earlier excavations see: Zilberstein 2016: 90–93. On the additional construction of the first century CE see Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2011: 80–81.

posit that the road continued toward the top of the slope on which the upper city was situated. Based on Josephus’ description of the terraced housing descending the slopes on both sides of the valley, and based on the remains of structures uncovered along the central stepped street, we may reasonably assume that there were also structures along the secondary street that belonged to the Lower City region. Thus, we may place the seam line or transition zone between the Lower City and the Upper City as slightly higher and to the west of the line of the secondary street, in the area between the present days Wadi Hilweh and street (Fig. 1).

Excavations headed by Szanton over the past few years have uncovered the stepped street and the structures along it.⁵ The use of ashlar is typical of the buildings discovered along the eastern side of the street (Fig. 2). While the structures collapsed during the destruction of the city in 70 CE, its material culture on the eve of the city destruction was preserved under the massive heap of ashlar. This finds mainly represents the daily life along the stepped street. A variety of carved stone architectural elements was uncovered in the heaps of ruins in previous excavations at this site (Shukron and Reich 2008: 140–142)

Additional architectural elements are still coming to light in the Szanton’s excavations, together with fragments of frescoes and stucco, numerous chalk vessels, glass vessels, bone items and other artifacts. Apparently it may already be said at this stage that the material culture of this neighborhood does not represent a poor population or even the middle class, but rather quite a fine, wealthy neighborhood.⁶ The quality of construction revealed at

5 The excavation is situated in the Jerusalem Walls National Park on the western slope of the City of David and in the ancient streambed c. 200 m north of the Pool of Siloam. The excavation took place between 2013 and 2016 under the auspices of the Israel Antiquities Authority and funded by the Elad Association. Our deepest thanks go to: V. Asman and Y. Shmidov (drafting and surveying); N. Mizrahi, G. Berkowitz, S. Ruperisch and A. Ajami (work management); N. Nahama (logistics); wet sifting under the supervision of I. Novoslasky (Emek Tzurim); A. Peretz, A. Fadida and S. Halevi (field photography); C. Amit (laboratory photography); D. Tan’ami (metal detector); Y. Kuperschmidt (metal laboratory); D. Namdar (examination of vessel content); D. Langut and H. Roth (identification of coal and pollen); Y. Gorin-Rosen (glass); D.T. Ariel (coins); R. Cohen-Amin and Z. Greenhut (treatment of finds); A. Zilberstein, A. Nagar, M. Haber, S. Hirschberg, N. Rom and M. Shor (area directors). We also thank the following for their assistance: A. Percal (safety), A. Koren (construction); J. Sheffer (conservation engineer); Y. Baruch, D. Ben-Ami, A. Re’em and N. Sapir (Jerusalem district).

6 In this context the conclusion is noteworthy of the two previous expeditions that dug near the present excavation – that the findings in the heaps of rubble could attest to the existence of a monumental public building (Shukron and Reich 2008: 140–142; Kenyon 1964: 14; 1965: 17–18; 1966: 85–87; 1975: 248–249).



Fig. 1. Reconstruction of Jerusalem of the Second Temple period based on the new excavations, as per E. Meiron (drawing: S. Kweller), and the presumed area of the Lower City according to the present authors.

Fig. 2. The eastern edge of the stepped street. Behind it is the ruined façade of one of the structures that stood along the street.



Fig. 3. The stepped podium, view toward the eastern side of the street.

various points in previous excavations,⁷ typified by large and well-dressed stone slabs, continue to be uncovered in the current excavation (Szanton and Uziel 2015a). Various aspects of the stepped street's characteristics and all of its uses attest to its centrality in the life of the city in the first century CE.

One salient example is the stepped podium situated

centrally along the street and that apparently served a public purpose (Szanton and Uziel 2015a: Fig. 10) (Fig. 3). Abadi has recently discussed about the function of the main street was in ceremonies involving pilgrimage to the Temple (Abadi 2016). The street's role as a central “pilgrims' ascent” is also indicated by the location of the main gates of the Temple Mount. Following the excavations of Mazar (1971), Reich and Billig (2008) and Bahat (2013) the single orientation of the sacred enclosure's gates facing south and west has becoming ever clearer.

