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The Tumuli West of Jerusalem Survey and Excavations, 1953*

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THE group of tumuli¹ conspicuously situated on hill-tops and ridges west of Jerusalem have changed the natural outlines of the landscape and form in themselves a puzzling problem in Palestinian archaeology. A singular phenomenon, these tumuli have attracted the interest of explorers and archaeologists ever since the days of the Palestine Exploration Fund Survey, but not much exploratory work has been done on them, either by way of archaeological survey of the region or by excavation. After the trial excavations of Professor Albright in tumulus No. 2,² Père Vincent pointed out³ that no tradition whatsoever was connected with the tumuli, nor had any etymological interpretation of a popular kind been preserved among the local inhabitants to

* A preliminary report in Hebrew was published in *BIES*, 18, 1954, pp. 45-59, Pls. 9-10. A short communication was delivered to the Assyriological section of the 23rd International Congress of Orientalists held at Cambridge in 1954 and published in the *Proceedings* of that Congress, pp. 144-145.

¹ In the Hebrew report the word *regem*, *regamim* was used, taken from the Arabic *rujm*. I had to resist the temptation to use the biblical term *gal*, which from the stories of Achan (Josh. vii, 1, 26) and Absalom (2 Sam. xviii, 17) seems to denote the concept of the Latin *tumulus*. Cf. also the interpretation of the term *gadish* (גדיש) in Job xxi, 32.

² W. F. Albright: *Interesting Finds in Tumuli near Jerusalem*, *BASOR*, 10, 1923, pp. 1-3.

³ L.-H. Vincent: *Chronique*, I: *Fouilles de l'École américaine*, *RB*, 33, 1924, pp. 420-421.

assist or guide the explorer. The scantiness of surface sherds was another obstacle in the way of the modern archaeological survey.

The excavations undertaken in 1923 by Albright in tumulus No. 2 had unfortunately to be discontinued after five days' work with 25 men. The short report by the excavator and the *Chronique* by Père Vincent mentioned above sum up the results: a section, five metres broad, was begun diametrically through the tumulus, starting from the top; it did not reach the bottom, nor was any building or wall uncovered. The excavation showed, however, that the tumulus was neither of the Neolithic period nor of the Bronze Age, as had been expected, but of Iron Age date. From the small quantity of sherds found among the stones, Albright, Vincent, and Phythian-Adams were all inclined to assign the tumulus to the 12th to 11th centuries B. C. They saw in the whole phenomenon the influence of some foreign conqueror—the Philistines or some other ethnic group of the Sea Peoples.

On a trip through central Anatolia with the 22nd International Congress of Orientalists in 1951, the author was much impressed by hundreds of similar tumuli—a typical feature of Phrygian culture⁴—covering large areas. This suggested a resumption of the work started west of Jerusalem some thirty years earlier; and in 1953 excavation was begun, on behalf of the Department of Antiquities and the Israel Exploration Society.⁵

SURVEY AND MAPPING

The preparatory work for the excavation proved that a thorough new survey and exact mapping were required, as all existing maps were far from satisfactory.

The survey and mapping of the tumuli area were only partially completed during the season of 1953, and much more work is still required. To avoid confusion and in the absence of authentic names for all the tumuli, the 19 tumuli surveyed

⁴ Cf. e. g. H. H. von der Osten: *Explorations in Central Anatolia, Season 1926*. Chicago, 1929, esp. pp. 28-31, 46-49; and the reports of the Gordion excavations in *AJA* from 1955 onwards.

⁵ We are indebted to the Ministry of Labour which provided the necessary labour for both seasons of excavation. Sincere acknowledgements are also made to Mr. S. Yeivin, Director of Antiquities, for his kind permission to publish this report here; to Mr. J. Aviram, Secretary of the Israel Exploration Society; Mr. A. Hiram, of the Department of Antiquities, who drew most of the plans; Mr. S. J. Schweig, who took most of the photographs; Mrs. H. Bieberkraut, who photographed the finds; Messrs. N. Leef and A. Gluck, who prepared the enlarged maps; the Photogrammetric Institute, Jerusalem, for its assistance in mapping the area; Mr. A. Feierstein, who first drew my attention to the tumuli near Beth Zayit; Mrs. P. Levinger, who drew the pottery; and Mr. A. Feinberg, then a student at the Hebrew University, who took an active part in the second season.

and mapped in the three accompanying maps (Figs. 2-4) were numbered. The general map (Fig. 1) shows the location of the three areas surveyed: areas A and B between Menaḥat (Malḥa) and 'Aminadav; area C on the hill of Beth Zayit. More surveying is required not only in the regions north of the Rephaim Valley, but also on the hills to the south of it—the 'cairn' marked on the PEF map to the north of Beit Jala may possibly belong to this type of tumulus.

The information gathered in our survey is shown in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1

Tumulus No.	Height in m.	Diameter in m.	Name in PEF map	Name in the 1:20,000 map
1	2.8	14	Atiyeh	—
2	7.5	30	Afaneh	—
3	5	18	Barish ^a	—
4	9	42	Tarud ^b	Tarud
5	6	32	× ^c	—
6	2-7	7×12 ^d	×	—
7	4.5	20	Duribeh	—
8	1.5-2.5	26	—	—
9	3.6	15	Deir	—
10	2	7	×	—
11 ^e			—	—
12	3.5	25 (length)	—	—
13	4	10	—	—
14	2.5	7	—	—
15	2	7	—	—
16	2.5	7	—	—
17	2-7	5×9 ^d	—	—
18	3	9	—	—
19	4	10	—	—
Gizo	7	22	Jiz	Jiz

- a) The name Barish is assigned by the PEF map apparently to our No. 3; Albright, however, assigned it to our No. 2, having learnt it from the local inhabitants.
- b) It is not clear to which of the three tumuli, Nos. 4, 5, or 6 the name Tarud is assigned on the PEF map.
- c) The sign × means that the tumulus is both shown on the map and mentioned in the *Memoirs* of the PEF, but without a name.
- d) The base forming an ellipse.
- e) Tumulus No. 11 is at present not accessible.

Most of the tumuli are built, or rather heaped, on ridges well above the level of their surroundings and overlook far distances (Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12). Those situated on saddles and slopes (Nos. 3, 6, 10) are conspicuous at least from one direction, from the bottom of the valley (Nos. 3, 6). Most characteristic and common to them all is the shape—a truncated cone with a small flat area on the top, and steep slopes (see Pl. 38A).

During the survey we made great efforts to collect some characteristic sherds from each tumulus; but it was the pottery found while excavating tumuli 5, 6, and 4 that served to date the few sherds picked up on the unexcavated tumuli. It is interesting to note that sherds are also scattered in the vicinity of each tumulus, and not only on its slopes.

Tumulus No. 8 requires a separate description, on account of its different shape. We would not have noticed its existence at all, had we not learned how No. 5 was made (see below, p. 218). No. 8 is a platform about 26 m. in diameter

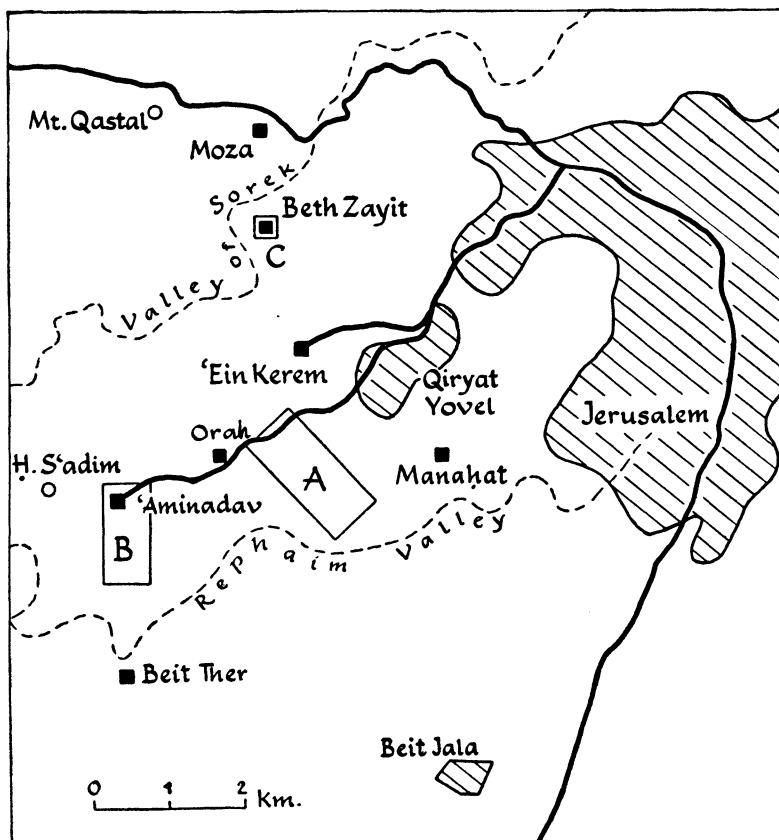


Fig. 1. Tumuli area west of Jerusalem. For areas A, B, C, see Figs. 2-4.

and only c. 2 m. high. In the eastern part of the circle is a small hillock, about 2.5-3 m. in height. From the results of the excavations in No. 5 we may perhaps surmise that No. 8 is an unfinished tumulus, left in the stage before the covering or rather heaping was done. This would corroborate our conclusion about the way the tumuli were built.

