# The Recent Discovery of a Middle Bronze II Fortification in the City of David, Jerusalem 



During 1961-1967, the British archaeologist Kathleen M. Kenyon conducted excavations in various spots in the City of David. Her first excavation area (A) was a section on the eastern slope of the hill, above the spring. Kenyon's goal was to excavate a long narrow section from the wall excavated by Macalister and Duncan on the summit, down to the spring. However, only the two upper thirds of the section were excavated down to $c .25 \mathrm{~m}$ above the spring.

Kenyon's most important discovery was two massive parallel walls, 3 m apart, founded on bedrock, which were identified by her as fortifications from various periods. The eastern wall of the two (Kenyon's Wall NB) was the earlier. The wall was 2 m wide, and based on the sherds revealed in its foundation trench, it was dated to the Middle Bronze II. This excavated section was only 12 m long, but it was enough for Kenyon to define it as part of the Jerusalem city wall of that period. Her discovery made it possible for the first time to consider Jerusalem as a fortified urban entity already in the eighteenth century BCE. The archaeological milieu considered this discovery the most important one of Kenyon's works in Jerusalem.

Higher up the slope and parallel to Wall NB, Kenyon uncovered another section of a 5.5 m wide wall (Wall NA). This wall was dated to the later part of Iron II (seventh century BCE). The two walls differed not only in their date, which was thousands of years apart, but also in their building technique. While earlier Wall NB was built of medium-sized stones with two to three large cornerstones, Wall NA, despite its considerable width, was built of small stones. Along most of their length, the walls were parallel, on a north-south axis, across the slope. However, stretching northwards, Wall NB turned westwards and passed under the later Wall NA. Kenyon assumed that the turning point of the wall could possibly be associated with a tower attached to the city gate, and suggested that it was the water gate. Kenyon's discovery of the wall, low on the slope, although not at the foot, suggested that the spring at the bottom of the slope, 25 m east of Wall NB, was unprotected and outside of the city limits.

During the 1980s, Yigal Shiloh excavated the southern slope of the City of David, c. 100 m south of the spring (his Areas B, D, E). Shiloh exposed a 90 m long section of a wall that crossed these areas from north to south. The location of this wall on the slope was identical to Kenyon's Wall, mentioned above.

However, unlike Kenyon, who discovered in her limited area two parallel sections of walls, Shiloh found only one wall. He interpreted his single long wall as an Iron II wall that continued Kenyon's Wall NA. He explained that the large stones incorporated in the wall were stones from the Middle Bronze II wall that had existed in that area. Since then, these fortifications on the eastern slope of the City of David, both from the Middle Bronze II and Iron II, have been known as the 'Kenyon-Shiloh Wall'.


Fig. 1: Plan of the remains at the site.

Between Kenyon's two walls and Shiloh's single wall is an area about 100 m in length. This is a considerable distance, allowing for some changes in the course of the earlier wall. Alternately, Shiloh's wall was not necessarily the continuation of any of Kenyon's walls.


Fig. 2: Kenyon's excavations at the eastern slope of the City of David. Wall NB with a curve in the center; the eastern face of Wall NA on the right. Looking south.

## Parker and Vincent's Wall 17

Kenyon and Shiloh were not the first to discover fortifications in this area. In 1911, Parker's expedition uncovered a section of a wide wall on the eastern slope of the City of David. The wall was documented by Father L.H. Vincent, who joined the expedition. He marked this wall on the plan of the excavated remains, but dedicated only two sentences to it: "of all that has been hitherto unearthed, the most enticing problem has been furnished by the huge block of Cyclopean masonry (17) at the bottom of Gallery XIX. There is a very striking resemblance between this and the lower caverns, especially the vertical well at the end of the Ophel tunnel; and to the elucidation of this point the Expedition will no doubt devote its first efforts on its return" (Vincent 1911:29, Pl. VI, No.17). As is known, Parker's expedition did not return to Jerusalem. Noteworthy is Vincent's observation of the similarity between this structure and what the expedition found in the lower caverns, namely the lower parts of Warren's Shaft (see below). On the plan published by Vincent, one can see that this wide wall included a corner from which another wall extended northwards. Parker's excavation followed this turning point to a distance of three stones, and then stopped.