The construction of main thoroughfares through valleys through was typical of urban planning in the Early Roman period. Also typical of that period were the multiple uses of such roads, as Ma'oz noted (1985: 50–51). The main street that through Jerusalem along the Tyropoeon Valley clearly illustrates these principles.⁸ As more of the street comes to light and its characteristics are studied, the idea that during the Early Roman period, particularly the first century CE when the street was paved, the Lower City's center of gravity moved to the valley between the two hills is bolstered.

As Reich has already noted, the association between “cheesemakers” (*tyros* in Greek) and the Greek term Josephus uses – “τυροποιών” (Tyropoeon) – is not a strong one (Reich

7 For a survey of the excavations along the street see Zilberstein 2016: 86–89.

8 A similar street apparently passed along a route identical to the stepped street during the Hasmonean or Herodian period. However, it apparently did not survive due to the construction of the massive stepped street from the time of the principates (Szanton et al. in preparation).

2013: 185). According to Reich the name *tyros* is connected to the Phoenician city of Tyre and to “Tyre of Tobiads” located in Iraq al-Amir in Transjordan. Hence, he concluded, “Tyropoeon” means “Valley of the Tyrians.” This theory is possible although it is not supported by finds from the period in Jerusalem. The Phoenician findings Reich calls upon in support of his theory almost all belong to the Iron Age II, except for the Fish Gate mentioned in Nehemiah 13:16, whose location is not known and is not necessarily connected to the Phoenicians.⁹

With regard to Josephus’ description of the Tyropoeon as a valley or channel (“φάραγξ”) that separates hills, we can now say that the valley he saw was more like a busy street in the heart of an urban environment than a natural channel cut off from the urban



Fig. 4a. View of the manhole that connected the drainage channel to the street, during excavation.



Fig. 4b. View of the manhole after excavation.

9 Moreover, it should be noted that there is evidence of trade connections between Judah and Philistia (Faust and Weiss 2005; Uziel, Szanton and Cohen-Weinberger 2015). Because Jerusalem is closer to the coastal plain of the Land of Israel than to that of Phoenicia in Lebanon, fish, which are difficult to preserve, would probably have been brought from Philistia. It should also be noted in this context that in general, Phoenician commerce focused on costlier merchandise than fish, as can be gleaned from historical and archaeological evidence collected by Eilat (1977: 142–180). For a different proposal see Elitzur 2014.

fabric. Moreover, the central drainage channel that ran beneath the street and artificially drained the valley's natural basin (Fig. 4a, b), would also argue for an urban appearance of the Tyropoeon, rather than a natural one.

■ The Acra and the Lower City

Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets' recent theory associating remains of the Hellenistic fortification uncovered in their excavation in the Givati Parking Lot with the Seleucid Acra with and the excavations of a number of earlier expeditions at the top of the City of David (Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2016; and this volume), dovetail the theories of scholars who placed the Acra at the top of the City of David, based on the historical sources (Bar-Kochva 1989: 445–462; Dequeker 1985: 209–210).¹⁰ The archaeological identification of the Acra reopens discussion of a number of subjects associated with the later phases of urban development in Jerusalem at the Second Temple period. The accumulation of data from the archaeological excavations on eastern and western slopes of the City of David hill also invite us to revisit the issue of the Lower City's geographical area and its' development (Fig. 1).