Tumulus No. 12 too is of different shape (an elongated hillock), and it is therefore doubtful whether its inclusion in this series is justified. The steep slopes all around it make it, however, resemble a tumulus.

Last on the list in Table 1 is tumulus Gizo (*Rujm Jiz*), which also deserves a special note. It was not numbered in the list mainly on account of its great distance from the area of the tumuli with which we deal here. Whereas the tumuli to the west of Jerusalem are confined to an area less than five kilometres

in length, tumulus Gizo is situated in the Shephelah hills twenty kilometres WNW of the Jerusalem group (at ref. 14421347). Although some of its features differ from those of our tumuli, its essential character makes its assignment to the same type not improbable. The special features are: its



Fig. 2. Area A.

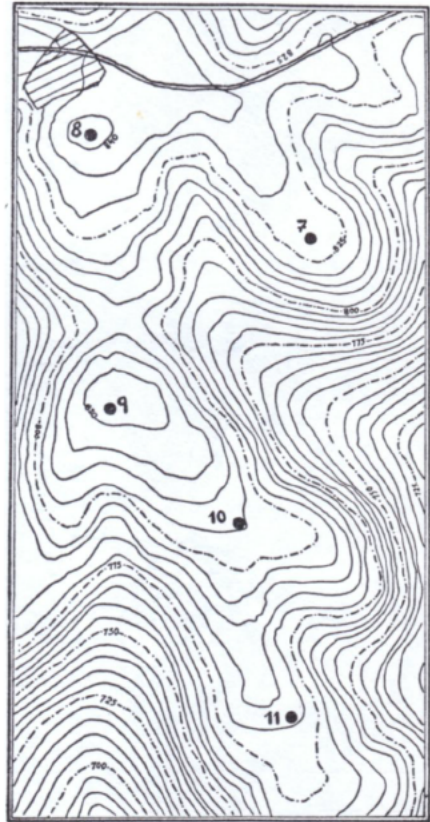


Fig. 3. Area B.

slopes are not as smooth as those of tumuli Nos. 1-19; it seems to consist of much larger stones; four walls, forming a large rectangle hidden beneath the heap of stones, may be traced at about two-thirds of its height. This might have been the reason for the opinion expressed by some scholars that these are the ruins of a fort, which once controlled the main Shephelah roads.⁶ In other respects, however, this tumulus is similar to our group: its shape and measurements, its conspicuous situation on the crest of the ridge, and the date as indicated by the few Iron Age sherds picked up on its surface. It has to be admitted that the sherds collected do not permit a closer dating; only excavation can elucidate this problem.

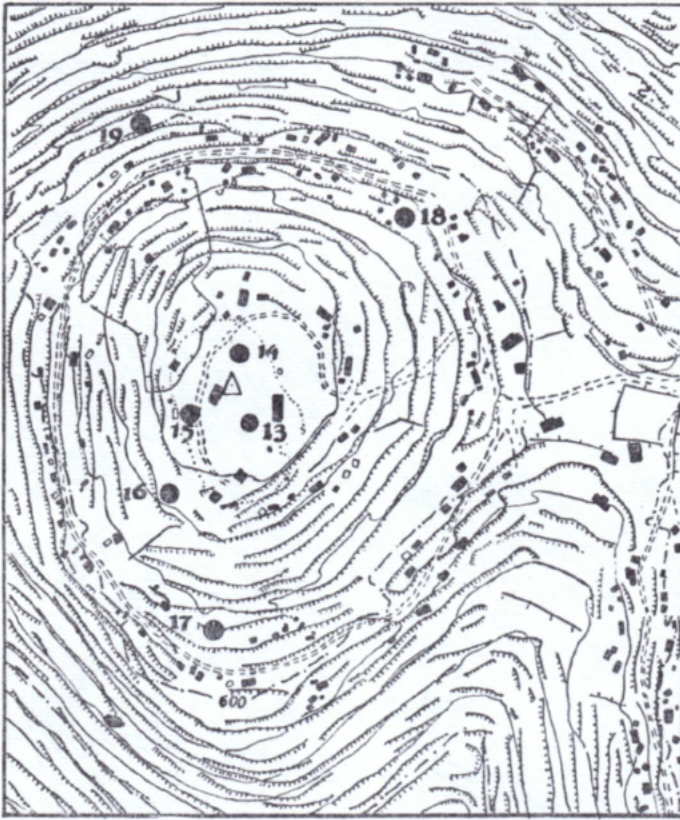


Fig. 4. Area C.

⁶ The PEF surveyors (C. R. Conder & H. H. Kitchener: *The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs, II*. London, 1882, p. 428) and some other scholars expressed this view.

THE EXCAVATIONS

Our original plan was to go back to Albright's unfinished work on tumulus No. 2, but it had to be abandoned because of the great distance of that tumulus from the main road. Instead, we decided on tumulus 5, which resembles No. 2 in size and in situation on the crest of a ridge.

During the first part of the 1953 season, which began on 6 June and lasted for two and a half months, work was concentrated on tumulus 5. We went back on 1 November for about a month; during this time the excavation of No. 5 was completed and that of No. 6 started; a small trial sounding on No. 4 was also made.

Tumulus 5

(Plan, sections, and details: Figs. 5-9, Pls. 37, 38 B-C, 39)

Guided by the analogy of the Anatolian tumuli and by Albright's demonstration in tumulus 2 that it is a heap of stones and not a stratified deposit, we thought it more useful and logical to start the section from the base of the tumulus and not from its top. A section, 5 m. wide, was accordingly demarcated from SSW to NNE, and work was begun from the SSW end level with the surface outside the tumulus. The excavation proceeded as follows: on the very first day the ring-wall was touched upon; during the following weeks it was excavated all around. The section had to be cleared to the rock, and only in the course of widening it eastwards did the 'platform', situated excentrically in the eastern quarter of the circle, come to light. Simultaneously the eastern flight of steps was discovered; and lastly, the entrance in the WNW.

The following description of the results will be given in the chronological order of the phases in the life of the site.⁷

The first operation to have taken place on the crest of the ridge seems to have been the installing of the 'platform', so called for want of a better name. Not much clearing and hewing of outcropping rock had been done before that. The platform was erected on the rough rock at the edge of a terrace, from which the slope drops steeply to the valley. The eastern part of the platform was built on a fill supported by a leaning wall (18) which had to be built to make the area of the platform level. The wall is dry built of small field-stones. The platform consisted of an elongated rampart (19), a small stretch of pavement (20), a pit (21), and a place for burning (22). The rampart was

⁷ See the general plan (Fig. 6), where each item is shown with its number.