Comparing this section in Vincent's plan with Kenyon' plan, which was published later (1974: Fig. 16), brought one of the present authors (R. Reich), as early as 1987, to the conclusion
that Kenyon had unknowingly re-excavated the massive wall that Parker revealed half a century earlier (Reich 1987: Part III). M. Steiner (1988), a member of the team in charge of publishing Kenyon's work, responded to this proposal. She drew attention to the fact that Kenyon published a plan, that contained a mistake (Kenyon 1974: Fig. 16). A re-examination of Kenyon's plan showed that it was indeed wrong. The plan included the sections of the two walls (NA, NB) and Warren's Shaft. However, the walls should have been moved slightly northwards in relation to Warren's Shaft, below them. After correcting Kenyon's plan, it became


Fig. 3: Parker's excavations. A plan of the tunnels and various remains. Note tunnel XIX and the remains of the wide wall there (No. 17).
apparent that her Wall NB had not been discovered previously by Parker. Yet, Steiner agreed that it was possible that the walls found by both Kenyon and Parker were, indeed, from the ancient city wall of Jerusalem. In spite of this correction, it should be emphasized that Kenyon totally ignored Parker's expedition and Vincent's report. ${ }^{1}$ In the introduction to her book, Kenyon (1974:30) wrote "the whole episode, and excavations, does not redound to the credit of British archaeology." It seems that this was the reason she also ignored the remains revealed by this expedition. However, this wall would emerge again 100 years later (see below).

## Reich and Shukron's Excavations A Summary of the Discoveries Updated to 2008

Since 1995, we have been excavating near the spring. These excavations have yielded remains associated with the eastern fortification of Jerusalem during the Bronze and Iron Ages. The excavations have been concentrated mainly on the easternmost part of the site, very close to the Kidron Valley, near the spring. New data has shed light on the fortifications of the spring and the water system associated with it (Reich and Shukron 2004:20). These remains attested to the fact that the spring was fortified since Middle Bronze II. A large tower, $16 \times 16 \mathrm{~m}$, named 'the spring tower', was found around the spring. The tower's walls were $5.5-7.0 \mathrm{~m}$ thick and made of very large stones.

A large rectangular, rock-cut depression $(10 \times 15 \mathrm{~m})$ was discovered southwest of 'the spring tower'. Although it was never used as a reservoir, we named it 'the rock-cut pool' (Reich and Shukron 2003a: Fig.107). The level of its northeastern corner was cut below the level of the nearby spring. Only here, water could be drawn after being diverted by Channel II and Tunnel III. The edges of a large wall (109) were found north of 'the pool' and adjacent to it. The southern face of the wall was closely adjacent to the rim of 'the pool', i.e. these two elements were related to each other. Two meters to the north of Wall 109, another parallel wall (108) was unearthed. Both walls were $3.0-3.5 \mathrm{~m}$ wide. These walls were thus named 'the pool tower'.

The western ends of these two walls were traced 8 m away, within the caverns that comprise the southern end of the Warren's Shaft complex. Parker and Vincent (1911: Photograph 24, Pl. IIIa) were the first to uncover the western end of Wall 108. This wall can be observed today in two adjacent caverns; its northern face is in 'the northern cavern' directly above Warren's

[^0]Shaft, and the southern face is in 'the southern cavern', 3.7 m to the south. The full width of the western end of Wall 109 can be seen in the southern part of this cavern. Also visible there is the full length of the southern face of this wall.

The parallel walls of 'the pool tower' were dated to the Middle Bronze II according to sherds found above and below the floor discovered between the southern ends of these two massive walls. An additional section of a floor, including sherds from the same period, was found at the southern end of the southern cavern, adjacent to the northwestern corner of 'the rock-cut pool'. Additional sherds were recovered from various spots in between the stones of 'the spring tower'.

Hence, between 1995 and 2007 we uncovered additional sections of the fortified water system known as the Warren's Shaft complex, and securely dated them to Middle Bronze II. In addition, we suggested a new understanding of how the system operated. On the one hand, we proposed that Warren's Shaft itself was not part of this system (it was not visible, and unknown and inaccessible). On the other hand, we did not have a clear idea how these remains were related to the city wall. Fifteen meters separated the western end of our excavated area and Kenyon's Middle Bronze II wall. All we could do at the time was suggest that the fortified spring and other installations around the spring were somehow connected to this city wall.