The latter excavations have proven that at a certain point in the Second Temple period the city wall was moved to the top of the hill.¹¹ Geva recently noted the difference in the masonry - style of the tower in Area G as opposed to the styles of portions of the First Wall uncovered on the western hill. Based on this difference, Geva suggested that the southern tower belonged to an earlier fortification, maybe the Acra. However, he also posited that the city wall was moved Westward when the city developed to the west (2013: 61–62). The resemblance between the tower and the glacis discovered in the Givati Parking Lot and similar elements uncovered in Area G by the Shiloh expedition indicate that all of these elements belonged to one construction project – the Seleucid Acra (Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2016). It may therefore be concluded that contrary to previous thinking on the subject, it was not the urban development that dictated the significant change in the line of the eastern wall of the city of David, but rather the opposite – the presence of the Seleucid fortress on top of the hill dictated the line of the wall.

10 To these proposals should be added the theory that the Acra covered most of the area of the City of David hill (Rappaport 2004: 109–110; Shotwell 1964; Simons 1952: 146–147).

11 For a survey of the various portions of fortifications see Wightman 1993: 87–94. For a discussion of the dating of the fortifications in Area G see Geva 2013: 67–71; 2015: 61–62.

The size of the Acra immediately after its surrender to Simon is not very clear. The Book of Maccabees contains no trace of Josephus' description of the Acra razed to its foundations by Simon (*Ant.* XIII, 215–217; *Wars* V, 139). According to Bar-Kochva, although at some point Simon may have decided to destroy the fortress, the dramatic descriptions of the dismantling of the hill on which the Acra stood are not very reliable, and it was only a number of generations later that the Acra fortress was actually destroyed (Bar-Kochva 1989: 451–455).¹² In any case, the new interpretation of the Area G fortification leads to the question of the wall's function once the Acra was destroyed.

The Shiloh excavation reported that later earthen fills (Stratum 6) had piled up on top of the “glacis” that was defined at the time as Hasmonean. These fills were explained as evidence of the destruction of the city in 70 CE (Shiloh 1984: 29–31). A similar report of two different layers of fill in this area, one “Hasmonean” and the other “Herodian”, was published in the preliminary reports of the Kenyon expedition (1962: 79; 1974: 192). In the light of the new interpretation of Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets, the so called “Hasmonean” layers are indeed consisted the Seleucid glacis (Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2016). The later layer need to be belong to another system.

Similar earthen fills of later date were uncovered in huge quantities along the entire eastern slope. Recently proposed new interpretations of these “late” fills, from the first century CE, regard them as remains of the city dump (Gadot 2014: 283–292; Reich and Shukron 2003, 15–17; Szanton and Uziel 2015b;). For purposes of our discussion here, these fills are more significant in attesting to a continued lack of residential dwellings in this area on the eastern slopes of the City of David hill, and on the preservation of the upper fortification line until the city was destroyed.

In contrast to the construction style noted by Geva in his discussion of the segments of walls on the eastern hill (see above) it is interesting to present Bliss and Dickie's testimony of a segment of wall uncovered at point X2, just south of Shiloh's Area G fortifications (Bliss and Dickie 1898: 126–127, Map II). Bliss and Dickie had once again uncovered a segment of wall that Guthe had documented in this area a few years earlier (Guthe 1882: Pl. IV). Their report described a wall here, built on the bedrock cliff along 12.2 m. The wall included one course consisting of stones with a prominent bosse and dressed margins, which recall the style of the building stones they found in the large wall

12 Dequeker, who published his research while Shiloh's excavations were underway, suggested connecting the absence of Stratum 8 (the early Hellenistic period) in Area G to Josephus' descriptions of the razing of the fortress (Dequeker 1985: 209–210).