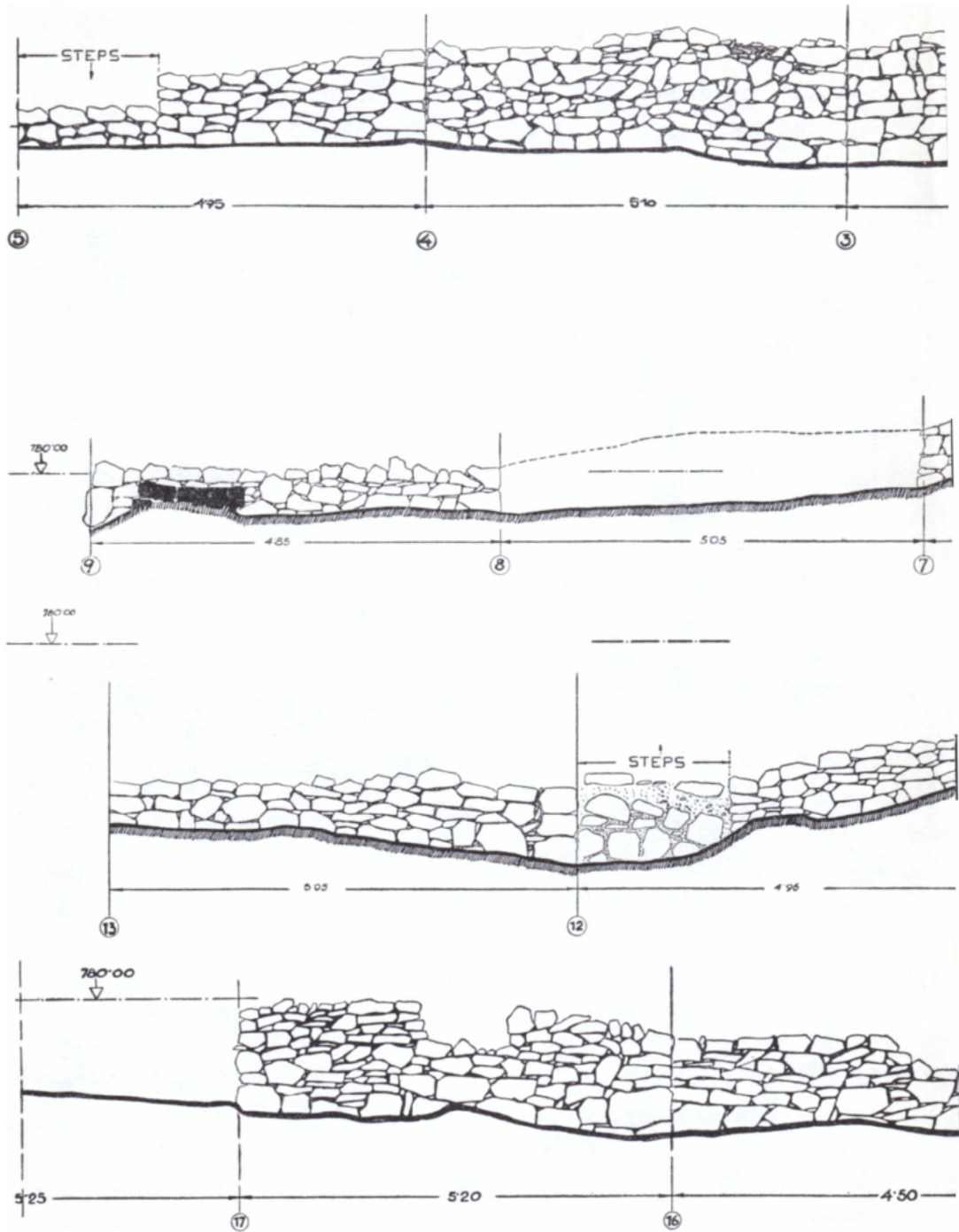
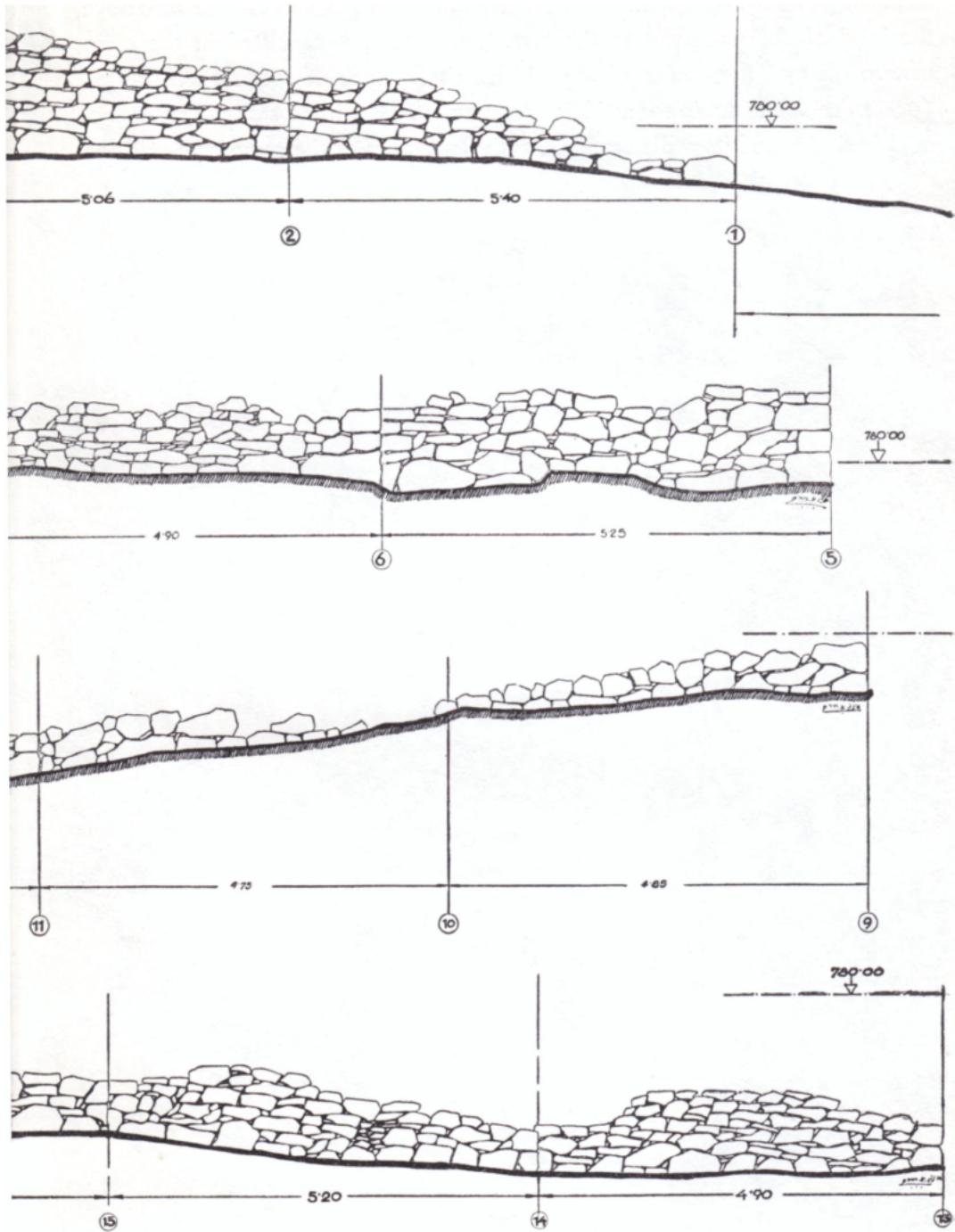


Fig. 5. Tumulus 5: Elevation of the ring-wall with its seventeen sides and 'angles'.



made of red earth and stones, with a maximum height of 0.3-0.35 m. above the level of the pavement to the east. The pavement consisted in the main of two rows of flag-stones of the whitish chalky type of soft stone. The pit (0.9 m. deep) was cut in the artificially accumulated earth and stones. It is hexagonal in shape, and its walls are lined with flag-stones of the same type of stone



Fig. 6. Tumulus 5: Plan.

as the pavement. The pit is encircled on the west and north by the rampart, and on the east side by the pavement. The pit was found full of well-silted earth, without any sherds or bones; only very small particles of charcoal could be distinguished in it. On the south-eastern slope below the 'platform' was found an area full of burnt debris, charcoal pieces, burnt animal bones, and black earth saturated with fat; even the stones found there were blackened. Most of the sherds collected from this tumulus were found around here. The fragments of the cooking pot (Pl. 40 A) were found on the sloping rock, immediately below the burnt spot (22).