A reasonable suggestion was that the western ends of the two parallel walls of 'the spring tower' were attached to the Kenyon-Shiloh wall somewhere higher on the slope. In other words, the sections of the fortification we found protected the spring and the pool as some kind of a bastion. This fortification had projected off the Kenyon-Shiloh wall in order to include within it the spring that was east of the wall, near the bottom of the Kidron Valley. Thus, in contrast to the common assumption that the spring was unfortified and outside the city limits, we discovered that it was indeed fortified, although we could not yet point to the way it was connected with the city wall.

## Reich and Shukron's ExcavationsThe Fortification Uncovered in 2008

Recently, the area of the spring and the installations associated with it underwent development for tourism. This necessitated the excavation of the narrow passage between Walls 108 and 109 of 'the pool tower', in the area between the southern cavern of Warren's Shaft and 'the spring tower', a distance of 8 m . The goal was to direct the visitors between these walls towards the spring instead of around the southern wall of 'the pool tower', (as is currently the case). It was impossible to dig from the surface because the area was covered with an 8 m thick fill of loose soil and gravel but with no architectural remains from the first century CE. Weil,


Fig. 4: View of the passage between the two walls. The block of stones and dirt is still partially in situ. Note that the right (north) wall continues into the passage, but also climbs above bedrock, where the entrance is. Looking west.


Fig. 5: General view of the excavation. Looking northwest.
Macalister and Duncan, Kenyon and Shiloh previously excavated this fill in several spots. Kenyon (1974:137), who carefully excavated it, expressed her opinion that the fill could be removed by mechanical means, and Shiloh carried this out prior to his excavations in Areas D and E. We excavated this soil cover in several locations, and defined the area as part of the city garbage dump of that period (Reich and Shukron 2003b). Later, this soil was wet sifted by us and carefully sorted, providing a multi-quantities sample. Thus, we accurately knew its nature (Bar-Oz et al. 2007; Buchnik et al. 2004, 2006; Reich and Bar-Oz 2006). Under the Herodian layer was a thin layer of soil dump containing Iron II sherds. Further below this layer, on the floor between the walls of 'the pool tower', we found, as mentioned above, sherds from Middle Bronze II.

In the past, we excavated the Herodian layer from its side, thus enabling the construction within it of the roof over the steel beams, under which we excavated the nearby 'rock-cut pool' (Reich, Shukron and Lernau 2007). Usually, a lateral dig is not an appropriate method in archaeology. However, here, we conceded several tens of cubic meters of this layer of Herodian garbage (compared to the estimated quantity of two hundred thousand cubic meters) for the sake of excavating a lesser known period in the history of Jerusalem. We are of the opinion that in the light of the nature of this soil layer and the results of the excavation, these measures were justified (Reich, Shukron and Lernau 2007).

The same measures were taken here with the two walls of 'the pool tower' project from the concrete western wall of the future visitor's center. The walls are only 2.3 m apart; when the
concrete wall was built in the late 1990s, this space was purposely left open and blocked with wooden planks to enable future excavations between the walls. This opportunity arrived ten years later. Through the opening in the concrete wall we excavated a 3 m wide lateral trench (including the space between the walls and the narrow margins, which enabled establishing supports on top of the walls). This dig, which was $1.5-2.0 \mathrm{~m}$ high within the Herodian debris, enabled the insertion of steel supports. The lateral dig was not horizontal as was the case in 'the rock-cut pool', but followed the slope upwards in accordance with the hill's topography and the Herodian debris.

Following this phase of the excavations, a standard vertical excavation of the Iron II and Middle Bronze II remains was carried out. As we had assumed, the two parallel walls were erected on a rock shelf, at a distance of 6 m from the western concrete wall of the visitor's center, at the location of the eastern openings of the southern and northern caverns of Warren's Shaft. These caverns were used for domestic and burial purposes during Early Bronze I. This was evident by the pottery sherds found in one of the niches of the southern cavern and similar findings that were found in other uphill caverns excavated by Parker's expedition (Vincent 1911: Pls. IX, X).

As we assumed, Walls 108 and 109 continued into the opening of the southern cavern. It appears that at a certain point in the history of this water system, the intention was that the walls would serve as an exit corridor from the subterranean system (but see below). We were surprised to find that not only did the walls lean against the rock lintel of the cavern and continue into it, but they also ascended with the level of bedrock and continued westwards. As the later soil layers also followed the local topography, the lateral dig of the Herodian layers followed this slope, allowing the supporting works. This method of excavation was practiced to a distance of 20 m from the western concrete wall of the visitor's center. It was a great surprise to discover that the two walls under discussion continued beyond the limits of the excavations. Wall 108 is the most impressive of the preserved remains here. The large stones which comprised the short wall segment uncovered earlier in the visitor's center were a suggestion of the wall's monumental nature. This segment projected for 4 m east of the concrete wall; its total length was at least 24 m . No less impressive is the state of preservation near the rock shelf, where the opening between the walls leads into Warren's Shaft. Here, the wall is preserved up to 8 m in height. These characteristics of the wall reveal that it is undoubtedly an impressive segment of a cyclopean fortification. This is the most massive wall hitherto found in the City of David.