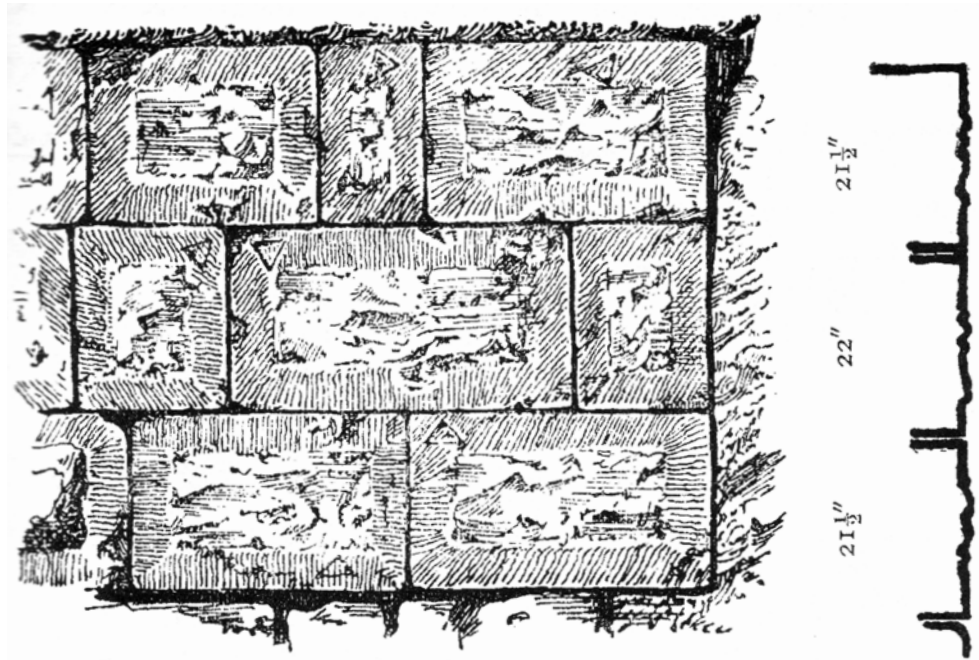


Fig. 5. Portion of the Hellenistic wall documented by Bliss and Dickie at point O2.

at point O2 (Bliss and Dickie 1898: 117–120, 127) (Fig. 5).

In 2012–2013 Wexler-Bdolah and Szanton once again uncovered the portion of fortification near Bliss and Dickie’s point O2, close to the Pool of Siloam junction (Weksler-Bdolah and Szanton 2014; Weksler-Bdolah 2013). Weksler-Bdolah and Szanton concluded that this wall dated to the Hasmonean period and was associated with a gate structure and tower incorporated into the First Wall (Weksler-Bdolah 2013: 180–181, Figs. 7–9; Weksler-Bdolah and Szanton 2014: Figs. 7, 14). This similarity between the portions of fortifications in the south and east could mean that they belonged to the First Wall, which was built on the foundations of the Acra.

■ Historic Structure from the Lower City and their Association to the Acra

The discovery of remnants of fortifications at the top of the City of David hill and their association with the Acra allow us to reexamine old questions about the location of some additional historic structures mentioned in the ancient sources as they related to the Acra, i.e., the hippodrome and Helene’s palace.

The Hippodrome

The hippodrome, or circus in Latin, was a facility for public entertainment including horse races and other athletic competitions. Weiss (2014: 39) noted the influence of the Hellenistic stadium and gymnasium on the hippodrome plan in the East. Such structures were frequently built outside the city, but in the Herodian period there are cases in which the hippodrome was incorporated into the city, such as at Caesarea (Porath 2013) and Samaria (Crowfoot et al. 1942: Pl. I). In the context of describing the encampments of pilgrims who organized to fight in the revolt against Rome after Herod's death in 4 BCE, Josephus mentions the hippodrome as located south of the Temple Mount:

“Distributing themselves into three divisions, they formed three camps, one on the north of the Temple, another on the south adjoining the hippodrome, and the third near the palace on the west” (*War* II, 43–44; transl. H. St. J. Thackeray).¹³

Some scholars have suggested that a single structure in Jerusalem at that time served as both as hippodrome and amphitheater (Weiss 2015: 107–108; Patrìch 2002: 185, n. 45). Based on this theory, we note that according to Josephus the amphitheater was built “on the plain” (*Ant.* XV: 268). It should be recalled that the hippodrome and gymnasium were huge structures, which would usually have to have been built in suitable geographical areas, that is, level areas. Where the city was in a mountainous area, these structures were situated in valleys, like the Herodian hippodrome in Samaria (Crowfoot et al. 1942: Pl. I). Thus it seems that the valleys surrounding Jerusalem's center would have been suitable for the construction of a hippodrome. A large group of irregular ashlar was found in excavations at the foot of the Western Wall, interpreted as remains of theater seats which was found not *in situ* following secondary use,¹⁴ led the excavators to believe the theater was located near the Temple Mount (Reich and Billig 2000: 183). However, these seats may actually have come from the hippodrome¹⁵ and if this is true, it validates the theory that the hippodrome was in the Tyropoeon Valley.