Simultaneously with the platform was built the ring-wall with its angles (numbered 1-17 on the plan, Fig. 6). The ring-wall is the only detail of the tumulus which may be called architecture. The method by which this 17-sided ring-wall was shaped indicates a good knowledge of engineering on the part of the builders and familiarity with the technique of dry building. The wall must have been erected with each side succeeding the other in an anti-clockwise sequence. Each side of the polygonal wall projects from the succeeding one by the width of one stone. These are, therefore, not true angles. All 17 sides are approximately 5 m. long (see Fig. 5). The wall is made of almost unhewn

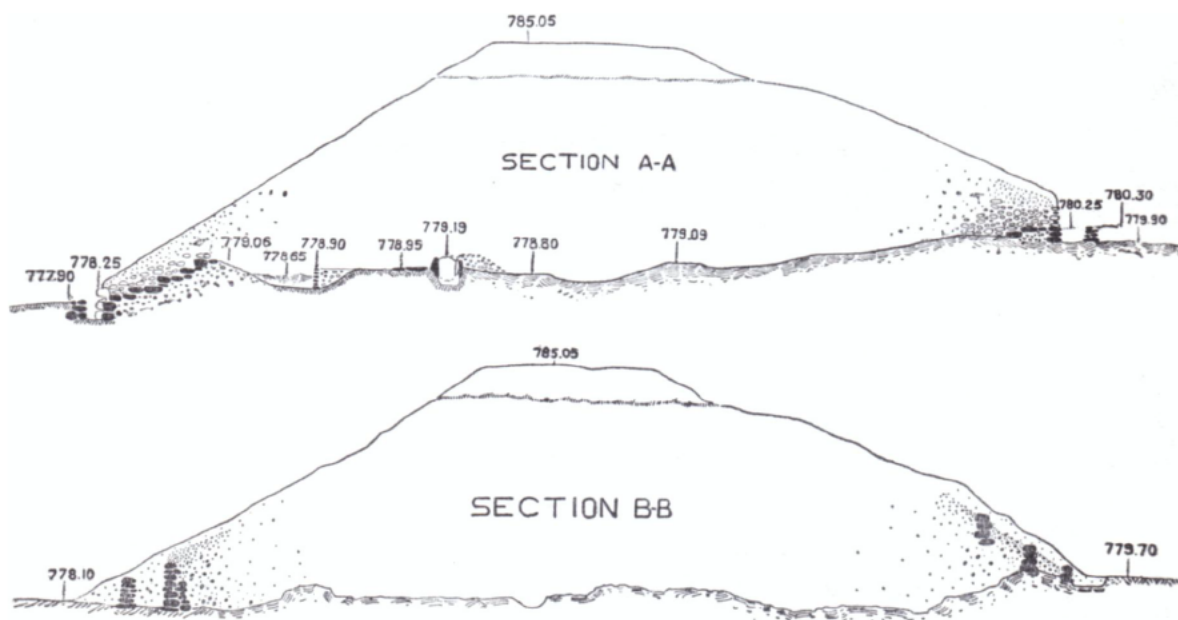


Fig. 7. Tumulus 5: Sections.

field-stones. Only the re-entrant angles are made of larger and better dressed stones, which impart stability to the dry masonry. The wall has only one facing, the outer one. Its thickness, though hard to make out, varies between 1.4-1.6 m. The height of the wall varies between 1.45 m. (in the stretch between angles 3 and 4) and 0.25 m. (between angles 9 and 10). The wall is founded on the rock and follows its slope towards the valley on the east. For some inexplicable reason it was built higher on its western and northern sides, which are naturally on a higher level, and much lower on the eastern and southern sides, where the rock is lower. The three angles 14, 15, 16 are somewhat peculiar: each angle is made of two 'storeys' not exactly overlapping. This device was probably meant to give more strength to that part of the wall situated on sloping rock.

The ring-wall is furnished with two entrances giving access to the inside of the enclosure. The one (23 on the plan; see Fig. 8) is oriented due east in the low part of the wall, and the other (24; see Fig. 9) in the higher part of the wall, on the WNW-side. Both adjoin angles.

The eastern entrance, next to angle 12, leads straight to the platform or rather the pit. It consists of five steps built on top of the whole thickness of the wall and beyond that, extending over a stone filling thrown against the wall as a support for the steps. This stone filling levels the ground between the platform, that is to say between the supporting wall (18), and the steps. The pavement (20) and the uppermost step are nearly on the same level. This stone filling is therefore logically part of the first phase of activities on the site—as are all the items so far described—in spite of the fact that it is very similar in character to the stone heaping of the tumulus proper, which belongs to a later phase.

The western entrance, next to angle 5, was built into the thickness of the wall, which is here about 1.6 m. It consists of only two shallow steps leading down to the level of the rock within the enclosure. This entrance was found blocked with neatly laid courses of stone, which will be described below.

The last item of the first phase, which, however, does not show any clear organic connection with those described above, is the stone fence on the southern side of the enclosure (25). It was made of large field-stones planted into the shallow surface soil.

The place was thus prepared for ritual acts, the nature of which escapes us. Only one feature seems definitely to have been part of that rite, namely the burning of some sort of organic material; this activity may have been either cooking or sacrificing.

The last phase of the tumulus consisted of two stages. The first involved the blocking of the western entrance (we could not ascertain whether the eastern suffered the same fate, because the wall is so low there) and the building of

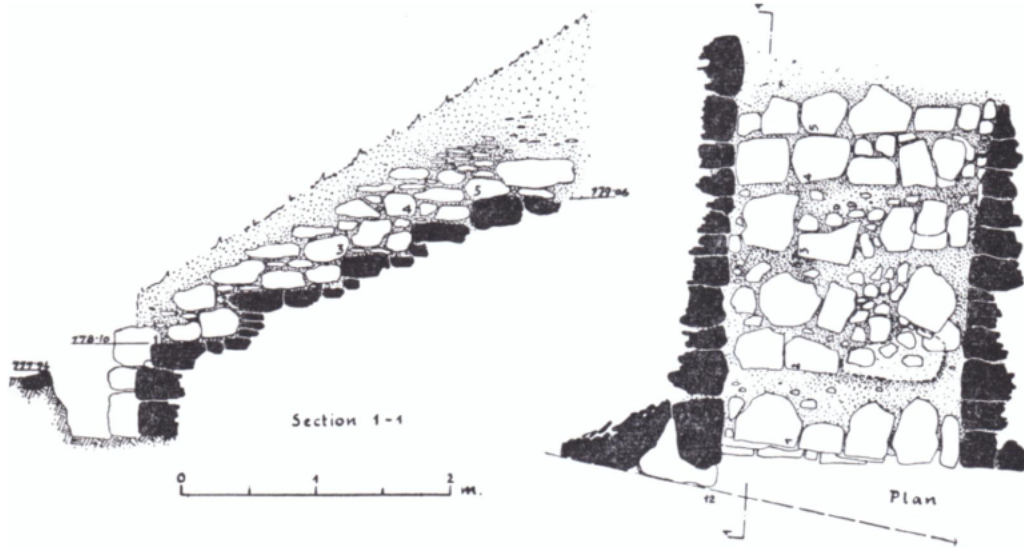


Fig. 8. Tumulus 5: Eastern entrance.

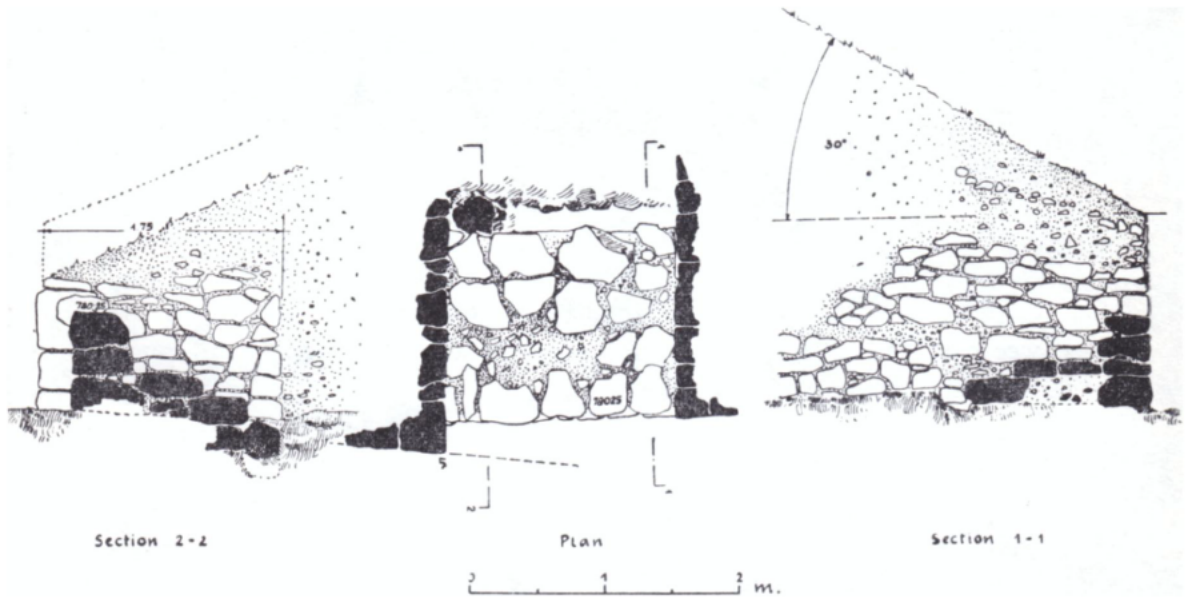


Fig. 9. Tumulus 5: Western entrance.

additional narrow ring-walls, encircling great parts of the main wall. The one nearer the main wall runs, as is shown on the plan, in great stretches along the latter. It is one stone thick and has no projecting angles. As it disregards both entrances, or rather hinders their functioning, we may rightly assume that it belongs to the later phase. Of the outer narrow wall only small fragments have been recovered.