Although Wall 109 was built parallel to and south of Wall 108, it was not as well preserved, although the existing courses of stones still illustrate the wall's original strength. Why is there
such a difference in the state of preservation between these two parallel walls? The space between the two walls, from the visitor's center to the opening of the southern cavern of Warren's Shaft, was uniformly filled with fieldstones and loose soil. This fill becomes higher from east to west, parallel to the growing height of the preserved walls.

At first, we found this fill between the eastern ends of Walls 108 and 109 that project into the visitor's center. Based on the pottery found then, we dated this fortification to Middle Bronze II. It now became clear that the fill continued westwards into the opening of the southern cavern-a distance of 8 m . The fill gradually reached a height of over 3 m on its western side, where it consisted mainly of stones. In the opening of the southern cavern, the inner face of the fill is vertical- like a wall. Evidently, this was the result of cracks in the rock-cut lintel of the opening to the cavern that caused its deterioration already in antiquity. The stone fill thus served a double purpose: to support the rock-cut lintel and to block the opening to the cavern after the passage went out of use. Hence, it is clear that the fill between the walls was later than the walls' erection. The fill contained mainly Middle Bronze II sherds, but was laid on a layer of dark gray soil that contained sherds from the Early Bronze Age.


Fig. 6: View outside from the southern cave of the Warren shaft system, between the two walls. The lower part of the blocking wall is seen at the bottom. Looking east.

## The Discovery of Clues from Parker's Excavation

Fifteen meters above and west of the concrete wall of the visitor's center was a gap of one meter in Wall 108. The gap was full of loose soil and included remains of wooden scaffolding.

Apparently, the gap was part of Parker's Burrow XIX, which was excavated in 1909-1911 (Vincent 1911: Pl. VI). Parker reached this area from the south and hit the massive wall, which he dismantled and crossed. Thus, we are confident that Vincent's Wall 17 is no other than our northern Wall 108. This conclusion is based on the location of the wall, its orientation, width and the nature of the building defined by Vincent as "cyclopean". There was no verbal or graphic mention by Vincent that their dig also crossed the southern Wall 109. Presumably, Vincent's team passed above it, due to its poor state of preservation.


Fig. 7: View of the western section of Wall 108 (the northern wall of the passage). The gap in the center (where the scale is) is tunnel XIX dug by Parker's expedition, through this wall. The dark horizontal lines seen at the bottom of the gap are the remains of wooden scaffoldings left by Parker's expedition. Looking north.

## The Nature of These Remains

How did the building we exposed function, and how was it integrated with the other builtup and rock-cut segments of Warren's Shaft? As both the walls continued into the caverns, which comprised the lower part of the subterranean Warren's Shaft complex, and uphill, some interpretation should be proposed concerning the nature of these two sections and how they were interconnected.

First, we present the possible reconstruction of the surface remains eastwards, to 'the spring tower', and westwards, uphill. In our earlier reconstruction (Reich and Shukron 2002: Fig. 118), when we knew of only the segments of the two walls of 'the pool tower', we assumed that they were contained by a short wall on the eastern side. We based this reconstruction on the fact that this area comprised a convenient leveled rock. Later, we suggested that the two walls
continued until 'the spring tower'. Moreover, we assumed that the gap in Wall 109 represented a gate located opposite and adjacent to the deep part of 'the rock-cut pool. Those who drew water passed between the two walls and turned southwards to the northeastern corner of 'the rock-cut pool', the only spot where the spring water accumulated and could be drawn.

Reconstructing Wall 109 of 'the pool tower' directly eastwards until it encountered the western end of Wall 106-the southern wall of 'the spring tower'-is now most reasonable. These two walls were built on an almost straight line. Thus, the total length of the combined wall, that is, the southern walls of both 'the pool tower' and 'the spring tower', is 45 m . These are undoubtedly the remains of a huge fortification featuring large dimensions, as evidenced by the great width of the walls and the impressive size of the stones. Moreover, this fortification was even greater in length, as it continued uphill to the west, beyond the excavated area. The northern wall of 'the pool tower' (W108), however, did not continue directly to 'the spring tower' (see below).