Patrìch, in his discussion of the Roman circus of Aelia Capitolina, dealt with the various identifications of the Herodian hippodrome. He assumed that the Hadrian circus would

13 Cf. *Ant.* XVII, 255.

14 For discussion of the nature of the secondary use of these stones, see Stiebel 2013: 154–155.

15 Patrìch noted the straight outlines of the seats as an indication that they came from a hippodrome (Patrìch 2013: 20), and particularly the difficulty of considering that a stone-built theater would have existed in Jerusalem in the time of Herod (Patrìch 2002b).

have been built on top of the Herodian hippodrome (Patrich 2002a: 48–49). Similarly, although remains of the entertainment structures have not been found *in situ*, the Herodian hippodrome may have been built atop the Hellenistic gymnasium. Cross-referencing the historical information with the remains identified as the Seleucid Acra strengthen this theory.

2 Macc. 4: 12 describes Jason’s construction of the gymnasium in the Hellenistic city: “ἄσμένως γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν γυμνάσιον καθίδρυσε” translated by Schwartz as: “With relish he laid the foundations for a gymnasium directly beneath the acropolis”... 2) Macc. 4: 12 [Schwartz 2008:207]). Given other uses of the word ἀκρόπολιν in 2 Maccabees, many scholars understand the term as referring to a fortress at the top of the city “Acra”.¹⁶ Since the gymnasium was built before the Seleucid Acra some scholars have suggested that the Acra/Acropolis in this verse was actually the Ptolemaic Acra (Luria 1986: 66–67). Thus another dispute developed over the location of the Ptolemaic fortress on the one hand and of the gymnasium on the other.

In contrast to these interpretations, Schwartz suggested that the “acropolis” was none other than the Temple itself (Schwartz 2008: 223). A similar theory was raised in the past by Bar-Kochva (1989: 459–460). Another possibility is that the writer of 2 Maccabees was referring anachronistically to the Seleucid fortress of his time,¹⁷ using the Seleucid Acra as landmark by which to pinpoint the location of the gymnasium.

The archeological evidence, which shows the difficulty in locating an entertainment structure of this type in the immediate vicinity of the Temple Mount, together with the new proposal on the location of the Seleucid Acra, might hint that the gymnasium was situated at the foot of the City of David hill. This assumption would hold whether the “Acropolis” was the Temple, the ancient fortress at the top of the hill, or the Seleucid Acra that postdated construction of the gymnasium. The location of this structure anywhere next to the holy city could explain the displeasure of the author of 2 Maccabees in describing it.

Avi-Yonah’s theory that the Herodian hippodrome was located at the foot of the Temple Mount (Avi-Yonah and Safrai 1966: 58, Map 86) was ruled out following the discovery of other monumental construction in that area (Ben-Dov 1982: 181; Reich and Billig 2008;

16 See, Tcherikover 1959: 163.

17 For more about the dating of II Maccabees see Schwartz 2008: 3-15.

Tsafir 2011: 67).¹⁸ In keeping with Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets' proposal situating the Acra at the top of the City of David hill, it seems likely that the hippodrome would have been in the immediate vicinity of the Lower City, that is, either in the Tyropoeon or another valley, such as the Hinnom or the Kidron.