The second stage of the last phase is the heaping-up of the tumulus proper. This heap of loose stones, a little over 6 m. high, was found almost devoid of earth. The field-stones rolled down with every touch of the pick.

The quantity of potsherds collected during the whole excavation was relatively small. Besides those found in the area of the platform and especially in the burnt place, we picked up some sherds among the stones of the heap; they were dispersed over the whole height of the tumulus. Yet there was one important detail to be noted: relatively more sherds were picked up in the eastern half of the heap than in its western. A corresponding difference could be noticed in the heap itself: its western half was on the whole composed of larger stones than the eastern. Bearing in mind our conclusions concerning the unusual shape of tumulus 8 (above, p. 208), the method and sequence of heaping a tumulus may thus be reconstructed with some probability. First, a small tumulus was heaped rather carefully over the platform and immediately around it; then followed the making of the large tumulus. The centre of the latter was moved from that of the smaller heap to that of the enclosure.

The pottery of this tumulus will be dealt with together with that from tumuli 6 and 4 (below, pp. 221-226).

Tumulus 6

(Plan and section: Figs. 10-11)

Simultaneously with the final clearances made in tumulus 5 during the last few weeks of the 1953 season, we turned our attention to the nearby small tumulus No. 6, situated only about 150 m. from No. 5.

The elliptical shape of this tumulus and its uneven height are caused by its topographical position: it lies on the slope at the head of the wadi-bend. Its height at the back is only 2 m.; but at the front, i.e. from the bottom of the valley looking upwards, it is 7 m. high and very conspicuous. During the excavation the configuration of the rock beneath the tumulus became clear, and we can now see that the terraces on both sides of the tumulus and on its back

are not only later, but depend on its existence, as its erection broke the natural line of the wadi slope.

The topographical position is also responsible for the inner construction of this small tumulus. The plan and section (Figs. 10-11) show clearly that instead

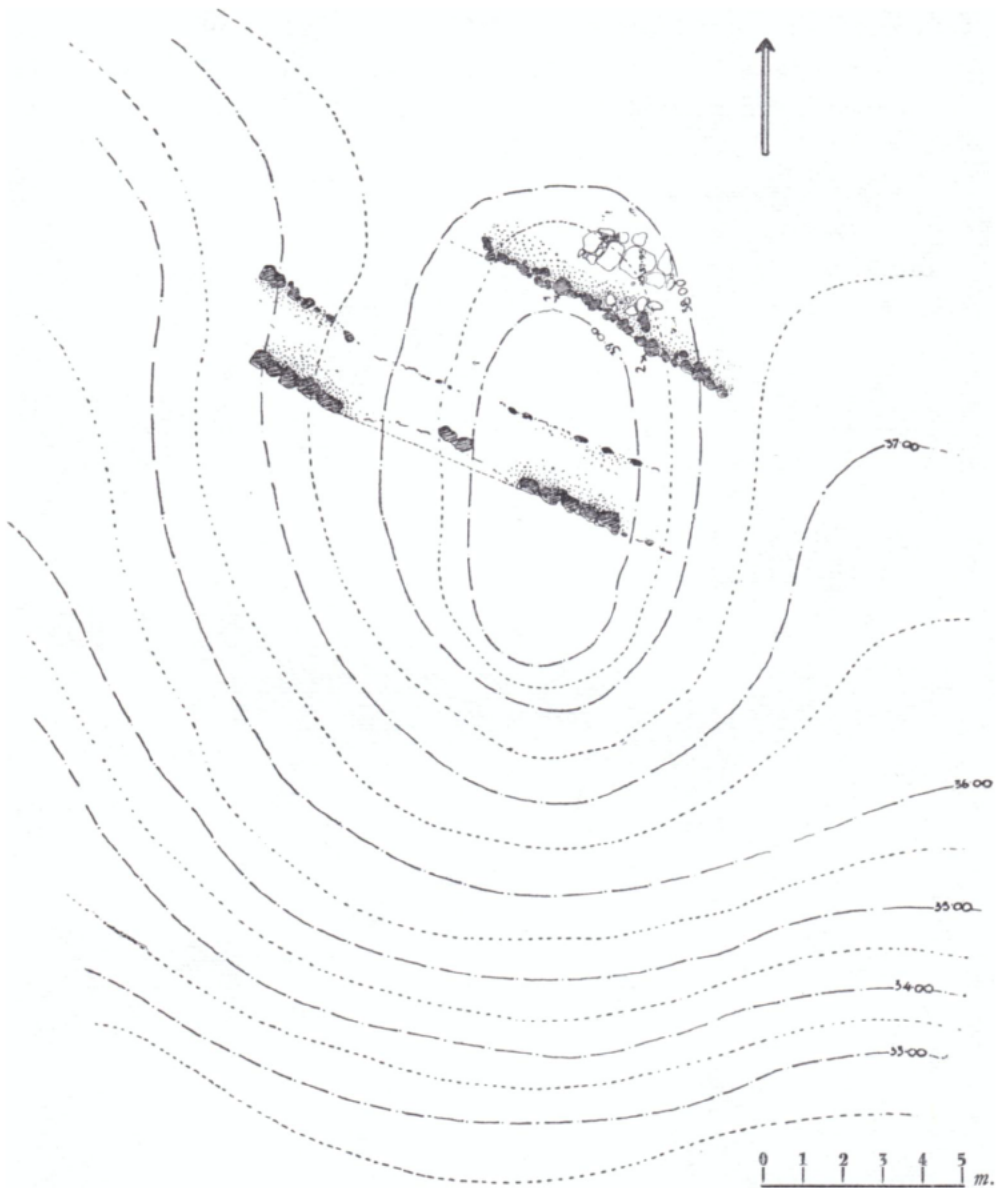


Fig. 10. Tumulus 6: Plan.

of a polygonal enclosure encircling the platform, here a long wall closes the wadi-bend at the bottom end of the tumulus. In the upper part of the wadi, near the upper end of the tumulus, we found another wall (Fig. 12), of similar workmanship as the ring-wall of tumulus 5, with one 'angle' of the same type. This wall seems to be the counterpart of the supporting wall (18) of tumulus 5, for above it were found four large, roughly dressed slabs, similar in kind and make to the slabs of the pavement (20) of that tumulus. They are bordered with field-stones planted around the platform. No interment was found under these slabs, only natural soil.

The clearing of tumulus No. 6 was not completed in 1953, and the absence or presence of a tomb has still to be proved by further excavation.

This tumulus yielded more potsherds than No. 5; they will be discussed together with the pottery from tumuli 4 and 5.

Trial Sounding in Tumulus 4

Tumulus No. 4 is the largest in the whole group: it is 9 m. high and 42 m. in diameter (see Pl. 38A). It is situated due east from tumulus No. 5, on the next ridge.

A short trial sounding in its western side brought to light a section of ring-wall including one of its angles. Working according to the same method as in

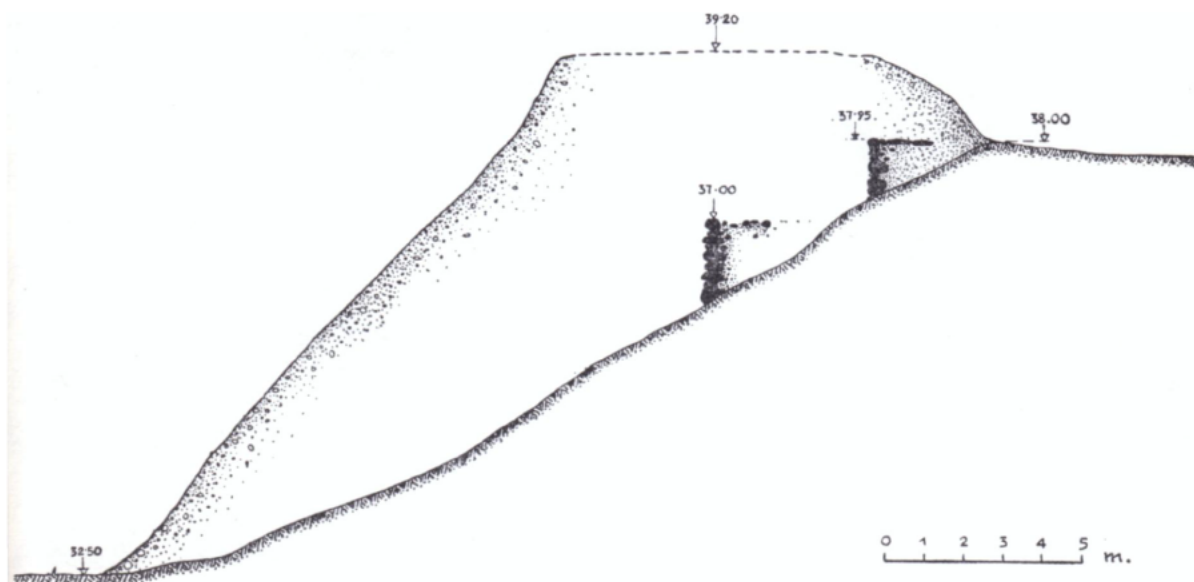


Fig. 11. Tumulus 6: Section.