Reconstructing the two parallel walls in a westward direction is apparently very simple, as they are quite complete. Yet, it is still difficult to reconstruct the order in which they were built and used in association with the tunnel of the Warren's Shaft complex. A tentative presentation of the building phases follows:

The two walled fortified passages preceded the subterranean passage (the Warren's Shaft complex). Although the walls were preserved, the pass between them did not survive. This passage led towards 'the spring tower' and its narrow dimensions suggest that it contained a staircase. It should be emphasized that climbing uphill, even with the assistance of stairs, was a very difficult task due to the steep incline.

The fortified surface passage was replaced by a subterranean system-the Warren's Shaft complex. Obviously, this was a far more sophisticated system because it could not be observed from the opposite hill. The installation of the system required a far more elaborate hewing technique, which was successfully executed from both ends. A few phases of the installation process can be observed:
(1) The wide, horizontal rock-cutting on the western wall of the southern cavern was apparently the first attempt to dig a tunnel downhill, directly below the fortified passage. It was supposed to have opened in front of the double parallel walls that penetrated into the cavern from the east. Evidently, the digging of this tunnel terminated after a short distance, possibly because this line was very steep, similarly to the surface passage.


Fig. 8: View between the two walls of the passage towards Warren shaft system and the incomplete cutting on the northern wall of this cave. Looking west.
(2) Then, a much longer route was selected in order to overcome the steep topography. The new route, discovered by Warren, resulted in a longer but convenient tunnel.

The question remains, where exactly was the lower outlet of the tunnel? It is possible to suggest two successive phases, although there is no stratigraphical evidence that can define their order. Logically, it would seem that at first, the tunnel's outlet was directed towards the eastern opening of the southern cavern, the location of the double walls. The cracked rock ceiling of the opening and the cracked rock lintel suggest that this malfunction occurred earlier, due to the heavy weight of the two massive walls. If so, this tunnel's outlet was abandoned and the passage between the walls was filled, with the aim of also supporting the cracked ceiling.

Presumably, the outlet was diverted northwards, through the eastern opening of the northern cavern, which was directly above Warren's Shaft. Today, an Iron II wall blocks this opening. Future examination of this opening will hopefully clarify the nature and structure of the original low outlet from the Warren's Shaft complex towards 'the spring tower' and southwards to the deep section of 'the rock-cut pool'.

Our new discovery also clarified another issue concerning the lower part of the northern wall (Wall 108). As mentioned above, the western end of this wall was observed within the


Fig. 9: View down the passage between the two walls. Wall 108 (the northern wall on the left) is seen here in its full preserved height. Looking east.


Fig. 10: The passage between the parallel walls, while a major part of the stones and dirt block is still in situ. Looking northwest.
caverns of Warren's Shaft-one face in the southern cavern and the other in the northern one. Between the two caverns, precisely west of Wall 108, was a narrow passage that, in the past, could not be reasonably explained. This passage is narrower and lower than both the tunnel sloping into Warren's Shaft and the two caverns on both its sides.

It seems that during the last phase of the use of the tunnel, Wall 108 was built to the west, in between the two caverns, reaching the western wall of the caverns and thereby blocking the subterranean passage. The erection of this wall was necessary to support the rock ceiling and the massive wall above it. It is possible that this construction was undertaken due to the experience gained from the cracked rock ceiling only a few meters to the south. Today, Wall 108 is broken through here; this seems to have occurred later than the original function of the complex. This break can apparently be connected to the works conducted here to deepen the horizontal tunnel previously associated by us to Iron II. Breaking the inner part of Wall 108 created a convenient passage for the disposal of waste by the workers.

## Fortified Passages

While downhill Walls 108 and 109 point to the existence of 'the spring tower', with which they were originally connected, we have not yet revealed any evidence of their function uphill. The most reasonable explanation is that the fortified passage (Walls 108 and 109) was connected to some fortress that existed on the summit. Such a passage, by connecting the spring to
a fortress on the summit, could have served as a possible solution for an emergency water source, as it was located at the most vulnerable point, with the possible eastern wall of the fortress 75 m away.