Helene's Palace

Among the institutions in the Lower City mentioned by the ancient sources were the palaces of the Mesopotamian kings of Adiabene, converts to Judaism who became influential in Jerusalem in the first century CE. Among these structures, the palace of Queen Helene is frequently mentioned with regard to the area of the Acra. For example, in the description of the area under Simon Bar Giora's control during the revolt, various places in the Lower City are mentioned:

“Simon occupied the upper town, the great wall as far as the Kedron, and a portion of the old wall, from the point where it bent eastward at Siloam to its descent to the court-house of Monobazus, king of Adiabene beyond the Euphrates; he held also the fountain and part of the Acra, that is to say, the lower town, as far as the palace of Helena, the mother of Monobazus” (*War* V, 252–354, transl. H. St. J. Thackeray).

This description distinguishes between landmarks outside the Acra, such as the palace of Monobazus and the Siloam, and monuments within the Acra, in the center of which was Helena's palace. Helena's palace as a prominent landmark in the Lower City also appears in the descriptions of the city's destruction:

“He [Titus] then gave his troops permission to burn and sack the city. For that day they refrained; but on the next they set fire to the Archives, the Acra, the council-chamber, and the region called Ophlas, the flames spreading as far as the palace of Queen Helena, which was in the center of the Acra. The streets also were burnt and the houses, packed with the bodies of the victims of the famine” (*War* VI, 353–355, transl. H. St. J. Thackeray).

18 Patrich's new proposal is noteworthy, by which the circus as well as the Herodian hippodrome, were located west of the city, in the area of the present-day neighborhood of Baqa (Patrich 2002a: 49–50). Nevertheless, Patrich noted regarding suggestions to locate the hippodrome in the city that even the area just west of Mazar's excavations, near the Dung Gate, is a reasonable location for the hippodrome topographically speaking (ibid.: 49, n. 47). For a similar proposal to place the Herodian hippodrome west of the city, in Sultan's Pool, see Kloner 2011.

That the massive structure discovered in Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets' excavation should be mentioned again in this context. Considering its size and the date of its construction in the first century CE (Ben-Ami 2013: 22–31), the excavators raised the possibility that this was one of the palaces of the royal house of Adiabene (Ben-Ami and Tchekhanovets 2011: 61, 81–82).

Although the precise location of the Acra was apparently forgotten after a few generations, a tradition about its location at the top of the hill continued to be preserved in the time of Josephus. The terms Josephus uses, “part of the Acra” and “center of the Acra” should be scrutinized with regard to the structures now being discovered in various parts of the city.

■ Summary and Conclusions

In this article we proposed a geographical framework for the Lower City of Jerusalem in the Second Temple period, within the drainage basin of the Tyropoeon Valley – that is, from the top of the City of David hill and westward, and to the foot of the Mount Zion cliff and eastward. The remains found along the street, such as public buildings and the monumental street that crossed the heart of the valley indicate quite a wealthy quarter, in contrast to scholarly consensus.

Following the proposed identification of the Seleucid Acra at the top of the City of David hill and within the area of the Lower City that developed on its ruins, we indicated a number of issues that should be revisited. These include the line of the city wall in the east, which was dictated by the line of the Seleucid fortress. We also noted that ancient testimony about the Hellenistic gymnasium built “at the very foot of the citadel” could bolster theories raised in the past about the close proximity of the hippodrome to the Lower City, and perhaps even to the Temple. In our opinion, assuming that the hippodrome from Herod's time was actually a continuation of the gymnasium that preceded it, it may once again be suggested that the hippodrome was located in the Tyropoeon or one of the valleys parallel to it.

In our opinion it was the presence of remains of the Seleucid fortifications at the top of the City of David hill led to the dramatic change in the ancient line of the eastern wall. Urban development, therefore, was influenced by the change in the line of the wall, and not the opposite.¹⁹

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Sources of Illustrations

Fig. 1. Eyal Meiron and the City of David and Ancient Jerusalem Archive.

Fig. 2. Photograph: A. Peretz.

Fig. 3. Photograph: J. Uziel.

Fig. 4a. Photograph N. Szanton.

Fig. 4b. Photograph N. Szanton.

Fig. 5. Bliss and Dickie 2010: 114.