tumulus 5, we dug a section 3.5 m. wide, starting again from the very edge of the tumulus. Within 4.5 m. from the edge, the ring-wall was struck upon. It is of the same character and make as that of No. 5. One projecting angle came to light in the small section of the ring-wall which we uncovered. This tumulus, however, seems to contain a much greater quantity of potsherds. The pottery will be described together with that from tumuli 5 and 6.

THE POTTERY

All the three tumuli excavated and sounded so far produced potsherds (and some vessels which could be reconstructed) of the same period. It should, however, be clearly borne in mind that pottery or other finds uncovered here have a different dating value from those found on floor levels of a settlement. Whereas in the latter all the finds belong to the end of the period in question, in our case they reflect the actual period when this installation was in use. Thus the small but homogeneous collection of sherds from the tumuli may prove of considerable dating significance. The analysis will deal with the pottery of all three tumuli together, although in the drawings it has been arranged in three separate groups.

The preponderant type, or rather family of types, is without doubt the 'folded rim' bowl and krater which is invariably ring-burnished on the inside (Pl. 40 D, G). It comprises here all the handled deep bowls (Fig. 13:5-10; Fig. 14:13; Fig. 15:7-9, 11, 21), and some of the bowls without handles (Fig. 15:4, 6).

This family, both because of its common occurrence here and because of the important place it occupies in archaeological research, invites special comment.

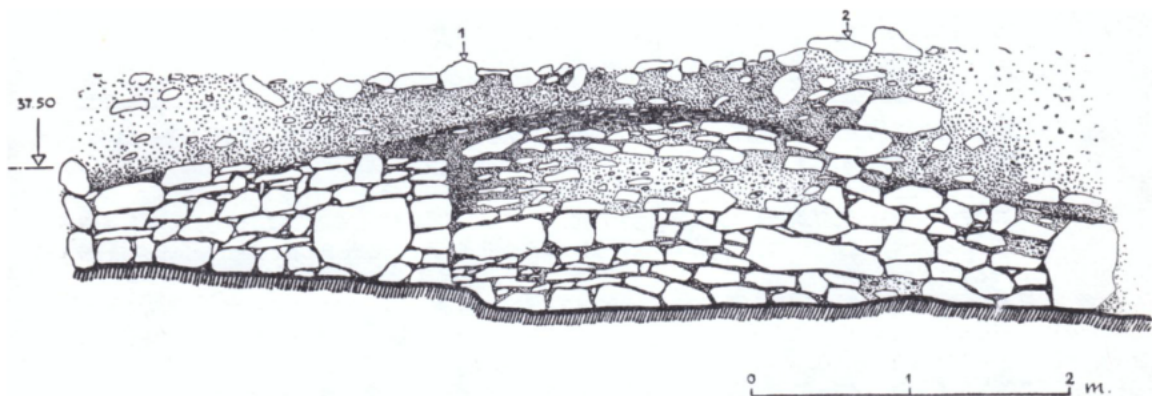


Fig. 12. Tumulus 6: Elevation of the upper wall.

It has been amply discussed recently by Miss Tufnell in *Lachish III*,⁸ where it is classified as B 13, being a most characteristic feature of both Levels III and II there (Miss Tufnell's dates are: Level III ending in c. 700 B. C.; Level II dating from c. 700 to 586 B. C.).⁹ Much comparative material from previous publications of Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell en-Naşbeh, Beth Shemesh, and other places, and also from the material from Samaria,¹⁰ has been connected up by her. The author accepts Miss Tufnell's date for Lachish Level III for various reasons irrelevant to our present study. The objection raised by Buchanan in his review¹¹ against this date, namely that this type, the folded rim bowl, had to 'move south' from Samaria to Lachish (p. 336) is not decisive. In our opinion, this type, which embraces a whole family of related variations, is of Judean origin and not North-Israelite; its occurrence on Israelite sites testifies to a borrowing from Judah, and not vice versa.¹²

This prevailing feature in the pottery of the tumuli provides a fairly narrow date for them: the second half of the eighth and the seventh century B.C.

The rest of the pottery reproduced here is in full accord with this dating: the high cooking pot (Fig. 14:3, 5; Fig. 15:14, 15, 19); the rounded bowl (Fig. 13:2); the flat dish (Fig. 15:2); the wide-mouthed jug (Fig. 14:1, 2, 4, 11); the various jars (Fig. 14:6-10, 12; Fig. 15:16-18); the degenerated bar-handle on bowls (Fig. 15:20, 22); the high-based lamp (Fig. 14:15); the ring-stand (Pl. 40 E). Potter's marks on the handles of cooking pots—such as in Pl. 40 F; Fig. 15:19—have been described by Albright as characteristic of level A2 at Tell Beit Mirsim.¹³ The reconstructed rounded bowl of fine ware (Pl. 40 B-C; Fig. 13:1) is worth noting: it is not as common as the types just mentioned, but has parallels in late contexts, such as cistern 370 from Tell en-Naşbeh.¹⁴ Red slip, in most cases burnished, is common, both on various types of bowls (Fig. 14:14, 16; Fig. 15:1, 3, 6, 11, 22), as well as on jugs (Fig. 15:12).

⁸ Olga Tufnell: *Lachish III: The Iron Age*. Oxford, 1953, pp. 277-279.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-58.

¹⁰ J. W. Crowfoot, Grace M. Crowfoot, Kathleen M. Kenyon: *The Objects from Samaria* (Samaria-Sebaste III). London, 1957.

¹¹ B. W. Buchanan: *AJA*, 58, 1954, pp. 335-339. W. F. Albright (*BASOR*, 132, 1953, p. 46), and G. E. Wright (*JNES*, 14, 1955, pp. 188-189) also maintain Starkey's date for the destruction of Level III as 597 B.C.

¹² On wheel-burnished folded rim bowls in North Israel and Assyria, cf. Y. Yadin, Y. Aharoni, Ruth Amiran, Trude Dothan, I. Dunayevsky, J. Perrot: *Hazor*, I. Jerusalem, 1958, p. 37 and my forthcoming article in *'Aviqot*, 2.

¹³ W. F. Albright: *The Excavations of Tell Beit Mirsim I*, *AASOR*, 12, 1932, pp. 81-88.

¹⁴ J. C. Wampler: *Tell en-Naşbeh*, II. Berkeley & New Haven, 1947, Pl. 54:1214.