The thirteenth century BCE fortified passages known in Tiryns and Mycenae are an interesting comparison. Constructed subterranean passages are known also at Alishar and Boğaziçi in Anatolia, and Ugarit on the Syrian coast.

Macalister and Duncan, who excavated on the summit, exposed various sections of fortifications in Plots 5, 7 and 9. Unfortunately, however, they did not publish the plan of Plot 9. As our walls were oriented towards Plot 9, future excavation on this plot or its margins (currently the site of a modern house) may shed new light on this issue. Several scholars suggested in the past that the Canaanite Zion Fort was west of the stepped structure on Area G. Our walls now draw attention slightly to the south of this structure.

Yet, it should be mentioned that we do not have a complete picture of the fortification to which the walls are associated. The differences in elevation between the two walls may attest that, although they are parallel, they were not built simultaneously as part of a fortified passage. It is possible that initially, only the northern wall, which resembles a typical city wall, was built, and the southern wall was a later addition. Nevertheless, it is evident that the space between the two walls, from the opening of the southern cavern eastwards, was blocked during Middle Bronze II.

## Kenyon's Wall NB and the Fortified Passage

The rediscovery of Parker's Wall 17 would have been only an anecdote in the history of the research of the City of David if Kenyon's Walls NA and NB had not been found a short distance to the north, beyond Wall 108. Vincent clearly marked the gap in Wall 17 on his plan and mentioned that there was another wall-marked by only three stones - that created a corner with the northern face of Wall 17. Recently, we surveyed both the walls we exposed and the visible remains of Kenyon's walls. It appears that Kenyon had excavated her two walls as close as five meters to Parker's Wall 17, which is the northern wall of our 'pool tower' (Wall 108). The question whether Kenyon' Wall NB was incorporated with Wall 108 or attached to it, or, perhaps, cut by it, requires further excavations.

The nature and strength of the parallel walls indicate that they, and not Kenyon's Wall NB, were the dominant architectural element in the area. This observation is based on the fact that Wall NB is much narrower than the width of the double walls ( 2 m in comparison to 3.5 m , respectively). In spite of the poor state of preservation of Wall NB it is clear that its width would
not withstand reconstruction to a considerable height, similar to the current height of Wall 108. In addition, the walls of 'the spring tower' were built of much larger stones. The fact that Wall 108 is a continuous wall also shows that Wall NB could be attached or incorporated with it from the north, and in any case, Wall NB was secondary. We could not examine whether Kenyon's Wall NB continued southwards, beyond Wall 109. However, the question arises whether this wall actually was a city wall. According to the known remains, their nature and state of preservation, it seems to us that Wall NB was a local wall, part of a complicated fortification system. By so defining Wall NB, we have to reevaluate the section of the wall uncovered by Shiloh, 100 m to the south. Although this long distance obviously attracts many possible reconstructions, it is now quite clear that it is impossible to speak anymore of the Kenyon-Shiloh wall, but of two walls of the Middle Bronze II and Iron Ages. As mentioned, Shiloh excavated only one wall dated to Iron II, which should now be named the 'Shiloh wall'. Two questions remain, whether Middle Bronze II Jerusalem was a walled city and what was the city's eastern line?

## Summary

The exposure of Wall 108 and the clues from Parker's expedition did some historical justice. It seems that Parker's and Vincent's Wall 17, which was generally ignored by scholars, turned out to be one of the most important walls ever built in the City of David, while Kenyon's Wall NB was a minor element. If future excavations reveal that Wall NB did not continue southwards, then we will have to conclude that it was no more than a local wall.

The new discovery shows that the eastern fortification of Jerusalem and the ancient Middle Bronze II water system are not completely understood. Despite the fact that so many archaeologists have excavated here, it is likely that major architectural elements still await exposure.


Fig. 11: General view of the site. Note the two parallel walls and the passage between them. Looking west.

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2. Kenyon 1974, illustration 20
3. Vincent 1911, Table IV
4. Photographs: Valdimir Naikhin, Excavation Team

[^0]:    1 Wall 17 was not marked on the summarized map that Weil (1947: Pl. 1) published. In the maps of the antiquities of the City of David enclosed in their report, Macalister and Duncan (Mount Ophel, Jerusalem, A Compilation of the Results of the Excavations made between $1867,1925,1926$ ) marked this wall only by two thin lines, so even readers that are familiar with the issue would find it difficult to identify it. The maps of Shiloh's expedition (1984: Figs. 3, 30, 33) also totally ignore this wall.