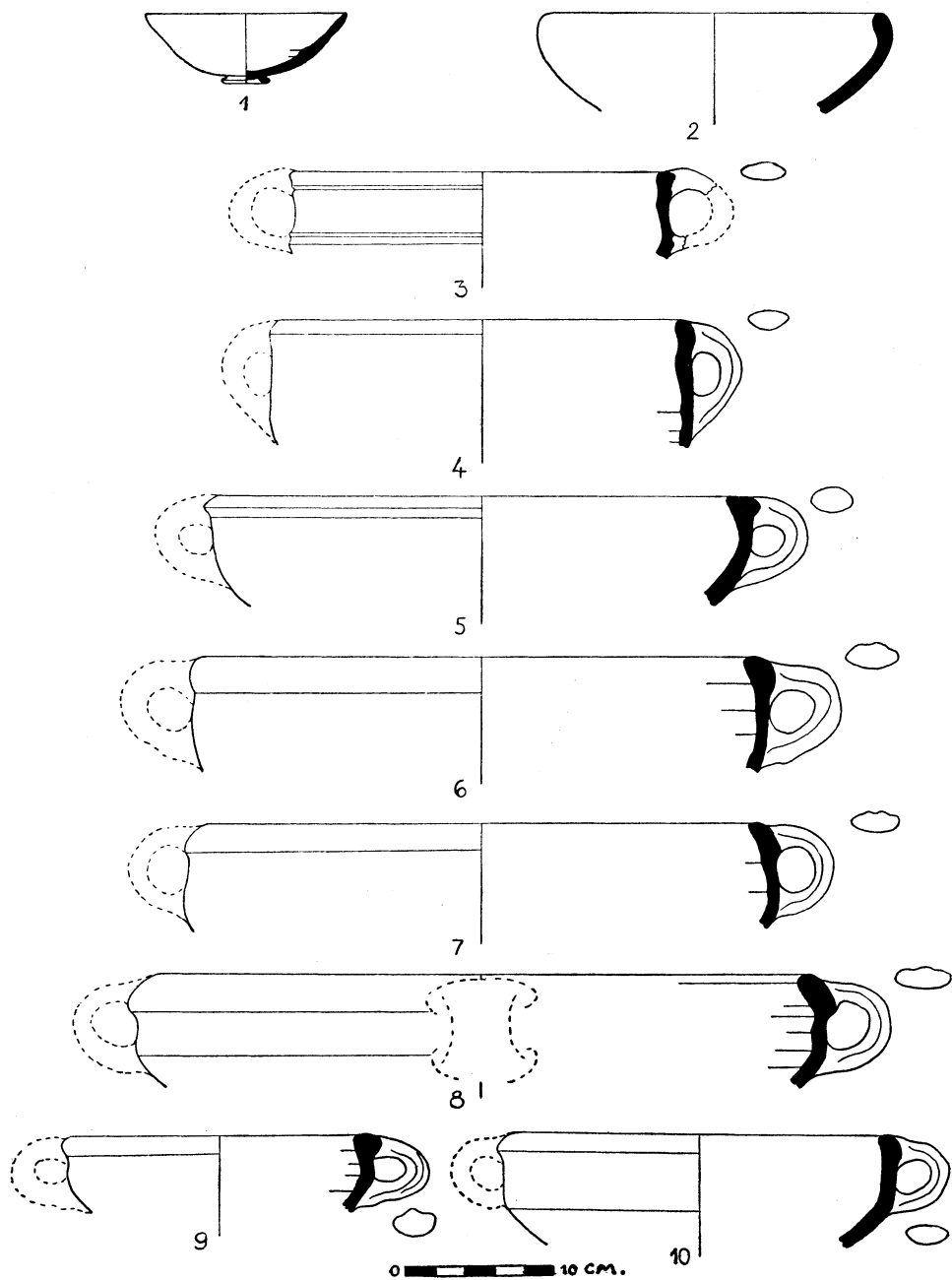


Fig. 13. Pottery from tumulus 5.

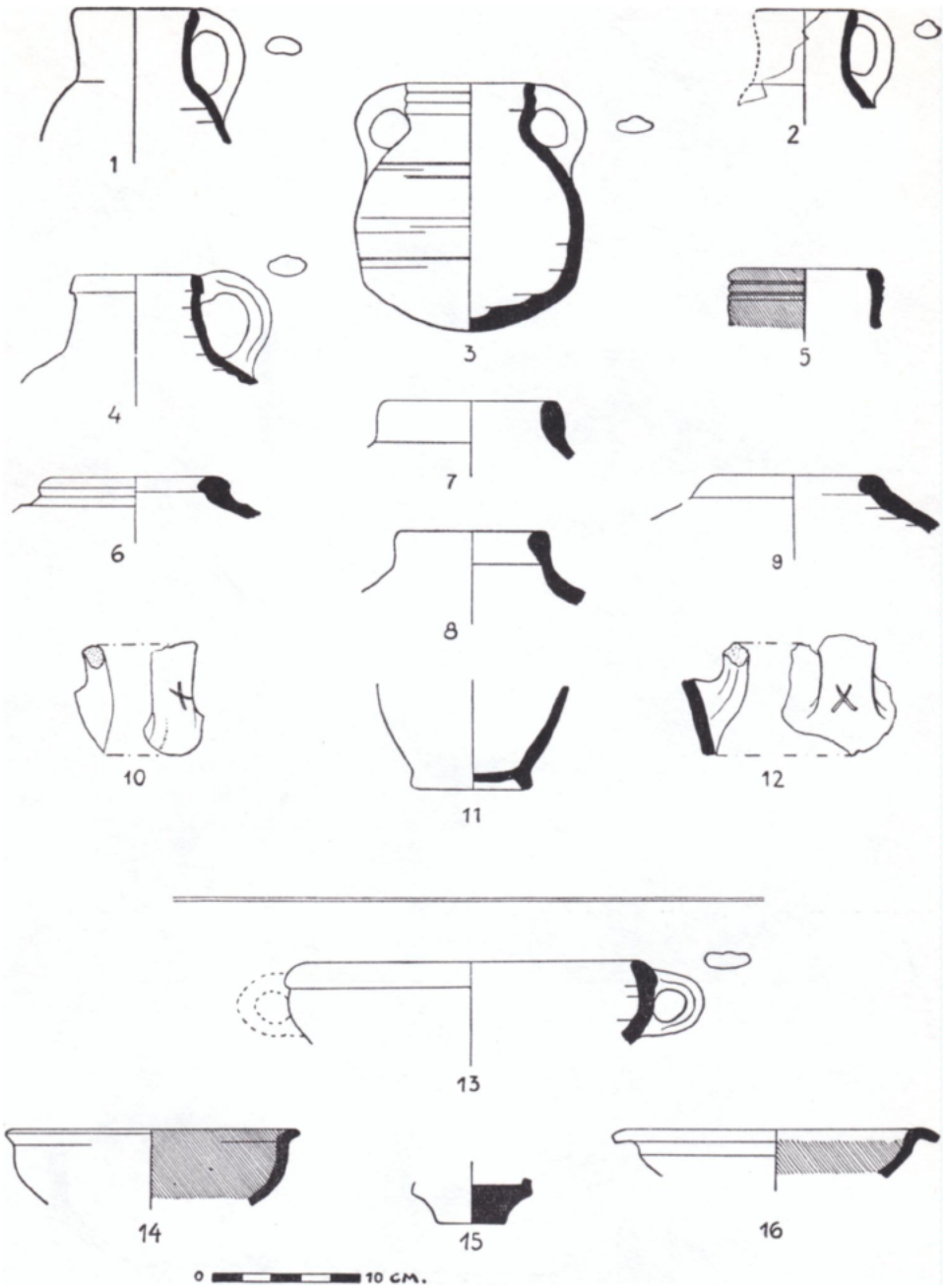


Fig. 14. Pottery from tumuli 5 (top) and 4 (bottom).

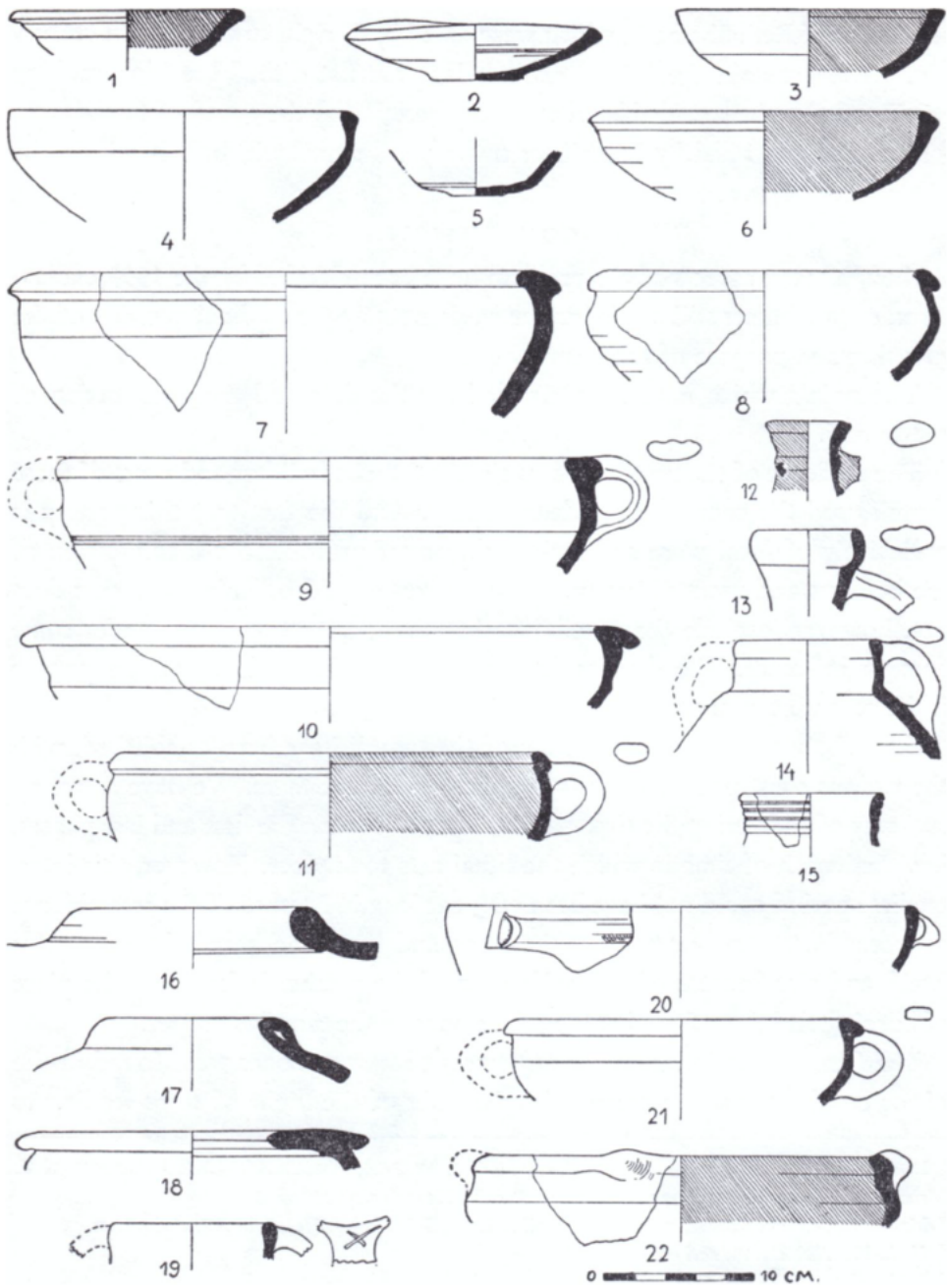


Fig. 15. Pottery from tumulus 6.

Two other groups of pottery have to be mentioned as parallel to ours: (a) tombs 2-8 of Beth Shemesh, which were dated by Wright to the seventh century B.C.¹⁵ They contain the folded rim bowls,¹⁶ the flat dish,¹⁷ the high cooking pot,¹⁸ and also the rounded bowl with ring-base;¹⁹ (b) the group of tombs from Tell el-Ful published by Macalister many years ago,²⁰ which falls within the seventh century B.C.

CONCLUSION

Although many aspects of the problem have been clarified by the 1953 excavations, certain others still await further work, notably the cardinal question of the meaning and purpose of the tumuli.

The points which have been clarified are the date and the construction of the tumuli.

The evidence of the pottery shows clearly that the builders and users of these tumuli used the commonest Judean pottery. And the fact that this pottery is exclusively of local ware and style makes most probable the identification of the builders and users of the tumuli as natives of Judah. This conclusion does not, however, exclude the possibility that the idea as such grew under some foreign influence. The date as established from the evidence of the pottery is the seventh century B. C.

Several phases in the construction of the tumuli have been established, with the various constructional details specific for each of them. We have as yet no real way of estimating the time which elapsed between the first and last phases, i. e. the length of time in which the ritual acts took place. However, this intermediate period could not have been of great length, because of the resemblance between the stone filling under the steps and the stone heap of the tumulus itself, and also because of the uniformity of the potsherds found on the place of burning and those found among the stones of the tumulus proper.

The fact that no interment or any traces of human bones were found in the pit or beside it, and the ceremonial character of the flight of steps leading to

¹⁵ D. Mackenzie: Excavations at Ain Shems, *PEFA*, 2, 1912-13, Pls. XXXIII-LXI; E. Grant & G. E. Wright: *Ain Shems Excavations (Palestine)*, Part V. Haverford, 1939, p. 136.

¹⁶ Mackenzie, *op. cit.* (above, n. 15), Pls. XXXVII:18, XLI:7, XLVI:2, LIV:18, and others.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXIII:13, and others.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, e. g. Pl. XLIV:3-6.

¹⁹ The photographs do not show all the details needed, but Pls. XXXIX:1, 3, LVI:7, and LVII:14 are apparently of this type.

²⁰ R. A. S. Macalister: Some Interesting Pottery Remains, *PEFQS*, 1915, pp. 35-37, Pls. I-IV.

the platform—these and other arguments led us at the conclusion of the 1953 excavation to interpret the whole site as a high place (*bamah*). This hypothesis was proposed in the preliminary Hebrew report and in the paper read at Cambridge,²¹ as well as by S. Yeivin.²² It should, however, be stated frankly that this suggestion was based on the absence of a burial in the excavated tumulus, i.e. it was based on a conception different from Albright's new theory as developed in his recent study,²³ viz. that the *bamah* served two purposes at one and the same time: that of a burial²⁴ and that of a cult place.

Reconsidering all the evidence of the work in 1953, it seems to me now that it does corroborate the interpretation of the tumulus as a tomb. It outweighs the absence of the interment itself, even more so if we remember that, both according to the new *bamah* theory of Albright and the tumulus culture of Anatolia, the burial itself may sometimes be located outside the tumulus.

However, as surmised above, the full significance of both the tumuli and the *bamah* theory should be elucidated by the continuation of the excavations of the tumuli, which is being planned for the near future.

²¹ See above, p. 205, n*.

²² *Archaeological Activities in Israel (1948-1955)*. Jerusalem, 1955, p. 15.

²³ W. F. Albright: The High Place in Ancient Palestine, *Supplement to VT*, 4, 1957, pp. 242-258.

²⁴ Cf. also H. Torczyner's (Tur-Sinai) paper on טבור and במה, *BJPES*, 1, 3, 1933, pp. 9-18, in which he suggests that *bamah* means body—corpse—tomb.



A: Tumulus 5, partly excavated, looking NNE.



B: Tumulus 5: Part of the ring-wall, showing angles 3 and 4.



A: Tumulus 4, looking east.



B: Tumulus 5: East entrance and stairs.



C: Tumulus 5: The pit.



A: Tumulus 5: The platform, the pit, the pavement and the rampart (the latter two partly removed).

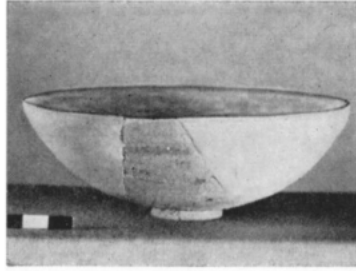


B: Tumulus 5: The platform seen from the east. In the foreground the supporting wall.

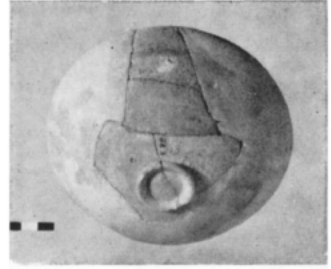
PLATE 40



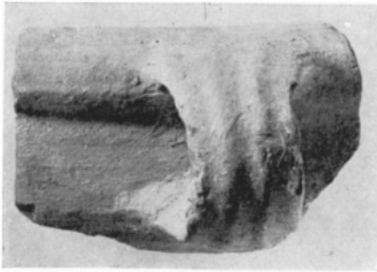
A



B



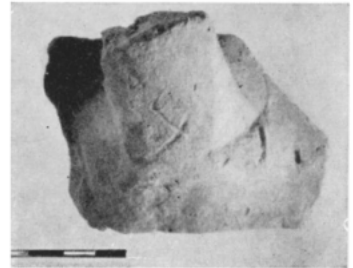
C



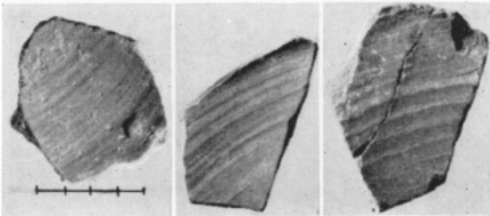
D



E



F



G

A-G: Pottery.

A: High cooking pot. B-C: Bowl.

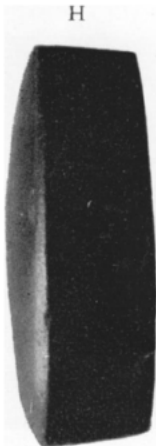
D: Part of deep folded rim bowl.

E: Part of ring-stand.

F: Handle with potter's mark.

G: Ring-burnished fragments of bowls.

THE TUMULI WEST OF JERUSALEM



H



I

H-I: Side and front view of the seal, twice original size.



J

J: Seal impression.

AN EARLY ARAMAIC SEAL